

THE MILITANT

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

Antiwar forces call for mass response to U.S. aggression in Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 3—As details of Nixon's almost certain invasion of Laos began to filter through the heavy news censorship imposed by the Pentagon six days ago, the American antiwar movement began to mobilize for nationwide actions protesting the new escalation and demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

It was evident that Washington was, as always, eyeing the response in this country to each new move in Southeast Asia. Thus the size and scope and even the timing of the new aggression in Laos will be determined in part by the reaction of the

antiwar movement itself.

In Washington, D.C., Feb. 3, the National Peace Action Coalition held a press conference in the House Office Building to announce plans for a sharp response to the U.S. invasion of Laos and to outline the coalition's program of spring antiwar activities.

Deborah Bustin, speaking for the Student Mobilization Committee at the press conference, called for convocations, teach-ins, rallies, and protests on campuses across the country to discuss and expose the administration's step-by-step escalation.

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L.A. cops in brutal assault on Chicano protest



Jan. 31 Chicano Moratorium, Los Angeles. See story page 24.

Photo by John Gray

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CRIME-ACT PROVISION OVERTURNED: An important victory was won in federal district court in New York Jan. 29 when Judge Constance Baker Motley ruled that the immunity clause of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 was unconstitutional. The decision, which the government plans to appeal, came in a test case which grew out of an attempt by federal prosecutors to compel Joanne Kinoy to testify before a grand jury in connection with an alleged conspiracy to bomb federal buildings in New York. She refused on grounds of possible self-incrimination. The immunity clause she successfully challenged provided that in cases of compelled testimony such as hers, she could subsequently be prosecuted for the crime she testified about even though her own testimony could not be used against her. . . . **RULING IN WHITE PANTHER CASE:** Federal District Judge Damon J. Keith of the Eastern District of Michigan ruled Jan. 25 that the attorney general does not have the right to order wiretapping against radical groups without a court order. His ruling came in the preliminary stages of the trial of Lawrence (Pun) Plamondon and two other members of the White Panther Party. They are charged with conspiracy to bomb an Ann Arbor CIA office. The Justice Department announced its intention to appeal the ruling.

ANOTHER SETBACK FOR JUSTICE DEPARTMENT: Despite objections from the Justice Department, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia on Jan. 29 ordered Sister Jogues Egan freed from jail without bail pending appeal of a lower-court order citing her for contempt. Sister Jogues had refused to testify before a federal grand jury in Harrisburg regarding the alleged conspiracy to bomb Washington heating tunnels and to kidnap Henry Kissinger. She claims that the immunity statute did not provide adequate protection against self-incrimination. She also contends that she was illegally called as a witness because she was subpoenaed on the basis of illegal wiretaps.

A HAIRY STORY: Two employees of Giant Food Stores in Virginia plan to appeal to a federal appeals court the refusal of a lower court to prevent them from being fired from their jobs because of long hair. The two are Stephen Dodge, 21, who worked at a Giant store in Annandale, and Philip Terry Bennett, 23, who stocked dairy products in Fairfax. Though they need the money to work their way through school, both say they would sooner lose their jobs than cut their hair. Their legal brief claims that Giant's short-hair policy is "contrary to law and nature, an archaic and puritanical symbol perpetuated in a repressed and frenetic society to distinguish between the sexes on an unnatural basis."

SOLEDAD BROTHERS CHARGE WITNESS INTIMIDATION: Attorneys for the three Soledad Brothers, accused of killing a Soledad Prison guard last January, filed suit in a federal district court in Oakland, Calif., Jan. 26 charging that corrections officials have been terrorizing and intimidating prison inmates in an attempt to keep them from testifying for the defense or to force them to falsely testify for the prosecution in the upcoming trial. The suit documents several instances of intimidation. The suit asks the court to enjoin the officials and their agents from continuing to coerce the inmates and from ordering all inmates with knowledge about the death of the guard placed in federal prison until they have testified in the case. . . . **ESKIMOS FINALLY PERMITTED TO LEARN THEIR LANGUAGE:** A five-year pilot project in bilingual education has been begun in three Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in Alaska. A new alphabet consisting of 18 symbols and the apostrophe from the English alphabet has been developed for the Yuk dialect for the purposes of the experiment. This is progress in light of the fact that the government's forced assimilation policies have tended to view with near panic the idea that Native Americans should be able to learn their own language in school. The Soviet Union, incidentally, has published textbooks in Eskimo since 1932.

NEW JAIL RIOTS PREDICTED: The New York State Correction Commission warned Jan. 29 that unless the overcrowding in the Manhattan, Brooklyn and Bronx Houses of Detention is eliminated there could be a recurrence of the riots that broke out last year in the Brooklyn and Manhattan jails. Overcrowding was not the only thing the commission criticized. It said, for instance, that laundry facilities in the Bronx jail were so limited that bedding was dirty and prisoners could not wash clothes. Some were wearing the same clothing they had been ar-

rested in up to 18 months earlier. . . . **INMATES STRIKE:** An Associated Press dispatch Jan. 21 reports that prisoners at the U.S. penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kansas, participated in a work stoppage when inmates in the shoe factory walked off the job Jan. 20. Prisoners working in the kitchen also struck the next morning and prison personnel had to finish cooking breakfast.

HOMOSEXUALS PICKET POLICE: More than 400 persons chanting "Not one more gay victim" demonstrated Jan. 23 in front of the Wilcox division building of the Los Angeles Police Department. The protest was organized by Gay Liberation Front and endorsed by the Radical Gay Alliance and the Metropolitan Community Church. Its purpose was to call attention to police brutality and their policy of entrapment (which allows them to illegally entice homosexuals into breaking unconstitutional laws) and to demand the right of gay people to be treated like human beings. . . . **ACLU FILES SUITS:** The American Civil Liberties Union filed four separate suits in U.S. district court in Washington, D.C., Jan. 26, challenging as unconstitutional the Defense Department's withdrawal of security clearances for four open homosexuals. The suits ask that the men be reinstated and that a policy of nondiscrimination against homosexuals be established. . . . **NYU OFFERS NEW COURSE:** New York University's School of Continuing Education is now offering a course entitled "Homosexuality: A Contemporary View." It will take up homosexuality and religion, the law, federal policy, and psychiatry; anthropological, biological and sociological views; the homophile movement; lesbianism; gay separatism; homosexuals and the arts and politics.

STANDARD OIL ON TRIAL: In the wake of the disastrous oil slick in San Francisco Bay, around 700 persons staged a mock trial of Standard Oil of California outside its San Francisco offices. They charged the company with raping the world and presented as evidence a heap of oil-spattered dead birds. The verdict declared that oil should be used for people not profit. . . . **IT GOES AGAINST THE GRAIN:** California attorney Gary S. Near has filed a \$23.5-million suit against Standard Oil on behalf of the 3,000 to 5,000 volunteers who cleaned birds and mopped beaches after the oil-tanker collision. "To think that these people worked for Standard Oil for free runs against the grain of usual concepts in this country," Near explained.

CLEAVER STAGES A "REVOLUTIONARY BUST": The Jan. 28 Village Voice contains a long, confused interview by Michael Zwerin with Eldridge Cleaver and Timothy Leary in Algiers. Zwerin's comments are almost as fanciful as those of his interviewees. He refers to them as "a Mayakovsky and a Lenin," and it is not readily apparent who he thinks is who. But little matter. The interview takes place in the aftermath of what Cleaver calls a "revolutionary bust" in which Panthers, allegedly fed up with Leary's "turn on and drop out" philosophy, invaded the apartment of Timothy and Rosemary Leary Jan. 9, arrested them, and took them to a Panther apartment where they were held until Jan. 13. "It makes me very sad to have had to do this," said Cleaver. But, "we cannot afford to jeopardize our work toward revolution in Babylon. We are hoping to teach Timothy a lesson." Leary bleats humiliated agreement with Cleaver's criticisms during the interview. Here are some of Cleaver's thoughts on drugs: "I don't think it's possible while on an acid trip to return to one's work just like so. You see? Plus, emergencies can't be dealt with. But if you're high on grass, you can deal with shit. You can deal with shit, if it comes up. These days none of our homes are secure any more. Pigs come at odd hours and kick down doors with murderous intent. I think it would be very disastrous for the pigs to visit you while you are on a trip, man, you might think it's just part of your trip. You'd never know."

ANN ARBOR AFSCME STRIKE: The walkout of 2,700 University of Michigan employees in AFSCME Local 1583 that began Jan. 19 ended three days later when the university agreed to submit to binding fact-finding (arbitration). The union is demanding a \$2.80-an-hour wage increase over a three-year period, adequate health-insurance coverage, a 24-hour child-care center, and a simplified grievance procedure. The dispute is still in arbitration.

Contributors to this week's In Brief included Dave Saperstan, Los Angeles; Michael Schreiber, San Francisco; and Tom Vernier, Ann Arbor.

—DAVID THORSTAD

Philly high-schoolers fight for rights

By SHELLISONSTEIN

PHILADELPHIA—High school students throughout this city are waging a major campaign to win their basic democratic rights. As part of this struggle, over 350 participated in a student rights demonstration on Jan. 14. The predominantly Black demonstrators demanded that all cops get out of the schools, that school administrators end the victimization of political activists, and that the student bill of rights recently passed by the Philadelphia Board of Education be implemented immediately for all students, junior high, elementary, parochial, and suburban included.

The militant tone of the rally was expressed by several speakers who tied in the concept of student rights with Black control of the Black community. Bobby Stewart, a student who was suspended and transferred from a predominantly Black high school for his political activity, expressed the view that the bill of rights, although vague and inadequate, could be used as a stepping-stone. Stewart stated that it is necessary for students to make the document more than just a piece of paper, to turn it into a vehicle for struggle.

Other speakers included Terry Di-paulo, a feminist from elementary school; Oscar Lee, who was suspended and transferred from Malcolm X High School; Regina Canuso, from the Student Mobilization Committee; Steven Clark, from suburban Abington High School; and Mark Caney, from a Catholic high school.

The rally was the continuation of

a struggle for student rights which began in November 1969 with the "Fishman Case" at West Philadelphia High School. This struggle involved a two-day student strike at the predominantly Black high school around the demand that a teacher, George Fishman, be fired because of the racist manner in which he taught history.

Another crucial event which radicalized students was the invasion of Cambodia, coupled with the Kent State and Jackson State massacres. At Girls and Central high schools the students held massive sit-ins demanding that normal school curriculum be ended for four days and replaced by workshops on the war and related issues. The students literally controlled their schools for these four days, using them as organizing centers for antiwar activities.

The radicalization from last year was deepened by student protest against the victimization and harassment of high school students this year. For instance, at Malcolm X High School, four students were suspended or transferred as a result of their campaign for student government on a platform of Black liberation.

After the students were transferred from Malcolm X, the remaining students refused to participate or vote in the student government election, and a series of strikes and rallies were held, both in the schools and city-wide.

In Edison High School, a teacher was ousted and two students suspended a month ago because of a campaign for free speech. This struggle

involved the right of students to see a film about North Vietnam called *People's War*, which was banned by the administration. A mass meeting was called by the Black Student Union to demand the right of free speech. Cops were then called into the school, and the auditorium was locked so that students could not hold their meeting.

In various high schools, students have tried to form Student Mobilization Committee chapters. In Girls High School, for example, students have tried to form an SMC for the past two years.

A meeting was organized at Girls High School on Dec. 7 to defend the right of the SMC to exist. The principal came to this meeting and stated, "The SMC will not be allowed to meet in this school now or ever, even if the student bill of rights is passed."

A great deal of controversy was generated among the Board of Education members on the bill of rights. The bill stipulates: 1) that students have the right to freedom of speech, press and assembly, in accord with the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution; 2) that a student advisor be elected in each school; 3) that students can file a grievance against a teacher or school administrator if student rights are infringed upon; 4) that if a student is suspended from school for five days or more, he or she is entitled to a hearing with two members of the Board of Education.

However, the bill of rights is unclear concerning political activity. It prohibits students from "interfering

with the normal school curriculum," and it still gives principals the final say as to what political groups can form in the schools. Also, the bill only affects city high school students.

Even after the bill was passed, students recognized the need to form a group both to defend harassed students and also to demand the broadening and clarification of the bill.

The idea of the Jan. 14 rally for student rights was initiated by a November conference of the Philadelphia SMC. The SMC, together with high school presidents and members of student governments, students from parochial schools, the *Free Press* (a local radical paper), and other individuals formed a group called the Student Rights Coalition for the Jan. 14 Action. Although this group represented many diverse views, students came together on one issue, the issue of student rights.

The Student Rights Coalition represents the first attempt in Philadelphia to form a united group consisting of representatives of nearly all sectors of the high school movement: the Black student movement, the antiwar movement, the parochial student movement, and the suburban student movement.

The Jan. 14 Coalition considered the rally to be a major success in drawing in many students who previously were uninvolved in the movement for student rights. Plans are now being made to strengthen the coalition and continue the struggle for student rights.



Black Moratorium against the Vietnam war was held in Riverside, Calif., Jan. 23, organized by the campus-community Black Alliance. More than 300 participated. For full story, see *The Militant*, Feb. 5.

Take a quota: help sell *Militant* subscriptions

On Feb. 1, *The Militant* launched an intensive six-week effort to introduce 7,500 people to the newspaper, with a special 10-issue subscription for \$1. Subscriptions are starting to come in from around the country, and in next week's *Militant*, we will publish the first scoreboard to show where the drive stands.

The subscription drive, part of a long-range objective to transform *The Militant* into a mass-circulation weekly, follows a very successful fall subscription campaign that gained over 16,000 new readers. As in that effort, the current campaign will depend upon the readers of *The Militant*. You are the ones who will carry it out.

Along with the *Militant* drive, the *International Socialist Review* has set a goal of obtaining 1,250 new readers by March 15. After selling a *Militant* subscription, sellers are urged to ask the person to buy a 3-month subscription to the monthly magazine for \$1. The same type of approach was tried last fall, and sellers found that with little extra effort, many people bought subscriptions to both publications.

Although the drive has begun, it is not too late for you to join the effort. You can help build the circulation of the revolutionary-socialist press by taking a quota in the subscription drive—whatever you feel you can sell by March 15—and sending in the coupon below.

I would like to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* this spring.

Please set for me a quota of (circle one) 5 10 20 30 40 50

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... new U.S. aggression in Laos

Continued from page 1

Already on Feb. 2, in below-freezing weather, 500 persons staged a demonstration in Boston denouncing the invasion plans. Speakers warned that Nixon's duplicity would not succeed in lulling the American people into accepting a wider war.

The Student Mobilization Committee will hold a national antiwar conference at Catholic University in Washington, D. C., Feb. 19-21, Deborah Bustin announced. In light of deepening outrage over the new U. S. aggression, it is likely to be one of the largest student planning meetings in the history of the antiwar movement.

NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon announced that the National Peace Action Coalition will hold an emergency Steering Committee meeting, also in Washington, on Feb. 13.

"The air strikes over North Vietnam, the land raid into its territory, the saturation, 24-hour-a-day, inhumanly destructive bombing of Cambodia, and now the U.S.-sponsored invasion of Laos should dispel any remaining illusions concerning President Nixon's pretensions in Indochina," Gordon stated.

"Nixon is not winding down the war. He is mounting a desperate, all-out effort to win."

The barrier of secrecy surrounding the invasion plans revealed in the sharpest way the administration's fear of public opposition to its war aims. A correspondent for the *New York Times* went straight to the point when he sarcastically commented on the press embargo imposed by Washington:

"The command says that the objective is to prevent the disclosure of valuable military information to the enemy. However, the enemy does not

have to see American news reports to learn about large military operations; enemy commanders cannot fail to be aware if the bombs are falling around them."

Only the public is supposedly deceived by the double-talk emanating from Washington, and that is precisely the purpose of the double-talk.

Despite this comment by one of its reporters, the *New York Times* cooperated with other newspapers and TV networks to keep Americans in the dark about the new escalation.

As of Feb. 3, it appeared that at least 25,000 South Vietnamese ground forces, backed up by 9,000 U. S. combat troops and the heaviest round-the-clock U.S. bombing of the war, were massed in the northernmost province of South Vietnam for a ground invasion of either Laos or North Vietnam or both countries. This prospect was reinforced by warnings from Moscow as well as Hanoi.

According to a Feb. 2 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Quangtri, South Vietnam, the capital of the northernmost province, "Thousands of military trucks moved bumper-to-bumper today along the two highways leading toward Laos and North Vietnam."

"Along the sides of the roads, troops with full field packs and arms were also moving in uninterrupted columns. Hundreds of helicopters passed overhead. . . . Airports throughout the northern provinces are also buzzing with activity."

According to one report filed from Saigon by the Japanese Kyodo news agency, 4,000 to 5,000 South Vietnamese airborne troops had already been airlifted into the Boloven Plateau in southern Laos.

An ominous warning was contained

in another AFP dispatch, from Hanoi Feb. 1. This quoted *Nhan Dan*, the Hanoi Communist Party daily: "*Nhan Dan* asserted that the Americans were preparing to displace the entire South Vietnamese population of the provinces of Quangtri and Thuathien, near the demilitarized zone, and regroup it in the south of the country. The aim, according to Hanoi military experts, is to create a 60-mile-wide 'free bombing' area for B-52 bombers and tactical aircraft on both sides of the 17th Parallel. . . ."

Reports of shoot-outs between local Cambodian forces and the occupying South Vietnamese armies on the streets of Pnompenh show that there is a strong national resentment against the Indochina police-force role that Washington has now assigned to its puppet

regime in Saigon. Similar resentment is being expressed by Laotian officials about the invasion of that country.

The *Washington Star* reported Feb. 1 from Vientiane that "Authoritative Laotian military sources said today that Laotian rightist generals had a secret agreement with the South Vietnamese that would permit South Vietnamese troops to cross into southern Laos in division strength if Saigon considered it necessary."

In the past, Washington has worked closely with rightist elements in the Laotian Army through the CIA.

Laotian Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma has stated that the South Vietnam-U.S. invasion violates the supposed neutrality of Laos in the Indochina war.

NPAC news conference

WASHINGTON—The well-attended news conference held here Feb. 3 by the National Peace Action Coalition heard statements from: Jerry Gordon, NPAC coordinator; Gerald Cassell, member of the District of Columbia School Board; Kate Millett, feminist author; Stewart Kemp, national director of the National Council to Repeal the Draft; 2nd Lt. Rob Olsen, Concerned Officers Movement; Petty Officer Hal Ratkin, Concerned Officers Movement; Deborah Bustin, Student Mobilization Committee; and Ron Downing, representing U.S. Congressman Ron Dellums of California.

Downing read a statement from Dellums which said, ". . . I endorse the objectives outlined by the National Peace Action Coalition, and it is my sincere hope that NPAC activities this spring will have a positive effect in achieving a rapid withdrawal of American forces from Southeast Asia."

A statement sent to the news conference from Rep. Shirley Chisholm of New York was also read. She stated, ". . . The National Peace Action Coalition has my best wishes in its endeavor to obtain peace in this country."

Vietnam vets hold hearings on U. S. war crimes



Panel of veterans from First Marine Division at Winter Soldier Investigation.

Photo by Mike Smith

By MIKE SMITH

DETROIT, Feb. 2—Over 2,000 members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War have sponsored an historically unprecedented investigation into American war crimes committed in Indochina. Calling it the Winter Soldier Investigation, more than 100 Vietnam veterans, both officers and enlisted men, from all four branches of service, met this weekend in Detroit to prove that Mylai was not an isolated incident, that war crimes occur regularly as a matter of policy, and that the basic responsibility for them rests with national leaders.

Vietnam vets, who speak with the authority of "having been there," have indicted the U. S. government with the most horrible of crimes against humanity. This has been done publicly, in a major U. S. city, with the benefit of the international media. The event is itself a victory for the antiwar movement and a demonstration of its strength.

