

# THE MILITANT

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

## Unions should take the lead Continue the protests against food prices



Militant/Dick Roberts

**Women picket supermarket in Hazlet, N.J., in support of nationwide meat boycott**

The nationwide meat boycott has been a powerful expression of mass opposition to runaway prices. It indicates the determina-

### An Editorial

tion of millions of people to take action to try to protect their standard of living.

The boycott developed almost spontaneously, spreading by word of mouth and news coverage. It involved a wide variety of indi-

viduals and organizations, but it has been organized primarily by women and ad hoc consumer groups.

The boycott movement swept past the politicians and was built outside the framework of the Democratic and Republican parties. Most boycotters decided to support the movement because they have lost confidence in the willingness or the ability of the politicians to act on this issue.

The boycott has been carried out in a militant and determined

fashion, often including picket lines and other spirited street demonstrations. The protestors refused to be derailed by Nixon's last-minute TV promise to put a ceiling on meat prices.

But missing from the boycott movement, with only a few exceptions, were the organizations that have the biggest stake in the fight against inflation—the trade unions. George Meany, AFL-CIO president, has had not one word of encouragement or support to offer the anti-inflation demonstra-

tors! Not to mention assistance from the powerful union federation in organizing the boycott and other protests.

Meany satisfied himself with a reminder to the bosses that "if food prices aren't brought down, there is no way union members are going to let their unions settle for a wage increase that won't even pay for their increased food bill."

"That isn't a threat; that's a fact of life," ended this "statesman" of labor.

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## THE MILITANT

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**OLDER AMERICANS PROTEST NIXON VETO:** Two thousand old people held a picket at the Federal Plaza in New York City last week to protest Nixon's announced veto of a bill for the aged. The bill, which the House and Senate had approved, would provide increased social services for old people, including public service jobs, transportation benefits, and health services.



**INS RULES ON LENNON: MUSIC YES, POLITICS NO:** The Justice Department has ruled that former Beatle John Lennon must leave the United States. Lennon's lawyer said he will appeal the decision. Yoko Ono was granted permanent resident status.

Ostensibly, Lennon has been branded 'deportable' because of a previous conviction for possession of hashish in England. But the decision more likely stems from his well-known antiwar views and activity.

Lennon and Ono had sought resident status to search for Ono's 9-year-old daughter by a previous marriage. Their case has received wide support from public figures who urged they be allowed to stay in the U.S. because of the artistic contributions they are making.

The Immigration Department, however, felt more strongly about Lennon's politics. Immigration Service District Director Sol Marks, when asked how he felt about asking an artist like Lennon to leave the country, replied, "I'm a law enforcement officer." But, he added, "I enjoy their music."

**'CATCH-ALL' ARTICLE OF MILITARY CODE VOIDED:** Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice has been ruled unconstitutionally vague by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The ruling represents a victory for civil liberties in the Army. The article, which held servicemen liable for actions 'to the prejudice of the good order and discipline in the armed forces,' was the standard charge used against GIs involved in antiwar activity within the Army.

The specific case that led to the ruling was that of Private Mark Avrech, who was convicted by a court-martial for attempting to publish an antiwar statement in 1969 while in Vietnam. One of the judges presiding over the case admitted that "the only apparent purpose of Article 134 is to act as a catch-all for varied types of unforeseen misconduct not otherwise covered by the code."

**CUBAN STUDIES CENTER BOMBED:** The Center for Cuban Studies in New York's Greenwich Village was extensively damaged and its library totally destroyed when a bomb exploded there March 28. The center conducts forums and classes in Spanish and English on the Cuban revolution.

**NEW MILITANT INDEX AVAILABLE:** An index for the July-December 1972 issues of *The Militant* (vol. 36, numbers 26-48) has just been published. Every *Militant* article during that period is listed alphabetically by country, author, and subject. This cross-reference makes it easier for someone who may not know the author or title of an article to find it.

The index, containing 59 pages, is the third to be published. Two earlier indexes cover 1971 and January-June 1972. The indexes provide an invaluable guide to research on the radical movement for those two years.

The new index, as well as the previous ones, can be obtained from *The Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014, for 25 cents each.

**AFRICAN SOLIDARITY DAY:** On March 30-31, the Republic of New Africa (RNA) hosted activities in Jackson, Miss., commemorating International African Prisoner of War Solidarity Day.

A rally of more than 500 people heard Imamu Baraka of the Congress of African People; comedian Dick Gregory; Owusu Sadaukai, chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee; Haywood Burns of the National Black

Lawyers, and others.

Imari Obadele, president of RNA and one of the RNA 11, was still in jail awaiting trial at the time. He has since been released on \$25,000 bail, after 18 months of imprisonment.

Charges against the RNA 11 grew out of the August 1971 police attack on their headquarters in Jackson during which one cop was killed. Four of the RNA 11 were convicted, three of whom were given life sentences. Seven have been released on bond pending trial. A judge had previously refused to release Obadele on bond, claiming he is a threat to society.

The RNA was hoping to hold a march through downtown Jackson in solidarity with Obadele, but city officials refused them a permit.

**JDL STRIKES AGAIN:** As part of its campaign to intimidate anti-Zionist groups in Massachusetts, some 15 members and supporters of the Jewish Defense League recently attempted to shut down the Tufts University Experimental College class "Zionism Reconsidered." Calling the course an "anti-Jewish outrage," the disrupters entered the class, announced the course was over, read a prepared statement, and then sang Israeli nationalist songs.

Their statement read in part: "Not since Germany in the days of Hitler has any major university dared to offer a course presenting a one-sided view of any national movement. The Jewish Defense League is resolved to shut down this course at any cost." The course is being taught by a member of the newly formed May 15 Coalition, which supports self-determination for Palestinian Arabs. The coalition has been the target of JDL harassment on other occasions during the past five months.

## Gary Lawton out on bail

Black activist Gary Lawton, whose recent trial in Indio, Calif., ended in a hung jury, has finally won his release on bail. Judge John Hews set bail at \$50,000 each for Lawton and two others charged with two counts of murder and conspiracy. The three are being held for retrial on charges stemming from the shooting of two white policemen in 1971 in Riverside, Calif.

Within six hours of his release from jail, Lawton appeared at the Militant Labor Forum in Los Angeles. He told the audience cops had openly told him he had been arrested as a result of political pressure on the police to come up with "someone" to indict for killing the cops.

Lawton was introduced by his wife, Chukia, who had been scheduled to speak on his behalf. She has been a tireless worker in the defense committee fighting to free Lawton. Lawton expressed his appreciation for those who had stood up for him and aided him in his fight for freedom.

"Had it not been for them," Lawton said, "I wouldn't be here today, and I must say if it weren't for them I wouldn't be anywhere. More than likely, I'd be dead now, because it was never intended that I walk out of the Riverside county jail alive." Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, chaired the meeting.

**YOUNG SOCIALIST A HOT SELLER:** The April issue of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, is being sold at a fast pace. The Lower Manhattan YSA sold 300 of its monthly bundle of 600 in only three days. This issue features a first-hand report on Wounded Knee by YSA National Secretary Andrew Pulley.

For more information about the *Young Socialist* see the review on page 20.

**SCEF BENEFIT IN NEW YORK:** The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a Southern-based civil rights organization, hosted a luncheon and fund-raising affair in New York March 18. People active in struggles SCEF is involved in were featured speakers.

Mathew Nicks, vice-president of the newly organized Mississippi Poultry Workers Union, spoke of the situation confronting poultry workers in the South.

Reverend Ben Chavis told of the struggle in North Carolina and the many defense cases there.

Walter Collins, a SCEF organizer who was recently released from federal prison for draft resistance, spoke on the prisons and his efforts to change the conditions prisoners face.

Other speakers included Faith Holsaert, a SCEF board member who spoke on the recent Mine Workers elections; Alex Hurder, president of a Birmingham, Ala., hospital workers union; and Angela Davis.

Those interested in learning more about the activities of SCEF or obtaining a subscription to the *Southern Patriot*, their monthly newspaper, should write to SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

—MIRTA VIDAL



## 'Nuts to Butz -- Nix-on Beef'

# Massive boycott against high food prices

By CINDY JAQUITH

APRIL 4—As the meat boycott enters its fourth day, the massive character of this nationwide protest shows how little trust working people place in Nixon's last-minute "ceiling" on meat prices.

Estimates from around the country show that sales of red meat are off by as much as 50 percent, and in New York, some sales have declined by 80 percent.

"You're goddamn right I'm not buying meat!" is a typical response from angry shoppers who have joined the boycott.

"Nuts to Butz—Nix-on Beef" was the slogan on one picket sign.

ed in the Bronx in an action organized by the National Association of Puerto Rican Civil Rights. Boycott rallies have been called in many cities for Saturday, April 7.

The spontaneous aspect of this protest is indicated by the fact that organizers of the boycott and related activities are primarily ad hoc groups of consumers, chiefly led by women. These groups go by such names as JETSTOP (Joint Effort to Stop These Outrageous Prices), HELP (Housewives Expect Lower Prices), and BAM (Boycott All Meat).

The boycott's popularity is a sharp answer to Nixon's announcement March 29 of the meat price "ceiling."

are supposed to cover 10,300 stores.

"This is a gimmick to take the steam out of the boycott. And it has made people angrier than ever," one shopper said of the ceiling. "He's freezing prices while they're at an all-time high," protested another.

Shoppers feel insulted by the ceiling proposal not only because prices will remain high but because they don't trust the government to enforce it.

As if in anticipation of this distrust, the *New York Post* said in a "question and answer" article in its March 30 issue:

"Q. What happens if the butcher ignores the ceiling, reduces the quantity and quality of meat sold at the ceiling price, or posts a false ceiling price?"

"A. . . . the government is counting on most people to cooperate."

The big meat packers have already admitted that prices will rise once the boycott ends. "Prices will definitely be down April 1 through 8, but on April 9, beware," said the owner of one Midwest slaughterhouse. The March 31 *Washington Post* explained that "food is going to be a good deal more expensive in the future" so "Nixon will have to do what he can to damp down the panic of inflation while the country slowly gets used to paying more for its groceries."

Higher food prices and inflation in general is not the fault of shoppers, small farmers, or workers' demands for higher wages. The chief cause of the tremendous inflation in the last eight years has been government war spending.

The *Washington Post* editors may have concluded too soon that people will "get used to paying more." The meat boycott shows that working people in this country are angry and demanding action.

Some trade unionists have begun to pressure their leaders to take action. In New York, for example, District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) has passed out one million "Boycott Meat!" leaflets. Union president Victor Gotbaum explained that his members are "demanding" that the union do something

to fight high meat prices.

But for the most part, union leaders have been totally silent on the boycott. George Meany, who still stands by the 5.5 percent maximum wage increase, said Nixon should have added a few more price controls to his ceiling. He added that workers who make less than \$3.50 an hour should have no controls over their wages. That's an "equitable" arrangement between the capitalists and labor, according to the AFL-CIO head.

Meany, like the Democratic and Re-

Continued on page 22



"Nixon says we should eat sandwiches. We've been eating sandwiches for a long time now," Alva Hallaway told a *New York Daily News* reporter. "I'd like to see what Nixon would do if he had to eat sandwiches every day."

On the eve of the boycott, several hundred women picketed the White House to protest meat prices. Women with "Fight the Bite" signs have picketed Miami supermarkets; Chicago consumers picketed the Chicago Board of Trade; and 100 people demonstrat-

Nixon's ceiling will let stores charge as much as the highest price they got for 10 percent of the meat sold in the last month. This "freeze"—at record-high prices—only affects beef, veal, pork, sheep, and lamb products, not any of the other items with skyrocketing prices.

To enforce the ceiling, the Internal Revenue Service is sending out a mere 2,750 people to police prices all over the country—during the peak of the tax season, no less. In New York City, for example, 350 IRS agents

## 'Let them eat less'

The capitalist newspapers have been full of tips lately about how consumers can cope with the exorbitant cost of meat. These suggestions range from Nixon's latest "budget" recipes, to the astute observation in the March 24 *New York Times* that "most shoppers found that food in general is rather hard to do without."

We're waiting for the *Times* to print up the recipe Nixon served April 2 to South Vietnamese dictator Thieu: roast prime tenderloin of beef, toutuavi sea bass, cheese soufflé, garden vegetables, artichoke hearts vinaigrette, and baked Alaska. Not to mention the wines — Corton - Charlemagne, Chateau Lafite Rothschild, and Dom Pérignon champagne.

If you think the Nixon spread might stretch your budget too much, James McLane, deputy director of the Cost of Living Council, has another idea: "You might try something that I've tried recently—eat a little bit less. I've joined a health club and I've found with exercise you eat a little less."

On a more spiritual note, California Governor Ronald Reagan has explained that "meat shortages" are just part of "God's will." "And I'm not in favor of boycotting Him."

## ...Unions and the fight against inflation

Continued from page 1

But the independent action of the meat boycotters says much more about the facts of life confronting working people than all Meany's polite entreaties to the capitalists and their politicians.

The facts are simple: during the first two months of 1973 food prices leaped upward at an annual rate of 28.2 percent. Yet Nixon, with the support of Meany, is trying to convince workers to settle for wage increases of only 5.5 percent.

Most consumers are workers, and many of them belong to unions. They are the ones who are suffering as a result of the support their leaders have given to Nixon's wage controls. The fight against the deteriorating standard of living must be taken into the unions, and the unions must take the lead in organizing the fight against inflation. The refusal of the current leaders of the labor unions to throw the strength of the unions into this fight stands as an obstacle in the way of the whole struggle.

Decisive action by the unions in the fight against inflation would be welcomed enthusiastically by the thou-

sands of activists in the meat boycott, and by union members and non-members alike. Such action would put the unions in the front ranks of the defense of the real wages of all working people. By taking action in support of the meat boycotters, the unions could provide the leadership that would make possible an effective and continuing struggle against inflation.

By stepping into the fight, the unions would gain allies among unorganized workers and among middle-class people. This would undercut the attempts by the ruling class to shift the blame for inflation onto the union members themselves. By standing on the sidelines, the unions are losing a chance to win support and sympathy that they need, especially in the coming round of contract negotiations involving nearly five million workers in auto, rubber, trucking, electrical, and other industries.

To carry the fight against high prices forward, decisive action by the union movement is needed. The massive opposition to the current inflationary price hikes must be translated into backing for escalator clauses in all union contracts, which would boost wages whenever the cost of living rises.

The fight to defend workers' standard of living must also include the fight against unemployment, including a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, to spread the available work.

The union movement, in alliance with the consumer groups and ad hoc committees that organized the meat

statements of the food monopolies to expose their profiteering to the public.

Unions in this country could take a lesson from the labor movement in Britain, which has set a one-day general strike to protest the government's attempt to control their wages and shift the burden of inflation onto their backs. This kind of action would back up the demand for lower food prices with a mighty force.

But this kind of independent struggle will never come about as long as the unions remain the abject supporters of the parties of the ruling class. No solution can come about through continuing to rely on the Democratic and Republican parties, as Meany and the other union bureaucrats are doing today.

Just as the food boycott shows the power of independent action outside the parties of the bankers and the corporations, the union movement needs to engage in such independent action in the electoral arena against the Democrats and Republicans. Workers need a political party based on the trade unions that would fight for and defend the interests of workers and their allies.

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## NIXON'S PHASE 4: FOOD IS OUT!

'Starve With Honor,' Prez Asks

April Fool's Day newspaper published by District 37 of AFSCME.

boycott, could set up price-watch committees with the power to police prices, and boycott and expose companies that continue to raise prices.

Such committees, backed by the power of the unions, including the unions of food workers themselves, could demand to inspect the financial

## New boost to struggle against deportation

# Farm Workers hit Rodino-Kennedy Bill

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A major breakthrough has been won by antideportation forces. The United Farm Workers announced March 26 its opposition to the Rodino-Kennedy bill. The measure, now before Congress, is aimed at victimizing workers from other countries who obtain employment here without proper documentation—the so-called illegal aliens.

The action is a reversal of policy for the union, which until now has supported legislation against undocumented workers, maintaining that they are potential strikebreakers.

The Rodino bill (HR982), sponsored by Representative Peter Rodino (D-Md.) and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), would impose a token \$500 fine on employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers. In reality, however, the law would increase the harassment of these workers, making them more vulnerable and therefore more exploitable by profit-hungry employers.

The union statement was made by Art Torres, director of legislative activity for the UFWU. He said that the Rodino bill was "not the answer to our problems in the fields, nor the answer for our brother workers in the city."

The statement, moreover, did not limit itself to the Rodino bill, but clarified the union's position on undocumented workers and immigration generally. "We are not opposed to aliens coming into this country," said Torres, "because they are not aliens. They are our brothers."

The union had previously gone along with the Dixon Arnett bill in California, a measure similar to the Rodino-Kennedy one. The Farm Workers had asserted that people without papers provided a ready pool of scabs to break their strikes. In addition, the union had contended that these workers help drive down wages and working conditions because they are willing to work for less.

Opponents of the deportation laws explained that the only reason undocumented workers are subject to being used by unscrupulous bosses against other workers is precisely because they are "illegal." Since they live under constant fear of deportation, they are compelled to work for lower wages and as scabs in exchange for not being turned in to immigration authorities.

The union's new stand is a vindication of this position, and the announcement was received with enthusiasm by the antideportation movement.

Bert Corona, a leader of CASA—Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers) hailed the union's announcement. "It will renew unity within the Chicano community," he said. CASA, a Los Angeles-based organization of Mexican and other Latin American workers without papers, has been in the forefront of the struggle against the Rodino law and racist immigration practices in general.

The Farm Workers' former position had lost its support in the Chicano community. There is tremendous sympathy in the barrios for undocumented workers. Most Chicanos have relatives and friends who were born in Mexico and who, because of the racist im-

migration laws, cannot get legal work papers. Millions of Mexicans have been driven to seek work in this country over the years to escape the unemployment and low wages caused by U. S. domination of their economy.

Because of the widespread sentiment that exists in the community, CASA has won support not only within the Chicano movement but from prominent politicians and other forces. Included among these are representatives Edward Roybal (D-Calif.), Jerome Waldie (D-Calif.), Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), and Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.). Just recently representatives of the eight Catholic dioceses of the Archdiocese of New York condemned the Rodino-Kennedy bill.

Another factor that no doubt motivated the farm union leadership to reconsider its position is that it is currently under heavy attack from the Teamsters union bureaucrats who are making "sweetheart" deals with the growers to drive the UFWU out of the fields. The Farm Workers union needs—and deserves—the support of the entire Chicano community in this fight.

By taking a position on noncitizen workers that comes closer to the best traditions of class-struggle unionism, the Farm Workers will strengthen their own position.

Equally important, the addition of these new forces to the antideportation struggle will mean the Chicano community can now present a united front that—along with others who oppose the racist Rodino-Kennedy bill—can seriously challenge its passage.



Los Angeles antideportation demonstration, March 4, 1972.

Militant/Walter Lippmann

## UFW statement: 'not aliens, but brothers'

The following is the text of the statement by the United Farm Workers in opposition to the Rodino-Kennedy bill.

We are opposed and always will be opposed to human exploitation and injustice. The Rodino bill does not provide the answer to our problems as workers, nor does it make management-employers bear the full responsibility of their duty to workers struggling for their rights.

We feel that the Rodino bill is not the answer to our problems in the fields, nor the answer for our brother workers in the city. The bill does not speak of the control and restrictions placed on employers who hire strikebreakers, nor is the punishment of management as the exploiter of our brothers sufficient a deterrent.

Five hundred dollars will not stop management from breaking strikes. A slap on the wrist will not protect the mass of our brother workers, nor will wholesale registration stop the contractor who specializes in destroying our movement. Harassment and the breaking up of the family will not protect our jobs from management-oriented schemes to assure that their profit margins will not be affected by human needs.

Instead of placing the responsibility where it is due, the Rodino bill includes unions together with contractors as being liable for civil and criminal prosecution. Furthermore, the bill gives the unscrupulous employer a way to escape any liability just by letting the alien sign a statement. Workers can never be protected by giving loopholes to the very people they are supposed to be protected against, namely management and contractors.

We are opposed to strikebreakers of whatever race, creed or color. They are the bacteria which eats away at our movement. And yet, they are also the exploited. And it is in this area that there is no distinction between rural and urban Chicano workers. We are brothers both in spirit and in justice.

The worker losing his job as the result of a strikebreaker suffers the same indignity and loss whether he is in Delano or Los Angeles. Strikebreaking is not unique to the farmlands of this country. The strikebreaker has the talent of taking many colors and forms. One day he might be on the farm, the other in the garment industry, destroying our sisters' only hope to organize the sweatshops that line the streets of central Los Angeles.

We share a mutual problem, the threat that strikebreakers pose to our jobs, our lives and families. In that we are very much the same.

We are not opposed to aliens coming into this country because they are not aliens. They are our brothers. That is why we support families coming to stay in the country to find decent jobs.

But we must ask, why do the growers and the employers only bring over single people? Why do they destroy not only the life of the worker who is out on strike, but also the life of the exploited alien who is used as a strikebreaker? We will never tolerate our own brothers turning against us. Nor will we tolerate our own brothers being ruthlessly exploited at our and their expense.

We have more dignity than to buckle under the devious and manipulative schemes of management. We must always remember our mutuality of injustice and our mutual threat—man-

agement and their lackeys.

We are not opposed to management hiring our brothers so long as they are not used to destroy our movement. The worker's plight is very similar to that of our student brothers struggling to get an education on limited funds within a discriminatory system.

We have seen many times when students have gone out on strike to protest the cutbacks of EOP programs in our colleges. These protests have been effective, others have not. But what if the college administration merely brought in other students to take the grants of those on strike? The effect of such a move would be devastating to our students and their ability to obtain an education.

The problem is multiplied when one's work and family is affected by a strikebreaker. It is the same unjustified mistreatment, harassment and loss of one's dignity in fighting effectively for one's rights.

We do not support the breaking up of families that have had long roots in this country and who, but for the lack of a piece of paper, are subjected to embarrassing and burdensome practices and rules enforced by non-interested or caring governmental agencies.

What we need is legislation to punish employers who hire strikebreakers. (Anyone used to break a strike whether it be in Los Angeles or Salinas.)

We would face the fact that economics of pennies will not provide adherence to the law. If there is to be a law it must provide strong sanctions so that no employer would risk destroying the rights of workers.

We also need legislation to regulate

and restrict contractors. These are people who specialize in providing immediate work forces for growers or industrial employers during a strike.

These contractors have no concern for the worker. Their concern is financial success at our expense. They are the scab of scabs. They are many times our own people who for the smell of the green paper are driven to destroy their own brothers.

They have homes everywhere. Just like the strikebreaker, the contractor is a chameleon of the injustices. He adjusts to every environment. No one is exempt from his treason. No legislation to date addresses itself squarely to these issues. Where is the legislative leadership on these issues which affect all workers most directly?

Finally, we must never lose sight of our purpose, nor our mutual sharing of injustices. We suffer and sweat together, not only as brothers in blood, but as workers. And as workers we must never allow the wholesale destruction of our movement nor placate the very interests which seek to destroy us, the employer, the strikebreaker and the contractor.



Farm workers picket line



# S.F. conf: 'right to immigrate is basic'

By FROBEN LOZADA

SAN FRANCISCO—United Farm Workers opposition to the Rodino-Kennedy "anti-alien" bill was first publicly announced at a conference here March 24. The conference established a Bay Area Committee for Fair Immigration Laws.