"We have set Indochina aflame," declared ex-

Lieutenant William Crandal in an opening statement made before the initial session commenced with testimony from 13 ex-members of the First Marine Division. "One million South Vietnamese civilians, 700,000 NLF and North Vietnamese soldiers, and an unreported number of Cambodians, Laotians, and North Vietnamese civilians have been killed."

"We are here," Crandal concluded, "to bear witness not against America but against those who are perverting America." He then threw his medals into a steel basket labeled "trash." The first session began.

The testimony of the men on the panel was abundant, often corroborative, and typical of that presented by others from such services as the Fifth Special Forces, the Americal Division, the 101st Airborne, and the First Air Cavalry. Defining war crimes as atrocities which go beyond the usual barbaric acts of war, they detailed and were cross-

examined by the press on the following:

Cutting off ears as battle triumphs; cutting off heads and putting them on stakes in fields to terrify peasants; calling in artillery on villages for games; use of CS gas, which can be fatal to the very young and very old; napalming villages; burning villages without giving peasants a chance to escape, or shooting them upon their escape; rape; the torture and murder of prisoners; massacring civilians; throwing VC suspects out of helicopters; illegal secret invasions of Cambodia and Laos; and booby-trapping bodies.

David Bishop explained the body-count policy. "If no weapon was found on a body, it was a VC suspect. If a weapon was planted on it, it was a VC. And if equipment was found on it, it was a North Vietnamese."

Sadistic torture and killing of women was a common theme. Joe Bangert, a helicopter gunner, witnessed an officer disembowel and skin a Vietnamese woman in Quangtri. Her body was then hung on a tree as a "warning" to other "gooks."

The panel was asked by a reporter from the Detroit Women's Media Co-op if sexual brutality was usual.

"Yes," a marine answered.

"Are women treated differently?"

"Yes."

The marine elaborated. "We were more afraid of females. We never knew where we stood with them. . . . Also, torturing them made a lasting effect on a brother or husband who was watching. We didn't want to get our asses kicked by a woman. We were doubly vigilant with them."

Ex-Captain Rusty Sax had been an ambulance-helicopter pilot, flying some 500 medivac missions. "I can't recall ever evacuating a Vietnamese civilian," he stated. "It was squadron policy not to go out for 'gooks' when you could avoid it."

The first day Joe Bangert spent in Vietnam, he was riding with his lieutenant in a truck. They passed some small children who saluted them with "the finger." "The lieutenant took out his pistol and blew those kids away. That's how I started my first day in Vietnam."

Continued on page 22

Fl. YSA fights for recognition

TAMPA—A major step forward was taken Jan. 27 in the fight by the Young Socialist Alliance to become a recognized student organization at all the state universities in Florida.

At a press conference held on the campus of the University of South Florida (USF), the formation of the Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) was announced. The breadth of the initiating sponsors of the committee, obtained in one week in the Tampa-St. Petersburg area, is an indication of the committee's potential to mobilize public opinion against the actions of Burke Kibler, chairman of the Board of Regents.

Antiwar groups such as Consumers Against the War, the American Friends Service Committee, and Black Youth for Peace and Power; the president of the American Association of University Professors at the University of South Florida; and a member of the Citizens for Moral Leadership, a concerned adult group in Clearwater, have all become sponsors of the work of the committee.

Attending the press conference was Jane Fisher of the student American Civil Liberties Union, Tim Mallory, a student at USF and a member of the YSA, and John Votava, acting secretary of FAPEC. All the statements clearly exposed the unconstitutional and absurd position of the Board of Regents and the administration. On the one hand, they are denying the YSA recognition as a campus organization. On the other hand, as Tim Mallory pointed out, all the YSAers at USF and around the state are already actively and openly involved in all the same activities they would be carrying out if the group were recognized. Moreover, the YSA is running a slate of candidates for the student government election to be held Feb. 3 in Tampa and in Tallahassee on the basis of the YSA's program for campus change.

Mallory pointed out how this means that YSAers can organize all their activities and run and hold student government office on the basis of the YSA's program and still be declared an illegal organization on campus for supposedly representing a danger to the educational process. The inconsistency only serves to point out more clearly that Kibler is not so concerned with the educational process as he is with suppressing dissent on campus.

Speaking for FAPEC, Votava outlined the goals of the committee and the methods it intends to use to gain its ends. The committee plans to wage a nationwide public campaign to gain legal status for YSA on every campus in the state of Florida. This work will be coordinated with legal action already begun against the Board of Regents. The committee is asking that national support be expressed through such means as mailings to university faculty about the facts of the case, letters and telegrams of protest to Burke Kibler (P. O. Box 1772, Lakeland, Fla. 33802), resolutions by student governments and other organizations condemning the Board's action, and news articles in the campus, underground and regular press about the case. Copies of all such articles and protests should be sent to FAPEC, Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604.

Finally the committee announced a two-week speaking tour for Votava with the goal of hitting every major city and university campus in the state.



Photo by Carl Hampton, United Front

Rev. Charles Koen

Blacks in Cairo call protests

By DERRICK MORRISON

FEB. 1—After the Jan. 21 raid by 175 state police on Pyramid Court in Cairo, Ill., two of the four people arrested are still in jail and the Black woman who was arrested has suffered a miscarriage.

The daylight raid occurred on four apartments in the all-Black housing project. The four Blacks arrested were beaten unmercifully.

Carl Hampton of the Cairo United Front told *The Militant* that Elsa Lane, who is out on \$4000 bond, suffered a miscarriage. Rev. Walter Garrett and Wallace Whitfield are still in jail, each on bail of \$4,500. Frank Hollis, an investigator for the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law, was let out the same day as the raid on \$1,000 bond.

In a press release issued by the Front, Rev. Charles Koen, executive-director of the Front, said, "They claim they confiscated some weapons and ammunition. The Blacks of Cairo have never denied the use of weapons to defend themselves from 150 nights of shooting attacks by the whites against us. Where is justice when it is well known that 600 white male adults in Cairo have all kinds of weapons including sub-machine guns, machine guns, and automatic weapons. Still they have never been raided, and still they fire their weapons of death at us. . . ."

In response to this escalation, the Front has called for a mass mobilization in Cairo on Feb. 6 and in Chicago on Feb. 27. It invites everyone to attend.

In other developments, the Front has been ordered by the Catholic bishop of Belleville to vacate St. Columba Church and its parsonage on Feb. 1. So far, no action has been taken.

Further, Hampton told *The Militant* that three weeks ago the state charged James Brewton, a Chicago Afro-American, with the killing of Wylie "Beanie" Anderson, a Black GI who was shot in Cairo last Nov. 7. This must be the biggest frame-up in the state because everybody knows that the crime was carried out by white vigilantes. And to shroud the case in further confusion, Brewton has been charged with the murder of a cop in Carbondale and is now in the hospital after being shot by a Chicago cop.

The latest press release from the Front reports that no progress has been made in trying to negotiate solutions to Cairo's economic and racial problems with the mayor and City Council. Since Dec. 19, the Front has repeatedly sent its peace spokesman, Leon Page, to City Hall to try to initiate negotiations. At City Council meetings though, officials have refused to

engage in meaningful dialogue. According to Page, "It was obvious that he (the mayor) was putting us off so that he could form a new group of 'acceptable' people."

But such an attempt to form a "moderate" group has failed. There is no middle-of-the-road route to solving Cairo's ills. Blacks constitute 50 percent of the population of 6,000. The Front is demanding power and jobs commensurate with this percentage.

The Front is very much in need of funds. Contributions can be sent to the United Front's special account, Independence National Bank, 7936 South Cottage Grove, Chicago, Ill.

Panthers beaten by guards

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—On the morning of Jan. 29, nine New York Black Panthers, about to embark from Rikers Island jail on the way to the courtroom, were set upon and beaten by guards. The brutal incident occurred over protests in the handcuffing procedure.

Instead of being handcuffed in twos, the nine were handcuffed in threes, which meant that they had to stand up on the bus. The seats on the bus are arranged to seat pairs.

The new procedure was instituted on the flimsy pretext that another Panther prisoner, unrelated to the case of the nine, attempted to escape. But the guards proved no connection between the alleged attempt at escape and the defendants presently on trial.

After the beating, the Panthers appeared in court with bandages on their hands and heads.

This is only another in a long train of abuses that have been heaped upon the defendants. Last December, Judge John M. Murtagh revoked bail for the nine. Four others, were threatened with revocation of their bail.

In addition, throughout most of January, the trial has centered around an alleged shoot-out between police and two Panthers on the night of Jan. 17, 1969. Two police testified to being shot at after approaching a car on Harlem River Drive at 170th Street. But none of the cops were hit, although bullet holes punctured the Panther car. Joan Bird, one of the defendants on trial, was found in the car after the two Panther men escaped. She was dragged out and beaten into a "confession" at the nearby station house.

However, the point repeatedly made by defense counsel for the 13 Panthers is that the whole line of testimony is irrelevant and contradicts Murtagh's contention that the defendants are on trial, not the Black Panther Party.

The 13 on trial are part of 21 Panthers charged by the district attorney's office with conspiring to bomb department stores and police stations. Some of the 21 were seized in raids on their homes on April 2, 1969. Five have had their cases severed, including two who were declared juvenile delinquents. Three have evaded apprehension.

Because of the weakness of the "conspiracy" charge, the Panthers were re-indicted by a grand jury in the latter part of 1969 on counts of possessing unregistered weapons. The guns were seized in the April 2 raids.

Feb. 2 marked the one-year anniversary of the trial proceedings, pre-trial hearings included. Of the sixteen jurors and alternates selected in October, seven are Black and one is Puerto Rican.

At present, a Black detective, Ralph White, is on the stand. He was a police

undercover agent in the Panther Party from June 1968 to April 2, 1969.

Contributions to the Panther defense can be sent to: The Committee to Defend the Panther 21, 11 E. 16th St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Tel.: 228-7746(5).

Farinas sentence protested

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—Some 300 people turned out Jan. 29 in bitterly cold weather to protest the conviction and sentencing of Juan Farinas, 23-year-old supporter of the Workers League who has been framed on charges of refusing induction into the Army. Farinas received a two-year sentence in federal prison but is currently free on \$5,000 bail.

The rally took place in front of the federal courthouse where the sentencing was in process. It was addressed by a broad range of speakers from the radical and labor movements. Speakers included representatives from the Workers League, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Lords Party, Black Panther Party, and Puerto Rican Students Union, as well as members of Social Services Employees Union, Local 371; Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union; District Council 65; Local 147, Compressed Air and Tunnel Workers; and the Newark Teachers Union.

The case against Farinas stems from his passing out leaflets in August 1968 at Whitehall Center, where he was to be inducted into the Army. Farinas and witnesses both testify that he had every intention of serving in the Army and had made preparations to do so, and that there was no disruption of induction procedures at the center. However, he was charged with three counts of "refusing to accept induction." The real basis of this frame-up is Farinas' publicly-stated intention to "organize GIs, inform them of their rights, to oppose the war, and to organize for better conditions in the Army."

The conviction and sentence are being appealed. According to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, "This case is particularly important because the defendant did nothing but take advantage of the Bill of Rights, of his First Amendment rights. Precisely for that reason, the charges and the conviction represent a political attack, an attack which is based upon the defendant's antiwar and socialist views, not any illegal conduct."

Farinas has asked that contributions to help him continue the legal fight be sent to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 6th Floor, 135 West 14th St., New York, N. Y. 10011.

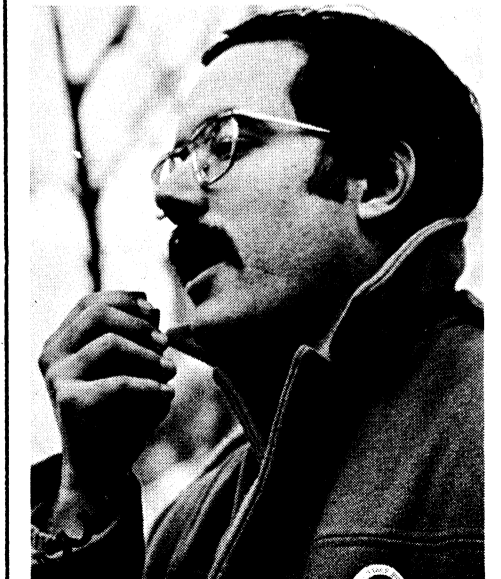


Photo by Howard Petrick

Juan Farinas

In Our Opinion

Answer U.S. aggression now!

President Nixon, flagrantly defying American public opinion, has by all indications launched an invasion of Laos. The full extent of this new escalation of the Indochinese war has so far been masked by a news blackout—and even a blackout on the news blackout itself.

But the administration's consistent pattern of piling one crude lie upon another and denial upon denial can only confirm the worst suspicions concerning the brutal nature and scope of the new aggression in Laos.

In many respects, this savage attack resembles the invasion of Cambodia last May. The response to that invasion was the largest student strike in world history and outraged protest by millions who had not previously been involved in antiwar activity.

In one sense, however, it has been different. It is more cautious, more secretive. Fearing a response like that which followed the Cambodia invasion, the administration is carefully testing how far it can go without significant public reaction.

Protest actions in response to this most recent assault on the Indochinese people have already begun and must continue. The task of building the national Student Mobilization Committee conference in Washington, D.C., Feb. 19-21 takes on added urgency; and the National Peace Action Coalition has called an emergency Steering Committee meeting for Feb. 13.

The climate in the country today is even more favorable to building massive nationwide opposition than it was at the beginning of the Cambodia invasion. Since then, the war has deepened and spread and Nixon's lies have been more fully exposed. There is a growing realization by millions that Nixon is not "Vietnamizing" the war but "Americanizing" all of Indochina.

The lessons of May remain part of the consciousness of millions, especially young people. Significant growth in antiwar sentiment has been reflected in polls and referenda on the war. The radicalization of layer upon layer of the population has continued to deepen.

The massive Chicano Moratorium demonstration against the war, held in Los Angeles last August, marked a qualitative heightening of the Chicano struggle. Black students in Riverside, California, organized a successful Black Moratorium against the war in January, and there has been exceptionally wide support for planned Black antiwar activity in Detroit this spring. All these are indications of deepening opposition in the Black and Chicano communities to the war.

The mass antidraft campaign in Puerto Rico indicates that support for antiwar activities can likewise be expected from the Puerto Rican community.

The Cambodia invasion last spring also resulted in the first significant cracks within the AFL-CIO officialdom, with many prominent union figures taking open antiwar stands for the first time. Particularly noteworthy was the resolution for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops endorsed by the May national convention of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO).

In response to the recent events, city-wide antiwar coalitions should take serious measures to involve more unions and union officials in antiwar activities with the aim of reaching masses of American workers.

Since last May, the radicalization of women has continued to deepen as evidenced by the massive Aug. 26 women's liberation march. This opens the door for winning greater antiwar support than ever before from large numbers of women and from women's organizations.

Opposition to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia and deepening nationalist consciousness among GIs is developing rapidly. In addition to all the more "traditional" forms of GI protest, their bitterness has been expressed in significant demonstrations and frequent refusals to fight.

The national antiwar movement has a central responsibility for reaching out to the GI movement at home and abroad and urging GIs to join in mass action against the war. The scope of GI participation in coming protests has the potential of being the largest ever in the history of the Indochina war.

Immediate demonstrations and rallies should be called to protest this new aggression! A widespread outpouring of opposition could be a major factor in forcing Nixon and his warhawks to pull back. Intensive efforts should be made throughout the country to get thousands of young people to the national SMC conference to help plan and organize further actions. The recent events will show that whole new layers can be mobilized to come to Washington and San Francisco on April 24 demanding that all U.S. troops be brought home now!

Letters

Aphra

Aphra has been honored with a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, through the Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines. This is the first official recognition of feminist art. However, the award is conditional: In order to receive it, we must match it with an equal amount of money from private sources.

We realize that women don't make as much money as men—and that you are probably assailed by requests for money for causes. But *Aphra* is dedicated to an original proposition in which every woman has a stake: that women artists are unable to develop their full potential within the framework of the male power structure, in a society where censure and censorship are always present.

Contributions are urgently needed. The federal grant will go toward authors' payments, the private donations toward paying our back bills.

Aphra
Box 355
Springtown, Pa. 18081

Sexual Politics

George Breitman's review (*Militant*, Jan. 22) of Irving Howe's review (*Harper's*, Dec. 1970) of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* was little more than an unfortunate attempt to excuse a composition which "was written too rapidly, or not rewritten or edited enough," mainly by implying (asserting?) that anyone who found the thesis insubstantial must be a male chauvinist.

Nothing is gained by lauding a book which is inadequate, just because it deals with a topic we all want to understand better and incorporate into our political consciousness. Even less is gained by performing minor character assassination on the person who details the inadequacies.

I don't have the time to read all of the books which appear on every topic which concerns or interests me. I depend on reviewers to help me decide which works I should consider and which I should neglect. Irving Howe's review is very thorough in its criticism of Miss Millett's arguments. Nothing in Breitman's response suggests how or why the book was good, other than in its intention to analyze an important social problem. The fact that the book actually may not have dealt with this problem in an effective way seems unimportant to him. He is just outraged by the fact that a prominent "Socialist" (my emphasis) could react so negatively to Millett's analysis. And so he attacks Howe rather than defending Millett.

I suspect that Howe's review and reputation were not much damaged, and that Miss Millett and her book were not much helped.

Charles Lawrence
Bloomington, Ind.

George Breitman replies—Many readers depend, like Charles Lawrence, on reviews to help them decide which books to read and which to "neglect." One purpose of my article was to persuade readers of a socialist paper that they should read the Millett book, rather than neglect to read it because of an attack by a self-styled "socialist." A

second purpose was to encourage *The Militant* to print a critical analysis of the book, discussing both its positive and negative features from a socialist standpoint. A third was to deny that Howe's approach to the book has anything in common with that of authentic Marxism. What I was defending was socialism rather than the Millett book, which I had neither space nor time to review myself.

Whether or not the book deals with a crucial social problem "in an effective way" is important, of course. That's what readers should try to decide—and which parts of the book are effective and which aren't, and why. Howe's hatchet-job prejudices readers against doing this.

Also important in evaluating books (aside from works of art) is their role and function as weapons of social struggle. Howe's fury flows much more from his appraisal of this aspect of the Millett book than it does from his annoyance over its defects as scholarship. He thinks that on the whole it is a useful weapon in a struggle that frightens him politically and personally. That's why he wants to put it down. And that's why I hope he won't succeed.

Renewal

Please renew our subscription for another year. *The Militant* is the best paper going. We hope you expand as much in the next two years as you have in the last two. *The Fishers*
North Madison, Ohio

Recession

In reading *The Militant*, I regret to find too little being said about the current recession. As you know, it is the longest in postwar history and is affecting millions, who must be looking for a better explanation than the one Nixon is giving.

I believe the transitional demands for a shorter workweek, the opening of idle factories, production for use instead of profit, and so forth would be appropriate and understandable to the general public.

Joseph Carroll
Irvington, N.J.

Rail workers fed up

The 13.5 percent wage hike imposed by Congress to end the Dec. 10 railroad walkout has still not been seen in our paychecks. Some of my fellow workers on the Milwaukee Road are owed up to \$500—the average is probably around \$300-350. We have asked the management and the union when it will be paid but until recently always got the same vague excuses: "It takes time to process the payroll," or "Wait until February," etc.

Now we've finally found out from the company that because "1970 was not a good year for the railroad industry or for the Milwaukee Road. . . . every effort to keep expenses at a minimum" has to be made. "Expenses," of course, include our back pay. The best the company can do, they tell us, is to pay the increase—part of which is retroactive to January 1970—in monthly installments from Feb. 15 to April 15.

There it is. We have to bear the

The Great Society

burden of inflation, recession, and incompetent management. No federal marshals were sent to the offices of the Milwaukee Road, as they were to our picket lines. No federal troops were alerted to withdraw railroad assets from the banks. No railroads were threatened with injunctions and jailings—as we were Dec. 10—to insure immediate payment of our back wages.