One of the speakers at the conference, Father Mark Day, reported he had received a letter from César Chávez, saying the Farm Workers were now ready to oppose the Rodino-Kennedy bill. Two days later, the union officially announced its stand.

Initiators and sponsors of the conference included the Mission Committee for Fair Immigration Laws, Clergy Committee for Immigrants, Social Workers Association, MECHA Law Students Association, and CASA Hermandad.

Speakers included Representative Edward Roybal (D-Calif.), Reverend Alan McCoy of Oakland, Reverend Mark Day, and Soledad Alatorre, president of CASA.

Father McCoy discussed the moral aspect of restrictive immigration legislation. "An important principle involved in immigration," he said, "is that it should not be up to the whim of an individual country. The right to immigrate is a basic human right. The right to freedom of movement includes the right to migrate to a foreign country. And when we're talking about Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, we're not talking about foreigners."

Condemning the Rodino-Kennedy bill, Father Day quoted from Kennedy's contribution to it, including references to "aliens destroying our balance of payments," and "the danger of violence in the Southwest between Mexicans and Mexican-Americans." Day charged that such statements could only create "a new scapegoat mentality."

In her speech, Soledad Alatorre also attacked the Rodino-Kennedy bill. She called for continued support from the church in the antideportation effort. "The church should come out and help," she said, "or else we should want it left empty."

Congressman Roybal was, not surprisingly, the least militant of the speakers. He said the bill "was not all bad. There are some sections that we can live with." He said he would introduce amendments to the bill and also write another one. He did not mention Kennedy's cosponsorship of the measure until queried about it in the question period.

In a strategy session that followed, Steve Holloper of the National Lawyers Guild and a lawyer for CASA, outlined a two-fold strategy in fighting the bill, a mass letter-writing campaign to congresspeople and demonstrations to make the issue visible and rally public support.

The conference was chaired by attorney Ed Sandoval, a well-known Chicano activist.

## Bert Corona Speaks

on La Raza Unida Party & The 'Illegal Alien' Scare. In English or Spanish. 35 cents.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

## WONAAC hits bill on Catholic hospitals

# Senate anti-abortion move denounced

The following are excerpts from a statement released by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), March 31.

On March 27 the Senate voted 92 to 1 not to require Catholic hospitals to perform abortions in order to be eligible for federal funds. An amendment sponsored by Senator Church (D-Idaho) to an omnibus health bill already passed in the House, this bill would also allow doctors and other medical workers to refuse to perform abortions and/or sterilizations if their moral or religious beliefs did not permit them to do so.

Senator Church motivated the bill by saying it was designed to uphold religious freedom. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In reality, the bill is flagrantly unconstitutional and flies in the face of the January 22 Supreme Court ruling giving women the right to choose an abortion. In many areas of this country, the only hospital serving a community is a Catholic one, the great

percentage of which are federally funded. If passed, this bill would deny women in such communities the right to an abortion.

Those of us who are concerned with the mental and physical health of women do not propose that those who

*The State Supreme Court overturned the Pennsylvania anti-abortion law March 29, based on the U.S. Supreme Court decision that abortion is a woman's right. The Pennsylvania ruling reversed the conviction of Dr. Benjamin A. King, who had been found guilty of performing an abortion that resulted in a patient's death.*

oppose a woman's right to choose an abortion should perform them. However, we do insist that every hospital in this country, particularly those which are the only ones in a community, find and employ the nec-

essary personnel to perform abortions.

During the struggle for abortion law repeal, polls revealed that a majority of Catholics, including many Catholic doctors, believed women have a right to choose an abortion. We are confident that if some government and hospital officials were not attempting to sabotage the very specific intent and guidelines of the Supreme Court decision, enough medical personnel could be found to staff abortion facilities for every hospital and clinic in the country.

The women throughout this country who picketed, petitioned, and demonstrated for so long in support of a woman's right to choose an abortion will not permit that right which we finally won to be sabotaged or whittled away. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition . . . will continue to fight for a woman's right to control her reproductive life, regardless of what kind of hospital happens to exist in her community.

## Demand Medicaid pay for abortions

# Conn. women fight new welfare rule

By BERNIE KRAWCZYK

NEW HAVEN, March 29—More than 50 women demonstrated here today to protest the Connecticut welfare department's new restrictions on abortions for welfare recipients. Most of the demonstrators were members of New Haven Welfare Moms and New Haven Women's Liberation.

The new regulations require women on welfare to get state approval before obtaining an abortion paid by Medicaid. The welfare department's approval is to be based on whether the abortion is necessary to save the life of the pregnant woman.

Condemning the new rule, Matilda Gibbs, president of the New Haven Welfare Moms, stated: "Welfare mothers are already oppressed under the present welfare system. They can barely see their families surviving now. For those women who don't want to have another child, the pressure could be unbearable. The Welfare Moms demand this ruling be abolished."

*Women v. Connecticut*, the group whose suit recently overturned the state's anti-abortion law, intends to

file another suit challenging the new restriction. The suit will center on the case of a pregnant woman who is on welfare. *Women v. Connecticut* seeks to show that the new welfare regulations are unconstitutional, since the Supreme Court had ruled that abortion is a woman's right to choose, and that the regulations discriminate

against poor women.

Supporters of the right to abortion in Connecticut view the new rules as another attempt by Governor Thomas Meskill and the welfare department to deny women control over their lives. Further demonstrations against the new abortion restrictions are planned in other parts of the state.



Militant/Bernie Krawczyk

New Haven demonstration against restrictions on abortion rights of welfare recipients

## N.Y. day-care protest blocks bridge

By LINDA SLODKI

NEW YORK, March 30—Early this morning 300 demonstrators blocked one of the main bridges into Manhattan to dramatize their demand for child care. The action, called by the Committee for Community Controlled Daycare, tied up traffic on the Triboro Bridge for several hours.

The action followed a demonstration at New York City's Agency for Child Development (ACD) the previous Monday. Several hundred parents occupied the ACD offices to demand funding for the 100 day-care centers that have refused to file parent "eligibility" forms in compliance with Nixon's new day-care regulations.

Leaflets distributed at the bridge by the Committee for Community Con-

trolled Daycare made the following points:

"Any family with four members that makes more than \$5,400 a year can't have their children in publicly funded day-care centers.

"The educational and health programs in the day-care centers will be cut out. The day-care centers will only be for baby-sitting.

"The city, state, and federal government are asking day-care centers to act as cops over the parents. They want us to find out information relating to the private affairs of the parents that may subject every parent to jail terms. They say that if we don't fill out these forms they will cut off the money for our children. WE HAVE REFUSED TO BE COPS AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO REFUSE."

One man at the action explained to this reporter what he hoped would come out of the demonstration: "More public attention must be paid to our demands for child care. We have to hit the newspapers, the radio, and television."

As some demonstrators walked onto the bridge, others drove ahead in cars that "stalled" in the middle of the bridge. Banners read "Stop Ignoring the City's Need for Childcare—We Don't Want Welfare."

Police arrested six protesters in the course of the demonstration.

In a related development, a National Working Mother's Day has been called for April 10. Supporters of the project are asking women to bring their children with them to work on that day.

## The steel deal

The new agreement between the United Steelworkers Union and the country's major steel companies represents a giant step backward for steelworkers. The agreement, revealed March 29, gives away the workers' right to strike.

Steelworkers president I.W. Abel announced the agreement at a news conference side by side with R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of U.S. Steel Corporation and chief negotiator for the steel companies. In return for a no-strike pledge, the companies agreed to a 3 percent annual wage increase for each of the three years following expiration of the current contract on Aug. 1, 1974. In addition, workers will receive a \$150 no-strike bonus at the beginning of the new contract next year, plus an annual cost-of-living adjustment amounting to one cent an hour for every 0.4-point rise in the consumer price index. All unresolved issues are to be settled by binding arbitration.

The 3 percent plus the cost-of-living increase did not compensate for the inflation *at last year's rate*, much less for this year's skyrocketing price increases.

This deal in the steel industry is part of a tacit understanding between the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and the Nixon administration to forestall any major strike action this year. They are particularly concerned because pace-setting contracts in several major industries are coming up for negotiation.

AFL-CIO president George Meany hailed the steel deal, calling it "an excellent example of sound collective bargaining and labor-management statesmanship, which may well serve as a model for other industries."

These bureaucrats chose the steel union for introducing the no-strike deal on the pretext that the steel industry faces "special" circumstances. That is, the major purchasers of steel stockpile steel in anticipation of strikes, while foreign producers move into the U.S. market. As a result, the steel companies cut back production and lay off workers.

By this reasoning, the industry claims that strikes are to blame for unemployment in the industry. Unfortunately, the fakers like I.W. Abel, who masquerade as leaders of the workers, do nothing but parrot these lies of the steel companies.

The Abel-Larry deal will not create more jobs. It is designed by the steel industry to speed up production, reduce overhead expenses, and boost competitiveness against foreign imports. All this at the expense of the steelworkers. It means more work, not more workers.

The United Steelworkers Union is on record as favoring a 32-hour workweek with no reduction in pay. The union should launch an all-out fight for this demand so that more jobs will be created.

The cost-of-living provision in the present steel contract needs drastic revision to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices. Nothing else will halt the decline of real wages.

These two demands—shorter hours and an effective escalator clause—are the bare minimum even to maintain the present inadequate living standard of working people. Such essential demands cannot be won if the union gives up its most effective weapon, the right to strike.

## Attica witch-hunt

The House Internal Security Committee has temporarily moved its red-baiting operation to Albany, N.Y. The committee, guided by Representative Richard Ichord (D-Mo.) is holding hearings there on the Attica rebellion of 1971 and the role of "subversives" in that uprising.

New York Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald told the committee "there are indications that radical elements on the outside are collaborating with inmates throughout the country in efforts to disrupt and/or destroy the corrections system."

The Ichord committee has singled out the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party for its witch-hunting attack.

The evidence? The SWP and the CP were "sending in literature" that "played an important part" in the rebellions!

The HISC hearings are a transparent attempt to shift the focus of attention away from the injustice and inhumanity of capitalist justice and capitalist prisons and onto the bugaboo of "outside" agitators. Ichord, Oswald, and others of similar mentality would like to roll back recent court decisions recognizing the constitutional right of prisoners to receive literature without censorship by prison authorities.

The Ichord "investigation" should be repudiated by all supporters of civil liberties. We must defend the democratic right of all prisoners to read what they please, including revolutionary literature.

### Self-health

Linda Jenness's article in the March 30 *Militant* raises many valid points regarding self-health groups. It is true that to reject the scientific approach and what Western medicine has thus far achieved would be a ridiculous waste of resources.

Self-health (or self-help) groups can affect the medical profession by educating women as to what to expect from their doctor or clinic, how to demand it, and how to know when they are being mistreated.

Perhaps more important is that Western medicine, while excellent in many respects, is very narrow. There is, for example, good reason to believe that yogurt is a chemically correct treatment for monilia. But since it would be difficult for a pharmaceutical company to corner the market and charge outrageous prices, it is not likely to fit into the current capitalistic medical system.

It is also fallacious to assume that only a technician with the proper hierarchical paper can have access to certain categories of knowledge. Doctors have to be richer, not smarter, to go to medical school in this country.

We should not ignore the problems of self-health groups, but neither should we ignore the value and potential of one of the few preventive medicine philosophies to emerge recently.

Barbara Hume  
Denver, Colo.

### Factual

First, I would like to say that I feel more factual information can be obtained from *The Militant* than most of the other segments of the media.

I did a commentary on the Wounded Knee situation broadcast over a Bloomington, Ind., radio station. I used sources from the *Indianapolis News*, the Associated Press, *Time* magazine, and *The Militant*. I found that *The Militant* provided extensive coverage, and I feel that it is more factual than the other sources that I used.

My only wish is that my colleagues in the media would get their heads together and provide some truth to the struggle of our red sisters and brothers.

Neal Smith  
Bloomington, Ind.

### Morals

In reference to your article on the Penn Central Railroad in the March 9 issue, I am interested in your disclosure of an international airline run solely for businessmen with "stewardesses" for their pleasure. I have long been interested in the morals of the ruling class as opposed to those allowed to the exploited class.

Can you tell me where that information was obtained?

G.D.  
Rohnert Park, Calif.

*In reply*—The information comes from a House of Representatives Committee on Banking and Currency report entitled "The Penn Central Failure and the Role of Financial Institutions, Part II." It is available from the U.S. Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C.

### Income tax

In her article "What a socialist would say in Congress," Ms. Jenness calls for legislation to abolish all taxes on incomes under \$15,000 a year, and a 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$30,000 a year.

However, in the 1972 Socialist Workers Party platform the stand was to "abolish taxes on incomes under \$10,000 a year" and a "100 percent tax on incomes above \$25,000 per year." My question is simply: Why the change?

R.S.  
Melbourne, Fla.

*In reply*—Inflation.

### From the Tombs

Received *The Militant* here at the Tombs and am glad to be in touch again. When I was on the street I thought enough of its highly objective reports to always obtain it.

Having become radicalized in prison, I am glad to see my former classmates from Concord, or Walpole prison, in the letters column.

A prisoner  
New York

### Guardian bungles

Recently the *Guardian*, an independent radical newsweekly currently reflecting the views of Mao Tse-tung, started a series of articles on "Trotskyism." Although the series hasn't made any new contributions to the Stalinist school of falsification (most of the "revelations" are identical to the myths Stalin and his accomplices Yaroslavsky and Olminsky whipped up against the Left Opposition in the late 1920s and early 1930s) the *Guardian* did, however, make a new and unintentional contribution to the Stalinist school of bungling.

On the front page of the March 28 issue of the *Guardian* under the headline "Trotsky's Heritage—The 'Permanent Revolution,'" is a picture of three men purported to be Stalin, Lenin, and Trotsky. However, the picture is actually a rather well known one of Stalin, Lenin and Kalinin. Apparently, these so-called experts on "Trotskyism" are not even qualified to accurately identify a picture of the man they intend to "expose."

Paul Adams  
New York, N.Y.

### Philippines I

Your news coverage seems to be confined to Latin America, Europe, and Vietnam. What about the other parts of Asia? Specifically, what about the Philippines?

F.L.  
San Francisco, Calif.

### Philippines II

The Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos has recently declared an all-out war against the Moslems, a minority who for decades have undergone intense racial, economic, and political oppression.



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

## Hardhats & the Shell strike

This week's National Picket Line is a guest column by Nat Weinstein, a member of Painters Union Local 4 in San Francisco.

In an interview with oil workers on strike against Shell Oil Company in Martinez, Calif., I was informed that the building trades unions and the Teamsters are crossing the picket lines. I was especially disturbed since I am a member of a building trades union. But I was not surprised. Such blind and self-defeating actions are not uncommon to construction unions.

It is bitterly ironic that this act of class disloyalty comes at a time when building trades workers are themselves under attack. As a matter of fact, such violations of basic working-class principles greatly contribute to the current focus on the construction unions in the government's campaign to drive down the living standards of all workers.

It should be obvious to working people that if we defy another union's picket lines, eventually the chickens will come home to roost.

Very often, in a struggle such as the oil workers strike, the purely economic actions at the job site cannot match the power of the employers. The Shell Oil Company, as a case in point, has lots of other things going for it besides financial resources enabling it to hold out for a prolonged period.

Despite the competition that may still exist in this monopolized industry, other oil companies subordinate their economic rivalry to their common interest in beating the oil workers. They don't cross each other's "picket lines."

On the contrary, all kinds of arrangements exist whereby other companies aid the struck ones. The oil companies have enormous political power, as the oil workers' negative experience with the local police and municipal and county governments testifies to. And if need be, the federal government can be relied on to intervene on the side of the companies. Also, when the employers want their side of the story told, they have the power to reach the people through their ownership and control of the news media.

That's why the oil workers have necessarily been so concerned with public attitudes. The boycott against Shell reflects the need to match the social power of the adversary.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union has energetically gone out to the community and won endorsements for the strike and boycott against Shell from many different sources representing many layers of the population. The support from environmental groups like the prestigious Sierra Club, student groups, and prominent politicians—not to mention other working-class organizations—will weigh on the oil workers' side of the bargaining scales.

The class treason here of the "leaders" of the building trades unions is twice compounded by the harm it does to building trades workers themselves. It should be obvious that the success of any embattled group of workers in winning outside support depends in large measure on its own record of support to other victims of the boss class.

The chickens coming home to roost, referred to earlier, are the shameful records established by the construction unions on such issues as the war in Vietnam and rights of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. True, there has been a laudable but isolated case here and there of one or another of these unions acting against great social injustices, but by far the larger impact has been in the opposite direction. The "hardhat" image, unfortunately, is solidly founded, among other things, in the racist exclusion of Blacks by the "hardhat" unions and the role these unions played in support of the Vietnam war.

Now that Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Board arbitrarily reduces one wage package after another, our unions have yet to take defensive action in response. A major factor in this default is the realization that building trades workers would get damn little public sympathy because of our union's self-centered and self-defeating record.

The attack on workers' living standards is only just beginning. The employing class is faced with a growing series of economic difficulties impelling them to press on systematically with the attack. Every bit of antagonism the employing class can marshal against a given target aids them. The narrow, socially blind, racist anti-working-class image of the "hardhat" will drag us down if it isn't changed.

It would be a step in the right direction if building trades unionists stopped crossing the picket lines of their sisters and brothers on strike against Shell Oil.

The toll the government troops have inflicted on the Moslem civilian population has been staggering. Government army units moving in from the north continually burn down homes, pillage villages, harassing and killing civilians and forcing them to evacuate their homes. More than 200,000 refugees have been reported in the Cotabato area alone.

While the disciplined Moslem comrades continue their struggle with intensity, the government troops attack thousands as an outlet for their motives in the south. No longer will we allow the minority to be exploited and mutilated into what America has done to the American Indian.

The Philippine Liberation Front, a group of young revolutionary Filipinos abroad, supports the Moslem movement for a Mindanao Republic.

Cicero Luna  
Chairman, PLF  
New York, N. Y.

### The handicapped

I've been reading *The Militant* off and on for three years and I think you have a hell of a great newspaper.

How about running an article about handicapped people and how they're forced to live in this rotten system?

Jim Benson  
Lancaster, Ohio

### Amendment 261

Now is the time when all good freedom-lovers should write letters to their legislators telling them to abort the Vatican-sponsored and controlled Congressman Lawrence Hogan's Constitutional Amendment 261, which would give life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to a mass of cells. In short, against abortions.

This proposed amendment would overthrow the recent U. S. Supreme Court pro-abortion decision of Jan. 22, 1973.

A victory for the Vatican would be a disaster for our country.

D. Serrotti  
Long Island, N. Y.

### Anti-Jewish

This letter is being written to express my displeasure with the *Militant's* shift from an anti-Zionist to an anti-Semitic policy. Ever since last fall's Munich massacre and especially since the Israelis' downing of the Libyan airliner, your paper has become more and more anti-Jewish.

Israel must live!!!  
Stewart Heir  
Athens, Ohio

In reply—The *Militant* has frequently explained the difference between anti-Semitism, which we deplore, and our opposition to Zionism. For further discussion of this issue, see the article on page 18.

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.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



## Unhealthy to be a farm worker

Typhoid fever is one of the diseases medical science has had licked for many years. Treatment and preventive measures are known.

And yet we are now seeing the worst typhoid epidemic in this country in 17 years. The location of the outbreak is a housing facility in Homestead, Fla.

Probably owned by some two-bit shyster landlord who never bothered to install adequate plumbing?

Not quite. The facility is owned and operated by the Housing Authority of the City of Homestead. A very respectable outfit, I'm sure.

Well, a freak accident, you might say. These oversights do happen, in spite of modern technology. Human error.

Wrong again. That is not the reason. Tests had been run on the water supply there and showed it to be contaminated. County health officials had ordered the Housing Authority to chlorinate the water as of last Dec. 29.

But they have done nothing, and now 148 persons have been hospitalized with symptoms of the disease, 65 of whom have confirmed cases. The disease is spreading to other places in Florida.

Why did this happen? You see, the "housing facility" in Homestead is really a migrant labor camp. About 2,000 farm workers live there while they harvest the citrus and vegetable crops. Most of them are Chicanos. And that is why this criminal neglect has been allowed to continue.

In this racist society Chicanos do not rate things other people take for granted—like clean water. Housing, health, and sanitary facilities are poor all over the country, not just in Florida.

The recent scandal involving the use of highly

toxic organophosphate pesticides by growers in California shows this. Farm workers who picked pesticide-contaminated lettuce are suffering burned hands, loss of fingernails, body rashes, and welts.

To save time and a few bucks, the growers ignore the law and send the workers into the fields during the dangerous period right after the crops are treated with the pesticide.

After the typhoid epidemic became known, two Florida state legislators made the following remark: the typhoid outbreak "has certainly resulted in part from a breakdown in one of several governmental services charged with protecting the health and welfare of all citizens."

A brilliant observation. But I would have put it differently. The system did not really "break down" here. In fact, this incident is an example of how this racist, capitalist system really works.

Profit-hungry growers drag the farm workers and their families all over the country, pay them starvation wages, and force them to work in unsafe conditions. Then they get some government agency to supply the housing for the workers—which amounts to the company getting a handout from the government.

The government pays for this handout with tax money it collects from farm workers and other working people. But even at that, they don't provide housing fit for human beings to live in.

The health officials and the housing authority knew all about the contaminated water in Homestead. Yet even though they knew that it could lead to typhoid fever, they did nothing about it.

Like the man said, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."





**New birth-control method?**—An Australian biochemist says smoking may contribute to male infertility. He said that some of the carbon monoxide produced by cigarettes is absorbed into the blood stream, inhibiting the formation of testosterone, a male sex hormone.

**The blessing of peace**—"The war was a terrific drain on the president, a major monopolizer of his time. Now he will have a lot more time for congressmen and newsmen, for dining out and going to the theater and parties."—A White House aide.

**Bipartisan endorsement**—Hubert Humphrey, who lost out to Nixon in the 1968 presidential election, now says, "If I had been elected, I would have had Kissinger be my assistant. That fellow is indestructible—a professional, able, and rather unflappable. I like the fact that he has

a little fun too."

**Besides, it's a secret ballot**—Gus Hall's recent complaint that many Communist Party leaders voted for McGovern for president instead of him may have confused the editors of the University of Colorado paper, the **Colorado Daily**. In a March 15 article, the paper said Angela Davis had spoken at various places recently, including "benefits for George McGovern." A correction the next day stated she had campaigned for Hall. The paper didn't say if it was Davis, Hall, or McGovern who requested the correction.

**Eatless Tuesdays?**—James McLane, deputy director of the government's Cost of Living Council, had some free advice on how to cut shopping costs: "You might try something that I've tried recently—eat a little less. I've

joined a health club and I've found with exercise you eat a little less."

**Consumers find a friend**—Henry Ford II is chairman of a new industry group, the Committee for Constructive Consumerism. The CCC, Henry explains, is needed because, "The ultimate solution in the consumer's problem can be achieved only through open dialogue in an atmosphere of mutual trust and not through adversary action (i.e., law suits)." The CCC will seek to enroll 1,200 "business leaders" in its ranks. We

trust there will be adequate representation for used-car dealers.

**Try it, you'll like it!**—The Catholic Church bought a half hour prime time on Minnesota television for a pitch by Fulton Sheen and others for young men to join the priesthood. If the returns justify the investment, the film may be used in other areas.

**Capitalist planning**—Boxmakers say the nation is headed toward crisis because we're turning out more products than we have boxes to put them in.