Everyone at the yards where I work is fed up with the excuses. We complied (however unwillingly) with the back-to-work legislation, but what about the carriers? Aren't they subject to the law too? We'll keep this shell game in mind when the emergency legislation expires on March 1.

W. D. H.
P. D.
Chicago, Ill.

Extends 'prescription'

I am against the Vietnam war because it is wrong. People everywhere ought to always consider the morality of every action which affects other people. The hard facts of the Vietnam hostilities prove that the United States government has been supporting only a tiny, nonrepresentative minority of the Vietnam population against a majority, whose primary purpose is to rid the soil of Vietnam of United States aggression.

George J. Guthrie
Rapid City, S. D.

P. S. I enclose a check to extend my present Rx, which is very soothing to my jangled nerves.

Antiwar GIs

I was very happy to see the article and editorial on GI unrest (*Militant*, Jan. 22). These and articles in other newspapers and magazines help emphasize the great potential for a powerful ally in the antiwar movement—the GIs.

Antiwar activists here have been very successful in turning out large numbers of GIs for demonstrations. On the Oct. 31 action we had a contingent of some 500 GIs. This didn't require much money or time on the part of the activists.

Two or three people drove around on the local base and distributed leaflets in areas where GIs congregate, such as the barracks, mess hall, PX, etc. These leaflets, especially drawn up for GIs, explained the importance of the antiwar movement and the need for GIs to demonstrate. In addition, Army regulation 600-20 was cited. This regulation allows GIs to demonstrate if they are in the U. S., out of uniform, and off duty.

Austin GI organizing has not detracted from campus organizing. Many students previously apathetic toward the antiwar movement have taken great interest in this kind of work and have helped out extensively.

Al Greengold
Austin, Texas

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.

Under new management—President Nixon announced that in conformity with his alleged decision to stop manufacturing and stockpiling biological-warfare weapons, the biological-weapons facilities at Pine Bluff, Ark., would be turned into a research center operated by the Food and Drug Administration for research on the effects of chemicals on man.

What is it now?—Rep. Clarence Brown (R-Ohio) has initiated a proposal to change the Senate into a House of Lords.

Shopping tip—Prof. Bruce McDuffie, the scientist whose revelations about high mercury levels in tuna and swordfish forced the government to order certain brands off the shelves, says that "cats and dogs are faring a lot better than people." He examined six brands of cat food containing tuna and one of dog food and found all seven met federal mercury-level standards.

Really gets around—President Nixon

says his wife Pat and daughters Julie and Tricia were shocked by the female lead using profanity in the film *Love Story*. But not the president. "I know these words," he said, "I know they use them."

Our representative democracy—A St. Louis judge authorized a Catholic doctor to legally represent a fetus. The doctor and his attorney will be in court to oppose litigants seeking reform of antiabortion laws. The doctor's client will be "Infant Doe," said to represent "an existent but unborn child and all other unborn children similarly situated. . . ." The judge didn't say how Infant Doe's position on the abortion laws would be determined.

Just not a problem—The Senate Ethics Committee of the Minnesota state legislature, which was established a decade ago to promote "high moral and ethical standards" among the legislators, has yet to hold its first meeting.

Deep-thinking dep't—The manager of

a swank New York shop featuring clothes from Paris (a man's muskrat midicoat, \$700) says things have been quiet these past days, with even the food merchants in the area complaining. "You know business is bad when people aren't even buying food," he observed sagely.

On making a house a home—Princess Moune Anne-Marie Souvanna Phouma, daughter of the Laotian premier, is pleased that she and her American husband, a USIA officer, found an adequate-size house in the Washington area. "We have a large grand piano," she explained, "and we collect Laotian silver boxes and all sorts of prints and etchings that need much room to be displayed."

Bountiful nature—The Laotian princess is also pleased that at 35 her face is free of wrinkles. "I think it's something in the climate or the water of the East," she conjectured. "Only the people who work outside all the time have many wrinkles."

—HARRY RING

Is the student movement dead?

The following article is reprinted from the Jan. 14, 1971, issue of the *University of Washington Daily*. It was written in response to a series of articles in that paper on the "death" of the student movement. The author is a well-known leader of the antiwar movement in Washington and was a Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate in last fall's elections.

Once there was a groundhog who lived in a very dark hole deep under the earth. One day, he roused himself from his comfortable hollowed-out bed, waddled along his tunnel, and poked his head outside.

It was raining. He waited a few minutes to see if anything different would happen, then withdrew his head and retired, having concluded that in the outside world it always rains.

The people who are sounding the death knell of the student movement have much in common with our little groundhog. They shortsightedly mistake a natural lull in activity for some permanent, qualitative change in the process of radicalization.

In my opinion, the process of radicalization which this country entered about six years ago continues unabated. The most common argument of those who see a downswing in the movement is that this fall's antiwar marches were so much smaller than last spring's demonstrations.

That is, of course, indisputable. But what tends to be overlooked is that these were the largest demonstrations we have ever been able to mount in an election year!

In election years, the establishment pulls out all the stops. All its energy is focused on convincing us that there is a tremendously important difference between Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee.

And the establishment has in the past always been able to disorient the movement. In 1964, SDS wore buttons saying "Part of the way with LBJ."

In 1966, the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee fell apart when activists left to doorbell for "peace" candidates. In 1968, independent antiwar activity ground to a halt as Eugene McCarthy used his campaign to get us "off the streets and back into the democratic process."

But in 1970, the antiwar movement was able to call large and significant independent demonstrations—despite the mass defections of the "peace" candidates and a vicious red-baiting and violence-baiting campaign conducted by the Nixon administration.

Viewed historically, we must conclude that the October

marches were a big step forward for the antiwar movement.

Of course, the Oct. 31 demonstrations are not the only evidence we have that the radicalization is continuing and deepening. We find an increasingly militant attitude in the labor movement, both in organized labor (GE, postal workers, GM) and especially in unorganized labor.

On Aug. 26, a march of 40,000 women in New York brought into public view a movement that has been simmering for a long time and which has tremendous possibilities for growth—the women's liberation movement.

The emergence of gay liberation, militantly opposing the sexual backwardness of our society, is another indication of the growing radicalism.

And one of the most significant developments has been the establishment of La Raza Unida Party, whereby Chicanos and Chicanas have declared their final break with the two-party system of war, racism and sexism.

No movement in history has ever proceeded in an uninterrupted straight line. Today there is a lull in activity caused by a number of factors: illusion in the recent election period; some disorientation by the barrage of propaganda that the war is being "wound down"; hesitancy to be linked with the spate of violence this fall; and a general tiredness after last May's upsurge.

But radicalization is not a virus epidemic which appears from nowhere, wreaks its havoc, and then departs for places unknown.

The radicalization process is not a sickness, but a search for a cure. And that search is still going on.

What we see today is a slowdown in activity which is, for many, a period of reevaluation. We are the instant-cereal generation, and too many radicals thought that we could develop a new product: instant revolution.

Just add rhetoric and stir. The student movement has lost its innocence and found its final disillusion with Madison Avenue. There is no miracle ingredient, no magic tactic or fast-acting slogan which will bring about the thoroughgoing changes we need.

So people are girding themselves for the long, hard work of building a mass movement for revolutionary change. To mistake this catching of breath for an end to the radicalization would be as disastrous for the left as it soon will be for President Nixon.

Because when the groundhog pokes its head out, spring isn't very far away.

—STEPHANIE COONTZ

SMC builds for antiwar conference

By HARRY RING

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held an enlarged working committee meeting here Jan. 30 to discuss final plans for the SMC national antiwar conference which will also be held here Feb. 19-21. About 70 people attended, including SMC representatives from cities throughout the East and Midwest.

In addition to the general work required to assure a good turnout for the conference, which will map the SMC's spring antiwar offensive, the meeting discussed a number of concrete projects. These included the upcoming April 2-4 actions commemorating the death of Martin Luther King, and rallying the antiwar movement in defense of Philip Berrigan and his codefendants in the current "conspiracy" frame-up. The meeting also discussed relating to the National Student Association and other groupings involved in organizing around the People's Peace Treaty with the Vietnamese.

There was in addition a general political discussion of the new stage of the escalation of the Vietnam war and how this related to the coming conference and dictated a significant escalation of the spring antiwar offensive.

New addresses

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee have moved into offices here at 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. The NPAC phone number is (202) 628-5388. The SMC number is (202) 628-5345. Both have additional numbers which are available from directory assistance. The Washington Area Peace Action Coalition and the Washington area SMC have offices at the same address.

A special issue of the *Student Mobilizer*, focused on the Feb. 19-21 conference, is now available, as is a special issue of the *GI Press Service*. Special leaflets, aimed at high school students and other specific groups have been prepared and are designed so that they can easily be reproduced as local leaflets for use in building the conference.

The reports and discussion made clear that SMC activity is already expanding rapidly.

John Hawkins, Third World Task Force director for the Detroit SMC, reported on the work under way there to build the April 2-4 action.

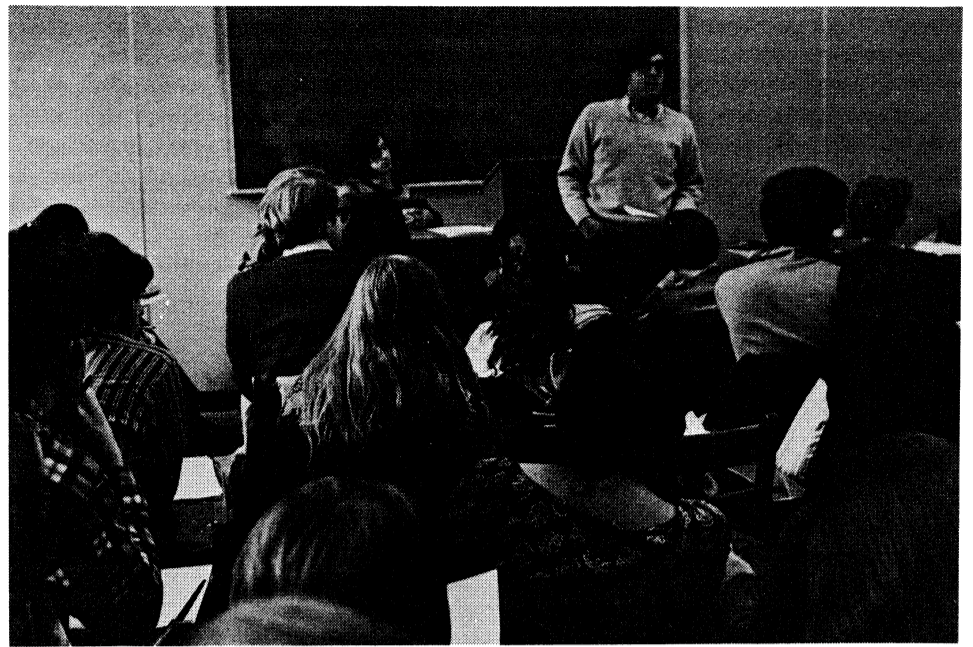
The Detroit chapter of the NAACP, in an unprecedented move, agreed to support the action and also endorsed the spring program of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Various Black groups in the area, he reported, are discussing plans for school assemblies and convocations on Friday, April 2; mass rallies and demonstrations Saturday, April 3; and special church services and commemorative meetings Sunday, April 4.

Hawkins also reported that students at Highland Park Community College, which is 70 percent Black, are now discussing plans for a Black Moratorium against the war similar to the successful one recently held by students in Riverside, Calif.

In a number of cities, the SMC is already involved in defense efforts in the Berrigan case. Philadelphia SMC joined with other groupings in organizing an initial defense rally of 700. A representative from Cincinnati reported activity is already under way in that city around the case. All of the participants in the meeting agreed that the Berrigan indictment constitutes a clear-cut attack on the entire antiwar movement and that the movement must respond accordingly.

A number of areas, including Boston, Atlanta and Chicago, reported a particularly encouraging response to SMC high school organizing, with the issue of a high school bill of rights a central one.



Don Gurewitz, SMC executive secretary, speaking at Jan. 30 SMC Steering Committee meeting in Washington.

Photo by Harry Ring

Philadelphia reported an attendance of 50-60 at each high school SMC meeting, with 350 at a high school bill of rights rally.

Building the February SMC conference and carrying through present as well as planned activity will take a sizable amount of money, but the meeting gave impressive testimony that here too the opportunities are now greatly increased.

One Detroit SMcer reported an invariably good response to bucket collections and peace tag sales by high school SMcers at rock concerts and other gatherings. One night when there was a real blizzard, she recalled, two high-schoolers went out anyway and in a couple of hours came back with \$50.

A special point on the agenda was a report by Frank Greer, peace treaty director for the NSA. He said that the NSA leadership saw the peace treaty as an organizing tool and did not intend to tie it to any particular coalition or particular activities. Rather, he said, NSA wanted to work with all the forces in the antiwar movement and relate to all of the actions being

planned. He said the NSA would welcome SMC support and invited the SMcers to attend the Ann Arbor peace-organizing conference the first weekend in February.

In introducing Greer, Don Gurewitz explained that he and others in the SMC national office disagreed with particular concepts in the treaty, which he said tended to infringe on the principle of self-determination for the Vietnamese and blurred the issue of immediate withdrawal.

However, Gurewitz stressed, there are significant sectors of the movement which do support the peace treaty, and it would be incorrect not to cooperate closely with the NSA and these other forces in building the spring offensive. Political disagreements about the treaty, he stressed, in no way constitute a barrier to united action in carrying through the spring antiwar program.

The meeting approved a proposal that the SMC staff, working in cooperation with Washington-area student government leaders, finalize preparations for the Feb. 19-21 conference.

April 24 action gaining broad support

As support mounted for the spring program of the National Peace Action Coalition, the *Guardian* made an editorial appeal for united support to the April 24 antiwar demonstration being organized by NPAC in Washington and San Francisco.

Among a mounting list of sponsors for the April 24 demonstration is the Executive Council of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union.

Meanwhile, 10 nationally prominent figures have joined in issuing a fund appeal to help finance the NPAC spring program.

The *Guardian* declared in a Jan. 30 editorial: "The *Guardian* calls for support of the mass antiwar demonstration called for Washington April 24 by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

"We urge all antiwar groups, especially those associated with the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR), to give all-out backing to this action.

"Regardless of organizational and political differences some antiwar groups may have with NPAC, a mass antiwar protest in the nation's capital demanding immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Indochina is vitally necessary at this time."

Despite what it sees as the "inadequacy" of NPAC's political approach, the *Guardian* urges that a common calendar of activities be agreed on by NCAWRR and NPAC. It states that "a mass protest April 24 could provide a jumping-off point for the (as yet all too vague) national actions planned by the NCAWRR in May. The April 24 and May actions must not be viewed as being in opposition to each other but complementary."

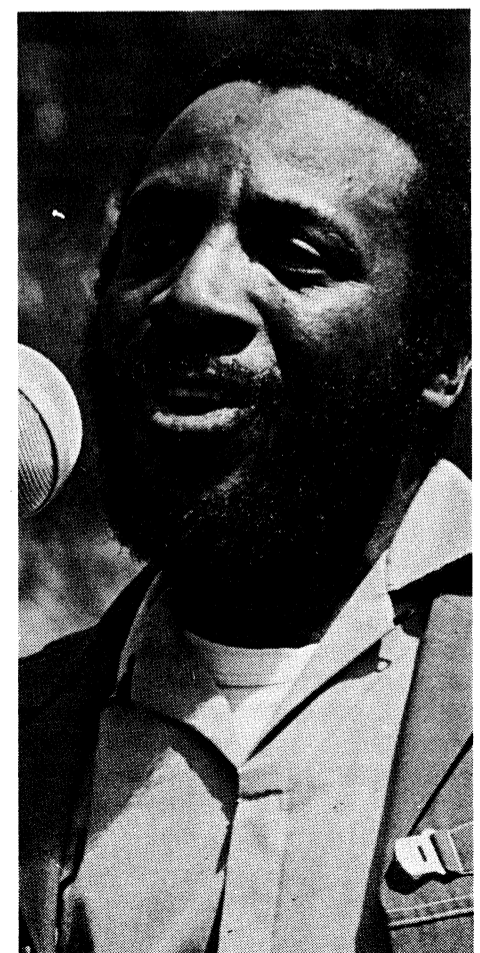
The editorial notes that both formations have already agreed to support the April 2-4 King memorial actions and the May 16 GI solidarity day. It also suggests: "Although we have not heard this mentioned yet, we think a student strike May 5 organized by NSA and the Student Mobilization Committee, among other groups, could add measurably to the May protests."

As sentiment for a united spring antiwar action mounted, NPAC announced that a fund appeal is being issued to help meet the projected \$100,000 budget for its spring antiwar offensive. The letter cites Nixon's duplicity in escalating a war he had promised the American people he was winding up, declares that there is now both an urgent need and a major opportunity to involve significant

numbers of workers, GIs and others in a massive antiwar protest, and urges that funds be made available to NPAC to carry through such an action.

Signers of the NPAC fund appeal are: Clive Barnes, *New York Times* drama critic; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; comedian and rights activist Dick Gregory; Julius Hobson, former member of the District of Columbia School Board; columnist Murray Kempton; author Kate Millet; anthropologist Ashley Montagu; 2nd Lt. Rob Olsen of the Concerned Officers Movement; writer Stanley Sheinbaum; the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, a national secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Council and president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Meanwhile, new endorsers of the April 24 action include: Washington, D.C., Federation of Teachers Local 2; D.C. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; D.C. SANE; Marvin Karpatkin, general counsel, American Civil Liberties Union; Nellie Dunlop, Detroit chairwoman, National Welfare Rights Organization; and Rev. Albert Cleage of the Detroit Church of the Black Madonna.



Dick Gregory

THE "PEACE TREATY" PROJECT



Photo by John Gray

By LARRY SEIGLE

One of the many action projects now being discussed within the antiwar movement is the idea of a "peace treaty" between Americans and Vietnamese. Several national organizations including the National Student Association (NSA) and the New University Conference have already begun circulating texts of peace treaties, and in some areas local "People's Peace Treaty" groups have been formed.

The amount of interest and activity generated by the peace treaty concept indicates that it will be one of the major focuses of many antiwar forces this spring. The hope is that the energy directed at building the peace treaty can also help to build the spring action program centering around April 24 mass actions in Washington and San Francisco that are being organized by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee. Both NPAC and the SMC are in contact with the NSA and other groups organizing around the peace treaty, and have begun collaborating with them. In this critical period when Nixon is mounting a major escalation of the war, this type of collaboration is absolutely essential as part of the process of building unity in action among all antiwar groups and individuals.

There are, however, certain very real political weaknesses with the peace treaty concept. The limitations of the treaty idea should be discussed within the antiwar movement, because they go right to the heart of the concept of self-determination.

In November and December of 1970, a delegation of student leaders, organized by the National Student Association, visited Vietnam. They returned with the text of a peace treaty which they reported had been agreed to by student organizations in North and South Vietnam and had been discussed with the Vietnamese in Paris. The text of this "treaty" has been distributed nationally by the NSA, which is seeking endorsement of it from organizations in the United States.

The treaty contains a number of conditions which Americans who sign the treaty are to agree to; and it also contains pledges attributed to the Vietnamese.

Immediate withdrawal

One of the key problems with the treaty is that it hedges the question of immediate withdrawal. The text distributed by the NSA says, in part, "The Americans agree to immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam and publicly to set the date by which all American forces will be removed." While this formula may sound like a commitment to immediate withdrawal, it actually is self-contradictory. The idea of "setting the date" for withdraw-

al is exactly the opposite of immediate and unconditional withdrawal. "Setting the date" means an agreement to maintain U.S. forces in Vietnam until sometime in the future.

It makes no difference whether this date is six, twelve, or twenty-four months from now. Any continued presence in Vietnam of U.S. troops must be fought with the demand for immediate withdrawal. Moreover, it should be perfectly clear to anyone with even a cursory knowledge of past U.S. policy that a commitment from the U.S. government to withdraw by a certain date wouldn't be worth a plugged nickel. Look at the "commitment" not to invade Cambodia, which was even written into law by Congress!