## Women In Revolt

### Linda Jenness



## Nixon's campaign against child care

In the face of large protests against Nixon's proposed child-care budget cuts, a new barrage of articles has appeared about how child-care centers do "irreparable emotional damage" to children. Any psychiatrist who agrees with Nixon's views on childrearing can now expect to be courted by the capitalist press.

Nixon set the line for his supporters when he voted the child-care bill in 1971. Excessive emphasis on child care could weaken "the great American family system," he said, and "diminish both parental authority and parental involvement with children—particularly in those decisive early years when social attitudes and a conscience are formed, and religious and moral principles are first inculcated."

In an article entitled "Day Care: It's Fine for Mother, But What About the Child?" the *New York Times* presents the views of four "experts"—female psychiatrists with children of their own. "A child at an early age needs to establish a permanent relationship with its mother," said Dr. Muriel Laskin. Dr. Eleanor Galenson stated, "I've seen infants who were cared for away from their homes begin

having trouble eating and sleeping." Dr. Judith Kestenberg insists that "day care can result in permanent damage to an infant's emotional development."

It sounds as though Nixon and these psychiatrists think that parents are in a position to freely choose whether to stay home with their children or go to work. Statistics prove otherwise.

There are six million children under the age of six whose mothers work for a living. Of these, 825,000 are supported solely by their mothers. Because of the lack of child-care facilities, these children are often left home alone, or with an older brother or sister. Dr. Kestenberg's solution for these children is that their mothers stop working! "A child can sense the tension in a working mother and it breeds anxiety," she says.

Dr. Kestenberg apparently thinks that women just work for the fun of it, and can start or stop at will. In reality, most women who work do so because they have to in order to survive. Often the only alternative is welfare. It's a classic case of "damned if you do, damned if you don't." If women with children go to work they are told they are not "good" mothers. If they go on welfare they

are "irresponsible and lazy" mothers.

Capitalist society has a callous disregard for children. It refuses to provide adequate care, medicine, or education for the young, and then Nixon and his psychiatric supporters try to shift the blame for this onto working mothers.

In their attacks on child care as a cause of "emotional insecurity," these psychiatrists carefully ignore the pressures and frustrations inherent in a system that forces each family unit to "go it alone." These pressures are reflected in the fact that each week more than 10,000 young people between the ages of 10 and 17 run away from home. It's also shown by the "battered-child syndrome," where one or two children are killed every day and as many as 2.5 million children physically abused every year by their parents.

The demands being raised by feminists and socialists today are in the very best interest of children. We think that each and every child has a right to everything society has to offer—regardless of the income of their individual families. We are demanding 24-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them, decent medical care, food and clothing for children, and decent schools.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



## The case of Dr. Jim Grant

Good news. Two of the Charlotte (N.C.) Three have been freed from jail on bond pending appeal of their case. T.J. Reddy, a former reporter for the *Charlotte Observer*, and Charles Parker were released on bonds of \$50,000 and \$25,000 respectively.

Friends and family also raised the necessary \$50,000 to free the third of the trio, Dr. Jim Grant. But the Federal Court of Appeals, in a quick move, ruled that since he is awaiting appeal in a federal case, he could not be released.

The three Black activists were convicted last year of burning the Lazy B Riding Stable in Charlotte in September 1968. Fifteen horses died in the fire. Grant, who was a reporter for the *Southern Patriot* and the *African World*, was given 25 years. Reddy was given 20 and Parker was given 10.

Prior to the burning, the Lazy B had been frequently the target of civil rights pickets because the owner refused to rent horses to Blacks.

In a clear government frame-up, the three were accused by two men who claimed they went along to help burn the barn. The two men, Walter Wash-

ington and Theodore Hood, were the same two who had fingered Grant in his earlier, federal case.

In that case, Grant was convicted of helping Hood and Washington flee to Canada to avoid prosecution in Oxford, N.C. Hood and Washington were arrested for carrying weapons and dynamite in Oxford during protests in the Black community in August 1970. The protests occurred after two white men, one an official in the Ku Klux Klan, were freed by an all-white jury of killing one Black man and wounding another.

Hood and Washington, on the day they were to appear in court in Oxford, turned up in Canada. Grant and Ben Chavis were charged with giving them bus fare to Canada. The jury found Grant guilty and sentenced him to 10 years. Chavis was found not guilty.

During the federal case, both Washington and Hood were kept under protective custody by the federal government. Hood admitted that during that time he was given \$105 a week.

Washington had been discharged from the Marine Corps for shooting at civilians. He was diag-

nosed as a schizophrenic and an alcoholic. Yet for testifying against Grant, the 25-year sentence he was given in a case of armed robbery and the \$100,000 bond he was being held under were cut to nothing. Hood was being held under similar charges and they were dropped.

In the end, both men were freed of charges that could have netted them 100 years in prison. Grant's lawyer called it "one of the biggest deals made with criminals in our time."

Grant has appealed both rulings. The federal judge used Grant's application for appeal of the federal charge to deny his release on the state charge.

An article in a recent issue of the *Southern Patriot* entitled "How to Make Bond in Charlotte" reveals the treachery of North Carolina "justice." It recalls that Grant, Reddy, and Parker were given very high bails and sentences for allegedly killing horses. Hood, who was again arrested in September 1972 for murdering a man on the street in Charlotte, had his bond set at \$4,000 and was freed pending trial.

## Major civil liberties victory

# Zahraie wins battle against deportation

APRIL 2—On March 30 the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) announced that it had dropped all charges against Babak Zahraie, an Iranian student at the University of Washington in Seattle. The INS decision granted Zahraie permanent resident status in the U.S.

This decision represents the successful culmination of a year-long campaign by Zahraie and the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie to stop deportation proceedings against him. In a statement issued by the committee, Zahraie said that "the plan of the INS to drive me out of the country has failed and justice has triumphed."

"However, justice would not have triumphed without the active support of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie and the hundreds of organizations and individuals throughout the country who came to my defense. Their support was the decisive factor that stayed the INS's hand and stopped its outrageous attempt to deport me."

"My victory represents a tremendous step forward in our campaign to establish full democratic rights for all foreign students. Most important, my victory is an example to foreign stu-

dents across the United States of how to stand up and fight back against INS intimidation, harassment, and victimization of politically outspoken foreign students."

Zahraie was defended by the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, a group of organizations and individuals that united to stop his deportation and the attempted deportation of his brother, Siamak Zahraie, and to establish full civil liberties for all foreign students. Among the sponsors of the committee are U.S. representatives Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.). Other sponsors are Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman; the Berkeley, Calif., city council; Angela Davis; the Iranian Student Association in the U.S.; Gloria Steinem; Noam Chomsky; and Huey P. Newton.

More than 60 telegrams were sent to the Seattle immigration office in support of Zahraie's application for permanent residency status. In addition to protests from the committee's sponsors, letters and telegrams were received from Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), the entire philosophy faculty at Portland State University, and others.

Zahraie was represented by Seattle attorney Michael Withey from the National Lawyers Guild. The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee also made available the services of Leonard Boudin as a consulting attorney. In response to the INS decision, Withey said that more successful challenges to the undemocratic, arbitrary procedures of the INS could be expected as a result of Zahraie's victory.

Zahraie's victory was the second case won by the committee in less than two months. On Feb. 6 the INS announced that all charges against Bahram Atai, the national secretary of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, had been dropped. In the fall of 1972 the INS had initiated deportation proceedings against Atai under the guise that he was not a "bona fide" student. The committee took up Atai's defense, explaining that the real reason for the attack on him was his activity in defense of Zahraie. Within three months his visa was renewed.

At a news conference today Zahraie announced that the committee would now focus its attention on the case of his brother, Siamak Zahraie. On Dec. 15, 1972, Siamak Zahraie received

a deportation order for allegedly not being a "bona fide" student. (He is currently enrolled in a PhD program in mathematics at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.) As with Bahram Atai, the real reason for the attack against Siamak Zahraie is political. Siamak Zahraie has applied for permanent residency status on the basis of his marriage to an American citizen. His case is awaiting decision by the Boston immigration office.



Babak Zahraie Militant/Michael Baumann

## May 26 protests in 20 cities

# African Liberation Day demonstrations set

By BAXTER SMITH

May 26 is African Liberation Day. A year ago, according to figures cited by the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), more than 65,000 people demonstrated in the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, and Africa to protest the continued domination of Africa by the U.S. and European imperialist countries. This year, organizers of the action are hoping for an even bigger turnout.

Owusu Sadaukai, national chairman of the ALSC, announced at a March 5 news conference in Washington, D.C., that the "goal this year is to plan demonstrations that will awaken the Black community to the fact that a war is going on in southern Africa. . . ."

"Among the many reasons why Black people in the United States must take an unequivocal stand against growing American involvement in southern Africa is the fact that just last year the United States gave Portugal some \$438-million dollars, which is being used to kill our people in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde."

"When we remember that a large percentage of those tax dollars came from Black people, it becomes increasingly clear that the U.S. government exploits us as Black people in America in order to help finance the exploitation of our brothers and sisters in Africa."



Owusu Sadaukai Muhammad Speaks/Charles 67X

The demonstrations will focus on U.S. complicity with Portugal and the white settler regimes in southern Africa. The U.S. government supplies military hardware to Portugal through NATO and helps train its officer corps.

The demonstrations will also focus on U.S. corporate involvement. Gulf Oil, for example, is the largest of more than 30 U.S. corporations investing in Portuguese-controlled Africa and in 1970 pumped more than \$20-million directly into the Portuguese economy.

Demonstrations are already scheduled in more than 20 cities across the U.S.

In New York the demonstration will be hosted by the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC), a coalition of various groups, including the African Liberation Support Committee, CORE, Pan-African Students Organization, African Unity Movement, Nation of Islam, Universal Negro Improvement Association, and The East. Several churches, Black student groups, and community organizations are also supporting the action.

Livingston Wingate, a leader of the

Urban League, and the ambassador of Uganda to the United States have joined the growing list of endorsers.

The ALSC has held two fund-raising benefits for May 26.

Representatives of the coalition have spoken on several campuses, and are available for future engagements. The coalition has printed brochures; other materials, including buttons and posters, are being prepared. The coalition has also obtained a radio news spot on WWRL-AM, each Tuesday and Thursday. It is hoping to obtain a regular weekly news column in the *Amsterdam News*, New York's largest Black newspaper.

A tentative march route has been chosen for the demonstration, and the Urban League has donated office space to the coalition. Volunteer help is needed. The ALDCC can be contacted at 261 W. 125th St., Room 210, New York, N.Y. Telephone: (212) 866-2248.

On March 23, the Philadelphia ALSC held a fund-raising benefit to raise money for the May 26 demonstration, attended by 200 people. Sad-

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# Wounded Knee support firm despite slanders

By SKIP BALL

APRIL 3—Attempts to break the morale of the Wounded Knee occupation have persisted with a series of government-inspired rumors, coupled with arrests of prominent supporters of the action.

Early last week the government made two attempts to discredit American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means. The government first claimed the two "had definitely slipped out of the area." Then, when TV cameras filmed them in the government-besieged village, reporters were told a trumped-up story of a faction fight between national and local leaders.

Although both AIM leaders and leaders of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCR) denied

the government slander, their "split" was widely covered in the press. The "split" story was the first time in the month-long occupation that the capitalist press has even recognized the existence of OSCRO, the Pine Ridge Reservation group that called the Wounded Knee action. Most accounts still manage to garble such simple facts as who the leaders of this group are.

In actuality, a local leader told *The Militant*, the basis for the government rumor was a difference expressed at one of the mass planning meetings that make political decisions in Wounded Knee. Outside the circles of government slander this is known as democratic decision-making—the process used all over the reservation except in the government stronghold of

Pine Ridge.

The government has failed to achieve its goal of cutting away national or local support, however.

Severt Young Bear, the elected district chairman of the Porcupine District of the Pine Ridge Reservation, spoke to *The Militant* right after his release from jail. Young Bear, who was arrested several days before the government moved in on his district to evict supporters from the Porcupine community center, said local resistance to Wilson has not declined.

Young Bear, who had Justice Department clearance to enter and leave Wounded Knee, was suddenly arrested, held on a \$50,000 bond, and charged with eight offenses, including aiding and abetting the Wounded Knee

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Wounded Knee supporter in Los Angeles demonstration. Militant/Harry Ring

## 'Peace with honor' based on U.S. bombs

# Nixon renews threat of Viet bombing raids

From Intercontinental Press  
By ALLEN MYERS

Writing from Saigon in the April 1 *New York Times*, Sylvan Fox quoted the remark of a journalist on the night of March 29, immediately after all U.S. military personnel had supposedly been withdrawn:

"What I'd like to know is whether this is the last week of the Second Indochina War or the first week of the Third. Or both."

The answer to the journalist's question is neither. Despite the January 27 cease-fire agreement, neither the "Second Indochina War" nor the U.S. involvement in it has come to an end.

This is most immediately evident in Cambodia, where U.S. B-52s continue daily raids in an effort to prop up the tottering dictatorship of the puppet regime. But it is equally true of Laos and Vietnam, as has been made clear by press reports and the words of Richard Nixon himself.

In a March 29 televised speech supposedly marking the achievement of "peace with honor" in Vietnam, Nixon for the second time in two weeks accused the Vietnamese liberation forces of violating the cease-fire and threatened to renew the bombing of Vietnam:

"There are still some problem areas: the provision of the agreement requiring an accounting for all missing in action in Indochina; the provision with regard to Laos; the provision prohibiting infiltration from North Vietnam into South Vietnam have not been complied with.

"We have and will continue to comply with the agreement.

"We shall insist that North Vietnam comply with the agreement and the leaders of North Vietnam should have



PRG official counts departing U.S. troops. But 20,000 American 'civilian advisors' will remain.

no doubt as to the consequences if they fail to comply with the agreement."

"The warning," John Herbers wrote in the *New York Times* the next day, "was somewhat stronger than that in his March 15 news conference. . . ."

There were basically two objects in Nixon's remarks. One, of course, was to intimidate the Vietnamese liberation fighters. The second was to create a justification for the bombing of Cambodia and for renewed bombing of Vietnam that would seem reasonable to U.S. public opinion.

Prior to January 27, Nixon had attempted to justify the genocidal air raids over Indochina as necessary "to protect American forces when they are engaged in military actions." With the agreement to withdraw U.S. troops, it became necessary to find another

rationale. For the obliteration of Cambodian villages, Nixon has so far come up with no pretext more convincing than a "request" from Lon Nol. For any renewed bombing in Vietnam, it appears, the rationale will be "violations" of the cease-fire by the liberation forces.

"Both sides have been guilty of cease-fire violations," Daniel Southerland wrote from Saigon in the March 30 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"But this reporter's own impression after traveling extensively in three provinces has been that the Saigon government has been guilty in by far the greatest number of cases of launching offensive operations into territory held by the other side. Quite a few Saigon troop casualties seem to be attributable to Saigon attempts to build outposts in zones which have been recognized for years as National

Liberation Front base areas.

At a March 31 press conference, Major General Le Quang Hoa, the chief North Vietnamese delegate to the four-party joint Military Commission, and Colonel Vo Dong Giang, a Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) spokesman, charged Nixon and Thieu with "sabotaging" the cease-fire.

"General Hoa," Sylvan Fox reported in the April 1 *New York Times*, "said that while the United States has ended its overt military involvement in South Vietnam, it 'continues its military involvement' by turning its military personnel 'into disguised civilian personnel to assist the Saigon army.'"

Colonel Giang accused the Thieu regime of 19,700 "serious" violations of the agreement. "He said that if Saigon continued its 'land grabbing,' the Vietcong would strike back. 'We have restrained ourselves,' he said, 'but there is a limit to our restraint.'"

Giang also charged that Nixon had kept 17,000 military personnel disguised as civilians in South Vietnam. (It has already been reported in the U.S. press that the Pentagon plans to employ 20,000 or more "civilian advisers"—many of them abruptly discharged from the military in order to become civilians—in South Vietnam.)

The U.S. State Department has so far admitted that there are still "about 8,500" U.S. citizens in South Vietnam. In the March 29 *New York Times*, Bernard Gwertzman described some of the functions of these "civilians":

"About 5,000 are so-called 'contract' employees hired by private American companies working for the South Viet-

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## Opposition rises to bombing of Cambodia

By CAROLINE LUND

On March 27 White House spokesman Ronald Ziegler announced President Nixon intends to continue U.S. bombing of Cambodia until the rebel forces stop their military operations against the government in Phnom Penh.

According to the March 28 *New York Times*, "the consensus of Cambodian and foreign military experts is that without heavy daily bombing, rocketing and strafing of insurgent forces by United States aircraft, the Cambodian Army would collapse."

Nixon's aggression in Cambodia is so blatant that even the doves in Congress have been forced to make some noises in protest.

"Does the President consider that, as the kings of old, he is commander in chief, has the authority to order

American forces anywhere for any purpose that suits him?" asked Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) on the floor of the Senate.

Members of Congress have asked Nixon to explain what constitutional authority he has to bomb in Cambodia. Protection of American troops in Vietnam can no longer be used as a pretext. Nor can the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which was repealed by Congress in 1970. Nor is Cambodia a member of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which could be another possible excuse for Nixon's bombing.

But, as Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) remarked March 29, "If the old arguments don't work, they say, find new ones, but keep on bombing."

This was basically the response of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs William Sullivan when he was asked by reporters about Nixon's constitutional authority for the bombing. "I have got a couple of lawyers working on it," answered Sullivan with a laugh.

Senators Frank Church (D-Idaho) and Clifford Case (R-N.J.) are preparing an amendment that would prohibit the use of U.S. air, land, or sea forces in or over Indochina. In addition Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) has announced his intention of submitting an amendment specifically blocking the bombing of Cambodia.

Whatever legal trappings the State Department may come up with to justify the bombing, the real reason for the murderous raids was admitted by

Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson on NBC's "Meet the Press" April 1. He said that without U.S. bombing "it would be very difficult" for the pro-American Vientiane government to survive.

Richardson spoke of "a massive threat by well-armed, well-organized guerrilla forces, which include forces from North Vietnam itself."

This implication that the Cambodian civil war is basically a case of aggression by North Vietnam was flatly contradicted by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm in a March 23 dispatch from Phnom Penh. Kamm wrote that "reliable American sources report that hardly any North Vietnamese or Vietcong forces are still fighting against the Cambodian Army."

Kamm quotes Cambodian General Fernandez as saying, "The VC [Cambodian insurgents] now mingle with the population in the villages so we won't hurt them. . . ."

"We appeal to the population to leave and isolate the VC. Then our planes strafe round the edge of the village to frighten the villagers. . . . Once they have left the village, they come to ask us to bomb it. . . . We do all we can to avoid civilian casualties, but one cannot always be certain that all civilians have fled."

Kamm continues: "Military experts who have visited areas near Phnom Penh after American tactical air strikes report that nothing was left standing above ground in a section one-kilometer square."

But support for the rebel side is growing so quickly that even the saturation bombing by U.S. B-52s has not succeeded in crushing its advance. After the Lon Nol regime's recent crackdown against the nationwide Cambodian teachers' strike "many of the students and intellectuals have either gone underground or slipped away to join the rebels," reported the March 26 *Washington Post*. The strike involves 45,000 teachers and students in areas controlled by the Vientiane government.

Reports from Cambodia on April 1 indicated that the rebel forces were closing in on the capital city of Phnom Penh. Guerrilla forces only 21 miles from the city were spearheaded by armored vehicles captured by American forces in Indochina. American B-52s are now bombing so close to the capital that the windows in Phnom Penh shake every night.

The rebels have now moved on the southern provincial capital of Takeo, the second largest city in Cambodia. Other forces have cut off many of the supply routes into Phnom Penh.

Meanwhile the hated Lon Nol regime has suspended all civil liberties, given police a free hand to search and arrest dissidents, closed down newspapers, and forbidden meetings of more than five people.

Lon Nol still doesn't feel secure in his office, however. On March 31 he ordered the arrest of 55 of the country's top astrologers because they were predicting his regime would not last through the end of April.



Vientiane government troops in action



# As Nixon greets Saigon dictator Protests score U.S. aid to Thieu regime

APRIL 2—Saigon's President Thieu arrived in this country April 1. His visit was the occasion of picket lines called by the National Peace Action Coalition and other groups to protest continued U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia.

Nixon arranged the trip to demonstrate his commitment to propping up the Thieu regime. According to the April 2 *New York Times*, "the trip and its timing have been the subject of negotiations for a long time."



Militant/Jack Barrett

Los Angeles picket against Nixon and Thieu.

Administration officials were reportedly "not eager to have him here at certain times, because of the fear that his presence would provide a focus for antiwar activists. . . ." With American troops now formally withdrawn, Nixon apparently feels it is safe to invite Thieu.

In addition to requesting more economic and military aid, Thieu reportedly expressed happiness over U.S. bombing of Cambodia. "He viewed the firm U.S. stand there as a sign President Nixon would resume the air war against the North if the nearly 150,000 North Vietnamese troops still in the South launched an offensive," said the April 9 *U.S. News & World Report*.

The following is a roundup of the anti-Thieu picket lines that have already occurred. Next week's *Militant* will cover the many demonstrations planned for April 5.

## Los Angeles

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES—More than 1,000 protesters confronted President Nixon here March 31 to expose his lie that the Vietnam war is over. It was Nixon's first public appearance on the West Coast since his reelection. He was attending a banquet in honor of veteran film director John Ford.

The chanting, singing protesters stretched for several blocks in front of the Beverly Hilton Hotel. Banners and signs bore such slogans as "End All Support to Thieu," "U.S. Totally out of Southeast Asia Now," and "Invite the PRG." (Provisional Revolutionary Government)

Signs and chants also referred to current domestic issues: "Feed the Poor—Not the War," "Cut off Thieu—Not Child Care," and "Two, four, six, eight—Nixon Ordered Watergate."

Prominent in the demonstration was a contingent of nearly 100 young people of Asian descent. They were members of the Union of Vietnamese Living in the U.S. and their Asian supporters, many from the Japanese-American community.

The demonstration was initiated by the Indochina Peace Campaign, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and the Peace Action Council, around the demand of "Richard Nixon and Nguyen Van Thieu should abide by the agreement."

The National Peace Action Coalition and Student Mobilization Committee participated in, and helped build, the antiwar action around the demand of "U.S. Out Now," "End All Support to Thieu," and "No U.S.-Imposed Regimes."

A delegation attempted to present a statement to Nixon listing the names of 1,000 of the 200,000 political prisoners in Saigon jails and condemning U.S. support for Thieu. The delegation included Jane Fonda, as well as Monique Truong Miller and David Truong, two children of Truong Dinh Dzu, who ran for president of South Vietnam against Thieu in 1967 and was subsequently jailed for advocating a coalition government.

Two days later, on April 2, some 300 people, mostly young, participated in a picket line in San Clemente while Nixon and Thieu were meeting in the Western White House.

Further demonstrations are planned for April 3 in Los Angeles, when Thieu returns to speak at a dinner hosted by Ronald Reagan.

## San Francisco

By BARBARA DEUR

SAN FRANCISCO—About 300 people participated in a noon rally in downtown San Francisco April 2 to protest Thieu's visit to the U.S. Speakers at the rally, which was sponsored by the Northern California Peace Action Coalition, called for an end to all U.S. support to the Thieu regime and an immediate halt to the bombing of Cambodia.

Sylvia Weinstein of the Parents Advisory Council discussed the relationship of the war to the Nixon administration's recent cutbacks in social programs. Lou Berman, a retired member of the Printing Specialties union, stressed the threat to American workers posed by the continuing war in Southeast Asia.

At the same time, another group of about 100 antiwar protesters rallied at the Federal Building and marched to the South Vietnamese Consulate, urging the Nixon administration to "honor the [Vietnam] agreement."