The treaty goes on to say, among other things, that upon the U.S. setting a date for withdrawal, the Vietnamese must pledge to "enter discussions of the procedures to guarantee the safety of withdrawing troops," "to form a coalition government to organize democratic elections," and to "guarantee the safety and political freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collaborated with the U.S. or with the U.S.-supported regime."

The Vietnamese may or may not want to "guarantee the safety of withdrawing troops." That would depend upon a number of factors, not the least of which would be whether or not the Vietnamese think they can trust any commitment by the U.S. government. Nixon has been "withdrawing" American troops for two years, and the Vietnamese have quite properly not been inclined to guarantee anything except continued defense of their country.

Similarly, the attitude that the population of Vietnam will hold towards the Vietnamese collaborators of U.S. imperialism and the Saigon puppet regime is hardly something for any American to extract pledges about.

Nor is it any business of Americans what type of government the Vietnamese will decide upon. They may choose to accept a coalition regime, or they may choose to reject the idea. That is entirely up to them. The task of the antiwar movement is to explain to the American people why that is a question to be decided by the Vietnamese and by nobody else.

Other provisions of the treaty require the Vietnamese to agree to organize "democratic" elections and to accept the 1954 and 1962 Geneva accords, which were imposed on the Vietnamese by imperialist force of arms.

Nothing to negotiate!

These specific terms of the "treaty" illustrate what is wrong *in principle* with the whole idea of it. Intended or not, the treaty gives credence to

the concept that the United States has a right to negotiate the future of the Vietnamese, in return for stopping its aggression against them. Self-determination means that the future of Vietnam is for the Vietnamese to decide, and no one, neither the U.S. government, nor the antiwar movement, nor the NSA, has anything to "negotiate" about.

The treaty, which is based on the concept that Americans can expect the Vietnamese to agree to terms for ending the war, runs directly counter to the demand for *immediate and unconditional* withdrawal, and can miseducate people in this country about the meaning of self-determination.

After all, implicit in the very idea of the treaty is the concept that if the Vietnamese don't live up to "their" promises, the United States need not abide by its pledge to withdraw. American withdrawal is conditional on Vietnamese compliance.

Supporters of the treaty idea have argued that the treaty doesn't cut across the right of self-determination because the terms of the treaty are based on proposals put forward by the Vietnamese delegation at the Paris peace talks. This is not a valid argument. It is one thing for the Vietnamese, as a negotiating strategy, under the intense pressure of American military aggression, to offer concessions at the negotiating table. It is another thing altogether for antiwar forces in the United States to dilute or qualify in any way their demand for immediate withdrawal—a demand which is directed at the U.S. government—by making that demand conditional on acceptance by the Vietnamese of certain terms.

The political fallacy on which the peace treaty idea is based is indicated by the fact that there are several versions of the treaty being circulated, all of which vary in their political content, and all of which are being represented as having been "negotiated" with the Vietnamese.

As indicated above, the text circulated in printed form by the NSA contains the phrase "immediate and total withdrawal." A second version, being circulated by a group called "People's Peace Treaty," is identical except for two sentences: 1) the word "immediate" is omitted; and 2) a sentence is inserted which states opposition to "racism and discrimination" on the basis of color, class, sex, national origin, and ethnic grouping. Both versions contain explanatory notes stating that they were negotiated by the student delegation to Vietnam and Paris in late 1970!

A third version, containing the word "immediate" and the added sentence against discrimination and racism, was sent out to the mailing list of the Parade Committee in New York City;

and a fourth, totally different version was circulated by the New University Conference, calling for "the total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Vietnam not later than June 30, 1971."

It is not impossible that these different versions will be consolidated, although it is difficult to see how the difference between "total withdrawal" and "immediate and total withdrawal" can be easily bridged. (This is, after all, as wide as the gap between Nixon's "Vietnamization" rhetoric about withdrawal and the antiwar movement's slogan to bring all the troops home now.) But the existence of these varied versions, each claiming to be the "authentic" one, points out the inadequacy of tailoring demands of the U.S. antiwar movement to particular negotiating positions or opinions held by the Vietnamese.

United antiwar action

However, the fact that sections of the antiwar movement, including the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have serious political objections to the peace treaty concept should not get in the way of developing collaborative relationships and joint action.

In an earlier period of the antiwar movement, differences existed which were at least as great as the ones which separate the peace treaty proponents from its critics. For example, there were groups which favored the demand for immediate withdrawal and there were others who rejected that demand and called for the United States and the Vietnamese to begin "negotiations." In spite of these differences, groups and individuals holding and publicly expressing both views were able to jointly plan and build actions and worked together in building antiwar organizations. This was successful because the immediate withdrawal wing of the movement understood the necessity of drawing into the antiwar coalition those forces who were not yet ready to call for immediate withdrawal, and the wing which favored the call for "negotiations" did not impose its position on the entire coalition. This collaboration was essential for building the antiwar movement and was crucial to its success and future growth.

It is significant that many of the forces that are interested in the peace treaty idea are also excited about April 24th and view mass action as one of the tactics that can help promote the peace treaty. If it is realized, as it seems to be by many, that while the peace treaty cannot be *the* tactic for the entire movement, it can be related to other projects and actions, there can be significant steps towards unifying all antiwar forces in action against the war.

Geo. McGovern's anti-antiwar campaign

By LEE SMITH

On Jan. 18, Senator George S. McGovern, South Dakota Democrat and one of the leading "doves" in the U. S. Senate, announced his intention to seek the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party for 1972.

The announcement was made in a TV speech in his home state and in a simultaneous mailing to 2,500 editors and 275,000 Democratic Party voters.

The nature of the campaign McGovern plans to run is already clear. Its purpose is to enlist support from antiwar activists, drawing them away from mass demonstrations into Democratic Party electoral activity. In the letters he sent to the Democratic voters, he also indicated that his nomination "offers the best chance of heading off a fourth-party movement by Democrats."

The major appeal McGovern hopes to address to his constituency will be on the issue of an end to the Vietnam war.

In the TV speech proclaiming his aspiration to the presidency, McGovern said, "There is no way to end [the war] . . . except to announce a definite, early date for the withdrawal of every American soldier." The antiwar movement however, has been proposing another solution—that every American soldier be brought home now!

Like all capitalist politicians, McGovern believes the United States has the right to intervene in Southeast Asia or anywhere else. What he disagrees with is the particular way in which the intervention has been handled.

He intends to have his campaign play, on a larger scale, the same role he saw for the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment. This was an amendment he and Oregon Republican Sen. Mark Hatfield proposed at the time of the massive student opposition to the May 1970 invasion of Cambodia.

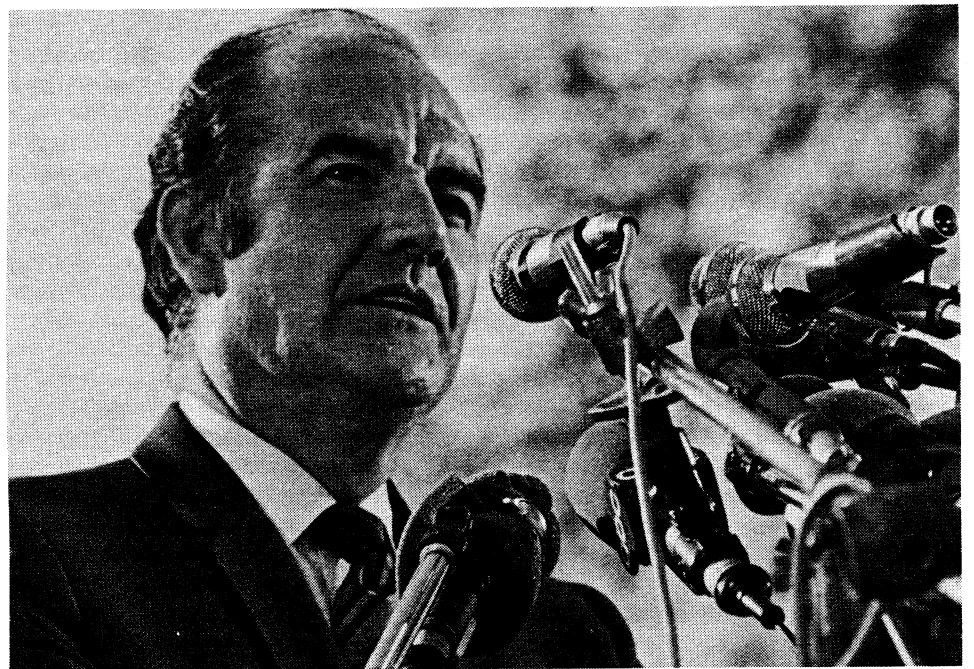
Letter-writing campaigns and door-to-door petitioning in support of this "amendment to end the war" were posed as a "constructive" alternative to mass mobilizations of students, who were converting their schools into antiwar universities and reaching out to the entire population.

When the amendment finally came to a vote—two months after the students had already forced a pullback from Cambodia—it proposed December 1971 as a "deadline" for the withdrawal of U. S. troops and included an escape clause allowing the president to keep troops in Vietnam beyond the "deadline" if there should be an "unanticipated clear and present danger." The bill failed.

McGovern's support for the basic aims and policies of U. S. imperialism comes across even more clearly if we look at his views on America's role in areas other than Southeast Asia. In an article published in the Jan. 25 *Newsweek* but written before McGovern's speech Jan. 18, Stewart Alsop noted that "like all liberal Democrats, [McGovern] is hawkish on Israel." And in his speech, McGovern said that the way the war has been handled by the Nixon administration "has led to the neglect of such truly essential interests as the goodwill of Latin America, the survival of Israel, and peace in the Middle East." (Emphasis added.) The South Dakota senator is a "peace" candidate who believes in a peace based on the continued oppression of the Palestinian masses and of the workers, students and peasants of Latin America.

McGovern's concern for the preservation of capitalist rule—and even for the control of Congress by his own party—outweighs his vexation with U. S. policy in Indochina, as he himself has stated.

The April 24, 1970, *Wall Street Journal*, reporting on the mutual aid Democratic "hawks" and "doves" were swap-



Sen. George McGovern

ping in order to maintain their party's majority at the polls in November, noted that McGovern had been "strongly scolded by peace groups" for speaking on behalf of pro-war Wyoming Sen. Gale McGee, who was up for reelection. "You have to make a judgment on these things that takes into account more than Vietnam," McGovern explained, according to the newspaper. "You have the whole question of who is going to control the Senate next year."

A Jan. 21 *New York Times* editorial noted that McGovern had been "an able administrator of the Food for Peace program." As the Jan. 29 *Militant* reported, the Food for Peace program has been used to channel more than \$700-million in military equipment to foreign governments during the last five years. This was in accordance with a provision in the 1966 foreign-aid bill specifying, in the words of a Defense Dept. official, that "no military grants could go to a country

which had not agreed to use food-for-peace funds for 'common defense' purposes."

It is because he seeks to play a pied-piper role that McGovern can count on the backing of men with the big money necessary to finance a capitalist election campaign. In his *Newsweek* article, Alsop noted that McGovern "is an inveterate list keeper, and is said to have better lists of rich dove-liberals than anyone else. Two very rich dove-liberals—businessman Henry Kimelman and computer nabob Max Palevsky—are already enlisted as angels."

What Alsop does not say is what kind of a businessman Kimelman is—a hotel owner and real estate man whose main holdings are in Puerto Rico. No doubt McGovern will be reluctant to carry his battle against what he calls "the most outrageous moral failure of our history—the lingering curse of racism" to the extent of favoring self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico.

Oakland Army Terminal—foreboding transfer point

By Pvt/2 ED JURENAS
(Special to *The Militant*)

OAKLAND, Calif. — Building 640, Oakland Army Terminal, is probably one of the most foreboding places for a GI to be these days.

It signifies the end of his life-style for about a year to come. It may even signify the end of his life.

Building 640 is the reporting station for all GIs being shipped to Vietnam through Oakland.

From the time a Vietnam-bound GI enters Building 640, through the next two to four days while he is on base, he can't help but notice the unusually silent, somber atmosphere which grim-

ly pervades his environment.

He, together with hundreds of others already dressed in their combat uniforms, just sits out what he knows will be his last few days in the states for some time to come.

Placed in sterile, cramped billets, the GI must attend three mandatory formations per day. Here, either he will be "manifested" for shipment to Vietnam or he will be placed on one of many assorted work details, doing work ranging from picking up cigarette butts to cleaning floors to KP. These details make the prospect of leaving for Vietnam almost attractive to a GI. At least when he leaves, he'll

escape the oppressive surroundings of Oakland.

The Oakland Terminal has all the characteristics of a drab prison. Like prisoners, GIs often demonstrate a sense of defiance. The fact that the attitudes of GIs have drastically changed in the past several years is obvious. The response on the part of the brass to this change is also different from what it used to be. An excellent case in point is the situation of GIs reporting late for overseas shipment.

Purposely reporting late for Vietnam processing and shipment is a serious, court-martial offense. However, due to the large number of such cases, they are treated in a low-key, routine manner.

Many GIs who know where they are going often take an extra week, two weeks, or even longer before reporting. When eventually confronted by the WAC officer in charge of dispensing Article 15 punishment (mild disciplinary action corresponding to a slap on the wrist), they come away with the often-expressed attitude: "What else could they have done to me? Sent me to Nam?"

Other GIs go even further. Once they have actually arrived on base they decide to go AWOL. My job for one of the work details I was placed on during my brief Oakland stay consisted in taking inventory of about a dozen duffle bags left by soldiers who had gone over the fence. Of particular interest were the contents of one bag: jungle fatigues, combat boots, and ser-

geant's stripes. Taking all the bags to a storeroom in the same building, I found hundreds of other bags similarly being "kept" for their absent owners.

While a general demoralization of the entire Army can be seen in soldiers' reporting late or going AWOL, there are also many indications of a growing political consciousness among GIs. This consciousness was dramatically expressed by the solidarity of Black troops at Oakland. Whenever Black GIs met on base they greeted each other with a Black power handshake. They would talk about everything from the authorized liberal usage of billy clubs by the MPs to the way Black brothers would have to stick together in Nam.

Not too surprisingly, most GIs at Oakland express a total lack of belief in anything Nixon has to say about peace in Southeast Asia. They see massive numbers of their GI brothers coming and going and are not easily fooled by talk about troop reductions in Vietnam. The fact that they will soon be in Nam themselves is personal evidence of the fraudulence of Nixon's "peace" plans. As they see it, their mission in Vietnam is merely to spend their miserable year as quickly as possible and to return to the states alive. To this latter goal, the international antiwar movement can continue to lend its energies by struggling for an immediate end to the war.

Socialist GI sent to Alaska

Private Ed Jurenas, the antiwar GI scheduled to go to Vietnam the first of the year, has been sent instead to Alaska. Evidently the determination to continue his antiwar activities in Vietnam, which he expressed at the Young Socialist Alliance national convention (see *The Militant*, Jan. 15) persuaded the brass that sending him there was not a good idea.

In a letter from his new post, Ft. Greely, Alaska, Jurenas described the change in his orders. "When I arrived at the Oakland base," he wrote, "I found out that I was the subject of a 'special bit.' They stopped me from processing, called Washington to see what was to be done with me, and kept me at Oakland for two days while a decision was being made. Finally, on Jan. 7, I was called in to be told that I had 30 minutes to change clothes, pack, get tickets, and be on my way to Alaska. The clerk told me it was the quickest transfer he had ever seen."

A socialist program for 'revenue sharing'

By LINDA JENNESS

When I was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970, one of the questions most often asked was how did I plan to finance the extensive social programs that I proposed. In those SWP campaigns, we promoted such demands as free medical and dental care for everyone, a crash program to provide low-rent public housing, and a major expansion of educational facilities particularly in the Black community.

"But where will the money come from to pay for this?" we were repeatedly asked. This question, I am sure, is also frequently asked of Socialist Workers Party candidates running in municipal elections this year.

It is a reasonable question, and any candidate for public office who cannot honestly answer how she or he will raise the necessary funds for their program will, justifiably, not be taken seriously.

My answer included, among other proposals, the demand to substantially increase federal allocations to state and local governments. Since the largest portion of taxes that the American people pay are collected by the federal government, it is only natural that the federal government redistribute a much larger share of these funds in the form of grants and services that will benefit the majority of American people.

Therefore it was with great interest—and skepticism—that I listened to President Nixon's State of the Union address on Jan. 22 in which he promised "a plan of revenue-sharing historic in scope and bold in concept."

It was clear that Nixon's plan for revenue sharing is a phony and demagogic attempt to convince the American people that he is concerned with major social ills. Like the rest of his speech, it represents a transparent move to kick off his 1972 presidential campaign.

The essence of his plan is to return to state, county and municipal governments \$16-billion collected in federal taxes. Of this amount, only \$6-billion would be new revenue, the rest would come out of already existing federal aid programs. Nixon proposes to abandon or restructure some of the existing federal aid programs such as Model Cities, manpower training, urban mass transit, etc. and assign \$10-billion from them along with \$1-billion of new funds to six general areas: urban development, rural development, manpower development, education, transportation, and law enforcement.

Local officials would have greater leeway in deciding how to use money allocated to these areas than they do under current "narrow-purpose" aid programs. The remaining \$5-billion would go to local governments, supposedly with no strings attached.

These proposals were made with the almost certain knowledge that Congress is not going to pass them. But even if ratified, they would not take us one step closer to solving the major social problems of our cities.

Six billion dollars in new funds, out of a projected budget of \$229.2-billion, and an organizational juggling of old funds is a very miserly



Toronto Star

'Now back to our program, folks, Holy War in Indochina.'

approach to the severe problems that must be solved.

Contrast this with the \$76-billion Nixon is budgeting for war expense, an increase of \$1.5-billion over last year. While Nixon continues to spend millions of dollars to send bombers to Southeast Asia, provide arms to reactionary governments throughout the world, and stockpile more thermonuclear weapons, he offers only a few pennies to help urban areas build housing and schools.

It should also be noted that a chunk of his revenue sharing package is earmarked to help bolster local police efforts to smash Black and Chicano struggles.

Besides his opposition to diverting revenue from war expenses, Nixon's plan makes no proposal to change the present tax structure weighted so heavily against those least able to pay. Nixon's proposed budget estimates that 41 cents of each budget dollar will come from individual income taxes, mostly from the wages of workers, whereas multimillionaire corporations will provide only 16 cents for each budget dollar.

Nixon offers no tax relief for tens of millions of workers whose real incomes are falling as a result of inflationary price increases. However, less than two weeks before his State of the Union address, he announced tax write-offs to corporations who made new investments. Total tax relief would be an estimated \$2.7-billion in the coming fiscal year. Nixon's plan does not include sharing billions of dollars in bulging profits squeezed from the labor of America's workers.

Even if Nixon's penny-ante proposal was passed by Congress and a few dollars of the millions paid by Americans in taxes were sent back to city and state governments, it would not help Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos

and all the others who live in intolerable conditions. Years of experience show that most of it would be squandered on high salaries for government functionaries, bureaucratic mismanagement, corruption, and payoffs to real-estate sharks and construction companies.

New York City, for example, states that it spent only about one-half of its federal Model City funds for the past year because of bureaucratic red tape. An article in the Jan. 11 *New York Times* reported that it takes as many as 71 steps for Model City administrators to purchase simple items like desks or trucks.

Furthermore, according to Nixon's plan, local officials could channel money for education and housing to well-off suburbs rather than where it is most badly needed—the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

Nixon hopes that his plan for revenue-sharing will be remembered as a "New American Revolution — a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people. . . ." But this is pure and simple demagoguery, because the people who most need the funds will not have the right to control and administer them.

Everybody in the Black community knows that federally financed Model City plans are made over the heads of and in spite of the desires of the people who live in the community. For Blacks, "urban renewal" usually means the tearing down of their homes faster than they can find new places to live, while new hotels and office buildings rise up, supposedly "improving" the inner-city area.