San Clemente, Calif. Militant/Nick Castle

## San Diego

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN DIEGO—San Diego activists built two demonstrations against Thieu's visit to the United States in as many days. At noon on April 2 the Student Mobilization Committee sponsored a picket line in downtown San Diego around the demands "No Support to Thieu," "U.S. Out of Indochina Now."

When it was learned that Thieu would visit San Diego on the following day, a second demonstration was built by the Indochina Peace Cam-

## The myth of the 'silent majority'

In his televised speech March 29, President Nixon referred to "the great majority of Americans . . . who despite an unprecedented barrage of criticism from a small but vocal minority, stood firm for peace with honor."

This myth that the "great silent majority" in this country was supporting the Vietnam war all along has been exposed time and time again, as the antiwar movement has mobilized to demonstrate majority opposition to the war.

Even with Nixon's long experience at hiding the facts, however, he couldn't help letting a glimmer of the truth come through in his speech. He recalled "the time in November 1969, when hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marched on the White House," as well as the huge protest actions following his invasion of Cambodia in May 1970 and following the bombing and mining of North Vietnam in May 1972. He admitted that "on each of these occasions, the voices of opposition we heard in Washington were so loud they at times seemed to be the majority."

They were the majority. In addition to the massive numbers of Americans who took to the streets to protest the war over the years, many other indications have proved that the majority oppose this war.

Resolutions for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam were endorsed by countless numbers of unions, professional groups, religious groups, city councils, mayors, and members of Congress. In 1971, 66 percent of the voters of Madison, Wis., voted for immediate withdrawal. The year before, 63 percent supported immediate withdrawal in a Detroit referendum.

Even the American GIs began to openly protest the war.

A Harris poll in November 1971 showed that Americans favored by 3 to 1 "getting completely out" of Vietnam by the following May, with 70 percent opposed to continued military aid to the Thieu

regime even if that would mean "the Communists taking over."

Another move by the Nixon administration to attempt to justify the war was the "Home With Honor" parade held in New York March 31 as a "tribute" to those who served in Vietnam. The *New York Times* estimated that "tens of thousands" participated. Organizers of the march said 100,000



Nov. 15, 1969 Militant/Brian Shannon

to 150,000. Police "declined to estimate" the size of the march, although they have always been ready to belittle the size of an antiwar march.

The march was made up almost entirely of marching bands, contingents of military units, city employees, etc. It contrasted sharply with the mass antiwar demonstrations, which have brought out people who marched because of their own convictions, not because they were paid to or organized by their employers or band director.

While antiwar marches have mobilized "hundreds of thousands," as Nixon admits, the prowar demonstrations organized in 1969, '70, and '71 brought out only 50,000, 20,000, and 10,000 to 15,000, respectively.

paign and the Student Mobilization Committee on less than 24-hours notice. Between 150 and 200 people participated in a lively picket line outside the San Diego naval hospital while Thieu and his party toured inside.

## Portland

PORTLAND—One hundred antiwar demonstrators gathered at the Pioneer Post Office at lunch time April 2 for two hours of picketing against South Vietnamese President Thieu's visit to the U.S.

The demonstration, sponsored by the Inauguration Day Peace Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, drew out almost every section of the antiwar movement in Portland to demand an end to aid to Thieu and complete U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

Present were representatives of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women for Peace, Communist Party, Student Mobilization Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Methodist Federation for Social Action, and the Amer-

ican Friends Service Committee.

The picket line drew a lot of attention from people on lunch break in the downtown area, and the reception was quite good. A number of people joined the line for brief periods.

One aspect of the picket was a mock "tiger cage" to point out the plight of the 200,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam.

Press coverage of the picket was excellent, helping to get out the message that the war in Southeast Asia is far from over and that protests against the U.S. presence there must continue.

## Seattle

SEATTLE—A picket line of 35 people marched at the Federal Court House here April 3 to protest Thieu's visit and to demand total U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. The demonstration, which was well covered by the media, was sponsored by a number of organizations in the area, including the Student Mobilization Committee, the American Indian Student Association, the Arab Student Organization, and the Women's Commission of the Associated Students of the University of Washington.

# Mass struggle by French high school students challenges conscription law

From *Intercontinental Press*  
By JON ROTHSCILD

The French bourgeoisie had been playing around with "reforming" its national service system for some time. As early as April 1968 a joint "army-youth" advisory committee had suggested abolishing deferments by which students could postpone their military service (obligatory for all men in France) until their studies were completed.

The commission met in several sessions during 1969 and 1970, and in the middle of 1970 a law was proposed that eliminated the student deferments. According to the proposal, youth would be forced to enter military service before the end of their twenty-first year, thus fulfilling the regime's desire to lower the average age of soldiers.

On June 10, 1970, the proposed law was adopted nearly unanimously by the National Assembly. The Gaullists, the center reformers, and the Socialists voted for it (439 votes). The only negative vote came from Michel Rocard of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party). Three deputies abstained; the thirty-four Communist party deputies did not participate in the voting.

The resulting legislation, which has since become known as the Debré law (after Michel Debré, the minister of national defense), was altered several times in 1971 and 1972. But its most critical provision—abolition of the deferments—remained. That aspect of the law took effect on January 1, 1973.

"Theoretically, everything was to be carried out with the greatest discretion," commented the March 16 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. "Voted on piecemeal over three years, the reform of the national service system decided on by Debré was supposed to slip by unnoticed. The date it went into effect . . . three months before the legislative elections, was no accident. Who would dare react and threaten to throw the smoothly running electoral machine out of kilter? . . ."

Debré and the French bourgeoisie calculated wrongly. They reckoned without the intervention of the French high-school students, who, for the first time in two years, have taken to the streets in massive numbers, organized in a national movement to roll back the Debré law and extend, rather than eliminate, the deferments.

By March 22, the date of a national action called by the leadership of the high-school movement, the Ministry of Education had to admit that between 70 and 80 percent of all high-schoolers were staying away from class to protest the Debré law. And the movement was showing no signs of letting up. In fact, support for the high-schoolers seemed to be spreading into the universities and the trade unions.

In many areas, the actions against the Debré law broke out spontaneously; in others, conscious intervention by revolutionists was required.

The spark plug of the mobilization has been the Ligue Communiste, one of the only far-left groups to have urged action against the Debré law before the current outbreak. On February 10-11, the Front des Cercles Rouge Lycéens (FCR—Front of High-school Red Circles), a group in solidarity with the Ligue, held a national convention attended by more than 300 delegates from thirty-three French cit-

ies. High on the convention's agenda was discussion of action against the Debré law. The convention adopted a communiqué that noted that small-scale struggles had already broken out at some schools and recommended the extension of the struggle:

"Following the example of the Belgian high-school students, the FCR proposes holding a national day of action and information for the reestablishment of deferments and their extension to all youth sometime before the March draft calls, without waiting for the elections."

The February 24 issue of *Rouge* noted that struggles were continuing in the high schools, but still at an

be compelled to enter the job market immediately. The Debré law, apart from intensifying the militarization of youth, would in fact reduce the number of workers able to get a higher education.

Exposing the government's demagoguery on this point has become a crucial aspect of the struggle. "This mobilization must also in its content clearly affirm that it is not aiming at maintaining the privileges of the high-school and university students, who come mostly from bourgeois layers," wrote *Rouge* in its March 16 issue.

"All the conditions exist today for the movement to really break out,"



Fifteen thousand French high school students marching in Paris during one of the actions that built up to the March 22 demonstration.

uneven pace. It called for the holding of general assemblies in the schools to organize the struggle and raised the two slogans that were to become the major watchwords of the Committees of Struggle Against the Debré Law (CSADL): Down with the Debré law! Reestablish the deferment and extend it to all youth!

The latter slogan became especially important. The regime has attempted to gain support for the law on the grounds that the old deferment system favored upper-class youth who could afford to go to universities. The reform, the Gaullists claimed, would have the effect of decreasing social inequality.

The reality is the opposite, as the CSADLs have stressed. Upper-class students can afford to take a year off to do their army service, and then go right back to school. But for less affluent students, especially workers, simply getting through high-school is difficult. If they are forced to go directly into the army after graduation, thus losing a full year of earnings and having their studies disrupted, the likelihood is that few, if any, will be able to return to the university after their military service. They will

*Rouge* wrote. "The national coordinating meeting of the committees, planned for March 14, must set national objectives for the movement and thus allow it to overcome the unequal development that still exists between various schools and cities. The perspective of a national day of mobilization at the end of March must be the occasion to unleash strikes in areas where they have not yet taken place. It must also be the occasion to organize, all over France, street demonstrations, the only way to effect a show of force against the state apparatus."

The Ligue's strategy seems to have worked well. When the struggle first broke out, the Communist party tried to block any mass mobilization. On March 2, for example, the Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens (UNCAL—National Union of High-School Action Committees, the CP's "mass" high-school union) issued a statement denouncing the anti-Debré-law movement as "manipulated by the regime" and urged that "everything be done to bring about the victory of the Union of the Left and the Common Program," that victory allegedly to ensure the repeal of the Debré law.

With the elections over, the CP bureaucrats were completely outflanked by the student upsurge. The March 21 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported what had happened in Toulouse, one of the cities where big actions occurred:

"Seven thousand five hundred persons, according to the police, 13,000 according to the organizers, marched through the streets of the city on March 16: adolescents, high-schoolers, vocational-school students, college students. Some young workers too. And a not inconsiderable number of young girls also participated in the action to protest the Debré law."

"Pressure had been mounting very quickly in Toulouse during the past week. The first school where pupils went on strike, March 13, was the huge coeducational Raymond-Naves school. . . . Why there? Everyone knows in Toulouse that the Ligue Communiste—the Trotskyist movement that is sparking and directing the high-school protests on a national scale—has very strong influence there."

Another article in the March 21 *Le Monde* described the Ligue's impact on the struggles in more general terms. It noted that UNCAL had waged a petition campaign against the Debré law, but that the "intervention in February of young Trotskyists of the 'Red Circles' or the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme [Alliance of Youth for Socialism, a Lambertist group] accelerated the movement."

"The method of these groups is simple and effective. General Assemblies [of the students] are convoked, at which they lay out their positions. A strike is voted. . . . As in the Guiot affair, the leaders of the Ligue Communiste have been themselves surprised at the result: After three weeks of intensive militant 'work,' the movement has become generalized almost completely. In most cases, the 'Committees Against the Debré Law' that they set up are now controlled only partially by the 'politicos.' The high schools previously unaffected have joined in."

As the CP stood in danger of becoming totally outflanked, its leaders decided that an intervention was called for. *Le Monde* noted:

"Although before the legislative elections UNCAL (many of whose members are young Communists) declared that the high-school demonstrations organized at the urging of the Trotskyists were 'inopportune,' after the success scored by these demonstrations, the left [Stalinist and Social Democratic] organizations are now calling for a general meeting Wednesday March 21, on the eve of the 'national day' called by the 'Committees Against the Debré Law.'"

It is significant that the CP-called meeting for March 21—which seems to have been a deliberate attempt by the Stalinists to undermine the authority of the CSADLs, which had been leading the struggle all along—was much smaller than the March 22 demonstrations that had been previously called by the CSADL. According to the March 23 *New York Times*, the March 21 action was 20,000-strong; the March 22 demonstration brought out 50,000.

March 22, the first day of nationally coordinated actions against the Debré law, thus marked the opening of full-fledged postelection struggle in France.

# World Outlook

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

APRIL 13, 1973

## Northern Ireland

### British proposals aimed at isolating Republicans

"We need the good will of everyone to make it work," William Whitelaw, the British viceroy of Northern Ireland, commented on the government's March 20 white paper. "We knew we couldn't please everyone. But it is a reasonable deal for reasonable people. The unreasonable will always find reasons why it will fail. They will say that the power-sharing won't work. I say that it must work."

The rather plaintive tone of Whitelaw's remarks may be seen as a reflection of the dilemma of British imperialism as it tries to stabilize its hegemony over the Six Counties. On the one hand, it must make concessions to the nationalist population if it hopes to isolate the republican movement from mass support. On the other hand, these concessions must be sufficiently limited to avoid arousing the active opposition of the proimperialist Protestant population on which British rule is based.

Not surprisingly in this situation, the March 20 white paper "relies heavily on ambiguity," as Alvin Shuster put it in the March 22 *New York Times*.

The greatest ambiguity is in the area of "power sharing" by the oppressed Catholic minority. The white paper calls for an assembly of eighty members elected on the basis of proportional representation, thus supposedly guaranteeing the nationalist population a "voice" in government. The assembly will then form committees covering as yet unspecified areas, and the heads of these committees—who

are to be chosen in an unspecified manner but subject to the approval of the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland—will form the executive of the Northern Ireland government.

The division of powers between the assembly, the executive, and Westminster is also not spelled out except that certain areas, such as control of the police and electoral laws, are to remain within the jurisdiction of the British Parliament. Both assembly and executive are to be barred from passing discriminatory legislation.

None of these provisions by themselves determine the "share" of government to be granted the nationalist minority. That is left for the assembly itself to decide in consultation with Whitelaw.

While the proimperialist organizations in Northern Ireland would undoubtedly have preferred a return to the Stormont parliament with its unchallenged domination by the Unionist party, their reactions to the white paper seemed conditioned by the recognition that the proposals leave room for chipping away the few concessions that they contain.

The Unionist party of former Prime Minister Brian Faulkner called the white paper "constructive" but indicated it would try to revise certain "unacceptable" provisions.

The extreme right wing of the loyalists organized almost immediately to overturn any semblance of concessions to the Catholic popula-

tion. On March 21, the United Loyalist Action Group was established with the support of Ian Paisley, the Vanguard Movement of William Craig, the Orange Order, the paramilitary Ulster Defense Association, and the Loyalist Workers' Association. Richard Eder reported from Belfast in the March 22 *New York Times*:

"Both the Rev. Ian Paisley, who will be one of the committee's chairmen, and William Craig . . . said the committee was certain its candidates would be solidly backed by the Protestant community, win a majority and then force the British to amend their plans."

Reaction in the Catholic community was more varied. The Social Democratic and Labor party, while condemning the failure to end internment without trial, announced that it would participate in the assembly elections. A stronger endorsement came from Thomas Conaty, chairman of the Belfast Central Citizens Defense Committee, who reportedly called the white paper "the first chance for Catholics in fifty years."

The Official Irish Republican Army was reported to have rejected the British plan, but announced that it

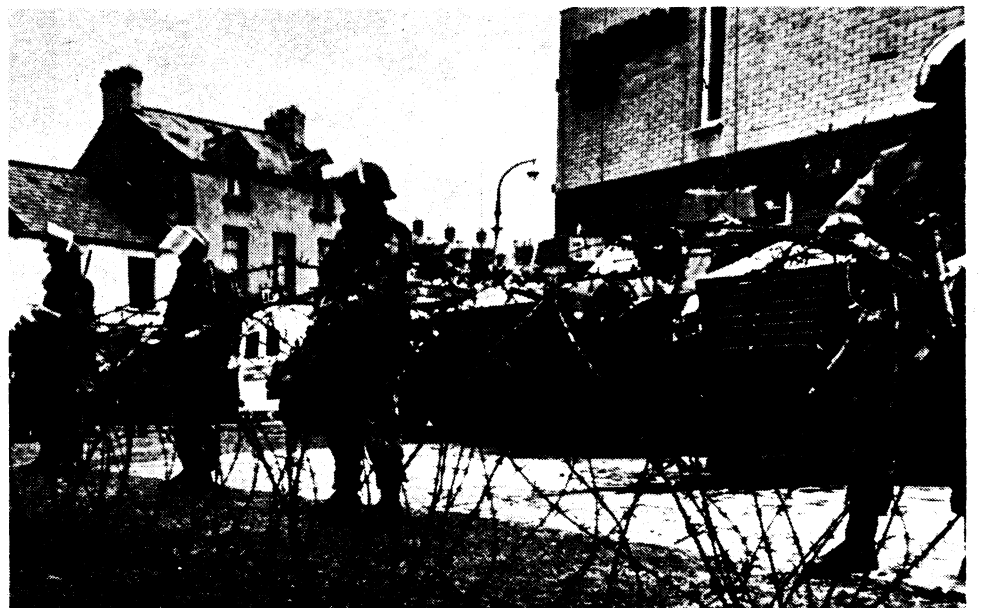
would continue to observe a ceasefire.

The Provisional IRA likewise rejected the white paper. It said it would continue its military operations.

"The [Provisional] I. R. A. announcement," Eder wrote in the March 24 *New York Times*, ". . . came after three days of discussions by political and military officials of the Provisionals. There were reliable reports that many members of the Provisional Sinn Fein, the militants' political group, and the military faction favored a truce. These differences may be further thrashed out at a Provisional Sinn Fein gathering to be held next week."

"In fact," Eder added, "though the Provisionals' statement totally rejected the white paper proposals, it hinted that the truce decision might be changed if the present ban on the Sinn Fein were lifted."

A few hours after the Provisional announcement, three British soldiers were shot dead and a fourth was wounded in a Belfast apartment. The British army indicated they had been hot by the Provisional IRA, but there was no immediate comment from the group itself. □



While Whitelaw calls for 'good will,' British troops continue their occupation of Northern Ireland.

## Paraguay

### Extermination of the Ache Indians

In the jungles of northeastern Paraguay, a virtual manhunt is being waged against the Ache Indians by "civilized" slave-hunters and killers.

During the past year, the campaign has reduced the size of the tribe by about one-third.

Those Indians who are not murdered outright are being placed in a national "Guayaki" colony—"Guayaki" is the official, and derogatory, term for Indians. Those who are brought to this camp, reported Alfred Hopkins from Asunción in the February 17-18 issue of the Danish daily *Information*, "fall victim to a more refined form of extermination: undernourishment, a breaking of their spirit, and unhealthy living conditions."

It is feared that a new hunting expedition is being organized against

the tribe, which once inhabited a wide stretch of the Brazilian and Paraguayan jungle. This one could drive the tribe's birth rate down to a point of no return.

In one expedition, Hopkins reported, a group of around twenty Indians was killed and the bodies of some hacked into pieces with machetes. "The Ache Indians' children are taken alive on such hunts. They are usual' sold to farmers, who raise them and 'civilize' them."

Father Bartolome Melia of the Paraguayan Bishops' Conference termed the policy toward the Ache Indians "true genocide." Even during the Span-

ish colonial period, he asserted, the aim was not to wipe out the native population but rather to "save their souls" and "civilize them."

In 1971, some members of Paraguayan high society formed a committee ostensibly to aid the Indians. Yet, according to West German anthropologist Mark Münzel, since the committee was formed, the drive to exterminate the Indians has been stepped up remarkably. More were killed in the previous ten months than in the preceding six years. And a committee doctor sent to inspect conditions in the colony left after being there less than one day. □



## New contradictions in the capitalist system

# The second fall of the dollar

By Ernest Mandel

Fifteen months after its first devaluation, the dollar has just suffered a second. During the negotiations around the first devaluation, certain capitalist groups and their spokesmen were able to spread around the illusion that the new exchange rates "would stick." But today, nobody upholds such an optimistic prognosis for the international capitalist system any more. For the time being, the system of fixed exchange rates is done for—that is the bitter conclusion that emerges from this second devaluation, which will inevitably be followed by others.

### The Technical Causes

From a technical point of view, the causes of this fall of the dollar are not hard to find. Today, outside the United States, multinational corporations (most of them in fact American) have dollar holdings of upwards of \$50-60 thousand million in liquid or partially liquid form. Each of these capitalist companies is prepared to hold these liquid assets in dollar form only insofar as it is not worried about taking a loss in exchange.

But since 1971 (actually since 1968), the U.S. central bank has refused to exchange these dollars for gold. The central banks of other capitalist countries will exchange them for their own national currencies only within certain limits.

So all that is necessary for the agreed-upon system of exchange rates to break down is for a certain amount of dollars—2 or 3 thousand million out of the 50 thousand million total!—to be thrown on the currency market. This is what just happened. And inevitably, it will happen again.

The capitalists on a world scale would be willing without hesitation to hold these liquid assets in dollar form only if one of two conditions were met: if the dollar's convertibility into gold (or into some other means of payment with an intrinsic value) were reestablished; or if American imperialism regained its competitive superiority, so that dollars would again be linked to American commodities that could be resold at any time because they would be a better bargain and of superior quality to those of U.S. imperialism's competitors.

Neither of these conditions is about to be reestablished; the persisting deficit in the American balance of trade after the first devaluation demonstrates this. Hence, an exacerbation of the crisis of the international monetary system is inevitable.

Thus, a law established by Karl Marx more than a century ago is confirmed: No inconvertible paper money can retain a fixed rate of exchange beyond the boundaries of a state. The second fall of the dollar thus confirms the decline of American hegemony, the lack of an international capitalist au-

thority, and the reality of interimperialist competition.

### Economic and Social Causes

The mass of paper dollars that has inundated the capitalist world during the past three years did not fall from the sky. It was not the product of a technical "mistake" made by the Washington monetary authorities, nor was it the reflection of a diabolical scheme to attack the trade of Europe and Japan, nor was it the result of Common Market protectionism. It is the product of the inflation of credit and the budget deficit that the Nixon administration was forced to resort to in order to get out of the 1969-71 recession.

To fail to understand this is to present an idyllic image of the inextricable contradictions in which American imperialism, and with it the international capitalist system, is mired.

Immediately halting the American

would have involved a very serious economic crisis in the rest of the capitalist world. The disintegration of the international monetary system is the price paid to temporarily avoid this economic and social crisis.

The American bourgeoisie and its ideologues are completely aware of this. If today the bourgeoisie talks about "limiting" the annual increase in the monetary mass (inflation of credit) to 5 percent a year (as opposed to 10 percent a year since 1969), it is because it knows that the higher rate would provoke a new recession. Its only hope, articulated by Arthur Burns and Milton Friedman, is that it would be only a "minirecession." We shall see.

The dilemma of the European and Japanese capitalists is no less real. They can demand that Washington return to a more "orthodox" monetary policy. Their pressure is doubtless partially responsible for the budget cuts (all at the expense of the

wound up doing, thus precipitating the second devaluation).

But by doing this, they would be running great risks, for two main reasons. Above all because every serious economic and social crisis in the United States, the central fortress of the international imperialist system, would have grave repercussions in all the other sectors of the system. The U.S. domestic market is today a key sector of the world market for all the other capitalist powers.

### Bankers and Industrialists

Not only that. By pushing towards devaluing the dollar, they are pushing toward devaluing a not inconsequential fraction of their own holdings. A not inconsequential (albeit minority) part of this worldwide floating mass of tens of billions [millards] of dollars is held by European and Japanese capitalists. These dollars automatically lose a part of their value when the dollar falls.

The capitalist partner-competitors of the United States are thus condemned to always lose, one way or the other.

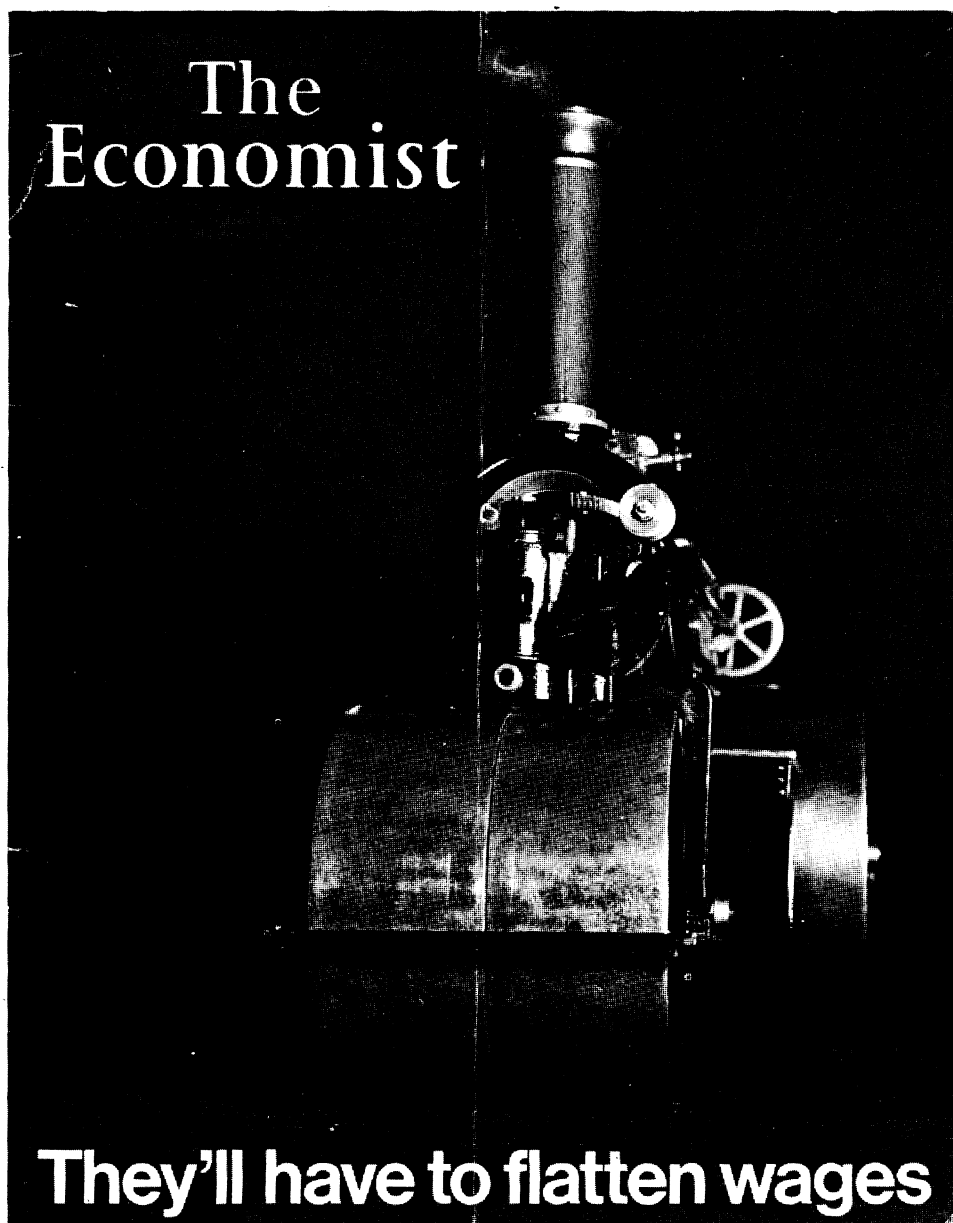
But the opposite is also true. On both sides of the Atlantic, the first commentaries on the consequences of the second devaluation stressed its effects on world trade. In New York they were jubilant: American exports would become less expensive, imports more expensive. In Düsseldorf and Tokyo they groaned: "Our" exports will get more expensive.

All these commentaries are superficial and partially imprecise. The world market is not as monopolized as national markets are. Prices on the world market are not so closely controllable by the big trusts. An increase in the rate of exchange will therefore not automatically reflect itself in prices. Furthermore, demand is not so elastic; products are not so easily substituted for one another as on the national market.

This means that European and Japanese exports to the United States will not decrease in the same proportion as the devaluation of the dollar, that American exports to Europe and Japan will not go up in the same proportion, that the cost of living in the United States will be affected by the higher prices of imports, and that the general expansion of world trade will slow down. The gains anticipated by U.S. industry thus threaten to be less than expected (as was already the case with the first devaluation).

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that the European and Japanese central banks are not hoarding "devalued" dollars, but are immediately reinvesting them in U.S. treasury bonds on which they earn interest. Thus, one of the consequences of the influx of dollars in Europe and of the devaluation is that the overseas capitalists' share in the surplus value created by American workers increases. In this sense the devaluation, first proclaimed as a "triumph" by Washington, reflects a deteriorated situation and not a strengthened position.

But still, the basic thing is another point. What the dollar devaluation wins for American industrialists and loses for German industrialists, it will lose for American financial groups and win for European and Japanese financial circles. It means in effect that from now on it will take more dollars to buy a factory in Europe, less European (and Japanese) currency to buy a factory in the United States. In this sense also, the American imperialists



The solution to problems of the world capitalist system as seen by The Economist.

balance of payments deficit during 1969, 1970, and 1971 would have involved transforming the American recession into a very serious overproduction crisis, would have meant 10 or 12 million unemployed in the United States instead of 5 or 6 million. That

working people and the poor) that Nixon has just decided on. At some point, they could even refuse to defend the dollar's exchange rate (which is what the Swiss bankers did on the eve of the first devaluation, and also what the West German bankers finally

have no reason to rejoice about the fall of their currency.

### The Common Market Threatened

Nevertheless, American imperialism did score some points against its European competitors. But this success is not so much in the realm of trade as in forcing a halt to the attempts at unification of the European imperialist powers through the strengthening of the Common Market.

To promote an interpenetration of capitals capable of creating enterprises of the same power as the major American trusts, the European bourgeoisie would have to create a European superstate with its own currency, its own industrial policy, and its own independent nuclear arms. In view of the great differences in their situations and the great divergences that separate them, these imperialists can hope to achieve such a unification only one step at a time. The formation of the Common Market was conceived only as a first step. Monetary unification by 1980 was supposed to follow as the second decisive step.

But the disintegration of the international monetary system hit the different imperialist powers at a time when the economic and social situations in the various countries are widely disparate. Two of the four big Common Market powers, Great Britain and Italy, are going through a difficult economic situation marked by exceptionally severe class-struggle tension. The bourgeoisies of these two countries could not agree to a united solution with the other European bourgeoisies. They "floated" their currencies not only in relation to the dollar but also in relation to the other European currencies. In one blow, the hopes of monetary union based on a European "superstate" were shot down.

Thus, the devaluation of the dollar, following in the wake of the American attempt to scuttle the Concorde—and with it the threat of seeing the European aeronautics industry outstrip America's for ten years—has put very severe strains on the capitalist integration of Europe.

Calls for "European solidarity" are on the rise in every bourgeois capital; but reality does not jibe with the appeals.

### New Contradictions Hitting Declining Capitalism

American imperialism is trying to make the European and Japanese capitalists bear the brunt of its own falling rate of profit. The European and Japanese capitalists are responding by trying to impose the necessary sacrifices on their own workers in the form of wage freezes, incomes policy, "wage consultations," "rationalization," and so on. When the European workers refuse, the bourgeoisie does not miss a chance to reveal its own basic hypocrisy.

Last week *The Economist*, one of the most representative weeklies of the British bourgeoisie, published two articles, one devoted to the workers' revolts against the incomes policy decreed by the Tory cabinet, the other on the international speculation that provoked the devaluation of the dollar.

In the second article, it was explained that no political decision can prevent "the laws of the market" from fixing the floating rates of exchange; a governmental decree aimed at counteracting the "laws of the mar-

ket" would be worth only the paper it is printed on.

But in the first article, all the stops were pulled in trumpeting moral indignation against the British trade unions, which had dared to defy government decrees fixing the rate of wages and which had sought to "exploit" the "laws of the market" to their own profit, thus committing outrages against parliament, democracy, and humanity.

In other words, only the workers must bow before government decrees; only the speculators have the right to exploit the laws of the market to their own advantage.

But behind this hypocrisy lies an objective contradiction to which at-



Ernest Mandel

temptation must more and more be directed. These famous "speculators" who made the dollar fall are not some obscure figures of the underworld, the "mafia" of "international finance." They are the multinational corporations, that is, the most honorable leading lights of industry, banking, and trade in all the imperialist countries—and American capitalists in the lead! These gentlemen have today become uncontrollable by their own governments. But at the same time, they need governmental aid more than ever. Precisely the 1969 recession reminded them of the sad fact that whatever their profits may be, they can very soon be brought to the brink of ruin if a sufficiently deep recession shakes the economies of the imperialist countries.

Bourgeois governments less and less able to restrain the multinational corporations, while the multinational corporations cannot do without more and more sizable periodic governmental support and subsidies; an inflation that must be accelerated to hold back increasingly serious recessions, but which at the same time wrecks the international monetary system and thereby disrupts the expansion of world trade; an accelerated inter-imperialist competition at the very time that the formation of a new international monetary system demands the greatest international bourgeois solidarity; the necessity of "disciplining" the wage workers and the impossibility of breaking the obviously rising combativity of the workers—these are the new strains that today are added to the classical contradictions of the capitalist system. □

## World news notes

### Israeli socialists sentenced

Sentences for six of the defendants in Israel's "spy" trial were handed down March 26. Ehud Adiv, a 26-year-old former paratrooper, and 45-year-old Daoud Turki, a Palestinian bookstore owner, were each sentenced to 17 years imprisonment. They had been described by the prosecution as leaders of the "spy ring."

Fifteen-year prison terms were imposed on Subhi Naarani, 28, and Anis Karawi, 23, while Dan Vered, a 28-year-old mathematics teacher, drew a 10 year sentence. Simon Haddad, who had entered a guilty plea early in the trial, drew a two-year sentence.

The five defendants who pleaded not guilty admitted going to Syria and meeting with Syrian citizens, but denied that they were involved in espionage or transmitting any information not readily available in Israel.

Dozens of people have been arrested in connection with this case, although most have not yet been brought to trial. Israeli leftists have charged that the purpose of the "spy trials" is "to create an atmosphere of public lynching" directed against the left, and to inhibit common organization of Jews and Arabs in Israel.

Particularly ominous aspects of the case have been the use of torture to extract confessions from some of the defendants—confessions that were later repudiated, but which the courts refused to disallow—and the fact that some of the defendants are not charged with any actions except failure to inform on the "spy ring."

The real basis of the charges against the five defendants was that they had had contact with "hostile" Arabs. Turki was accused of conveying "vital information" to "the enemy," but no explanation of how such information was gathered or what it was has been presented.

### Labor theory of value stands convicted

On March 5 a Swiss appeals court upheld a previous ruling against the revolutionary socialist newspaper *La Brèche*. On Oct. 25 a criminal court in Lucerne had found the paper guilty of an assault on the "honor" of the management of three companies in the French-speaking section of Switzerland. The companies had brought suit against *La Brèche*, charging they had been defamed because the paper had asserted that employers enrich themselves by exploiting their workers.

The court found *La Brèche* guilty of "defamation and calumny," and of "arousing in the reader the image of heads of factories, very clearly and personally singled out, who enrich themselves at the expense of exploited and scorned workers."

### Rhodesia moves ahead on Bantustan plan

On March 26 the Salisbury government, representing white settlers who make up one-twentieth of the population of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), took the first step toward setting up "Bantustans." The government announced the establishment of two African tribal regions. These regions, based on the South African pattern, will have a puppet tribal government responsible for health, education, and economic development.

However, since such services will be paid for by taxing the impoverished African population, they will be minimal. The huge gap between the wealth of the white areas and the poverty of the African areas will continue to widen.

Another aspect of the Bantustan system is that it "legalizes" the occupation of the best land by the white settler population, while excluding Blacks from settling on it.

### U.N. committee reports on torture

The savage tortures inflicted on African rebels in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique were exposed in a report made public March 25 by the United Nations Human Rights Commission. "Captured men are maimed and forced to eat parts of their bodies," the report charged.

"Their wives are raped in their presence and killed. Aged parents are tortured and murdered and their flesh is offered as food," it said.

The report also reiterated the better-known fact that the Portuguese have been using napalm, defoliants, and herbicides in their attempt to terrorize the African populations of their colonies into submission. It urged that international pressure be applied to Portugal demanding that it treat captured guerrillas as prisoners of war under the Geneva conventions.

The same report pointed out that South Africa continues to hold the world record for the number of death sentences and executions. Those arrested for their opposition to apartheid there, the report said, are subject to inhuman and degrading treatment.

In another development, the March 29 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that South African troops were called in to work at an aluminum plant in Natal when 700 Zulu strikers defied a management ultimatum to return to work or face instant dismissal. The Natal strike has been the latest in a series that has shaken South Africa since January 1972. At that time 15,000 Ovamba workers in South-West Africa struck for more than a month to win concessions in the contract labor system in force there. Strikes by Blacks are illegal in South Africa.

## Interview with Chilean Trotskyist

# 'Workers' control must be developed'

By Fred Halstead

Santiago, Chile

MARCH 18—The following evaluation of the meaning of the March 4 elections and subsequent developments in Chile is based on an interview with E. Montes, general secretary of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist party), Chilean section of the Fourth International.

To understand the process now unfolding you must go back to the situation in the country just before the capitalist stoppage last October. There had been an inflation of 180 percent in the year preceding the "strike of the bourgeoisie." There were shortages of many kinds of consumer goods. As a result there was discontent among petty-bourgeois strata, which moved to the right. Last October's capitalist stoppage, or employers' strike, was an offensive by the right that stopped business nationally for twenty-five days in an attempt to bring about the fall of the government.

While it took root in the petty-bourgeois strata of the population, this stoppage, or lockout, failed. It not only failed; its effect was the opposite of what its sponsors intended: The workers' movement sought to defend the government and the economy against the lockout. The workers kept production going without the boss. In a number of industries the workers took over, kept production going, set up a management. This, of course, posed very basic questions. Also, the government had to set up a requisition system to distribute the products and to keep production supplied with raw materials. Thus, by the time the bosses called off their "strike," the "social sector" of the economy (nationalized industry) had expanded. Ever since, the workers have been struggling against giving these enterprises back to the capitalists.

Thus, the bourgeois offensive did not provoke a fall of the government, but rather a radicalization and a mobilization of the workers' movement.

From October until now the economic deterioration caused by the imperialist boycott and sabotage by local capitalists has continued—inflation, shortages, black-market operations, and so on. In November and December, the situation got worse, affecting even some layers of the workers. In this situation, the government took a turn to the left. It was of short duration, but it had profound effects. It was expressed in a speech by Minister of Housing Fernando Flores, who called on the workers and peasants to strengthen and enlarge the functions of the JAP (Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios—Supply and Price Control Boards), mass organizations for policing prices and distributing consumer goods. Until that time the JAP had been watchdog bodies, but Flores told the workers: "You distribute."

From that time on the JAP undertook the storage and distribution of goods, more extensively in some places than in others. The JAP developed characteristics of an embryonic dual power of the rank and file. To some extent the black market and other forms of capitalist sabotage were overcome by these activities. And while shortages continued in places where the petty bourgeoisie were strong, in a working-class area with an efficient JAP, at least the basic necessities were available. This stopped the swing to the right among sections of the workers. Indeed, it swung them even further left, for now the workers were beginning to feel their own power in the field of distribution, as well as in the field of production (the latter having been gained as a result of the October experience).

All this was reflected in the March 4 election results. The Unidad Popular (Popular Unity, the electoral front of the Socialist party, the Communist party, the Radical party, MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action], IC [Izquierda Cristiana—Christian Left], and API [Acción Popular Independiente—Independent Popular Action]) at one time had influence in middle-class sectors, but has been fast losing this support because of the lack of consumer goods. This has been offset by the increased activity of the workers, who solidly voted with the UP parties this time.

Both the UP and the right claimed victory in the March 4 election. In different senses, both are correct. The right got the largest vote and still controls both houses of the national congress. But it fell short of its goal: to win control of two-thirds of the congress. It has thus lost its chance to dump the government legally before the 1976 presidential elections. In short, the petty bourgeoisie, including the Radical party, has deserted the UP, but the workers' support has been hardened up.

What's more, the workers' offensive is characterized by socialist projections. In the last three months their demands have not been reformist: They have not simply demanded increased wages and social services, but have called for nationalization, for keeping the factories taken over in

October, for workers' control of distribution, for further expropriations, and so on. The Allende government wants to give back the factories taken over in October, but the workers are saying No.

The outcome of the elections has strengthened the hand of the left within the UP, which is seriously divided by differences over basic questions. Generally these differences take form around the counterposed positions of the CP—with whom Allende now sides—and the SP, whose general secretary, Carlos Altamirano, is leader of the party's left wing.



Chilean peasants occupying land. Militancy of the masses has blocked denationalization of factories.

The CP stands for conciliation with the national bourgeoisie, supports the Millas plan for returning the taken-over industries, and discourages the development of the JAP and other forms of workers' control, such as the *cordones industriales* [bodies of representatives of workers in a particular industrial strip, or area]. These *cordones industriales* are now initiating many actions and making many proposals of a socialist character.

The dominant wing of the SP takes the opposite view, encouraging these developments and advocating that all industries be taken over.

This struggle has now taken the peculiar form of a fight within one of the small parties of the UP—MAPU, which originated as a left-wing split from Frei's Christian Democrats. The left wing of MAPU won the leadership at the last party congress (November 1972), and passed a resolution opposing the theory of the revolution by stages and advocating instead permanent revolution, continuing the uninterrupted collectivization

and socialization of the country. The congress removed Jaime Gazmuri, a representative of the party's right wing, as general secretary and replaced him with Oscar Garretón.

Three days after the March 4 election (in which MAPU got 100,000 votes), the right-wing minority carried out a coup against the party leadership, forcibly occupying the three main offices, including the MAPU radio station, in Santiago. There is no doubt that this coup had not only the support, but active participation, of the CP.

The right wing declared Gazmuri general secretary and expelled the left wing, including Garretón, the elected general secretary. The left wing replied by expelling Gazmuri and those who participated in the coup. Since then the two wings have competed with each other in seeking Allende's recognition as the UP member.

The debate around this matter has something of the character of the Albania-Yugoslavia polemics. Just as Albania and Yugoslavia were not really the main protagonists in that

dispute, but were stand-ins for the Soviet Union and China, the opposed wings of MAPU are not the main protagonists in the current Chilean debate.

The CP seeks an accommodation with the national capitalists and argues that this is the only way to regain the support of the middle classes. But it is the capitalists' sabotage of the economy that has produced the consumer goods shortages, the economic deterioration, and the runaway black-market operations.

The capitalists are selling machinery, not replacing it, not maintaining plants, etc. The indemnification sums paid for nationalized property, including land, almost immediately end up in black-market operations. In this situation, planning must be introduced into distribution, factories must be nationalized before they are drained of value, and the forms of workers' control and power that have appeared but are as yet embryonic and decentralized must be developed. □



## The Coming Confrontation

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

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# Students back Puerto Rican, Black, Chinese slate

## N.Y. Dist. 1 community slate wins new support

By JOHN RATLIFF

NEW YORK, March 31—Fifty students met today in Manhattan's Lower East Side to discuss how they could support the struggle of the Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese in that community to control their own schools. The meeting was held to plan student participation in the campaign of the District 1 pro-community-control slate in the May 1 school board elections.

The meeting was initiated by the Coalition for Education in District 1. Some of the sponsors were Unión Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos at Queens College, LUCHA at New York University, Puerto Rican Organization at York College, Grito Borinqueño at New York University uptown, Latin American Student Organization at Columbia, Boricuas Unidos at City College, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Representatives from these organizations and from Puerto Rican groups at several colleges planned, organized, and participated in the meeting. Several high school students and Lower East side youth also attended.

Judy Baumann from the Committee for Democratic Election Laws outlined the many ways the school board election laws are rigged to discourage parent participation. Miriam Gonzalez, Coalition for Education member and president of the Parents Association at PS 188, described the successful struggle to oust a tenured white racist principal from PS 188. Lyle Brown, a Black member of the school

board talked about the importance of reelecting the pro-community-control slate and how students can help participate in the campaign.

The students discussed how they can help petition, register parents to vote, raise funds, and pass out literature throughout the District. They also discussed organizing street corner rallies, poster paste-ups, and sound trucks. Students at Pace College and New York University set plans to cosponsor a dance on campus to raise money for the campaign.

The successful block party organized by New York University LUCHA the preceding Saturday spurred the meeting to make plans for a second one. The block party, which had games, live music, and food, helped get out literature, raise money, and register parents to vote.

After the meeting, students joined community activists in the final day of petitioning. About 500 signatures have been collected for each of the eight pro-community-control candidates (200 signatures are required).

As the campaign moves into high gear, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) has stepped up its campaign against Luis Fuentes, superintendent of District 1. A slate of eight whites and one Black has been tentatively endorsed by the UFT leadership, pending approval by the UFT delegate assembly meeting April 4.

Albert Shanker, president of the UFT, spoke at Hunter College March 28 on "The UFT and the Quality of Public Education." Fuentes had

already made a successful tour of New York city campuses, coordinated by the Coalition for Education.

The Shanker meeting was organized by the Student UFT, which is attempting to involve students in supporting official UFT policies. Shanker attacked the District 1 board and Fuentes as "a bunch of gangsters and thieves." He repeated his charge of anti-Semitism against Fuentes, although no evidence has been offered to support it.

Shanker also asserted that too much bilingual education could lead to nationalistic feelings among students. Only 35-40 students attended the meet-

ing, although an auditorium for several hundred had been reserved.

Pro-community-control candidates, UFT-endorsed candidates, and independent candidates have been speaking to parents at candidate's nights at schools in District 1. This month's local school board meeting was crowded with both parents and UFT supporters, mainly teachers. An uproar broke loose when Coalition for Education activist Claudio Tavaréz tried to announce the student meeting to support community control. UFT supporters tried to stop him from speaking but parents and board members supported him.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Students at March 31 meeting discuss support to pro-community-control slate in Dist. 1.

## Dist. 1 school board elections: what is at stake?

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK—On May 1 New Yorkers will go to the polls to elect 32 community school boards. These boards, established by a state decentralization law in 1969, each have nine members. They have jurisdiction over elementary and junior high schools.

The boards were set up as a concession to Black and Puerto Rican parents who waged a massive struggle in 1967 and 1968 for greater control over the schools in their communities. However, they were designed to give the parents more of a facade of control than any genuine say.

There are many restrictions on the boards. For example, they are not permitted to hire, fire, or transfer teachers. Furthermore, the ballot laws for the board elections are stacked

against Black and Puerto Rican parents.

When the first board elections were held in 1970 many community activists boycotted or abstained from voting. In fact, only about 15 percent of the eligible voters participated in the elections. The result was that in most districts opponents of Black and Puerto Rican control were elected.

For example, in District 1, where 73 percent of the students are Puerto Rican, 15 percent Black, and 6 percent Chinese, seven of the nine members elected to the board ran on a slate opposed to community control. This slate was backed by conservative Catholic organizations and the United Federation of Teachers hierarchy.

But the present board has eight pro-community-control members. How did

this shift come about?

Shortly after the board took office in 1970 one of the conservative members, a Catholic priest, resigned to become active in the anti-abortion rights movement. The Parents Associations chose a Black pro-community-control supporter as a replacement. After mobilizing considerable community support their candidate was co-opted onto the board. A few months later a Puerto Rican elected to the board on the UFT slate switched to the community-control side.

Then a few months later two more opponents of community control resigned. This opened up a major struggle between the forces led by the United Federation of Teachers officialdom, the right-wing Italian-American Civil Rights League, and the racist Jewish Defense League on the one hand and the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents on the other.