Nixon's revenue-sharing plan is a hoax; but the concept of redistributing the wealth of the country so that it can be used for the social needs of our population is valid. The key to

a just revenue-sharing plan depends on where the revenue comes from, how much and to whom it is distributed, and who controls how it is spent.

Approaching this question from a totally different direction than Nixon, the Raza Unida Party of Colorado in its 1970 election platform called for: "Redistribution of the wealth: That all citizens of this country share in the wealth of this nation by institution of economic reforms that would provide for all people and that welfare in this form of subsidies in taxes and payoffs to corporate owners be reverted to the people who in reality are the foundation of the economy and the tax base for this society."

The Socialist Workers Party agrees with this approach. We call for substantially increasing corporate income taxes, taxing all war profits 100 percent, taxing all personal incomes above \$25,000 100 percent, and ending all corporate tax loopholes.

In order to take the present burden of taxation off the backs of working people, we propose that no incomes under \$10,000 should be taxed. All taxes that hit the poor harder than the rich, such as sales, gasoline and payroll taxes and highway tolls, should be abolished.

We urge that top priority be placed on meeting the needs of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans and that committees selected and controlled by these communities determine how federal funds should be spent and supervise the administration of them.

The increased revenue obtained by this changed tax structure could be augmented by \$76-billion by ending the Vietnam war, dismantling all military installations, abolishing the standing army, and halting arms production.

With these federal revenues, we could establish: millions of new low-rent housing units; free medical and dental care including free abortions on demand; mass transit systems with no fares; free 24-hour child-care centers; new hospitals, parks, schools, and homes for the elderly; and free education for everyone who wants it through graduate, professional or technical school.

The SWP program for "revenue-sharing" also includes a \$10,000 per year minimum income for families on welfare, with the amount increased above \$10,000 according to the size of the family. Social security payments should begin at 50 years of age regardless of previous employment and the yearly minimum should be \$10,000. Unemployment benefits should be paid to all who are unable to find work, regardless of age or previous employment record.

These proposals are not utopian daydreams, but are the steps that can realistically be taken right away, given the country's present wealth and productive capacity.

It can be said with certainty that what impressed most Americans in January was not President Nixon's high-sounding rhetoric and feather preening for the 1972 elections. Rather, it was the obvious and outrageous discrepancy between the capacity of this country to send more men to the moon and its failure to meet urgent social needs here on earth.

Hugo Blanco on key issue

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

[The Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco gave the following interview January 1 to the monthly magazine *Libertad*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. Did the political and social prisoners expect the general amnesty decreed by the military government?

Answer. It was always expected because of the national and international campaign on behalf of the prisoners. The measure was a result fundamentally of this campaign.

Q. Did the government pose any conditions?

A. None whatever.

Q. Could you give us a résumé of your life as a guerrilla in the armed struggle waged in the valley of La Convención?

A. The term "guerrilla" is only partially applicable in my case. Although I was a guerrilla, that was only one of my functions as a revolutionist, which I consider a more comprehensive and appropriate term.

As a revolutionary activist, I knew that there was no peaceful solution to the problems of the peasantry. But despite this, starting off from minimum demands, working by peaceful means through the peasant union movement to mobilize the masses, I went through the peasants' experience with them for several years.

It was inevitable that the peasants would become convinced of the need for physical force when their attempts to achieve a peaceful solution to their problems were blocked.

I realized that the peasants had to learn by their own experience because the "liberation of the workers will be the act of the workers themselves."

I was convinced that the peasants

must not be just a base of support but the material and intellectual agent of their liberation. Therefore, I went through the peasants' experience with them, from the lowest level to the point where they came to understand the need for armed struggle, as the only possible means not only for achieving their liberation but just to hold back repression. [Emphasis in the original.]

Q. What do you think about the junta's revolutionary measures?

A. Imperialism, which was formerly distinguished by its attempt to keep the colonial and semicolonial countries as producers of raw materials and importers of manufactured goods, has changed in this respect, owing to numerous factors. Among these I could point to the big worldwide industrial expansion, intensified, for example, by the uninterrupted technological development generated by the arms race.

This technological development has been decisive in making industrial installations obsolete almost as soon as they are built.

But let's take time out here. Stop writing and let me think how to put this. That way you'll see more clearly what the real picture is and what the reason was for the junta's reformist measures.

(Several minutes passed, and then Hugo Blanco said, "Now, compadre, let's go on.")

Imperialism has an urgent need for more extensive markets for its manufactured goods and machinery. The purpose of this neocapitalist policy is suited by an agrarian reform that would create an extensive layer of small agricultural proprietors capable of absorbing the consumer goods exports of the imperialist countries.

Industrialization of our countries also suits the purposes of this policy. In this way they can absorb the imperialists' machinery exports. This is true even if the industrial concerns that carry out this development in our country are not imperialist but

national or even state-owned companies.

The reforms instituted by the Junta Militar [military junta] fit into the context of this general policy of imperialist neocapitalism. This is true not only of the specifically economic measures like the agrarian reform, which is aimed at creating layers of consumers of industrial products; or the industrial development law, which is aimed at promoting this development for the benefit of the bosses. It is also true of the educational reform. The purpose of this measure is to provide skilled workers, such as lathe operators for example, that is, industrial slaves instead of illiterate Indian serfs of the landlords.

Besides these fundamental economic reasons for the government's reformist measures, there are political reasons. Not just the desarrollista [pro-development] sectors but the most astute elements of all the exploiting sectors understand that the previous situation in our country could not be maintained, that the danger of a genuine popular revolution was imminent.

Q. What is your opinion on the Freedom of the Press law? *

A. It protects the interests represented by the government.

Q. Now that we are talking a lot about freedom, what do you think real freedom is?

A. There can be no freedom without economic abundance. Only if there is an abundance of goods can we achieve a communist society, even though the objective technological and

* A censorship and political libel law apparently aimed primarily at curbing the power of the big press controlled by the old landed oligarchy antagonistic to the junta and the developmentalist bourgeois sectors that support it. See Hugo Blanco, "The Government Is Not Nationalist," *Intercontinental Press*, March 30, 1970, page 278.

scientific conditions (computers) already exist for it.

It is the inner contradictions of the capitalist system that prevent us from achieving abundance in a relatively short time. This shows that it is essential to destroy capitalism in order to put technology and science completely in the service of man.

Q. What is your opinion on the "Basque case," about the victims of Francoism?

A. It is one more brutal act by the regime that has afflicted the Spanish people since the 1930s.

The crushing of the Spanish revolution was the most painful episode in the retreat of the world revolution during the 1930s. The cause of this retreat was not just the offensive of the classes inimical to the workers but the betrayal by the reformist leaderships of the working class, like the Social Democratic parties of the Second International and the Communist parties that had fallen into the grip of Stalinism.

The Spanish people and the international fighters who came to help them offered their blood for a socialist revolution, for a workers government. Unfortunately, the reformist leaderships, the Stalinists in particular, sold out the revolution to the Republican bourgeoisie, which of course was incapable of defending even the bourgeois-democratic conquests associated with the historic role of this class in other countries.

The impotence of the Spanish Republican government can be compared with that of the Russian bourgeois regime from February to October 1917. Under Lenin the Communist party led the working class to power in Russia. Under Stalin the Spanish Communist party led the working class to surrender power to the Republican bourgeoisie. The Spanish capitalist class was incapable of resisting the fascists, who installed Franco as a monstrous example for

Eduardo Creus: life of an

When Hugo Blanco and other prominent Peruvian political prisoners were released under an Amnesty and Pardon Decree-Law on December 22, 1970, they immediately launched a campaign to win the freedom of all political prisoners still being held. As reported in *The Militant*, Feb. 5, this campaign was successful. One of the prisoners freed under pressure of their campaign was Eduardo Creus. The following account of his life is reprinted from *Intercontinental Press*.

The life of forty-three-year-old Eduardo Creus Gonzáles, friend and comrade of the Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco, exemplifies more than two decades of struggle by the Latin-American working class and the Latin-American Trotskyist movement.

Creus's revolutionary career, a long one in terms of the young Marxist movement in Latin America, was reviewed in a statement issued December 31 by the Comité pro Libertad de Eduardo Creus (Committee for the Release of Eduardo Creus) in Lima.

Creus began earning his living, the committee statement noted, when he

was eight years old, working successively as a newspaper boy; a baker's apprentice; a candy maker; a fruit peddler; a shoe salesman; a dock worker; a clerk; a laboratory technician; a textile, meat-packing, and construction laborer; and as a painter.

Also at a very early age, Creus began his fight against capitalist exploitation. He became active in the workers movement in his native Argentina in its heroic period, before the Peronista regime conceded the right for workers to organize, when the proletariat was atomized and had little defense against the tyranny of the bosses and their state apparatus.

"In 1945," the committee statement continued, Creus "went to work in a state-owned warehouse company. In the same year he found himself involved in a strike to demand payment of back wages, a strike which compelled the government to intervene in favor of the workers and which served to create the trade-union organization that had been sadly lacking on the docks."

Working as a laboratory technician in 1950, Creus was able to learn about Marxism. He joined the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolution-

ary Workers party), the name at that time of the Argentinian affiliate of the Fourth International.

In his union, the ATE (Asociación de Trabajadores del Estado—Government Workers Association), Creus formed an antibureaucratic opposition caucus. He was forced to leave his job, which he had held for six years, after refusing to sign a manifesto calling for Peron's reelection. The union leadership had arbitrarily imposed this manifesto on the rank and file. Creus demanded a democratic vote.

After being hounded out of his laboratory job, Creus went to work as a laborer in a textile factory. But at the urging of the bureaucratic leadership of the AOT (Asociación Obrera Textil—Textile Workers Association) he was quickly fired.

Next Creus went to work in one of the meat-packing houses in Bahía Blanca. He was elected a shop steward in the meat-packers union and organized a strong fight against the Peronista bureaucracy running the organization. Creus succeeded in building an antibureaucratic militant caucus in his union.

In 1954 Creus waged a campaign

in the meat-packers union, warning against a reactionary coup d'état that was in the works to oust the Peron regime. Creus explained that the plot was not aimed primarily at Peron but at the workers movement which had grown enormously under the nationalist regime. He called for arming the workers to defeat the military "gorillas."

It was while working at the Frigorífico La Negra packing plant in Bahía Blanca that Creus first came to know the young Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco. Blanco had already distinguished himself as a union militant at the Swift packing plant in La Plata.

In 1956 the Peron regime crumbled in the face of a military uprising, surrendering almost without a fight. The "liberating" dictatorship presided over by General Pedro Aramburú dealt heavy blows to the labor movement. Creus was one of the outstanding fighters against the antiunion offensive of the "liberators." As a member of the Bahía Blanca trade-union unity committee, he resisted the dictatorship's policy of removing labor leaders they did not like, defending the right of the workers to select their own officials.

5 in world struggle today

the "gorillas" of successive generations throughout the world.

Fortunately, if Spain is the painful reminder of a period of ebb in the world revolution, Vietnam is the mighty symbol of our era of permanent revolution which is shaking Spain itself, raising it from its ashes through the struggles of the workers in Asturias and all over Spain, of the students, the intellectuals, and now the Basque nationalists fighting for self-determination.

When Vallejo* died in Spain, he charged the youth of that time: "If Spain falls, go forth, youth of the world, go forth in search of it." Now the time has come to carry out the task conferred on us by this Indian who loved Spain so much.

Q. How can you carry a radical bourgeois-democratic process to a higher stage?

A. By giving impetus to the immediate struggles of the working class and other popular strata for their most deeply felt demands. Even struggles arising out of the regime's reformist promises can serve as a spur to consciousness, as in the Huando case.

Q. Has any law instituted by the military government gone beyond the bounds of the capitalist system?

A. Not one.

Q. What is your opinion on the Sino-Soviet conflict?

A. China is to the left of the Soviet Union. But I think that since it upholds the Stalinist doctrine of socialism in one country, Peking cannot give leadership or guidance to the world socialist revolution. This is shown by its selling out the Indonesian revolution to Sukarno, a betrayal that resulted in mass murder, mass murder of the Communists them-

* The poet Cesar Vallejo died in 1939.



Hugo Blanco

selves, of the cream of the Indonesian revolutionary movement.

The capitulation of the pro-Peking party in Pakistan, although less striking, is further evidence of the perniciousness of the theory of socialism in one country and the policy of peaceful coexistence, which in practice puts the diplomatic interests of the Peking government above those of the world socialist revolution. The attitude of Cuba toward the Mexican and Peruvian governments is also related to the influence of this anti-internationalist and anti-Leninist theory.

Q. What do you think about the policy of the Cuban government toward the development in Peru?

A. That it represents an unfortunate capitulation to the pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Q. What do you think of the Tupamaros?

A. I admire their valor but I disagree with their methods. Their actions are isolated from the immediate struggle of the masses. The courage, discipline, and other qualities of these comrades would make them valuable leaders of the mass movement and they would find their effectiveness infinitely increased.

Q. This said, can we consider their activity an advance in revolutionary strategy?

A. As far as tactics go, they are making many valuable contributions but in strategy they fall below the level of revolutionary science reached by Leninism.

Q. What chance do you think the Tupamaros have of winning?

A. I place my trust in the Uruguayan people, fundamentally in its working class. It is they who will win. The Tupamaros are only one more factor, a contradictory one, in this struggle.

Q. What historical significance does the Peruvian process have in the context of the Latin-American revolutionary ferment?

A. It is one of the last desperate efforts of a condemned system to divert the people from making their real revolution.

Q. What are your immediate and long-range plans?

A. Over the long term I intend to continue fighting for the world socialist revolution in the ranks of the Fourth International. Right now I am going to fight without letup until they apply the general amnesty law and release my teacher and comrade Eduardo Creus and the eight peasant leaders still imprisoned in the Cuzco jail, as well as the rest of the political and social prisoners who remain behind bars.

Q. How do you feel about the life you have chosen, devoting your life to the revolution?

A. I am doing my duty as a man in this epoch.

Q. Would you prefer not to have been born in this stage of history?

A. This is the best age to be born in.

Q. Would you like to have been born in the age of socialism or communism?

A. I think that it is best to have been born in the age of permanent revolution.

Q. Compañero Blanco, is there anything else you'd like to say?

A. I offer my revolutionary greetings to the readers of your magazine *Libertad*. I've enjoyed this discussion. I don't feel the same interest when I give interviews to the bourgeois press.

Argentine revolutionist

Also in 1956 Creus was elected to the national negotiating committee of the meat-packers union. From that position he combatted the military directors imposed on the organization, exposing an attempt by the dictatorship to buy off union leaders after it had failed to tame the labor movement by brute force.

As a result of this fight, Creus was suspended from the union and fired from his job, along with the majority of the members of his caucus and those whose names had appeared with his on lists in union elections. The bosses and the military overlords of the union blacklisted him.

Barred from employment in the meat-packing industry, Creus found a job as a construction laborer. In the building workers union he organized the opposition to the naval officers who were serving as "guardians" of the organization. He was elected to the committee formed to lead a key strike. But the union bureaucracy annulled the elections and expelled him.

Still in 1956, Creus's old employers in the meat-packing industry accused him of committing acts of sabotage. He was imprisoned. In 1958 he went



Eduardo Creus

to jail again as a result of his defense of the democratic rights of the Peronista movement, which had been outlawed by the military regime.

In 1961 Creus went to Peru along with Daniel Pereyra and José Martorell Soto to work in the revolutionary movement in that country.

In Peru, Creus decided to take part in a guerrilla group called Tupac Amaru, named after the famous Inca resistance fighter. This organization carried out several bank expropriations aimed at financing resistance to the repressive regime.

Creus was captured in 1963, after the police succeeded in breaking up the Tupac Amaru organization.

Despite the fact that the Lima government insisted the Tupac Amaru fighters were common criminals, it postponed their trial for over four years because of its obviously political character. When this group of revolutionists finally came before the courts in September 1967, all but three were given prison terms equal to the time they had already spent in prison, and consequently released.

Creus, Pedro Candela, and Adalber-

to Fonkén received long additional terms on charges relating to their revolutionary activity.

During his long captivity, Creus was subjected to torture and intimidation by the venal and degenerate repressive forces of the Peruvian regime. But his revolutionary morale and fighting spirit remained intact.

Together with Hugo Blanco, he fearlessly denounced the brutalities and crimes of the guards and police. The last sentences of a statement issued by Creus and Blanco, as well as Juvenal Zamallon and Vicente Dandado, on December 13, 1968, were representative of the Argentinian revolutionist's entire history:

"We do not ask for justice; that would be absurd. We know that killers do not win promotions by displaying 'love of justice.'

"Our duty is to inform our people of another side to the regime's 'morality campaign.'

"We repeat our assurances that no 'campaign of massing political prisoners' can break us.

"We know that the liberation of our people is a cause worthy of these sacrifices and many more."

In defense of Black nationalism and the Cairo United Front

By DERRICK MORRISON

Among the many groups and individuals distributing literature at the December national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was the Workers League. They were pushing the *Bulletin*, a newspaper claiming to be socialist.

Given the infantile and sterile nature of the weekly *Bulletin* and the fact that it has virtually no impact even on the politics of the radical movement, one need not normally take time to respond to its point of view. But in the issue distributed at the convention, there was a particularly vicious attack on the Black United Front of Cairo, Ill. This was presented in the context of an open letter to the YSA, which criticizes the YSA's support of Black nationalism and defense of the Cairo Front.

The letter states that the Cairo struggle "takes place under conditions of what appears to be a complete racial polarization." The letter goes on to say, "here is how the NAACP describes the situation in a statement, reprinted in *The Militant*, in which it endorsed the Cairo United Front: 'The present struggle in Cairo is between the Blacks, with their minds on freedom and dignity at all costs, and whites who share a determination equal but opposite to that of the Blacks. Everyone has been forced by the fierce reality of a horrible situation to choose one of the two sides, one Black, one white.'

"By posing the struggle this way, the Cairo United Front . . ."

But the point is hardly that the Front is "posing" a "racial polarization." The Blacks want "freedom and dignity" by any means necessary. It is the racist whites who are "posing" a "racial polarization." Their opposition to the Blacks has made Cairo into a battlefield. To suggest that the Front poses a "racial polarization" is to confuse the victim with the criminal and the criminal with the victim. Blacks are the victims and the white racists are the criminals. Whose side is the *Bulletin* on?

The last sentence quoted from the *Bulletin* goes on to say, "the Cairo United Front has formed a coalition, based primarily on the churches, which has an openly bourgeois program. One of its demands is for more industry in Cairo and another is to establish Black capitalist enterprises."

Is it a struggle promoting capitalist or bourgeois interests? Have the Blacks dismantled the United Front, turned in their weapons, dropped their demands for "freedom and dignity," and gone back to accepting their positions as superexploited beasts of burden? For this is what Blacks in Cairo would



Photo by Carl Hampton, United Front

American Nazi Party demonstrated in Cairo in August. But the "Bulletin" blames the Cairo Black United Front for racial polarization.

have to do to turn their struggle into a nonstruggle acceptable to the bourgeoisie!

Why aren't President Nixon, Governor Ogilvie, and Senator Adlai Stevenson III supporting Cairo Blacks if all they want is "more industry" and "Black capitalist enterprises"? The reason is that these demands are tied to a program geared to achieve Black political power in Cairo. The power will not be based on the election of Black Democrats or Republicans, but on the total mobilization of the Black community.

The Front is demanding more industry to get Cairo Blacks off welfare and out of backbreaking, debilitating migrant labor on cotton and tobacco plantations. The only "Black capitalist enterprises" I saw while in Cairo were either individual Black proprietorships, that is, small business, or Black cooperatives set up by the Front. Blacks in Cairo have no illusions about achieving "freedom and dignity" through building Black businesses. That is why they have mobilized behind the Front to achieve political power.

The essence of what Cairo represents for the

Bulletin comes through in the passage stating, "if America as a whole is to be divided into two armed camps, one white and the other Black, we well know the Black camp will be destroyed and in the course of being destroyed a fascist state established which will oppress the working class as a whole. Our aim must be in preventing Cairo from developing, not greeting them as the model for the struggle. As we have noted, the real movement of the Black masses, the youth in particular, is not toward Cairo, but towards a class break with the ministers and politicians and other conservative elements in the Black community and a turn towards class battles." [Emphasis added—D. M.]