Hearings held to screen pro-community-control candidates turned into pitched battles as JDL and Italian-American League goons tried to break them up. But the parents won out, and in May 1972 the majority of the board became pro-community-control. Further resignations and replacements led to the present 8-to-1 balance.

When the majority of the board became pro-community-control, the superintendent, a UFTer, resigned. This superintendent was so insensitive to the community that he even maintained his office outside the district.

In July 1972, the new board appointed Luis Fuentes to be superintendent. He is one of the city's most prominent champions of Black and Puerto Rican parents having a say over their schools. He moved the superintendent's office into the district and opened it up to parents. He hired more bilingual paraprofessionals and

established the policy that no supervisory personnel would be hired without parent approval.

What has happened in District 1 is that a board whose establishment was provided for by a state law and that has limited legal powers has been transformed at least partially into an institution that supports the interests of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents. This development was possible because of the struggle waged by the parents—a struggle that involved demonstrations and mass meetings.

Because of what has happened in District 1 there is special interest on the elections there this spring. The eight pro-community-control members of the present board are running together on a program to keep Fuentes, fight for a proposed budget of \$42-million (more than twice the present budget), and establish more bilingual and bicultural programs.

Their supporters are conducting a drive to register parent voters and a fight against the undemocratic election laws. As a result, registration of new voters has been higher in District 1 than any other district. Also several important victories have been scored in rolling back the unjust election laws, including winning a bilingual ballot. Community activists have been joined in these legal battles by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The message about what is happening in District 1 is being taken throughout the city as Fuentes, school board members, and community activists speak at campus meetings and community forums. They are trying to mobilize as much support as they can while at the same time explaining the lessons of their struggle to parent activists in other districts.



Militant/Brian Shannon

Racist union leadership in 1968 teacher's strike opposed Black and Puerto Rican community control of schools.

## Southern U events show need for change

# The plight of Southern Black colleges

By BAXTER SMITH

The murder of two Black students at Southern University at Baton Rouge (SUBR) on Nov. 16, 1972, by white sheriff's deputies drew national attention to the SU struggle and the plight of Black colleges in general.

In the past few years, most of these Black colleges, including SU, have withstood increased problems due to lack of funding and the threat of merger with predominately white state universities.

Over the weekend of April 6-8, Black students from across the country will meet in Greensboro, N.C., at a Save Black Schools conference to lay out a plan of action around this issue.

In October 1971, in Raleigh, N.C., the Student Organization for Black Unity called a demonstration to attract attention to this problem and more than 5,000 students from various Black colleges in North Carolina attended.

Many of the issues raised during the SU struggle relate to other Black colleges and reflect the need to "save Black schools."

Often during the SU struggle, the students explained that the target of their attack was not solely SU, but the entire educational system as it relates to Black people in the U.S.

They spelled this out in an open letter they wrote to students at other Black colleges. "The conditions and circumstances that prompted the movement at Southern University are the same conditions and circumstances that have created stagnation at your institution. We have clearly seen that Black institutions that are structured in the present system of education have not been addressing themselves to the needs of the Black community."

### Separate, but equal?

Southern University was founded in 1880. Most Black state universities were founded in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Some private Black colleges, however, were founded during Reconstruction. These private schools were set up by "philanthropic" church groups and liberal capitalists. But with the rise of Jim Crow (segregation) at the turn of the century, both the private and the state-controlled Black colleges were used to extend the segregated treatment of Blacks into higher education.

Today there are more than 100 colleges and universities in the U.S. that originated as all-Black institutions. Only four lie in what is generally considered "the North." In 1970, there were 160,000 Black students in all the Black colleges and universities, and 104,000 of them were in the 38 Black public universities.

Black colleges and universities have accounted for 85 percent of all Black doctors and 75 percent of all Black Ph.D.s. Seventy-five percent of Blacks now working on advanced degrees in the U.S. today come from these schools. Thus these schools have played a major role in providing a college education for many Blacks who would not otherwise receive one. But a gap exists between what these schools have done and what they could do.

### Break the struggle

The students are attempting to change these schools, to improve the quality of education. And they are attempting to mold these schools into

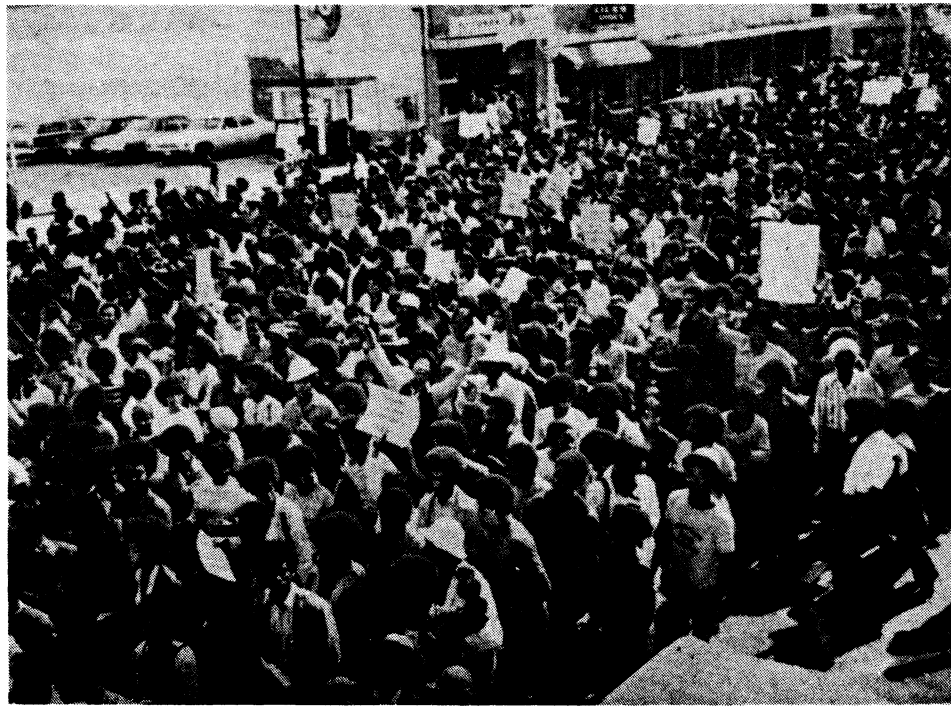
instruments of struggle. They want these schools altered with a view toward changing the conditions in the rest of the Black community. In addition, segregation in higher education, which was at one time condoned by the ruling bodies, is now more embarrassing and threatening—when Black students organize—than convenient.

Thus the role of the Louisiana "state fathers" in their effort to break the SU struggle becomes clearer. Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards has even suggested closing SU complete-

functioning of SU. They oppose the Uncle Tom outlook of its administrators and its inadequate facilities and curriculum.

At present, SU is controlled by the all-white state board of education. This board controls education for all public schools in the state except LSU, which is controlled by a board of regents. The annual budget for SU is grossly insufficient. LSU, by contrast, is well financed.

The students want to mold SU into a *genuine* educational institution for the Black community. In one of



African World/Milton Coleman

Black students demonstrate in October 1971 at Raleigh, N.C., to 'Save Black Schools.'



Southern U students demonstrate against importation of Rhodesian chrome in Burnside, La., March 1972.

ly. He terms it a "hotbed of revolutionary activity."

The state-controlled Black colleges face another threat, that of merger with the predominantly white state university systems. SU has faced the threat of merger with Louisiana State University for several years.

When Black colleges are merged with white institutions, more problems arise: they lose their identity as Black institutions, more white students enter the university, and scholastic requirements are raised. And for most Blacks, who are already victims of educational neglect, it becomes harder to gain admission.

### Black control of the university

At the root of the SU struggle is the students' effort to maintain the institution as a Black university. But the students, unlike the administrators, want to transform SU from simply a university for Blacks into one that is Black controlled.

The students oppose the current

their documents they spelled out the problem: "Southern University currently acts as a mechanism functioning to mold minds that would submit to the tyranny that exploits and dehumanizes the people of the world. It acts to submerge the consciousness of Black people . . . [and] functions to perpetuate the injustices inflicted upon Black and poor people."

It continues, "In understanding that the educational system in America is geared to the continuation of the oppressive conditions . . . [we] call for the redefining of Southern University as it relates to the students and the Black and world community. [Because] as Black students . . . we find that it is impossible to continually ignore the glaring contradictions that exist between our educational experiences and the realities of our lives."

The thrust of the students' desires is contained in their demands. The demands called for the establishment of councils to implement improvements. The councils would be con-

trolled by the students and faculty and would govern such matters as the functioning of a particular department, a college within the university, or the entire university. Some of the specific demands call for changes in the curriculum, budget, and concept of teaching.

### Combined effect

During the 1960s SU was a center for the civil rights movement in Louisiana. For example, H. Rap Brown, who later became a leader of SNCC, came from that milieu.

Many of the students who led the recent struggle were also the ones who protested the importation of Rhodesian chrome ore into the U.S. in March 1972, convincing a Black longshoreman's local not to unload a cargo of ore from the racist white settler-state.

In addition, students from SU were among those who led the Louisiana delegation at the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., in March 1972 in calling for the formation of a Black political party. Also students from SUBR joined with students from Southern University at New Orleans (SUNO) and others in holding a successful demonstration in New Orleans last May 27, African Liberation Day, in solidarity with the ones held in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

The students at SUNO have also been active in exposing and attempting to eradicate the Felony Action Squad, an elite police unit similar to STRESS in Detroit.

Finally, efforts by teams of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley in the spring and fall of 1972 persuaded more than 300 SUBR students and almost 100 SUNO students to reject the false promises of the Democratic and Republican parties and endorse the Socialist Workers Party slate for president and vice-president.

### Struggle not over

Those students who led the struggle sought to deepen the impact of the movement by soliciting support from community groups and students at other colleges as well. They encouraged mass action rather than attempting to substitute themselves for the action of the masses. And they used democratic decision-making to arrive at a course of action, thereby gaining the confidence of the student body.

The movement at SUBR alarmed the campus administrators, and the state government saw it as a threat that had to be stopped. State police and sheriff's deputies were called out and two students were gunned down.

The murders drew national attention to the struggle and sparked many Black-led student protests across the U.S. The basic grievances of the students have still not been met, and we can expect further struggle both at SU and other Black colleges until genuine Black control is achieved.

During the struggle, the students often repeated their basic goal: ". . . we feel that our educational experiences are of *no value* if they do not speak to the objective realities and conditions of the oppressed masses. It is our objective to transform the present educational system so that it will aid in the building of a more humane society."

That is the goal of the SU students. The Save Black Schools movement can help them realize it by organizing and mobilizing Black students around these issues.



# Mich. public school finance plan puts Black students last

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, March 30—The closing of Detroit's 200 public schools—previously set for March 16—has been averted by means of two loans of \$35- and \$45-million from the state of Michigan. Repayment is to be made over a period of six to seven years through new taxing powers voted to the Detroit School Board by the state legislature.

The board is now authorized to levy a 2.2 mill additional property tax or an additional 1 percent flat rate income tax, or both. The board has already decided to impose at least the property tax. Voter approval is not needed for either tax.

In spite of the loans, the school board is threatening to close the schools on April 1. This is the date the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) contract with the board expires. The school board has refused to extend the contract to the end of the school year.

The April 1 expiration was agreed to by both parties last year in anticipation of the funding crisis and possible early closing of the schools. DFT President Mary Ellen Riordan has flatly stated that "we will not work without a contract."

The loans from the state are only a stopgap measure. The school system will face a continuing deficit of \$38-million again next year and each succeeding year. The present deficit results from a combination of racist discrimination by the state government in financial aid, a declining property tax base, and a tax revolt by overburdened city dwellers.

Detroit residents currently pay a property tax, state flat rate income tax, city flat rate income tax, sales tax, utilities tax, and others that give Detroit the highest combined tax rate in the entire state — one-third more than in any other Michigan city. The only tax the residents get to vote on is the special school tax. Thus voters have rejected 11 of 13 proposals to increase property taxes to fund the schools in the last 10 years.

Racist discrimination by the state against Detroit's schools has a long history and varied forms that have been well documented by the Kerner Commission, the National Education Association, the National Center for Education Statistics of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and others.

Studies show that the discrimination has increased as the city's racial composition has changed. In 1950, 16 percent of Detroit's population was Black; today it is close to 50 percent. The remaining white population averages 45 years of age and thus has relatively fewer children of school age than the younger Black population. The result is a school population 68 to 70 percent Black.

The state legislature, dominated by white rural and suburban interests, has consistently denied Detroit schools equal aid. For example, the state has been reimbursing rural and suburban districts for 50 to 60 percent of transportation costs of their pupils, while paying Detroit only five percent! The difference has been made up partially by the school system — thus increasing the deficit—but mostly it has come out of the pockets of the students' families.

From 1950 to 1964 the state increased aid to school systems outside of Detroit faster than to the city, so that by 1964 the difference was equal

to \$51 per pupil per year. This continues today.

## 'Economy' moves

In an effort to decrease the school funding deficit, school board officials have drastically cut back on the quality of education. "Economy" moves have included laying off more than 350 teachers in 1972, reducing the total number to 10,500. This has raised the pupil-teacher ratio to the highest in the state, 35 to one. It would require the hiring of 1,650 additional teachers to bring Detroit up to the average ratio for the state.

School buildings, averaging 50 years of age, have been allowed to deteriorate even further. Many buildings still do not have food service facilities and are therefore not eligible for federal funds for breakfast and lunch programs.



Students at Mackenzie high school in Detroit

Teachers were asked not to seek wage gains in their last contract. The DFT agreed to this.

Textbooks grow out of date and supplies run short under the economy ax.

As a result of this deteriorating quality of education, Detroit children score poorly on statewide achievement tests. Detroit's fourth graders were in the lowest 1 percent of all state school systems in average scores. They are typical of all Detroit students.

Cutbacks in federal funds have exacerbated this tight financial situation.

The inequalities resulting from basing school funding on property taxes have also been exacerbated in Detroit because of a dwindling property tax base. The 1967 rebellion of the Black community resulted in \$64-million in taxable property being taken off the tax rolls, as the city has dragged its heels on clearing the land for future use.

Another \$150-million in private taxable land went to 23 miles of freeways for suburban commuters, as city fathers catered to the auto dynasties while ignoring the mass transportation needs of the workers.

Recent federal court decisions have exposed the discriminatory nature of financing schools through a property tax system. Suburban school districts always come out ahead of urban districts with this method.

However on March 22 the U. S. Supreme Court reversed this trend of lower court decisions. It ruled by five to four that it is constitutional for states to finance schools according to the taxable property value in the school district. This decision legitimizes the educational deprivation suffered by children from poor neighborhoods, such as the Black communities in Detroit.

While Detroit schools disintegrate for lack of funding, Michigan's city, county, and state officials have been busy voting themselves sizable pay increases; the "big three"—Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler—all reported record profits for 1972; and

# Rap Brown convicted

By BETTI SACHS

NEW YORK—A jury of 11 men and one woman has found former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leader H. Rap Brown and three Black codefendants guilty on charges of robbery, assault, and weapons possession.

The charges stem from the holdup of a west side Manhattan social club in October 1971. On the most serious of the charges, attempted murder of three policemen, the jurors announced after three days of deliberations that they were "hopelessly deadlocked."

The verdict was returned on March 29, after a two-and-a-half-month trial. The defendants remained calm as the jury returned the verdicts. They face a possible maximum sentence of 50 years in prison on the combined charges and a possible retrial on the murder charges. Sentencing will take place in May.

Brown, who acted as cocounsel in his case, has been held in jail on \$250,000 bail for 17 months since his arrest in October 1971. Defense attorneys William Kunstler, Howard Moore Jr., Marguerite Hines, Charles McKinney, and O. T. Wells contend that the prosecution bolstered its weak case with fabricated eyewitness testimony. In their summations, they pointed out many inconsistencies in the prosecution's case.

The defense attorneys maintained that Brown was a political activist and a victim of yet another frame-up. Brown has a long history of intense harassment by police and federal authorities starting in 1967, when he became national chairman of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.)

Defense attorneys are expected to appeal the verdicts. Kunstler said, "This trial was a great miscarriage of justice. People told untruths, perjured themselves . . . and all the witnesses contradicted themselves."

Brown and the others remain in jail pending sentencing in May. Brown faces possible extradition to Maryland to face arson and incitement-to-riot charges stemming from incidents in Cambridge, Md., in 1967.

# Brandeis students fight cutbacks

By NAN CHARPENTIER

BOSTON, April 3—On April 2 at 8:15 a.m., 75 members of the Third World Coalition at Brandeis University occupied the administration building to protest cuts in financial aid to Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, and other low-income students at the university.

Through an increase in tuition and in room and board, and decreases in scholarship grants and the maximum earnings in the work-study program, 50 percent of these students will be forced to either take an additional loan of \$1,000 from the university at a high interest rate or leave school.

The takeover lasted eight hours. An injunction was served at 4 p.m., at which time they peacefully left the building. The struggle is continuing with a picket line today outside the building where negotiations are being held between the administration and the coalition. This action followed an intensive reach-out to try to involve the student body and the campus community through leafletting, teach-ins, and a massive letter-writing campaign.



# Oliver: Nixon's meat ceiling 'simply a fraud'

By HUGH MORGAN

NEW YORK, March 31 — On the eve of the national meat boycott called for April 1-8, supporters of the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign stationed themselves in front of local supermarkets and distributed a statement by Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor. The statement labeled the March 29 announcement by President Nixon of a price ceiling on meat as "simply a fraud." "Prices," Oliver said, "are much too high right now and must be rolled back substantially as a first step in easing the burden of the high cost of living."

"This government has proved through its Phase 1 and Phase 2 policies that 'price controls' are not enforced. Prices continue to rise for the consumer and profits zoom upward for the corporations while wages are held down," he said.

Oliver outlined a series of steps that should be taken to curb inflation and ease unemployment. These included:

- Dismantling the \$81-billion military budget, which is the major cause of inflation. Using the funds this would make available for a crash program of public works to rebuild New York and other cities and to provide jobs.

- An immediate end to all wage controls. Escalator clauses in all union contracts, unemployment and Social Security benefits, pegging automatic increases in income to all increases in the cost of living.

- Full employment through the reduction of the workweek with no reduction in weekly pay to spread the available work to all who need a job.

Campaign supporters also distributed a statement by Norman Oliver at a parade today proclaimed by the Lindsay administration as "Home With Honor Day" for Vietnam veterans and POWs. The statement scored

the hypocrisy of this parade, pointing out that the U.S. role in Vietnam was not an honorable one. Oliver cited the shameful plight of Vietnam vets who came home to a high rate of unemployment, the degradation of welfare, and cutbacks in federal programs for veterans' education and aid to the disabled.

On March 28, Oliver participated in a Brooklyn College panel discussion on the struggle by Blacks and Puerto Ricans for control of the schools in their communities. Also on the panel were Georgina Hoggard, chairwoman of the District 1 school board who is running for reelection to the board as part of a slate that supports control of the schools by the predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community in District 1; and Luis Fuentes, superintendent of District 1.

Oliver expressed support for the struggle of Blacks and Puerto Ricans for control of all institutions in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Following the panel, 14 people signed up to work on the Lower East Side for the election of the pro-community-control slate.



Norman Oliver

Militant/Bruce Bloy

## How L.A. Chicanos react to SWP campaign

By VIRGINIA GARZA

LOS ANGELES, March 27 — Olga Rodriguez, socialist candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, spoke on a panel with representatives of other candidates today to 400 students at Wilson High School. The students, who were predominantly Chicano, called Tom Bradley's representative a "vendido" (sellout). Sam Yorty's representative attempted to appease them by informing them of a "hot line" to Yorty's office, which is answered in Spanish. The only questions asked were of Rodriguez. More than 30 students crowded around her after the meeting to ask for more information on her campaign.

This contrast between the response given to Rodriguez and that given to her opponents by Black and Chicano audiences was also apparent at another panel meeting held March 21 at a meeting of United Brothers, a predominantly Black and Chicano community organization.

Seven of the nine mayoral candidates showed up at this meeting. One after another had their say, reciting their political accomplishments, and promising what they would do if elected. Then the audience asked questions of each of them. "What about jobs for our youth?" "Where do you stand on police harassment?" "What are you going to do about our bad housing?"

Each candidate gave their answers. James Ware agreed that youth need

jobs: "I'm prepared to have them work cleaning streets for \$2 an hour."

Jess Unruh, when asked if he was willing to have a community committee screen prospective police candidates, answered with an emphatic "no." "But," he said, "I promise to hire more Blacks and Chicanos on the force." The audience laughed. Then Unruh said, "What we need is more foot patrols." At this point, the audience made angry noises.

When Olga Rodriguez began to speak the same anger was there. She began to explain what the Socialist Workers Party stood for: "Black and Chicano political and economic control of Black and Chicano communities; a community-controlled police force to defend the community and not the rich man's private property; a change in the rotten schools that are teaching lies to our children about our ancestry."

She continued, "The school system has to be changed from top to bottom; the entire system we live under has to be changed. We have to organize ourselves and quit supporting the people who represent those who are our oppressors."

After the meeting ended, several people came over to tell her that they liked what she had said. A young Vietnam veteran asked where he could get more information about the Socialist Workers Party.

## Campaigning for Socialism

PHILADELPHIA SOCIALISTS FILE NOMINATING PETITIONS: On March 28, supporters of Bruce Kaufman for Philadelphia district attorney and Harvey McArthur for Philadelphia city controller filed 14,276 signatures to place the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the fall ballot. The signatures were collected in a three-week drive.

HOUSTON SWP OPENS NEW CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS: On Saturday, March 31, a barbeque and rally celebrated the opening of a new headquarters for the Houston Socialist Workers Party, Pathfinder Bookstore, and Young Socialist Alliance at 3311 Montrose Blvd. Sixty supporters heard speeches by newly announced SWP candidate for school committee, Peter Gellert, and talks by mayoral candidate Dan Fein and city council candidate Brenda Brdar. The new headquarters, in a modern office building, is located in the center of Houston.

CLEVELAND PETITIONING DRIVE IN HIGH GEAR: Twenty-five Young Socialists for Scherr and other supporters of the Cleveland SWP mayoral campaign of Roberta Scherr gathered a total of 3,845 signatures March 31 in the first day of petitioning to put Scherr on the ballot. Petitioners averaged 155 signatures each, and reported that many people they approached already knew about Scherr's campaign, which has received extensive publicity in Cleveland. Petitioning director Bruce Marcus predicted that the effort would be completed within a week.

L.A. SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IN THE NEWS, I: An article on the Chicano vote in the upcoming L.A. mayoral election, in the March 29 *Los Angeles Times*, had this to say about the campaign of Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor: "A key issue in her campaign, 'which has gotten an excellent response in Chicano areas,' according to Ms. Rodriguez, is 'Chicano community self-control of all institutions.' . . ."

"Campaigners for other candidates concede that Ms. Rodriguez will have some voter appeal, primarily among younger Chicano activists."

L.A. SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IN THE NEWS, II: From an article entitled "Leftists seek city posts" by Ron Ridenour in the March 30 *Los An-*

*geles Free Press*: "In a recent piece of literature, the Socialist Workers Party calls on all people to support [Communist Party candidate William] Taylor for Controller while criticizing the Communist Party's major thrust of supporting Democrats as being 'class collaborationists.'"

"The CP does not respond in kind, however. In a conversation with CP campaign manager, Pierre Mandel, he said, 'The CP does not endorse any other candidates than Communist Party members.' However, he did agree that support was offered to others, including [Democrat] Thomas Bradley, who are backed by major capitalist funds and personalities."