So what the *Bulletin* fears is that the independent organization of the Black community will precipitate fascism! You see, implies the *Bulletin*, it's not the racist mentality of white workers that can provide fertile ground in which fascism can grow but the nationalist consciousness of radicalizing Black people! An absurd and dangerous argument! This is how capitalist liberals argue, not Marxists.

Continued on page 22

New openness to anti-Zionism on campuses

By LEE SMITH

"There is a new mood of diffidence among pro-Zionist students and a new spirit of confidence on the part of Arab students and their supporters" on U. S. campuses, according to Peter Buch, currently on a national tour for the Socialist Workers Party, speaking in defense of the Arab revolution.

Buch, a former Zionist who has written extensively on the reactionary nature of Zionism and the revolutionary character of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, began his speaking tour in October. Since then, he has spoken to hundreds of audiences on more than 50 campuses in the Mountain West, Northwest, West Coast, Southwest, and Southeast and

in the Middle Atlantic states.

Now in New England, Buch will be speaking on campuses there and in the Midwest during the next two months.

When he was in New York in January, Buch talked about the first three months of his tour and described his impressions of student interest and opinion about the Middle East.

Buch referred to a debate he had with "radical" Zionist Jonathan Brandon on the campus of Emory University in Atlanta to illustrate what he meant by "a new mood of diffidence" among pro-Zionists. The debate was attended by 100 people, including many of the same persons who had disrupted a speech by Israeli anti-Zionist Arie Bober earlier in 1970.

"They were quiet and attentive and polite," Buch said, "not only, I think, because someone speaking more or less for their point of view was on the platform with me, but because it has become less easy for them to assume that the rest of the audience will tolerate disruptive tactics. They are less confident of public sympathy than they used to be."

Buch also cited the polite treatment he received from a heavily pro-Zionist audience at Brooklyn College in New York. "When a few members of the audience started to heckle, they were shushed by others who were equally pro-Zionist," Buch said.

Another sign of the shift in campus opinion and the steady erosion of Zionism's "progressive" image mentioned by Buch is the increasing number of Jews and non-Jews who join the revolutionary movement on the issue of support to the Palestinian struggle. At a meeting at Hunter College in New York, Buch said, "a young member of the Young Workers Liberation League who came to my talk told me afterward that the SWP's position seemed to square with the Marxist classics he was reading far better than the Communist Party's position."

"One or two people have joined the YSA in nearly every area where I've spoken, partly as a result of the tour," Buch said.

Even more widespread than the growing support for the Palestinian revolution, Buch said, "is the understanding, especially among antiwar activists, that we must prepare, in light of what seems to be the likelihood of an eventual invasion by the U. S., to mobilize as broad a base of opposition to such intervention as possible."

An especially encouraging sign of mounting support for the Palestinian movement noted by Buch is the "increased confidence and activity of Arab students on U. S. campuses." Buch said, "I think it is extremely important that Arab students feel free to

express themselves and to organize actions. I have repeatedly made the point during my tour that American students have an obligation to protect the rights of Arab students to organize activity and take part in united fronts; an atmosphere promoting such activity should be encouraged, not just because of support to the self-determination struggle in Palestine but as a matter of elementary civil liberties."

Buch was particularly impressed by the activism of Arab students on the West Coast. "In Los Angeles, there was an Arab and Iranian contingent in the Oct. 31 antiwar march," he said, "protesting the war in Indochina and also calling attention to the struggle in the Middle East."

Buch said that his tour had generally received good news coverage. He was interviewed for television in Atlanta and in Nashville, Tenn. "The coverage by the campus press has been especially good," Buch said, pointing to an impressive stack of clippings from college newspapers. He picked out the Nov. 19 *Daily Cougar* from the University of Houston, which printed a report on his speech as the front-page lead. In the same issue, was a report on a speech by Michael Shashar, an Israeli military official who had spoken at the campus Hillel Foundation the night before. The story on Shashar only made page 3.



Peter Buch

By TONY THOMAS

The January fighting in Jordan between the Palestinians and the Hussein monarchy is the latest stage in a continuing offensive launched against the Palestinians during the September 1970 civil war in Jordan.

The popular support that the Palestinians have among the Arab masses made it clear that the implementation of the imperialist-backed Rogers Plan was in jeopardy so long as the Palestinian movement remained strong. Thus the first requirement before the imperialists and Israel could dictate terms to the Arab regimes was the crushing of the Palestinian resistance.

The civil war had a twofold effect. On one hand, it resulted in an objective setback for the Palestinians. More than 10,000 Palestinians reportedly were killed and wounded. Large amounts of arms and other materiel were captured from them, while all Hussein's losses were immediately replaced by the U. S. On the other hand, it revealed the tremendous strength of the Palestinians in Jordan and their support among the Arab masses and internationally. The strength of the Palestinians was far greater than the Hussein regime had expected. Wide support for them was expressed despite the fact that none of the Arab governments did more than cry crocodile tears while the Palestinians were massacred.

The September events were not a total setback for the Palestinians however. Although weakened, the major commando groups remained intact. The settlement concluded with Hussein in October contained several important concessions to the Palestinian resistance, including their right to maintain the only uncensored radio and press in Jordan and amnesties for those arrested and outlawed during the fighting.

The blow dealt the Palestinians has also had repercussions on other Arab regimes, bringing about, in part, a number of internal shifts to the right. This was because the setback suffered by the Palestinians constituted a blow to the entire Arab revolution, and the reactionary forces everywhere took full advantage.

Since September, the Egyptian regime announced several denationalizations. In Syria, a military coup replaced the Atassi regime with one less friendly to the Palestinians and more openly in favor of "private enterprise."

On the diplomatic front, the Arab governments have proposed a political settlement with Israel. Egyptian President Sadat said in an interview printed in the December 28 *New York Times*, "Israel must give up every inch of territory she captured from the United Arab Republic in the six-day war. . . . If she does, the United Arab Republic will recognize the rights of Israel to sovereignty." The Jan. 15 *Wall Street Journal* quoted Egyptian spokesmen as saying that the "fedayeen won't be allowed to destroy a settlement."

To enforce this policy, the Egyptian government has proposed that an international "peace-keeping" force of U. S., French, British, and Soviet troops be stationed on the borders. The real role these troops would play would be to absolve the neighboring Arab governments of the military and political responsibility of crushing Palestinian commando groups.

These moves constitute a conscious shift to the right; previously, the Egyptians and all other Arab states had refused to have anything to do with the recognition of "Israel's right to sovereignty" for fear of a mass reaction against such a concession.

The Palestinians have correctly rejected these proposals as a denial of their right of self-determination.

In a reply to an Egyptian attempt to portray the Palestinians as supporting "peace" plans, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO, a coalition of 10 commando groups including Fateh) was quoted in the Jan. 22 *Le Monde* as saying, "the Palestinians will continue the armed struggle to liberate all Palestine. . . . This pledge does not constitute an obstruction to attempts by the United Arab Republic to liquidate the consequences of the June 1967 War [i.e., return of the occupied territories — T. T.] as long as these attempts don't affect the rights of the Palestinian people." The PLO also stated it would refuse to take any part in the negotiations.

In selling out to Israel, Cairo must deal with the opposition of the Egyptian masses. Among the Egyptian masses there is overwhelming anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist sentiment that broke out in mass actions against the Egyptian authorities in Cairo and Helwan in 1967 and in the

The Militant's special series of articles dealing with the roots of the Mideast conflict will be continued in the next issue.

Nile Delta in 1968 when it appeared to the masses that sections of the government were preparing to capitulate to Israel. Sadat admitted in the *Times* interview that he couldn't set up formal diplomatic relations with Israel because "Our people here will crush anyone who would decide this."

As part of the continuing offensive against the Palestinians, the Jordanian ruling class again moved against the Palestinian forces between Jan. 7 and 14. Their goals were to destroy the militias and totally separate the Palestinian commandos from the urban areas.

The commandos are full-time fighters who are mainly engaged in actions against Israeli-occupied territories, while the militia are part-time fighters from the Palestinian population of the refugee camps, towns, and villages of Jordan. With tens of thousands of fighters in Amman alone, the militia played a key role in preventing a total Palestinian defeat in September.

As in September, the Jordanian authorities were able to inflict losses on the Palestinians, though they were unable to eliminate them as a military and political factor. Also, as in September, even though the inter-Arab truce team verbally placed blame on the Jordanian Army, none of the Arab governments took any measures to safeguard the political and physical existence of the Palestinians.

An accord between the PLO and the Jordanian authorities was reached between Jan. 13 and 14, although fighting continued for a few days after the agreement.

The accord, as described in the Jan. 15 issue

by Ghassan Kanafan, a leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, published in the PFLP's organ *Al Hadaf*. He says, "a decisive confrontation with the Jordanian government appears inevitable and a sabotage campaign ought to be mounted to overturn the Hashemites." He proposed a campaign of guerrilla warfare throughout Jordan and the "incitement" of the Jordanian Army to mutiny. George Habash, the principal spokesman of the PFLP called for the establishment of a "progressive and nonreactionary government" to replace Hussein.

Spokesmen for the PLO and Fateh branded Habash as an "adventurist" for believing the seizure of power was on the immediate agenda. They feel that the relationship of forces after the losses in September and January would not favor such action and that the main task for the fedayeen is to organize actions against the Zionist regime in Israel that uprooted them from their homeland.

The Jan. 21 *Le Monde* quotes a third group, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), as saying "the differences between certain fedayeen organizations result from contradictions not only in the midst of our people but within the whole Arab world. . . . The right wing of the Palestinian resistance [wants] to isolate the mass of the fighters in the interests of Palestinian-Jordanian combat unity [presumably against Israel]." It claimed that "those in the secretariat of the PLO have made unjustified concessions in the military and political fields following the attacks by the Jordanian authorities."

Continuing offensive against Palestinian resistance



A woman picks her way through ruins of building on outskirts of Amman destroyed by Jordanian Army during last fall's civil war.

of *Le Monde*, provides for: creation of a joint Jordanian-PLO commission to establish locations for fedayeen bases; all arms taken from full-time fedayeen by the government to be returned within a week; freedom of movement for all full-time commandos in the Jordan Valley and areas leading to it; reopening of all commando bases as provided for in the agreements ending the September conflict; no Jordanian arrests of commandos without first giving notice to the commandos' police; and arms held by the militia to be kept in depots controlled by the PLO. These depots would enjoy "complete immunity and will be guarded by the [Palestinian] militia."

Since the Jan. 14 accord, disagreement on the disarming of the militia has developed within the Palestinian movement. Some feel that the concession of disarming the militia was necessary in the face of the military setbacks, while others called for continued guerrilla war with Hussein and no surrender of arms.

The Jan. 18 *Le Monde* quotes from an article

Without naming any groups, the DPFLP also attacked "adventuristic tendencies that give the Jordanian authorities the pretext to liquidate the resistance and disarm the people."

What lies behind these charges may be differences in estimation of the political and military strength of the Palestinian forces, as well as differences in strategy. This estimation is difficult to make from the outside, especially since it is impossible to tell how many of the arms are really being collected by the PLO. Large secret caches of arms held by the commandos were an important factor in the struggle in September.

What remains clear is that Zionism, U. S. imperialism, and the Arab governments with the backing of the Soviet Union are moving to make a deal that would abrogate the national rights of the Palestinians. International support to the Palestinian demand for a "democratic unitary state" and opposition to outside, especially U. S., intervention remains crucial to the defense of the Palestinians against this new attack.

Feminism and the Equal Rights Amendment

By BETSEY STONE

There are few issues within the women's liberation movement around which there has been as much debate and controversy as the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The following dialogue between three feminists (designated here as A, B and C) is imaginary, but it reflects the issues of concern being raised in discussions around the ERA.

A: I think we should support the Equal Rights Amendment. How can women oppose something which simply states we should have equality under the law?

B: On an issue like this, you have to look below the surface. Did you know that if they pass this amendment it will void protective laws which guarantee certain rights for working women? These laws apply to women only, and they are important because they set standards for such things as minimum wages, maximum hours, meal breaks, proper ventilation, lifting of heavy weights, and so forth.

A: Why should they be voided? Who says they will be?

B: Many people, including specialists in the legal profession. As a matter of fact, this process of voiding protective laws is happening **right now**. Already, six states have voided protective laws.

A: How can this be done when the ERA hasn't even passed yet?

B: It's being done through Title VII of the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964. This law prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex; so around the country they have begun to knock down the protective laws because they apply to women only. In Michigan, for example, the courts voided the law which restricted working hours for women to 54 hours a week. This caused some women a lot of suffering because they were then **forced** to work long hours, some as many as 69 hours per week.

A: It seems to me that the obvious way to solve that problem would be to have protective laws extended to men.

B: Yes, that's true. But we have to deal with reality. We have to accept the fact that that's the way the Equal Rights Amendment is being interpreted, and we have to warn women that this is going to happen.

A: Well, I don't see how they can get away with making things worse for women. It's an awfully twisted interpretation of the meaning of "equality." It's like saying equality in pay should mean lowering men's pay to the level of women's wages.

C: One reason they are able to do this is because the protective laws, as they now stand, have some contradictory aspects. On the one hand, they do protect women; but they are also used to discriminate against women. In a survey done by the Bureau of National Affairs, 59 percent of the firms admitted they discriminated against women, and most of them used the protective laws as their excuse.

For example, the hours laws prevent women from getting the kind of overtime pay that men do, and it means that women are excluded from certain higher-paying job categories which the company says require lifting heavier weights or working longer hours. Some of the protective laws are designed specifically so that they can be used to discriminate. For example, in several states there have been laws which say women can't lift more than 10 pounds. This is clearly discriminatory, with the purpose of screening women out of certain jobs. Most babies weigh more than that. And this is another problem: that these laws vary greatly from state to state. Most of them are inadequate and are not enforced.

A: I can see this thing certainly gets complicated. If we fight to put equal rights for women into the Constitution, they say we must give up those few protective laws we have. And if we keep the protective laws, they use them to discriminate against us. They've got us coming and going!

C: That's why we have to demand extension of the laws to men. Then they can't use them to discriminate against us.

B: That's true. But I still think we have to keep our eye on the main problem we face right now. And that is the fact that they are threatening to take away the protective laws for women. These are laws women need now! In Michigan, when that hours law was voided, women immediately faced a crisis situation in some plants. The ERA threatens these protective laws everywhere. This is the way it is being interpreted.

What's more, I think we should be aware that a constitutional amendment providing equal rights

for women doesn't accomplish that much concretely anyway. We've seen time and again how laws are passed, like laws against racial discrimination, and these laws are not enforced. There are constitutional amendments right now saying Black people shouldn't be discriminated against, but this doesn't mean a damn thing.

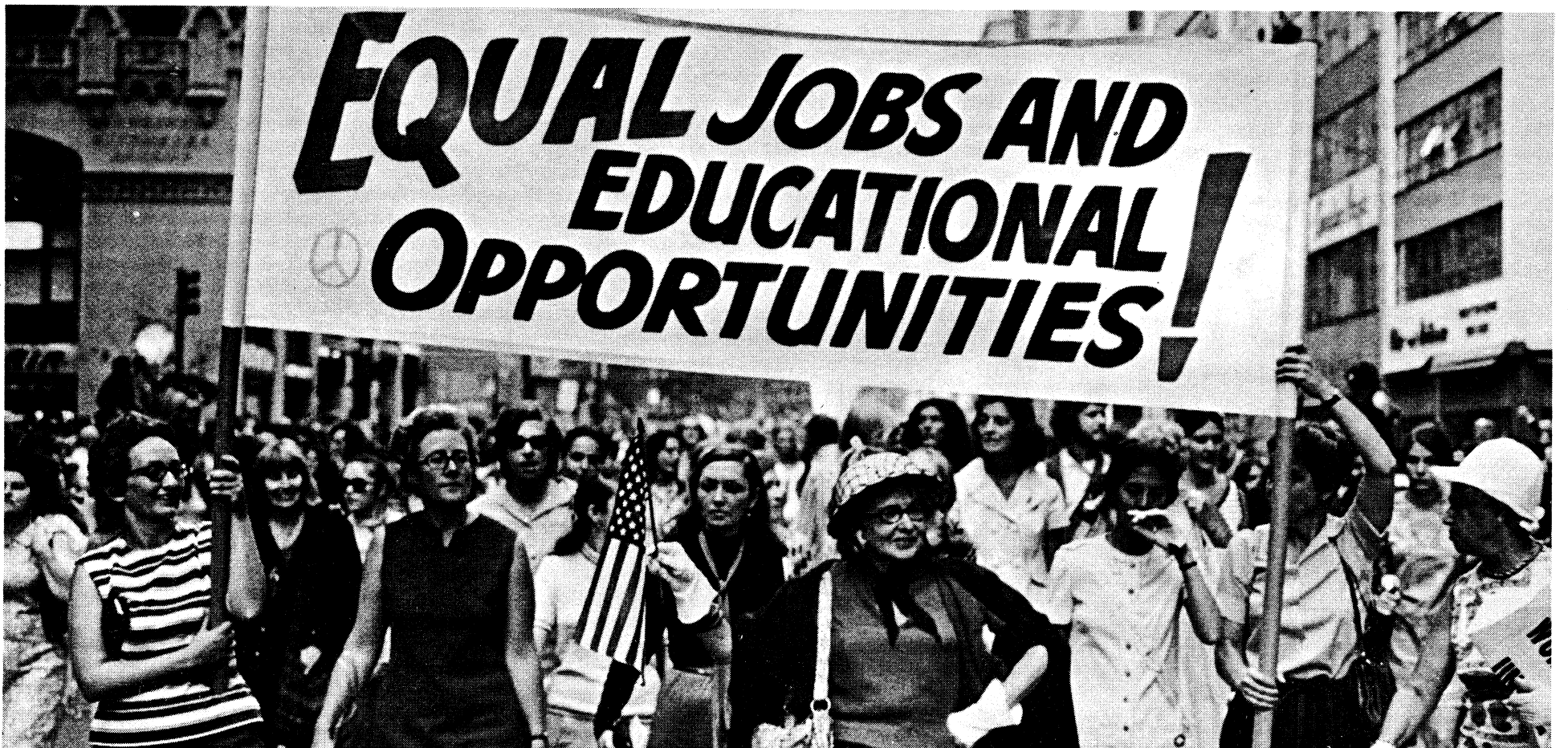
Maybe they don't always enforce the protective laws the way they should, but where they do, these laws mean something to working women. I think we should be against the ERA on those grounds. We have to warn women about something that sounds good on the surface but will really just benefit middle-class women, and not working women.

C: I disagree. I think you are right in saying we should let people know how we feel about the protective laws, but I think we have to take a lot more things into consideration when we talk about the role the feminist movement should play. We have to realize that a trick is being played on us in regard to the ERA, that is, women are being put into the position of choosing between two evils. They are telling us: "Take your pick; it's one or the other. Either protective laws or equal rights."

I think the main thing the feminist movement has to say is we don't accept that choice. We reject it. We want the ERA, and we want protective legislation extended to men. We want both. We don't want to be put in a situation where we are weighing which is more important: job conditions or equal rights. Both are important.

A: They try to do the same thing with the draft. They tried to threaten us by telling us that if the ERA were passed, women would be drafted. It's their way of arguing that women really are different, they need to be protected. We can't give in to that idea. Women are perfectly capable, physically, of fighting. And that doesn't mean we support their draft. We don't call being drafted a "right"; it's an oppression. As a matter of fact, I think that if they did try to draft women, you'd see one of the biggest groundswells ever against the idea of drafting people to fight, against their will.

C: Yes, and we should understand just why it is they can play these tricks on us in regard to the ERA. It's because the oppression of women is still not taken seriously. The feminist struggle is still not accepted as a legitimate struggle. They would never dare pull such a thing with the Black movement. These same people wouldn't even try to



Aug. 26 Women's Day, New York

Photo by Randy Furst

argue against a law which established the right to Black equality. But with women, they still feel they can cloud the issue. They say: "Well, things aren't as simple as you feminists think. There are differences. Women are equal, BUT. . ."

Why are so many union officials against the ERA? Why is the whole thing such a hassle? It's because they don't consider our struggle to be important. You should read the testimony which these AFL-CIO officials gave in Washington against the amendment. Myra Wolfgang—she's vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union—she testified in Washington that feminists do not represent the majority of women and do not relate to their needs and feelings. She said working women and mothers of small children are "too busy to be liberated." And Myra Wolfgang is supposed to be one of the liberal ones. Can you imagine the outcry if she said Black people are "too busy to be liberated."

Another union official, Mortimer Furay, representing the Detroit AFL-CIO, got up and showed a whole series of slides that were supposed to prove that a woman's body is constructed so differently than a man's that you had to have special laws to regulate their work. He said that this, along with "home duties," meant that women should work shorter hours than men.

Many of these union bureaucrats throw around phrases saying they are really for equality for women, but by insisting on this type of separate treatment for women workers, they play into the hands of the crudest chauvinists.

A: Yes. If they are all that worried about the "home duties," of women, they ought to be talking about childcare centers, and getting men off work earlier too so they can share some of those duties.

C: What's really being discussed around the issue of the ERA is the whole question of what roles women should play. That's one reason why feminists have to be in on the discussion. We have to put forward the view that the fight against sex discrimination and for equal rights is just as important as the fight for job conditions and the protective laws. Because this is a question the unions have completely refused to face up to—the fight for equality on the job.

Let me tell you what happened in Michigan just to give you an idea of what can occur. In the auto plants, the employers were using the protective laws to keep women from working overtime and to exclude them from higher-paying job categories. So, women in the United Auto Workers supported the idea of voiding these protective laws, which they saw being used against them.

But then, after they were voided, other working women, specifically those working for Hostess Cup Cakes, found that because the protective law had been declared illegal, they were being forced to work long hours, as many as 69 hours a week. So these women went to court, trying to get the laws put back on the books.

This just gives you an idea of the bankruptcy of the present union officials on such issues. Here they, along with the employers, end up with a policy that puts working women at cross purposes—some opposing the protective laws, others supporting them.

The only way out of this bind is to get to the heart of the matter and extend the laws to men. No man should be forced to work 69 hours either! This is an area where a big struggle will have to be waged—a struggle which will take time—but which is necessary. There are no short cuts around it.

And, as I said, this is one of the big battles the union bureaucrats have been avoiding. Myra Wolfgang, for example, says she is for extending protective laws to men. But, when the women at Hostess Cup Cakes, with her backing, went into court to fight against the long hours they were being forced to work, they fought simply for getting the old protective law back. They didn't demand a court decision for extending that law to men, which would be the only real solution.

And such an extension of the law would be the greatest thing in the world, not only for women, but for working people in general. For example, it would help the problem of unemployment, by cutting down the number of hours in the workday and dividing up the available work.

B: But, doesn't that just go to prove what I was saying? If the union officials won't support better working conditions for all workers, don't you think we'd better oppose the ERA and settle for the protective laws we have? At least during the immediate period ahead?

A: That position boils down to just what you said:

that we should settle for what we've got. Don't rock the boat by demanding equal rights.

The job of the feminist movement is to expose what the union officials are doing, not to go along with them. If women lose the protective laws, it is largely because the union officials themselves are going along with the concept that the ERA is incompatible with protective laws. They are accepting the employers definition of equality, which is an absurd definition.

And it's not just a question of the ERA. It's also Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Are we going to be against that too? Are we going to be against all other laws calling for equality for women? If so, we'll find ourselves in the position of fighting the whole idea that women should be equal.

B: Well, what about the idea of refusing to support the ERA unless it's guaranteed to us that it will not be used against the protective laws?

C: Just like I said before, you find yourself in a bind. What about Title VII? Are we for getting rid of that? Don't you see that the main fight we have is around the interpretation of "equality"? We shouldn't be going around saying "Watch out for the ERA; it'll do us in because it'll get rid of the protective laws." Because when we say that, we ourselves begin to give the impression that the fight for female equality is inconsistent with decent job conditions. We fall into their trap.

We should raise a big hue and cry about how it is absurd, absolutely absurd, to tell women, who are discriminated against on the job, who make 58 percent of what men do, who often have to carry the burden of two jobs—one at home and one at work—to tell us that "equality" means we have to give up the few measly rights we have won!

We can also point to the concrete fact that while some courts have ruled that protective laws should be voided under Title VII, others have already ruled that protective laws should be extended to men. For example, a federal judge in Arkansas recently did this. This occurred when Potlatch Forests, Inc., tried to void the protective law requiring that women must be paid time and a half for overtime, on the basis of Title VII. But the judge instead ruled that time-and-a-half pay for overtime must be extended to men. And there are many other similar cases. This shows how the protective laws can actually be used to fight for better working conditions for all workers, if the unions could be mobilized for such a task.

B: I want to raise one other thing. Why is it so important to take a position on the ERA? Here, even today, we have already wasted a lot of valuable time talking about it, which could have been used for more important things. Isn't the ERA just something they are using to co-opt us, to take our minds off the real struggle? And besides, equality is not the goal of the feminist movement. We want full liberation. A change in the whole society, not just equality within it.

C: It's not true that we shouldn't be fighting for equality. Equality is a step toward liberation. We are for equal pay, equal job opportunity, equal options for women in their lives, equality in a whole lot of things where women are discriminated against. Of course we want more than equality; we want a complete change in all present sex roles, but the thing we have to realize is that this fight for equality alone is a revolutionary struggle.

The concept that women are equal to men goes against all the traditions and institutions of this society. The ERA will get rid of the laws which are vestiges of the way women have been treated for centuries—as second-class citizens under the control of their husbands, unable to make decisions for themselves, and unsuited for life outside the home. It is important to challenge this whole concept, and that is what the ERA does.

As the ERA continues to be discussed in Congress and all around the country, women's liberation must make its voice heard loud and clear. This ferment and discussion over whether women are equal is occurring everywhere—in the trade unions, in the churches, on the campuses, in the high schools, and in the professions.

Women's liberation can relate to a great many women on this issue. It is truly revolutionary that women are beginning to demand equality. And we shouldn't be saying to these women: "Don't demand equality—don't listen to women supporting the ERA—they don't know your needs. What is best is not to rock the boat. The best we can get is these protective laws, as pitiful as they are."

We can't get equality for women under this system, any more than we can get equality for Black people. And the struggle for it will be a truly revolutionary struggle. That's one of the reasons it's



Photo by Howard Petrick

taken a half a century for the rulers of this country to even get around to considering the ERA seriously.

I don't have any illusions about the politicians in Washington. They won't vote for the ERA because they're convinced that women should be free. They vote according to what is expedient. If they think masses of women in this country are for equality, they'll pass the amendment in the hopes that it will pacify us. But, on the other hand, if they think they can get away with it, they'll oppose the bill, like they have done the 47 times it has been introduced before.

If they pass it, then the movement should say, "OK, now let's see it enforced." In connection with this, it'll be important for us not only to speak out on the protective laws but also to put forward our view that equality is not possible without such things as free, 24-hour child care, the right of women to control their own bodies, and free food and laundry services. Because as long as women are chained to work in the home, they can never have equal rights to a full, human existence. And we'll have to demand equality on the job. Not just equality, but preferential hiring and job training, for ourselves and for oppressed national minorities, to make up for the years we've been discriminated against.

In building a mass women's movement to fight for these things, it'll be to our advantage to point out that it's in the Constitution. We can expose the present system by pointing out that they don't even enforce their own Constitution.

A: And if they don't pass the amendment, we have to realize that it is an attack on us and our struggle. Like what Senator Ervin said when he opposed the ERA. He said, "I'm trying to protect women from their fool friends and from themselves."

We can't just stand by and let them get away with saying that women really are some kind of second-class human beings. Women's needs and rights have always come last under this system. Our struggle has always been considered a joke. We can't go along with anything that even hints that this is still so. That is what feminism is all about; not compromising any longer.

B: Yes, I guess I have to agree with you there.

C: Right on!

Will the oil-price dispute lead to nationalization of Middle East oil?

By DICK ROBERTS

The Shah of Iran's declaration Jan. 24 that oil-producing countries would seriously consider stopping the flow of their oil to the West seemed to confirm the crisis tone that has permeated press reports on the world oil-price negotiations taking place in Teheran.

New York Times reporter Eric Pace wrote from Iran, "Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi . . . hinted that foreign oil interests might be nationalized by the producing countries if the dispute between the countries and Western oil interests intensified."

At stake are the vast reserves of oil beneath the deserts and the ocean floor of North Africa and the Middle East, stretching from Algeria in the west to the Persian Gulf and Iran in the east. This oil is vital to Europe and Japan. It supplies its owners with billions of dollars in annual profits.

The area shown in the map on this page contains over 70 percent of the earth's proven resources of oil.

Next to U. S. proven reserves of about 38 billion barrels, for example, Saudi Arabia alone has 112 billion. Other aspects of this crucial source of world industrial energy were described recently by *New York Times* oil expert John M. Lee in an article written from Beirut, Jan. 2:

" . . . this oil lies near the coast in favorable geographic and climatic circumstances. The Middle Eastern wells average 4,500 barrels of oil a day. Those in the United States average 15. Production costs are as low as six cents a barrel for some Kuwaiti wells and range only up to 20 cents for the Gulf area generally. The U. S. cost is \$1.75. . . .

"Western Europe relies on the Arab countries and Iran for nearly three-quarters of its supply, while Japan is 90 percent dependent on the same area."

A more detailed breakdown of oil consumption in *Business Week*, Sept. 26, 1970, showed that this area accounted for 70 percent of oil consumption in Britain; 80 percent in France; 90 percent in West Germany; and 95 percent in Italy.

Although the United States consumes only a very small portion of its oil from the Middle East and North Africa (about 3 percent), five U. S. oil corporations own controlling interests in this oil: the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Mobil Oil, Texaco, Standard of California, and Gulf Oil.

Thus, John Lee—who is a mouthpiece for these trusts—wrote in the article previously cited, ". . . it is American companies that supply much of the oil to friendly countries. Jersey Standard sells 2 million barrels of oil a day in Europe and Africa along with 1.6 million in the United States.

"To the annoyance of the British, oil seems almost an American business. The American investment stake is well over \$2-billion in book value alone. The net benefit to the United States balance of payments is \$1.5-billion."

These figures should underline why, both from the standpoint of use value and exchange value, the oil of North Africa and the Middle East occupies a very high point in the political and military priorities of world imperialism—above all, of U. S. imperialism.

But this does not mean that the crisis tone of some of the reports from Teheran accurately corresponds to the dispute that is taking place.

The negotiations

The negotiations in Teheran are between the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) and the world oil trusts over world oil prices. The OPEC includes, in addition to the five countries shown on the map, three other countries in the same region: Algeria (one million barrels per day), Abu Dhabi (.633 million barrels) and Qatar (.364 million barrels). The OPEC also includes the two other largest oil producing nations outside of North America: Venezuela (3.7 million barrels per day) and Indonesia (.948 million barrels).

Opposite the representatives of these 10 countries sit the representatives of the world oil trusts. In addition to the five major U. S. oil trusts already mentioned, nine U. S. oil firms with considerably smaller shares in Middle East and North African oil are represented, and three other major world oil trusts: the British Petroleum Company, Royal Dutch Shell, and the French Petroleum Company.

On one side, then, 10 economically underdeveloped countries producing 85 percent of the oil consumed in world trade; on the other side, the owners of that oil backed by the military might of world imperialism.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that if the OPEC governments did succeed in nationalizing en bloc the oil that rightfully belongs to their countries, it would create a catastrophe for imperialism. But the real discussion at Teheran (despite certain public pronouncements) concerns only the prices of world oil, not its ownership.

The spokesmen for the international petroleum corporations appear at Teheran unified in their main objective, which is to preserve their world monopoly of oil and to pay off the governments of the OPEC nations at the minimum that can be arranged.

In addition to their obvious advantages of political unity and military strength, the oil trusts also have the advantage that they own and control the outlets for oil: they own the ships which transport the oil from the Middle East and North Africa to its markets, and they own the world marketing facilities.

This last is no small matter when it comes to the question of nationalizations, and it is particularly odd to hear Shah Pahlevi talking about the nationalization of oil.

For Iran is the one place where total nationalization has been attempted. In 1951, while the Shah himself was temporarily ousted, Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh attempted to increase Iran's share in, and ultimately take over the then-British-owned oil industry. At the time, Iran was the biggest producer of oil in the Middle East.

But world imperialism joined forces to completely close its markets to Iranian oil. Between 1951 and 1953, when a CIA-inspired coup returned Shah Pahlevi to power, Iran was able to sell only 103,000 tons of oil abroad. *That is less than it had exported prior to nationalization in a single day!*

The oil producers

The spokesmen for the OPEC nations have little to bargain with. Their governments are largely dependent on oil revenues for financial support. Oil royalties and taxes finance some 95 percent of the revenues of the Kuwaiti regime; 80 percent of government revenues in Libya; 77 percent in Saudi Arabia; 56 percent in Iraq; 50 percent in Iran.

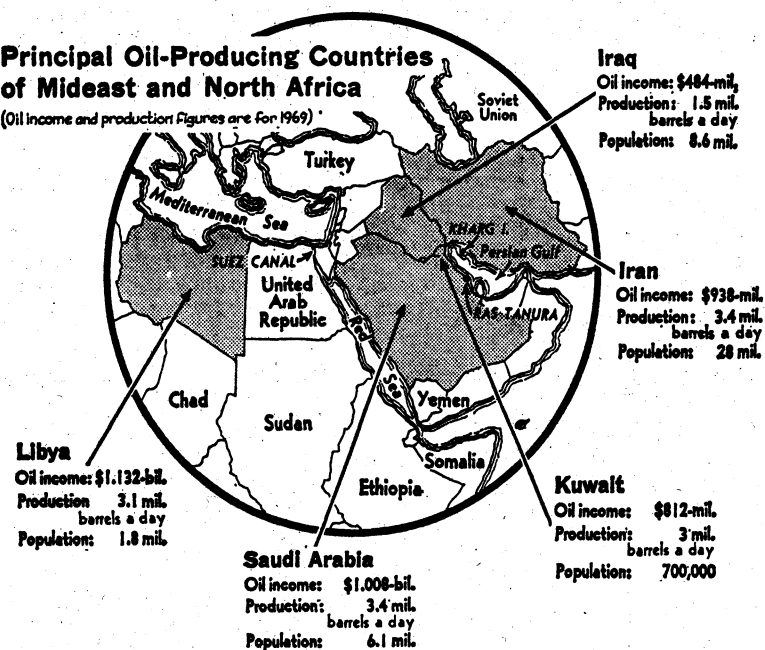
Some of the OPEC nations are also heavily dependent on Washington and London for economic and military support over and above what they receive in revenues from the oil trusts. This includes Iran, which has been building a modern army under Pentagon guidance since 1953, and the Saudi Arabian sheikdoms.

"A complete stop of oil delivery is excluded," Jean-Jacques Berreby declared in an informed and informative analysis of the Middle East oil situation for the November 1970 *Le Monde Diplomatique*. "It would deprive Europe and Japan and set the entire world against the Arab cause.

"But above all it would abolish considerable revenues for the Arab countries, indispensable for their functioning and development, not to speak of pursuit of war. (It has been estimated that 20 to 25 percent of oil revenues go directly to the Arab-Israeli war.) . . . In 1969, the Arab countries took in nearly \$5-billion in oil revenues. . . .

Principal Oil-Producing Countries of Mideast and North Africa

(Oil income and production figures are for 1969)



"If the stopping of oil delivery can still be considered as a weapon, this can only be as the absolute weapon, one which can be employed only one time, and with which you destroy yourself as well as the enemy."

Strong words and obviously plugging for the interests of the imperialist powers, but undoubtedly with a point: Nationalization of the oil interests of imperialism would mean going to war against imperialism, and this thought is certainly not on the minds of the Arab and Iranian government spokesmen in Teheran.

They are engaged in a somewhat less ambitious scheme. They would like to raise world oil prices and consequently up the ante for imperialist support to their respective governments.

Make imperialism pay

Here there are many factors involved but the central one is the Arab-Israeli war itself, in the aftermath of Hussein's abortive attempt to crush the Palestinian liberation struggle last September.

New York Times oil reporter John M. Lee hinted at this in the Jan. 2 analysis referred to previously. Lee claimed that "a young American banker in Beirut" told him: "The strategy [of the Arab governments] is economic but the tactics can be political. Israel is a nuisance. It really is."

"An American in Saudi Arabia" told Lee: "I honestly can't think of any serious problems the American oil companies would have if it wasn't for our Israeli policy."

What these spokesmen for the oil interests are driving at, in the typically circuitous language of world imperialism, is the pressure that Israel's aggressiveness—backed to the hilt by Washington—puts on the Arab regimes to arm themselves.

A case in point is the Libyan regime of Col. Muammar Al Ghaddafi. Bowen Northrup of the *Wall Street Journal's* London staff took Libya up in an article published on the editorial page of that newspaper Jan. 26:

"Libyan youths are being wooed into military service with beginning pay of about \$225 a month, one of the highest salaries for privates anywhere. And the military is getting fancy equipment. The government here has ordered 110 Mirage jet fighters from France, and 180 Chieftain tanks from Britain. . . .

"Under [Ghaddafi's] leadership, Libya has plunged into Pan-Arabism and anti-Israel militancy. . . . Col. Ghaddafi is the author of some of the Arab world's most anti-Israel statements of late."

But this writer for the *Wall Street Journal* does not believe that Ghaddafi's militant rhetoric will lead to nationalization of the oil: "There were fears at the time of the revolution [Ghaddafi came to power 17 months ago] that the government would nationalize oil at a stroke for ideological reasons, but it seems to have recognized two inescapable facts: Libya simply doesn't have the trained people now to run the industry, and it needs the revenue."

Washington's two-faced policy in the Middle East consequently lies at the base of the oil-price wrangle. On the one side, Washington is firmly committed to building up the state of Israel which serves as a bastion of capitalist reaction against the rising tide of Arab nationalism.

On the other side is the dire necessity for U. S. imperialism to protect its oil interests in the Middle East and North Africa, which means supporting the Arab and Iranian regimes which defend those interests.

The result is a flood of weapons into the area, the ever-increasing likelihood of an eventual major war—and, as a by-product, to say the least!—continuous upward pressure on Mideast oil prices.

Shah trying to suppress growing student unrest

(From Intercontinental Press)

Three persons were sentenced to life imprisonment by a military court in Teheran December 31 while fifteen others were given sentences ranging from three to fifteen years. The prisoners, including ten students, were arrested in April, 1970, while crossing the Iran-Iraq border in an attempt to join the Palestinian liberation organization Fateh.

The trial was held in the midst of massive student protests that were met by fierce government repression. This was undoubtedly a factor in the government's decision to play down the defendants' links with the widely popular Palestinian resistance movement. The prosecution instead accused the eighteen of "plotting against the internal and external security of the state" and of promoting Kurdish and Khuzistani separatism. The prosecution had originally demanded the death penalty for five of the defendants. The atmosphere of crisis in Iran in mid-December may have prompted the shah to reduce the savagery of the sentences.

The University of Teheran was closed the first week in December, after law students launched a strike to protest the scheduling of examinations so close together. Police were called out after other students joined the strike and attacked university buildings. Several students were said to have been arrested on the orders of Dean Ali Khani.

Meanwhile in Europe, Iranian students abroad opened a campaign to draw world attention to the current wave of repression in their homeland. The December 12 *Le Monde* reported that on December 9, forty-six Iranian students occupied the Iranian embassy in Vienna. The demonstrators were driven out by local firemen and arrested. At the University of Mainz in West Germany, more than 100 Iranian students carried out a hunger strike for over a week. Eighteen of them had to be hospitalized.