"The rationale is, 'The difference in program. We don't support the efforts of Trotskyites,' Mandel said. Bradley is supported because he is black and because a victory for him 'makes it possible to defeat the racists. He is the symbol of the fight against racism which is not in the interests of capitalists.'"

"The same logic, however, does not apply to SWP (Trotskyists) candidates who may be workers or members of oppressed groups. For instance, Mariana Hernandez is running for office 6 of the community college race and is the only Chicana running but the CP does not support her. P&F [Peace and Freedom Party] member [Mary] Siegfried is not supported because a Chicano is running in that district. The CP supports him even though he is not a socialist."

BOSTON RALLY LAUNCHES SWP CAMPAIGNS: More than 100 people attended a March 24 rally to kick off the SWP campaigns for Boston and Cambridge city council and school board. The SWP is running Jane Roland, Jane Strader, Tom Moriarty, Carol Henderson Evans, Ollie Bivens, and Nancy Charpentier for Cambridge city council. Its candidates for the Cambridge school committee are Diane Travis, Ruth Getts, Toby Emerich, and Jon Olmstead. Don Gurewitz and Jeanette Tracy are the socialist candidates for Boston school committee. Campaigning for seats on the Boston city council are Jeff Powers and Debra Byrne.

Speakers at the rally included Don Gurewitz, Diana Travis, Jeanette Tracy, and Debra Byrne. In response to a fund appeal by Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the SWP, supporters donated more than \$700 to the socialist campaign.

—PETER SEIDMAN



Communist Party supports Black Democrat Tom Bradley (left), an ex-cop, because "he is the symbol of the fight against racism which is not in the interests of capitalists." But the CP refuses to support Mariana Hernandez (right), SWP candidate for community college board office 6, the only Chicana and the only socialist in that race, because she's a "Trotskyite."



Militant/Dave Warren

# Seale-Brown campaign steers Oakland Blacks toward Democratic Party swamp

By RICK CONGRESS

OAKLAND—Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, both national leaders of the Black Panther Party, are running in the local elections here. Seale is a candidate for mayor, and Brown is running for city council. The election is April 17. If no candidate gets a majority, a runoff will be held May 15.

The elections are officially "nonpartisan," but the party affiliations of all the candidates are known and publicized. The mayor, John Redding, a conservative Republican, is campaigning for another term. Otho Green, a Black business consultant, is a Democrat aligned with McGovern forces. Green is backed by the Oakland Democratic Black Caucus. John Sutter, a white liberal who is on the city council, has the support of the anti-McGovern Democrats.

Unfortunately, the Seale-Brown campaign offers no alternative to the capitalist parties in this election. Seale and Brown are campaigning as Democrats, not as Black Panther Party candidates. They are signing people up in the Democratic Party as part of their voter registration campaign.

By running as Democrats, Seale and Brown are asking Black people, workers and other oppressed people to support one of the parties responsible for maintaining capitalism, with its racism, wars, and exploitation. Thus their campaign leads in the wrong direction. It does not represent a step toward independent Black political action against the capitalist parties. Instead, it leads back into the swamp of Democratic Party politics.

The Black Panther Party has become more and more involved in coalition politics with the Democratic Party. In Berkeley, for example, it is supporting the April Coalition. This alliance between some radicals and a wing of the Democratic Party was put together to win votes on a liberal program. On a national level, it supported Black Democrat Shirley Chisholm in last year's Democratic Party primaries.

The campaign of Seale and Brown has evolved within this framework. An interview with Seale about his plans for the mayoralty campaign appeared in the September 1972 *Black Scholar*. Seale told the interviewer he wanted to "unify Black people around my mayoralty campaign simultaneously with our survival programs. The survival program is really a means of organizing Black people in the Black community."

He went on to say, "the main thing to do, of course, is to get the racist flunkies and lackeys of the capitalist ruling class out of the system."

In this interview, Seale seemed to project the Oakland campaign as a campaign of the Black Panther Party



In last year's presidential primary, the Black Panther Party supported Shirley Chisholm, shown here with other Democratic Party politicians. In their Oakland campaign, Seale and Brown advertise themselves as 'real effective Democrats.'

independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

But as their campaign progressed it became clear that Seale and Brown were not running as candidates of the Black Panther Party. They tried to get away from the image of a Black campaign, although it was precisely this aspect that was attractive to many Blacks. At first, they referred to themselves as "people's" candidates, or as "independents." But as the campaign grew more active, and in response to attacks on them for running against Black Democrat Otho Green, Seale and Brown began to campaign as Democrats.

They pasted up a strip reading "Democrat," on their original posters, which had no party designation. A new brochure was printed. It declared in bold type: "Elect two Democrats to public office." Their radio ads on the popular station in the Black community began to identify them as the "real effective Democrats."

This opportunistic capitulation to the Democratic Party reflected Seale and Brown's main objective in the campaign—to get themselves elected to office regardless of whether their campaign would aid or hinder the independent organization and mobilization of the Black community. They had been seriously talking about "a people's landslide" for Seale and Brown on April 17. But as it became increasingly obvious that this was not in the cards, they turned toward campaigning as Democrats in an effort to win more votes.

This evolution of the campaign has caused controversy among many of their campaign supporters. The militant statements made at the beginning of the campaign attracted large numbers of young Blacks, primarily students, to the campaign. The Black Student Unions on the campuses in Oakland began functioning as Seale-Brown campaign committees. Several

campaign rallies drew 300 to 400 young Black people.

During the early stages of the Seale-Brown campaign, before they began to campaign as Democrats, the Oakland Socialist Workers Party called for a vote for Seale and Brown as a means of furthering the development of independent Black political action against the capitalist parties. In this campaign Seale and Brown were—in the beginning—running against the Democrats and Republicans, although this was in contradiction to the Black Panther Party's national perspective of coalition politics with the Democrats.

Because the campaign was based in the Black community and was directed against the Democratic and Republican candidates, the SWP urged a vote for Seale and Brown, despite disagreement with them on a number of important questions.

In a public statement, James Lewis, SWP candidate for Oakland board of education, and Rick Congress, SWP candidate for Peralta Community College board of trustees, pointed out that by running against the Democratic and Republican candidates, Seale and Brown were objectively engaged in political action pointing toward a break by Black people with the parties of their oppressors. They cited the gains the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest made by organizing Chicanos in opposition to the capitalist parties as an example of the way forward for Black people too.

The SWP candidates criticized Seale and Brown for not using their campaign to explain the necessity of a political break with the Democratic Party. Lewis and Congress explained that the SWP's call for a vote for Seale and Brown was offered on the proviso that the campaign retain its independence from the Democrats and Republicans.

The SWP also pointed out that the

Black Panther Party was making a mistake by not making a central part of the Seale-Brown campaign a projection of the need for a mass, independent Black party. This was further symbolized by their running as "independents" and not as Black Panther Party candidates.

Once Seale and Brown began to campaign as Democrats, the SWP reversed its call to vote for them. "By running as candidates of one of the parties of the ruling class," James Lewis explained, "Seale and Brown are seriously misleading and miseducating the Black community about the possibility of achieving any improvement in the conditions of Black people through reliance on capitalist politics."

"The evolution of the Seale-Brown candidacies from formal independence from the Democrats and Republicans into Democratic candidacies reflects the basic pro-Democratic Party politics of the Black Panther Party."

Seale has justified his support for the Democratic Party by using the same excuses liberal Democrats offer: the Democratic Party is "where the people are," and it "can be reformed."

Seale is even described in the April 2 issue of *Newsweek* as "a perfectly respectable Democrat." He is quoted approvingly as explaining, "We want to turn Oakland into an all-American city."

Seale is now trying to outdo the two other Democratic candidates in pushing forward the Democratic Party label. The Seale-Brown campaign is thus misdirecting those people who were initially attracted to it on the strength of their support for independent Black political action. It is directing them right back into the trap of capitalist politics.

Oakland voters, however, still have an opportunity to vote against the capitalist and racist Democratic and Republican parties on April 17. They can do so by casting a ballot for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, James Lewis for Oakland board of education and Rick Congress for Peralta Community College board of trustees.



Bobby Seale: 'perfectly respectable Democrat.'

## Chicano school boycott wins gains

By RICK CONGRESS

BERKELEY, April 2—A boycott of the Oakland public schools initiated March 26 ended this weekend after an agreement was reached between the boycott committee, Comisión Permanente de Habla Hispana, and Oakland Public Schools Superintendent Foster.

The boycott, called by a meeting of more than 300 Chicano parents, teachers, and students, was sparked by a sharp rise in violent incidents in the schools in the last two months. The boycott demanded Raza control

of education in the Raza community as a step toward curbing disruptions in the schools. Foster responded by calling for increased discipline and security instead.

Among the demands won through the agreement were commitments to institute a bilingual, bicultural grammar school and high school in Oakland's Chicano community by September 1973, and to hire more Raza personnel.

During the strike, a boycott center and alternative school for striking Raza students was established in the

Oakland Chicano community. Four to five hundred students attended the alternate school. According to boycott organizers, 80 percent of the Raza students in Oakland's high schools stayed out of school.

On March 30, more than 600 boycotters marched in a cold rain from the strike center to the Oakland Public School office. They set up a militant picket line, chanting such slogans as "Raza Si, Foster No!," "Chicano Education," and "Unidos, Unidos, Unidos Venceremos!" and then marched back to the center.

The boycott received the support of

various organizations, among them MEDA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Aztlán), a high school student organization; Comité Popular Educativo; Raza Educators Association; and the Chicano Student Unions from Merritt and Laney Colleges.

Today, Carolyn Jaurez Anderson, an Oakland teacher and a leader of the boycott, told *The Militant* that the movement would not let down its guard and would press on for more gains. She added that further actions like the boycott may be necessary to keep the public school superintendent to his word.



## YSA leaders respond

# Zionists step up smear tactics

The smear campaign being carried out by Zionist organizations in the U.S. against the Young Socialist Alliance reached a new low when the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East charged recently that "genocide is what the YSA is really supporting" in the Middle East.

This "Youth Committee," points out YSA leader Rich Finkel in the April issue of the *Young Socialist*, "is headed by leaders of the Social Democrats and Young People's Socialist League, and sponsored by such noted peace and democracy-loving youth leaders as Nelson A. Rockefeller, Jacob Javits, Hubert Humphrey, and Albert Shanker.

"In their press release and a leaflet entitled 'The YSA, Anti-Semitism & Israel,' they single out the Young Socialist Alliance as the chief 'left-wing anti-Semitic' threat."

In refuting the lie that opposition to Zionism is equivalent to anti-Semitism, Finkel explains that "The YSA opposes all forms of racism and anti-Semitism anywhere in the world. But the fact that Jews have been oppressed and viciously persecuted does not give them the right to oppress and persecute another people!"

He recounts the struggle of the Palestinians against British imperialism and for national independence—a struggle in which the Zionist settlers supported the British—and the establishment of the state of Israel through the expulsion of more than one million Palestinians from their land and their homes. Israel was established by the colonization of a country whose native population was overwhelming Arab.

"The Jewish people had no more right to establish a state in the Middle East on the backs of the Palestinians than other white European settlers had to establish states in Southern Africa on the backs of the Africans," says Finkel.

The material used in the "Youth Committee" leaflet and statement is taken from "Danger on the Left," an article published by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, which purports to document "left-wing anti-Semitism." This article was answered in the Jan. 19, Jan. 26, and Feb. 9 issues of *The Militant*.

Both the ADL article and the "Youth Committee" statement and leaflet attempt to avoid any discussion of the actual history of the conflict between the Zionist settlers and the Arab peoples, and of the real alternatives facing the Israeli Jews. As YSA national secretary Andrew Pulley points out in a statement released March 27, "The 'Youth Committee' is evidently worried by the growing influence of anti-



Militant/Brian Shannon  
YSA National Secretary Andrew Pulley

Zionist ideas. They hope to smear the Young Socialist Alliance with their phony charges of anti-Semitism and intimidate anyone who is critical of Israel."

In order to carry out their smear campaign against the YSA the so-called socialists, who are the backbone of the "Youth Committee," have entered into alliance with the most racist and reactionary political forces. At Brooklyn College in New York, for instance, their leaflets are being handed out by members of the Jewish Defense League.

Their success in getting backing from major capitalist politicians is a reflection of the fact that Israel, because of its dependence on U.S. military and economic aid, must act as a bulwark for imperialist interests in the Middle East, and against the struggles of the Arab masses for social liberation. This was seen most graphically in September 1970, when Israel, backed by the U.S., openly prepared to invade Jordan to prop up the reactionary regime of King Hussein.

The real cause of the Israeli-Arab conflict, Pulley explained in his statement, was the attempt to establish a racist, all-Jewish state on the land belonging to another people, and the conquest of other Arab land territories in 1967. "Until the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland is restored," says Pulley, "there can be neither 'peace' nor 'democracy' in the Middle East."

Pulley concludes with a challenge to the "Youth Committee," demanding "they end this slander campaign and publicly debate the issues of the Middle East conflict on campuses across the country."

## Socialist meetings to discuss Vietnam

By MIRTHA VIDAL

Vietnam: the meaning of the accords, the role of Moscow and Peking, the history and role of the American anti-war movement. These are some of the subjects that will be discussed at socialist conferences to be held in 16 major cities this spring.

The weekend gatherings will also take up the meaning of Nixon's cutbacks, the Middle East, feminism, and the Black and Chicano liberation struggles. The conferences are sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialist support groups of Socialist Workers Party candidates in areas where they are running for office.

Speakers scheduled to address these meetings include Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the So-



George Novack

Militant/Brian Shannon

cialist Workers Party, and noted Marxist scholar George Novack. Leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party currently on national speaking tours and SWP candidates will also take part.

The first of these meetings will be held in Washington, D.C., April 6-7. Linda Jenness will speak on "Billy Graham, the Pope, and Feminism" and *Militant* staff writer Derrick Morrison on Pan-Africanism and the African liberation movements.

Conferences will be held in Philadelphia and Atlanta on April 13-14. Andrew Pulley, YSA national secretary, will speak in Atlanta on the Black liberation struggle. Stephanie Coontz will speak in Philadelphia on the need for socialism in America.

On April 20-21 conferences will be held in Cleveland, Portland, Boston, Houston, and Austin. Syd Stapleton, who is now touring the country speaking on Vietnam and the history of the antiwar movement, will address the Houston meeting. On the first weekend in May, conferences featuring Andrew Pulley are scheduled for Chicago, Minneapolis, and Detroit.

For more information contact the YSA in your area. (See Socialist Directory on page 22 for addresses and phone numbers.)

## What's in store for rail workers?

By GUY MILLER

CHICAGO, March 28—While railroad workers here are still trying to learn what is in their new national agreement that was secretly negotiated between major companies and 14 rail unions, it is useful to compare what is known about it with a minor contract signed by the United Transportation Union Feb. 5. Both contracts may figure in plans offered yesterday to the U.S. Congress for reorganization of the bankrupt railroads in the heavy-traffic Northeast sector of the nation.

The national settlement covering 500,000 workers was jointly announced by union and management negotiators March 13, but the terms remain vague.

The new 18-month contract will become effective July 1 and remain in force until December 31, 1974. It does not include the six bankrupt Northeast roads, Penn Central among them, undergoing reorganization. On Oct. 1 the carriers will increase their payments to the railroad pension fund, and workers who are paying the maximum into this fund will receive the \$42.50 a month that is now deducted from their paycheck. A 4 percent raise starts Jan. 1, 1974. The carriers will check off union dues. This much is known, not much more.

Work rules are supposed to remain unchanged for now, but a union-management committee is reviewing them.

The railroad pension plan, established in 1935 by an act of Congress, is insolvent, its future uncertain.

The little noted Feb. 5 settlement between the United Transportation Union and the tiny Providence &

Worcester Railroad is not uncertain nor in any way vague. It allows for a reduction in crew size and elimination of such craft categories as firemen, engineers, and trainmen. Under this agreement, all operating employees on the P&WR are in one job title, leaving only maintenance and clerical personnel separate.

In return for this reduction in jobs, the UTU received a "guaranteed annual wage," and worker participation in a "profit sharing" scheme.

The "100 miles equals one day" method of computing pay and the payment of overtime or arbitraries for extra work is abolished.

This contract on the tiny P&WR is exactly what giant systems like Penn Central have been demanding.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress is debating plans to bail out Penn Central. The Nixon administration offered a plan March 27 to reduce rail service drastically and merge railroads in the Northeast under the management of a federally chartered private corporation.

The Interstate Commerce Commission beat the administration by one day with its own plan to save the bankrupt railroads. The ICC plan, which probably has the best chance for passage in Congress, would levy a 1 percent tax on all surface cargo transportation, expected to bring in \$500-billion annually to cover rail maintenance.

Republican Senator William Saxbe of Ohio has introduced a bill for nationalization of certain railroads.

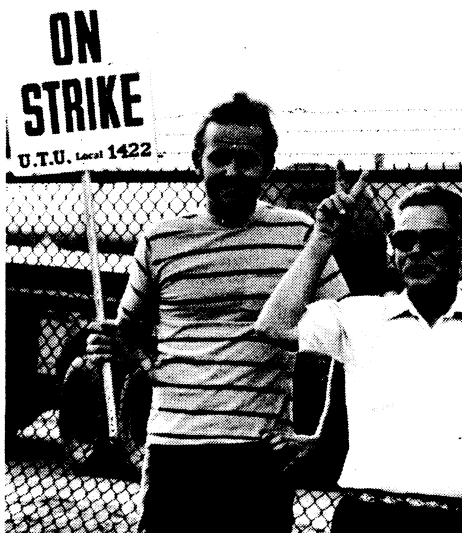
Whatever ultimately comes from the Congress, it is certain to take into account wages and working conditions.

It should be noted that most railroads are able to operate under union conditions and still make handsome profits. The Burlington Northern showed 1972 fourth quarter earnings of \$18.8-million, up 196 percent from \$6.1-million for the same period a year earlier.

The Norfolk and Western took in \$88-million in 1972, up from \$76-million the year before.

Rail service is not better on the prosperous roads than on the bankrupts; neither are wages and working conditions.

All carriers are looking for ways to change the work rules and reduce the size of train crews. The government may find the P&WR contract the perfect model for this purpose in its reorganization plans. That is why railroad workers should take a second look these days at all contracts, and prepare to defend their job rights.



Militant/Walter Lippmann



# The Guardian sets out to build a new Maoist Communist Party

By DAN ROSENSHINE

In recent months a number of Maoist organizations have begun a discussion on forming a "new communist party." The primary promoter of this discussion has been the *Guardian*, which describes itself as an "independent radical newsweekly."

On March 23 the *Guardian* sponsored a forum in New York City on the subject, "What Road to Building a New Communist Party?" More than 1,000 people, primarily young, attended—showing that the subject under discussion has evoked considerable interest in some circles in the radical movement. Speaking at the forum were Irwin Silber, executive editor of the *Guardian*; Mike Klonsky, chairman of the October League; Mike Hamlin, chairman of the Black Workers Congress; and Don H. Wright, a member of the central committee of the Revolutionary Union.



Maoist groups represented at the Guardian forum have different views on many issues, but they are all united in support of Mao's foreign policy, including China's "new friendship" with Nixon, which was achieved at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution.

Each of the four speakers agreed upon the need for a new party, based on a Maoist line, while urging that it not be formed "prematurely" or simply "proclaimed." With varying degrees of emphasis, the speakers stressed that the basis for forming such a party had to be laid through extensive discussion among the various Maoist groups and "work among the masses."

In the past year the *Guardian* has openly embraced Maoism. It has become an uncritical apologist for the Chinese bureaucracy's domestic and international policies, proclaiming the infallibility of the Mao Tsetung leadership and defending China's role in siding with the reactionary regimes in Pakistan and Ceylon. The *Guardian* has wholeheartedly endorsed Peking's moves toward detente with Nixon, and has supported the Mao regime's refusal to give adequate support to the Vietnamese revolution.

The Maoists have thus far failed to build parties of significant size and influence in most countries. For a while the Progressive Labor Party claimed the mantle of Maoism in the

U.S. But with the detente between the U.S. and Peking, PL abandoned Maoism, going so far as to characterize China as capitalist.

As a step toward filling this political vacuum, the *Guardian* initiated a series of six monthly forums in New York, aimed at drawing together the various Maoist groupings. The first two forums, on "The Role of the Anti-imperialist Forces in the Antiwar Movement" and the Role of the People's Republic of China in World Affairs," drew 350 and 600 people.

The *Guardian* has focused much of its attention on a layer of radical activists who participated in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a New Left formation that disintegrated in 1969 for lack of a clear political perspective. The New Left youth in SDS first rejected Marxism as "irrelevant" and "obsolete" and then turned to Stalinism in its Maoist form and

among themselves. Despite their agreement on support to Maoism, their differences on concrete issues under debate among radicals are quite deep. Silber and other speakers said that to develop a program for the new party, "further discussion" had to be held in the areas of women's liberation, the Black struggle, work in the union movement, and other areas. A program would emerge in these areas, they said, by "daily work in the people's struggles."

But when a questioner from the audience asked how each of the panelists would relate their politics to the struggle to allow more Black students to attend a predominantly white school in Canarsie, Brooklyn, the only answer she received was a long, evasive reply from Silber, who said he was against "glib answers."

The submerging of political differences for momentary organizational objectives is characteristic of both Stalinist and New Left organizations.

It is clear that major differences exist, for example, between the *Guardian* and the Revolutionary Union. The RU newspaper *Revolution* has characterized the Soviet Union as "imperialist," while the *Guardian* does not. The RU is opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment, while the *Guardian* is for it. And the RU characterizes Black people as an oppressed nation with the right to self-determination, while the *Guardian* rejects this and views Blacks as an "oppressed national minority fighting for equality and full democratic rights within the oppressor nation."

Unlike the Chinese Maoists, none of the speakers explicitly characterized the Soviet Union as having returned to capitalism; either because they have not made up their minds or they disagree with each other.

The question of the Vietnam liberation struggle and the Paris accords, which these forces have portrayed as a complete victory for the Vietnamese revolution, was not mentioned at all—except in the context of attacking the Socialist Workers Party for its position critical of the conditions the Paris accords impose on the Vietnamese.

The Communist Party, for its "modern revisionism," and the Socialist Workers Party, for its "left opportunism," were listed as the two main opponents of the projected new formation. All of the speakers ritualistically praised the Mao regime and attacked Trotskyism.

Silber gave the most complete anti-Trotskyist exposition. Part of the political basis of the new party, he said, was rejection of the "ideas of Trotsky and his various followers, who deservedly earn their reputation as supporters of socialism everywhere except where it exists."

There was no discussion of the need to break the workers and oppressed nationalities from the Democratic Party and capitalist politics, nor any mention of the electoral tactic that might be pursued by a "new communist party." The *Guardian*, it will be remembered, gave backhanded support to George McGovern in the 1972 elections.

The *Guardian*, October League, Revolutionary Union, and the Black Workers Congress, as well as some other groups around them, are apparently agreed on resorting to incantation about Stalin and Mao Tsetung. How quickly, or whether, they are capable of coming to agreement on current political perspectives and actually forming a party remains to be seen.

# Calif. judge declares a mistrial in Magee case

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, April 3—The declaration of a mistrial for Ruchell Magee ended a single episode in a series of trials that have increased the notoriety of the courts and prison system of California.

The jury was dismissed today when it announced itself "hopelessly deadlocked" after nine days of deliberations. The jurors reported they voted 11 to 1 for acquittal on the charge of murder and 11 to 1 for conviction on the charge of simple kidnapping.

Moses Shepherd, a Black postal employee, told defense supporters he held out for acquittal on the kidnapping charge to make sure that "if Magee could not get his victory, he would not get a defeat."

Magee was accused of the murder and kidnapping of Judge Harold Haley, who died Aug. 7, 1970, when police opened fire on the escape vehicle of several San Quentin prisoners. Testimony in the trials of Magee and his former codefendant, Angela Davis, indicated that prison guards were authorized to disregard hostages as they began firing at the vehicle.

Court testimony also revealed that important evidence was mishandled and even lost. In a bumbling effort to remove blame for Haley's death from officials of the state, the prosecution hinted about a conspiracy to free three prisoners known as the Soledad Brothers.

More recently, prosecutor Albert Harris had downplayed the political aspects of the case, dropping the conspiracy count against Magee after Angela Davis's acquittal. In his final statement, Harris confronted the jurors with a photograph of Judge Haley with a shotgun taped to his neck. "That was the intent of Ruchell Magee," boomed Harris.

But Harris was pointing to an empty chair. Magee had walked out of the courtroom to indicate symbolically that he was being denied his rights to adequately defend himself by a vindictive court system. The judge had denied Magee, a "jailhouse lawyer," the right to defend himself.

Magee contends that the state of California is trying to cover up the complicity of court officials in railroading him to jail in 1963. He emphasized that he is one of many thousands of prisoners who are being held in illegal servitude by a state that ignores its responsibilities to the people. After the jury reported the verdict, Magee wrote a note thanking the jurors. He stated that "in the next fight" his "sole survival still depends on the people."

Prosecutor Harris says he will seek a new trial. So far the state has spent more than \$500,000 on the case and deployed the heaviest security for any trial in San Francisco history. Each day Magee was flown in by helicopter from his cell in San Quentin. Spectators in the courtroom were separated from the trial proceedings by a floor-to-ceiling bulletproof shield. The intent was clearly to create an atmosphere that would encourage the jury to bring in a guilty verdict.

# In Review

## Young Socialist

"The shift in emphasis—from revolutionary action to conventional politics—suggests much about what has happened here [University of Wisconsin] and elsewhere in the country during the last two or three years." This appraisal of the student movement, by *New York Times* reporter William Stevens, suggests there's little market on campus for a socialist newspaper.

But a growing number of young people prefer not to rely on the *New York Times's* analysis of the youth radicalization, judging from sales of the *Young Socialist*. The circulation of this 16-page monthly published by the Young Socialist Alliance rose to more than 10,000 for the April issue, an 80 percent jump since January.

The April *Young Socialist* features a firsthand report on the struggle in Wounded Knee, S.D., by YSA National Secretary Andrew Pulley. There is also a two-page spread on Young Socialist campaigns for student government. Editor Rich Finkel answers a smear attack by the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East—a pro-Zionist group that falsely charges the YSA with anti-Semitism. And there is a description of the Escuela Tlatelolco, the Chicano school recently attacked by Denver

## Periodicals

cops, written by Al Baldivia, a YSA leader and a teacher at the school.

Headlines from recent issues, such as "Socialist Campaign Sparks Black High School Struggle"; "Campus Women Mobilize for Int'l Abortion Tribunal"; and "U.S. Out of Vietnam! Demonstrate Jan. 20!" reflect the ac-



tion focus of the *Young Socialist*. It also contains analytical articles, on the nature of the Vietnam accords, for example; speeches, such as Malcolm X's "The Ballot or the Bullet"; polemical essays; and coverage of international struggles, such as in Egypt, Germany, Belgium, and Greece.

Subscriptions are \$1 for six months, or \$2 for one year. Single copies cost 25 cents. To get a copy, write the YSA at P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

— CINDY JAQUITH



Section of poster announcing convention of New American Movement in 1972. Lerner admits NAM has been failure.

## Lerner on socialism

The New Socialist Revolution by Michael Lerner. Dell Publishing Company. New York, 1973. 332 pp. Paper \$2.95.

In this book, Michael Lerner, a leading light of the "New" Left and a former organizer of the New American Movement (NAM), presents his version of socialist theory and proposes tactics, strategy, and organizational forms for achieving socialism.

Much of the book is devoted to an explanation of why socialism is desirable. His description of the more obvious evils of capitalism, such as sexism, racism, and alienation, is adequate.

When it comes to providing a deeper analysis of capitalist society and the current radicalization, however, Lerner merely repeats the old errors of the New Left with some "socialist" window dressing added.

Like many former New Lefters, Lerner now recognizes the decisive role the working class will play in the socialist revolution. His main proposal for action in this arena is the formation of "people's councils," which he also calls "counter-institutions," that would be an alternative to the existing labor unions.

Every mass upsurge of workers produces new organizational forms, but attempts by radicals to impose artificial and idealized

## Books

forms on the labor movement have always ended in isolation and defeat. The "people's councils" are Lerner's substitute for a strategy to fight Nixon's economic policies and the class-collaborationist policies of the trade-union bureaucrats.

In fact, NAM adopted Lerner's proposal for people's councils in 1971. This resulted in a minor flurry of local organizing activities that soon died down, leaving no mark on working people or anybody else.

Lerner's treatment of the Black struggle succeeds in taking both sides at once on almost every key question in dispute among radicals. In general, however, his comments show lack of comprehension and fear of the independent movement for Black liberation.

He also takes for good coin the racist propaganda that Black demands for jobs, better housing, and decent schools are responsible for much of the growing tax burden on the working class as a whole. He sees this as an important source of division between white and Black workers.

Lerner is unhappy about the existing women's liberation movement. Because of its focus on a central demand, he derides the abortion law repeal movement, the major women's struggle of the past period. (Lerner is of the school that believes two- or three-issue movements are inherently "more radical" than struggles around one issue.)

Although he considers himself an opponent of the Democratic Party, Lerner still sees it as a "lesser evil." He writes, "Although the Democratic Party will never provide a mechanism for serious change, it is better to have one-tenth of the pie than no pie at all."

Admitting the failure of the New American Movement, Lerner now proposes the formation of a mass socialist party with a program vague enough to attract a wide variety of views. There is only one model for this in U.S. history—the pre-World War I Socialist Party. Because of its lack of a clear program and strategy, that party was fair game for reformists, who established tight control over it despite its large number of revolutionary-minded adherents. The organization Lerner says he wants to found would meet no better fate.

— FRED FELDMAN

## Cries and whispers

Cries and Whispers. Directed by Ingmar Bergman. A New World Release. 1972.

Remember trying to find films about women and having to go to an obscure women's film festival that was only playing for two weeks? Now, in this film, one finds an insight into the nature of women. Bergman so intricately demonstrates this nature that one may easily call the film a masterpiece.

He introduces us to three sisters and their maid; through the exposure of each we see the conflicts between the oppression of women and their real nature.

In the opening scene, a silent landscape at sunrise is soon interrupted by the first sister's violent outbursts of pain. By contrasting such human cries with silence, Bergman demonstrates the contradictions of our existence.

As we become accustomed to the dying sister's agony, we see that her suffering is not only physical but is also a manifestation of the relationships she has with her sisters. She expresses the feelings her sisters are unable to express; they represent examples of women's conditioned fears, hesitations, and defenses. Liv Ullman, who plays one of the other sisters, shows us superficial "femininity," pretentiousness, and coquettish manner-

## Film

isms. The third sister, in reaction to Ullman, displays hardened expressions, bitter, callous attitudes, and fear of fidelity.

Through the sexual relationship of the dying sister and maid, Bergman shows the attention and affection that are the very emotions the sisters want to but are unable to give one another.

Bergman also shows the debilitating relationships the women have with their husbands. As each sister experiences the repressive ties of her marriage, we see suicidal jealousies and painful acts of self-destruction. Bergman allows us to hear the actual cries and whispers of each woman throughout the film.

His technique is as brilliant as his characterizations. Emotions, passions, and death are accentuated by his constant use of the colors red and black. He presents the viewer with an insight into the fears and insecurities of each sister by his focus on single objects. He reveals the women's personalities with only the sounds of breathing, the cries of pain, and the secretiveness of whispers.

— WENDY BANNEN and LINDA SLODKI







# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**SOUTHEAST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE—APRIL 13-15.** Topics: Political Power for Black America by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1972 vice-presidential candidate; The Rise and Fall of the Dollar; Women in Revolt: Marxism and Feminism; film *A Luta Continua*. JFK Center, 225 Chestnut St. N.W., Atlanta. Sponsored by Georgia State Young Socialist Alliance. Registration: \$1 per session. Free child care available. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## BOSTON

**PANEL DISCUSSION ON WOUNDED KNEE.** Hear: Wendell Smith, staff writer for the *Real Paper*; Jane Strader, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge city council; a representative from the Boston Indian Movement. Fri., April 13, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

**INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM: WORLD IN REVOLT.** April 20-22. Conference Auditorium, Sherman Union, Boston University. Fri., April 20, 7:30 p.m.: The Cease-Fire Accords; Vietnam for the Vietnamese? Sat., April 21, 11 a.m.: Black Nationalism, Socialism, and the African Revolution; 2:30 p.m.: Can There Be a Revolution in the USA?; 7 p.m.: Decline of the Dollar, Rising Prices, and the International Monetary Crisis; Sun., April 22, 1 p.m.: The Struggle for Freedom in Northern Ireland. For more information call (617) 482-8051.

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**LOOKING FORWARD TO 2001: THE ENERGY CRISIS.** Speakers: Steve Beck, contributor to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*; and others. Fri., April 13, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 105th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

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**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1973 CAMPAIGN BANQUET.** Speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Bruce Kaufman, candidate for Philadelphia district attorney; Harvey McArthur, candidate for city controller; Len Lear, writer for *Philadelphia Tribune*. Fri., April 13. Dinner, 7:30 p.m.; Rally, 8:30 p.m. Donation: \$4; rally only, \$1. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market.) For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

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# ...boycott

*Continued from page 3*

publican politicians, is willing to let the working people shoulder the cost of inflation. But working people don't think inflation is their fault, and they don't see why they should be made to sacrifice because of it.

If the determined mood of this week's boycott is any indication, the politicians and the labor bureaucrats haven't seen anything yet.

# ...May 26

*Continued from page 9*

aukai spoke on the necessity of organizing demonstrations in support of the African struggles. The next day a state-wide ALSC meeting was held, and Philadelphia was designated as the main demonstration site. Pittsburgh may also be the site of a demonstration. A door-to-door campaign

in the Philadelphia Black community is planned to raise funds and publicize May 26. The ALSC also plans to send speakers to community organizations, colleges, and high schools in the area.

The May 26 demonstration in Washington, D.C., is being hosted by the African Liberation Day Support Committee (ALDSC). The ALDSC so far includes members of the Youth Organization for Black Unity, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, the Youth Liberation Movement, and others.

# ...Wounded

*Continued from page 9*

action and interfering with a law officer.

It is clear that the real intent of the government in arresting Young Bear was to intimidate local supporters of the Wounded Knee occupation especially in Porcupine, where outside supporters were invited to stay by the district meeting. Young Bear is now out on bond after his bail was reduced to \$1,000.

"Just supporting AIM is now grounds for arrest," Young Bear said. He says the charges against him are phony. Right after he was released the FBI arrested another AIM leader, Jesse Larges of Denver. Larges, who has coordinated outside support during much of the occupation, was in Wounded Knee only when the federal roadblocks were down.

Since the government has failed to reverse the growing support for Wounded Knee and the just demands the action has raised, Justice Department spokesman Kent Frizzell has been saying that a negotiated settlement may soon be reached. He is quick to add that legal action against the occupiers will then proceed.

"It is up to us now to spread the truth concerning Wounded Knee and to also share the message that we must stand and fight to live the way in which we have to live." These were the words of Janine Jamisson, a Tonawanda Seneca of the Six Nations Confederacy and a student at Cornell University, as she addressed an Ithaca, N.Y., ral-

ly of 200 people in support of the Wounded Knee occupation March 30.

Members of the Cornell Native American Association have worked closely with the Iroquois Confederacy and AIM to coordinate rallies and other support actions throughout the upstate New York area. In addition to the Ithaca action, rallies and meetings have occurred across New York State in Binghamton, Aurora, Syracuse, Buffalo, Plattsburg, Rochester, and at the Onandaga Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, N.Y.

In another area, United Auto Workers Local 1364 in Fremont, Calif., unanimously passed a solidarity statement with the Wounded Knee occupation on March 25.

# ...Vietnam

*Continued from page 10*

name Government. These include a large number of Americans involved in the upkeep and maintenance of advanced military equipment such as jet planes and high-speed communications equipment given to Saigon just before the cease-fire agreement.

"About 1,200 civilians will be attached to the 80-man military attaché's office in the embassy, supervising the continuing military aid that is permitted on a one-for-one replacement rate. There will continue to be large economic aid missions as well as a bolstered embassy staff."

Clearly, the U.S. embassy in Saigon is the largest in the history of international diplomacy. No doubt Nixon will insist that the liberation forces respect the diplomatic immunity of this embassy staff as it travels around South Vietnam replacing the weaponry that Thieu's army is expending against them.

Nixon's administration has thus given us a fairly precise definition of the meaning of "peace with honor" in Vietnam. A puppet regime is to be permanently maintained in Saigon and its army, under the direction of U.S. "advisers," is to have complete freedom to attack the liberated areas. Serious resistance by the liberation forces will be met by bombs.

Whether one calls it the second or the third Indochina war, the war goes on.

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1:30 p.m. "Imperialism, Vietnam, and the Colonial Revolution," Rose Ogden.

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# THE MILITANT

## Watergate: everything points to Nixon

By CINDY JAQUITH

In his April 2 column in *Time* magazine, Hugh Sidey quipped: "One wickedly partisan wag suggested that Republican Fund Raiser Maurice Stans' safe ought to be acquired by the National Archives because so much of the Nixon Administration's history will be based on the safe and its contents."

The latest disclosures on the Watergate scandal have revealed intimate links between Nixon's campaign committee and the sabotage effort. And they have shown that corruption and lies are standard operating procedure for capitalist politicians.

After the farcical trial of the seven men indicted for trying to bug the Democratic Party's campaign offices in the Watergate, one of the defendants, James W. McCord, wrote trial judge John Sirica that he wanted to tell "the truth."

Sirica, announcing McCord's letter on March 23, said the former FBI and CIA agent feared "retaliation" and did not want to testify before FBI men, officials of the Department of Justice, or "other Government representatives."

But McCord did start testifying before a special Senate committee last week. Reports leaked from the committee's hearings and other sources say McCord has revealed the following:

- The seven men arrested and convicted for the Watergate break-in were under "political pressure to plead guilty and remain silent." McCord and G. Gordon Liddy were the only two who pleaded not guilty.

White House chief of staff, Jeb Stuart Magruder, organizer of the Nixon inaugural celebration; Charles W. Colson, former counsel to Nixon; and Robert C. Mardian, former assistant attorney general in charge of the Internal Security Division.

And according to Republican Senator Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, a member of the investigating committee, what has been leaked to the press so far is only "one-tenth" of what McCord has told the Senate body.

Weicker, who is doing some investigating on his own, told reporters April 1 that another side of the Republican espionage network involved spying on the offices of certain members of Congress, including senators Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and representatives Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) and Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.), as well as others. "Part of the assignment," said the April 2 *Washington Post*, "was apparently to determine if any anti-war demonstrators were visiting the offices."

The McCord revelations have become such an embarrassment to Republicans that even conservative party members like Senators James Buckley (R-N.Y.) and Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) have protested the scandal. Republican National Chairman George Bush, speaking at a Young Republicans gathering, called the whole affair "grubby" and Senator Marlow Cook (R-Ky.) declared it an attempt to "rig a Federal election."

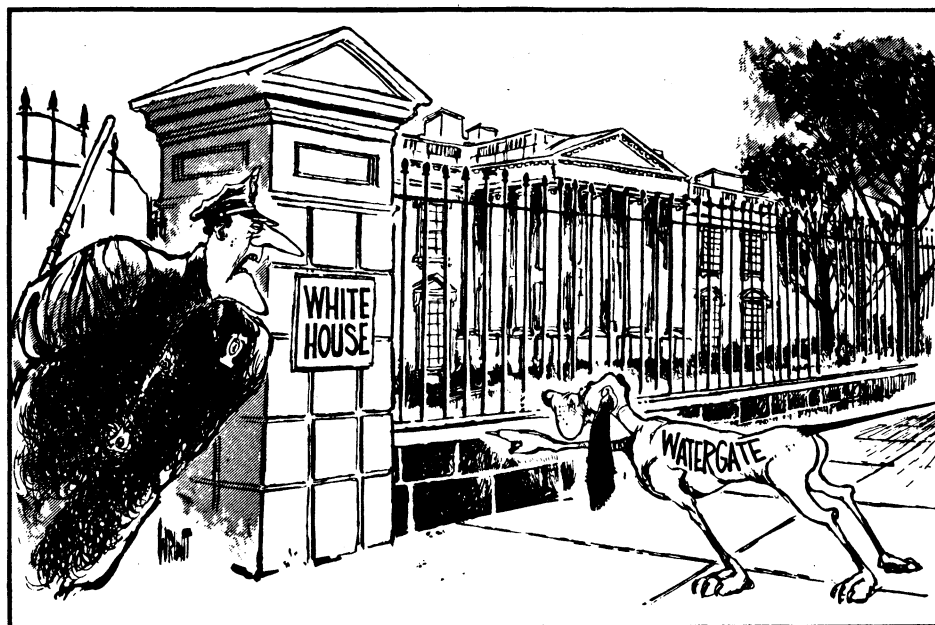
This growing concern among Republicans brought forth some re-

Pushed into the background by all these developments are the Senate confirmation hearings on L. Patrick Gray III, Nixon's appointee for permanent head of the FBI. These hearings, however, were the source of the latest spate of Watergate information.

"Tattletale Gray," as he has become known, spilled the beans on John Dean long before McCord decided to sing. Gray admitted at Senate hearings that he turned over more than 80 FBI files on the Watergate case to Dean. In addition, Dean sat in

the Democrats to get the goods on the Nixon administration has turned into a case of virtually everyone in Washington denouncing the Watergate affair and imploring Nixon to do something fast to get the whole mess cleaned up.

For one thing, neither the Democratic nor the Republican "corruption fighters" are anxious to have the American people see how "law enforcement" institutions like the FBI and the Justice Department really function. Wiretapping, spying, and other pro-



'Shoo, shoo! beat it...!'

Wright—Miami Daily News

on FBI interviews with White House employees concerning the Watergate affair.

According to the March 23 *Washington Post*, Dean also held special sessions with some employees before they were interviewed by the FBI. "This may have had a 'chilling effect' on the aides," the *Post* remarked, "and 'someone certainly was putting on the chill,' one source said."

Despite the fact that Attorney General Richard Kleindienst ordered Gray to cease discussion of the Watergate case at the hearings, the acting FBI head admitted to the Senate committee March 22 that Dean had "probably" lied to the FBI on at least one occasion concerning the Watergate break-in.

Dean told FBI agents June 22 that he didn't know if E. Howard Hunt, sought in the burglary attempt, had an office in the White House. But three days before that, on June 19, Dean had already sent two deputies to collect all the important effects from Hunt's office, which was located next door to the White House. It was not until June 27 that Dean presented the FBI with material from the office.

As his reward for letting the Senate know all these details, some "sources" are speculating that Gray is about to be dumped as the FBI nominee. The White House has denied this so far.

But obviously Nixon needs more than a new FBI appointee to bury the Watergate scandal. As one White House aide told *Newsweek*: "Here's Gray saying Dean lied, and here's McCord saying the trial is rigged. God Almighty, that's about as bad as you can get—it says the FBI, the U.S. Attorney and the President's counsel were all playing footsie." Not to mention what it says about Nixon himself.

What began as a partisan effort by

cedures are routine matters for these agencies. Except usually they use these methods to harass and frame up Blacks, Chicanos, radicals, antiwar fighters, and trade unionists. When that happens, there's no hue and cry from Congress, which has been only too happy to vote for large appropriations to maintain "law and order."

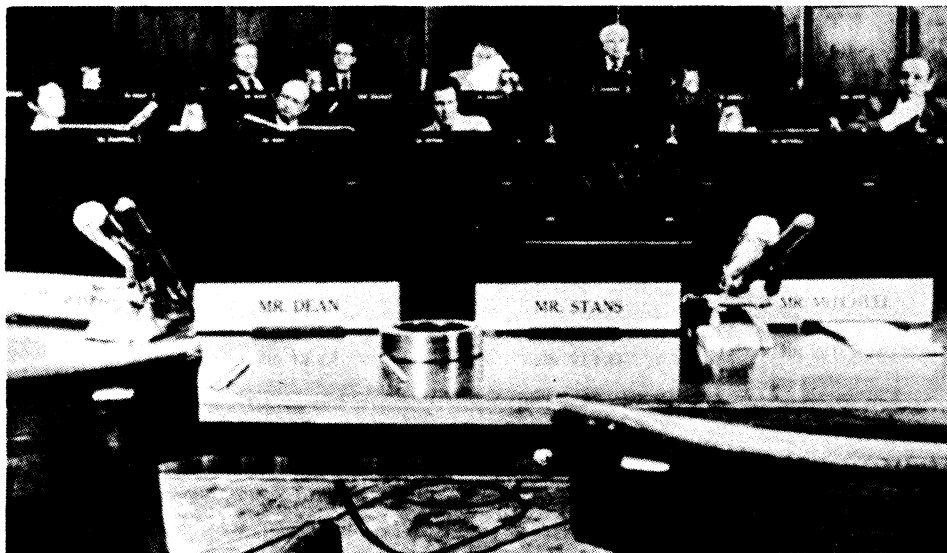
Perhaps more serious is the effect the Watergate incident is having on the public's image of elected officials. As Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) put it, the scandal has left a "dark cloud that is not just over the White House but over all politicians. . . ."

A March 30 *New York Times* interview with Senator Charles Mathias (R-Md.) noted that "the Senator said that the war in Vietnam had caused many young people to become disillusioned about government."

"Now, if we compound that feeling by giving them reason to doubt the integrity of the political system, the loss may be unrecoverable," he said. "There's still time, but it's running out."



"... I have nothing to hide. The White House has nothing to hide. I repeat, we have nothing to hide."



Empty seats face congressional committee investigating Watergate scandal. Nixon's top aides have refused to testify, invoking 'executive privilege.'

- John Mitchell, former U.S. attorney general and ex-campaign manager for Nixon, approved the espionage attempt. Jack Anderson wrote in his April 2 column that part of the plot was hatched at a "meeting in February, 1972—while Mitchell was still Attorney General."

- John Dean III, counsel to the president, participated in the Watergate planning meetings. Anderson quotes McCord as testifying that "Dean told Liddy . . . that the funding for the operation would subsequently come to him through other than regular Committee for the Re-Election (of the President) funding mechanisms so that there would be no record of it. . . ."

- Others in the know all along, says McCord, were H. R. Haldeman, the

sponse from Nixon, who finally agreed to let his aides testify before a grand jury, after refusing to allow his staff to appear before the Senate committee, based on "executive privilege." The April 1 *Washington Post* interpreted Nixon's move as "a means of diverting attention from the Senate's own investigation and giving the White House more control over public disclosures in the case" as well as to "quell complaints from Republicans."

Needless to say, Nixon and the other administration figures implicated in the Watergate case have consistently denied any knowledge of the plot. The president recently leaked his latest denial through Hugh Scott: "Hugh, I have nothing to hide. The White House has nothing to hide. I repeat, we have nothing to hide."