The Mainz demonstrators were protesting in particular the expulsion from Iran of Dr. Hans Heldmann, a representative of Amnesty International, and the arrest October 20 of Dr. Heldmann's interpreter, Hossein Rezai, a student at the University of Mainz.

The Mainz hunger strikers demanded that the shah permit a delegation of independent observers to investigate the condition of political prisoners. Similar fasts were held in Rome, Paris, and Vienna.

In the United States, on Dec. 10-11, Iranian students and their supporters held an all-night march from San Jose to San Francisco. A similar march took place Dec. 13-14 from Baltimore to Washington, D. C. About 70 persons participated in each one.

The Union of Iranian Students in France issued a communiqué denouncing the "inhuman tortures" inflicted on political prisoners in Iran. The association demanded the immediate release of Hossein Rezai and asked that international observers be allowed to attend the then forthcoming trial of the eighteen Fateh supporters. The December 17 *Le Monde* said the Iranian students in France had announced that 120 Labour members of Parliament in Britain had signed a resolution protesting the repression in Iran, as had thirty Austrian deputies.

The shah moved rapidly to suppress the student agitation. On De-



The Shah of Iran

December 21 police occupied the University of Teheran, closing the entire campus. Large numbers of students were threatened with permanent expulsion if they were identified as participants in the previous weeks' demonstrations. The students had moved beyond demands concerning examinations and were carrying signs attacking the government directly. Furthermore, the protests had spread to the Teheran Polytechnic School and to other academic centers.

The shah reinforced his police assault with a political witch-hunt. Javad Alamir, writing from Teheran in the December 23 *Le Monde*, described the government's campaign:

"Monday [December 21], for the first time in twenty days, the local press took note of the student troubles, denouncing them in identical terms. According to these newspapers, the 'ring-leaders' are said to have connections with the Confederation of Iranian Students Abroad, which is said to have been subverted by East Germany and Iraq. Again according to the Teheran press, 'traitors' and 'reactionaries' are reported to be among the agitators. The demonstrations are accused of having been timed to coincide with the negotiations Iran is carrying on with the International Consortium for an increase in oil revenues. The press consequently advocates an even severer repression.

"As 'proof' of the 'treason' of some elements, the press makes the most of the fact that the demonstrators have used slogans such as, 'The white revolution must give way to the red revolution!' [The shah's program of "reforms" has been carried out under the phrase "white revolution."—*IP*] 'Down with the established order!' and 'Long live Khomeini [an exiled religious leader] and Rezai!'"

The semiofficial Teheran daily *Ettelaat* devoted a column in its December 29 issue to a red-baiting attack on Dr. Heldmann. The newspaper accused Heldmann of using his visits to the country to "transmit orders" to opposition groups. *Ettelaat* inconsistently accused the doctor of being "pro-Marxist" and of "contacting the reac-

tionary elements in the country." *Ettelaat* did not once mention Heldmann's connection with Amnesty International.

It was under these circumstances that the Iranian secret police (SAVAK) "discovered" a massive "arms cache," which was shown to the press December 23. The "find" included more than 3,000 rifles and submachine guns, hundreds of side arms, a million bullets, and large quantities of hand grenades, all of Soviet manufacture. According to the secret police, the arms had been sent from Iraq to foment guerrilla war against the shah.

The Iranian government claimed the existence of a conspiracy uniting virtually every opposition organization in the country from the far right to the far left.

The secret police also produced what they claimed was a list of buildings to be dynamited and individuals to be assassinated that was allegedly agreed upon by the whole gamut of organizations supposedly involved in the "plot." SAVAK added a few more sophisticated touches as well, such as films of a purported Iraqi agent using a secret radio transmitter hidden in a television set in a Teheran hotel. How the films were obtained remained obscure from the press reports.

The government announced December 28 that twenty-five persons had

been jailed in connection with the "Iraqi plot," while at the same time twenty "pro-Chinese Communist elements" were also detained. The "Fateh trial" began the same day.

Iranian students abroad charged that the Fateh defendants were severely tortured while awaiting trial. The progovernment Teheran press carefully avoided any discussion of these charges, but it is noteworthy that the December 29 *Ettelaat* gave the following report on the condition of at least one of the prisoners:

"During the trial the presiding officer of the court [Colonel Hassan Safakeesh] noticed that Naser Kakhsaz, the second defendant, was not feeling well. He ordered the defendant to be transferred to another room, to be returned to the courtroom after he had improved."

Opposition sources say that Kakhsaz, himself a young judge, was blinded under torture during his long imprisonment awaiting trial.

The military judges handed down their verdict against the eighteen early in the morning of December 31. Agence France-Presse gave this account:

"Ahmad Saboory, a twenty-four-year-old student, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He is regarded as the main organizer of a Marxist-Leninist subversive network established in Iran with the support of the Baathist leaders in Baghdad.

"Because, however, of his collaboration with the prosecution in establishing the truth, this sentence was immediately reduced to three years in prison.

"Three other defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment. They were: Naser Kharjaz [should be Kakhsaz—*IP*], twenty-five, deputy public prosecutor of the town of Sari; Massoud Bathaai, twenty-eight, a medical intern; and Shokrollah Pak-Nejad, twenty-nine, an employee."

The Union of Iranian Students in France issued a statement in Paris denouncing the verdict, declaring that the condemned prisoners "were arrested in April 1970 and held secretly until December because they wanted to join the Palestinian movement Fateh.... They were savagely tortured, and two of them, including Kakhsaz, have lost their sight. Two others have become paralyzed."

"It is because of the tortures," the statement continued, "and even the nature of the crime charged—that is, the defendants' sympathy with the Palestinian cause—that keeps the Iranian regime from making this a public trial."

Iranian student group is banned

The efforts of the Confederation of Iranian Students to focus world attention on the shah's military dictatorship, and the impact of the confederation's activities on the students in Iran have proven too much for the shah to bear.

On Jan. 18, the military prosecutor of Iran invoked an anticommunist ruling from 1931 and declared the confederation a subversive organization. Members were given until the first day of the Iranian new year—the first day of spring—to turn themselves in. According to the ruling, members are subject to prison terms ranging from three to 10 years and their sympathizers risk terms from one to three years.

All the past efforts of the shah to intimidate the confederation have backfired and have only increased the determination of the Iranian students. This one will prove to be no exception.

Theater

A Doll's House by Henrik Ibsen. A new adaptation by Christopher Hampton. Directed by Patrick Garland. At the Playhouse Theatre, New York.

A Doll's House, like so much of modern drama, is concerned with the reality that underlies appearance. The scene opens on Christmas Eve, with all the bustle and expectation of this traditional family holiday. In this exquisite production, Nora (Claire Bloom) seems a charming, naive woman who has been sheltered from the crude business world. Nothing need concern this fragile creature except spending money foolishly, making herself look pretty, and sneaking macaroons behind her husband's back. Nora assumes the pose of a begging squirrel as she asks her husband for money as her Christmas gift. She is his "dove," his "spend-swift," just as before her marriage she was her father's doll.

One could be fooled by this opening scene of domestic "bliss." Yet it is all appearance, and soon the tinsel of happiness erodes. Like the gay decorations she hangs on the Christmas tree, Nora is an object, a bright bauble belonging to Torvald Helmer (David Madden).

As the plot unfolds, one discovers that everything that seemed to be true is in fact false. Nora is strong, not weak; she is not a flighty spendthrift, but someone who has shouldered a large financial responsibility; Torvald is not the mighty oak against which Nora leans—rather, he owes his very life to her. It is he who is the delicate one: Nora dare not risk telling him of her sacrifice for fear of wounding his masculine pride.

This fast-paced production minimizes the intricacies of a mechanical plot. A blackmailer sends a letter to Helmer revealing that a loan obtained by Nora was based on a forgery, however innocent. Immediately Helmer turns on his wife, striking her with a blow that knocks her to the floor. Blinded by egotism, he feels himself ruined, completely at the mercy of the blackmailer. Though just a moment earlier he was making love to Nora, he now sees her as a "miserable creature" who has ruined *his* happiness.

Throughout, Nora tries to avert the disaster. Unable to outwit the truth, unable to protect her husband against it, she faces it unflinchingly when it comes. Through it she comprehends the horror of those eight years of marriage. Unlike Helmer, she chooses reality.

In the final scene, Nora realizes that the real deception has been in her acceptance of her role as a doll-wife. She confronts the man who has been her husband for eight years and calls him a stranger.

That powerful scene dramatically expresses what the women's liberation movement has termed "consciousness-raising." Every argument for maintaining the subjugation of women with the family is marshaled against Nora: happiness, duty, religion, morality, love. But Nora has looked at her life and found it wanting. She recognizes that all of her opinions and tastes are really those of her father or her husband. She has been a stuffed doll and what she now desires is to become a person.

What caused Nora to rebel against a role she had played so superbly? Not Torvald's brutality, but rather his inability to take responsibility for the forgery upon himself. Nora, who had once sacrificed everything for Torvald, assumed he would do



Photo by Henry Grossman

His masculine pride wounded, Torvald strikes his wife Nora, sending her to the floor.

the same. Yet, when she tells him of his failure, he is startled into admitting that while he would work day and night for her, "no man would sacrifice his honor for the one he loves." Yet Nora knows that that is exactly what she and millions of women have done.

Even by today's standards, Nora stands as a pioneer. *A Doll's House* presents an image of the way in which women are still trapped. What is so astonishingly contemporary about it is its refusal to maintain any illusions about the family.

Despite the handicaps of its plot, the play is a cultural link with the earlier feminist movement. It was first translated into English by Eleanor Marx Aveling, who defended its revolutionary implications in her pamphlet "*A Doll's House*" *Repaired*. And Emma Goldman, lecturing throughout the U.S. on the social significance of modern drama prior to World War I, said of it: "When Nora closed behind her the door of her gilded cage and went out into the world a new, regenerated personality, she opened the gate of freedom and truth for her own sex and the race to come."

—DIANNE FEELEY

Books

Defiance: A Radical Review #1. Edited by Dotson Rader. Paperback Library. New York, 1970. 304 pp. \$1.25.

Defiance is a new radical magazine to be issued quarterly and distributed commercially as a paperback book, which ought to give it wide circulation. In his introduction, Dotson Rader states that *Defiance* "is and will remain nonexclusive, its pages open to all tendencies within the Movement." From this point of view the political range represented by the 13 writers in the first issue is a promising beginning. It includes everything from the revolutionary Marxism of Ernest Mandel to the tepid, left liberalism of Jack Newfield.

It also has a blatantly sexist cover depicting a girl with bare breasts peeking through an open vest, giving the V sign. This alone is so disgusting it will probably drive off many who otherwise might read it.

In my opinion, three pieces in this issue stand out as the best:

1) An article by Marge Piercy entitled "Women's Liberation: Nobody's Baby Now," in which she writes: "As members of an oppressed majority, women, we live in a society that began very early to stunt our growth, not only limiting the possibilities objectively open to us, but teaching us to check ourselves. While oppressing somebody else does appear to be intrinsically satisfying to the dominant one, only children oppress each other simply for the fun of it. Societies as unequal as ours—in which a few men own whole countries and make decisions which mean life or death for us, while you and I own the bright rags on our

backs, a few flimsy gadgets, and get to choose between Crest and Gleem—organize their oppression for profit as well as for fun."

2) "French Revolutionary Poetry from the May Uprising" by Joachim Neugroschel, which contains some astute observations and is followed by a number of fine poems. Neugroschel believes that "all great poetry is a protest against reality, which includes the sociopolitical reality that drives us into poetry in the first place."

3) Ernest Mandel's "Economic Roots of American Imperialism." Mandel concludes that "Today, the imperialist strategy is unavoidably a global one. Necessarily, the defense of capital does not take place where that capital is invested but occurs in other countries the collapse of whose advanced positions would constitute a grave threat to those properly called strong areas. That is why an analysis of the global economic moving forces of American imperialism can come to only one conclusion: to be effective, anticapitalist forces must oppose the international counterrevolutionary strategy of Big Capital with a corresponding worldwide, global strategy."

Not all the articles in this issue of *Defiance* are as good as these three. Too many of them are written in that sort of impressionistic narrative form that will be familiar to readers of the *Village Voice*. This seems out of place and trivial in something ostensibly less transient than a local weekly.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

Public employees show growing militancy

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—Cities across the country are experiencing an ever-increasing number of strikes by public employees. New York City alone, for example, presently faces possible strike action by firemen, sanitation workers, welfare caseworkers, nonprofessional school board workers, and other public employees.

Although many laws against strikes by public employees exist, they are ineffective as a means of preventing strikes. Legislation varies from state to state, but one well-known example is New York's Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public workers and provides unlimited fines against the striking union and its leaders. It also allows elimination of dues checkoff, an important financial and organizational advantage for any union, as punitive action for striking. One of the most vicious provisions of the Taylor Law is its *mandate* that all strikers lose two days' pay for every day out and be put on a year's probation. This has never been enforced, but in the present labor crisis, Mayor Lindsay's administration has said it is going to invoke these harsh measures against individual workers. If it does, the result may well be *more* strikes.

Repressive legislation such as the Taylor Law will only make the struggle more intense as workers are forced to strike because of skyrocketing inflation exacerbated by the war in Southeast Asia. Young workers are less and less intimidated by government demagoguery that public workers have no right to strike against the government or that public strikes are more hazardous to the public than strikes by workers in private employment.

In 1959, 2,240 state and local government workers participated in 26 strikes. Ten years later, despite reactionary legislation like the Taylor Law, 159,400 participated in 409 strikes, according to the Jan. 2 issue of *Business Week* (see graph).

There is no state that explicitly grants public employees the right to strike. On the contrary, "Although 29 states grant the right to organize and 16 order or permit collective bargaining, 35 states, by law and court decisions, prohibit strikes," according to the Dept. of Labor, March 1969. Fed-



Militant strike by Atlanta municipal workers last spring demonstrated increasing combativity of public employees across nation.

eral employees are given the right to organize but *never* to strike. However, in recent years, many public unions, including federal ones, have dropped no-strike clauses from their constitutions.

Public employee unionism is the fastest growing and the most militant sector of the labor movement and is bringing forces into the organized labor movement which have never before been organized. These include hospital workers, welfare workers, teachers, and clerical workers. Among the most militant are many semiskilled and unskilled Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers who have been involved in or influenced by the liberation struggle in their communities.

"In 1956, 5.1 percent of a total [union] membership were in government. By 1968, union membership among government employees had climbed to 2.2 million, 10.7 percent of the total membership" (Dept. of Labor, July 1970). The same report continues, "While government unions scored [membership] gains of 135.5 percent, those in private industry were held to about 5 percent."

Many public workers who have been organized for decades are only now showing their strength. These include postal workers, firemen, transit workers, and sanitation workers, who provide basic services which, when curtailed, affect the whole community.

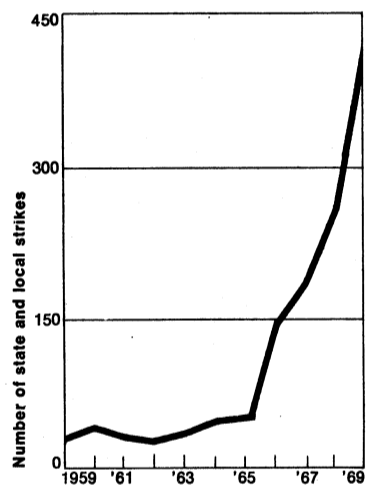
But there are also a large number of public workers who are fighting and gaining union recognition for the first time. The Dept. of Labor in its 1969 *Labor Unions in the United States* reports: "In recent years, the most noteworthy shifts have occurred among public employee unions, for example, the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), which went from 43rd place in 1962 to 19th place in 1968, and the American Federation of Teachers, which had only 71,000 members in 1962, was 33rd on the list in 1968" (with 165,000 members).

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the nation's fastest-growing union, has 364,500 members, the 14th largest.

The report further states, "In 1968, 1,351,000 employees of the federal government were union members com-

pared with 1,073,000 in 1966; approximately 804,000 state and local government employees were organized in national and international unions compared with 645,000 in 1966."

Public employees call more strikes



The National Picket Line

In the beginning it appeared that the New York telephone strike called by Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO), Local 1101, was nothing more than an effort of home guards to maintain a local job trust and hog extra overtime work for themselves. The strikers were demanding that CWA members brought in from out of town by the telephone company be sent home and that Local 1101 members be given more overtime work.

However, the strike spread quickly to other CWA locals representing 48,000 workers, lasted 14 days—from Jan. 11 to 25—and was finally settled by arbitration which conceded most of the union demands. The strikers defied a court injunction ordering them back to work; and Local 1101 President Howard Banker and the CWA were fined a total of \$1.7-million in federal court for contempt. This amount is to be paid to the telephone company to defray damages of the strike!

As matters turned out, it became clear that two basic questions were involved: the right to strike and the right of the union to negotiate assignment of workers and distribution of hours of work. The arbitration panel ruled that the telephone company may bring in out-of-town workers, not to exceed 650, and must distribute all overtime work equitably. A union-management committee of equal representation from each side was formed "to resolve daily problems which might arise."

The court fines have been appealed.

Railroad management, represented by the National Railway Conference, continues to stall in negotiations over wages and working conditions for 500,000 railroad workers as the March 1 deadline fixed by Congress last Dec. 10 draws nearer.

Management, interested in negotiating rate increases and work-rule changes, relies upon the new Congress to guarantee profits and force railroad workers to accept changes in the work rules.

All parties to the railroad negotiations look to Congress for a solution to the rundown, mismanaged rail system. President C. L. Dennis of the Railway Clerks union seeks legislation "so strikes on railroads may be both selective and

limited." Charles Luna, president of the United Transportation Union, thinks the railroads ought to be nationalized.

Luna, with seven other individuals, was confirmed by the U. S. Senate, prior to adjournment of the Ninety-first Congress, as one of the incorporators of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation that will operate the nation's rail passenger trains beginning May 1.

The Nixon administration has reintroduced its bill for handling emergency strikes in all types of transportation, including rail, trucking, and maritime. The idea is to outlaw transport strikes and allow government agencies to fix freight rates, wages and working conditions.

George Meany, AFL-CIO president, thinks all things can be worked out amicably between capital and labor. In his New Year's statement, he said:

"Since 1966 we have repeatedly expressed our willingness to cooperate in a program to stabilize wages, prices, profits, rents, dividends, interest, capital gains, executive compensation, and professional fees.

"We accept the policy of equal sacrifice, applied across the board." (As if the bosses were ever going to sacrifice anything!)

Then Meany continued: "But lacking uniform stabilization measures, American workers cannot—and will not—make unilateral sacrifices. They have lost too much ground to inflation. Past wage increases have been wiped out; they haven't kept up with price increases.

"Workers will continue to seek their fair share at the bargaining table. They have to.

"While the state of the economy is uppermost in the minds of workers, they look to the new Congress to develop new programs to improve the quality of life for all Americans."

Anyone who looks to the new Congress with such hope is bound to be disappointed. The new Congress is likely to give priority to the administration bill for compulsory arbitration in the transportation industry, seeking to head off a railroad strike March 1.

—FRANK LOVELL

Calendar

ATLANTA

PALESTINE: THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. A film, followed by commentary by Joel Aber of the Socialist Workers Party and Susie Teller of *The Great Speckled Bird*. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (14th St.). Donation: \$1. A Militant Bookstore Forum.

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT (formerly Militant Labor Forum of the Air): Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on WTBS(FM), 88.1. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. (WTBS-FM temporarily off the air). Tues., Feb. 9 and Sun., Feb. 14: Ferment in India: A Firsthand Report. Guest: Naren Bose. Tues., Feb. 16 and Sun., Feb. 21: Civil Liberties and Repression. Guests: Leonard Boudin, Legal General Counsel of ECLC; Matilde Zimmerman, former executive secretary of GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE CAMPAIGN 71—A SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE. What are the issues?—Rent control, police brutality, child care, high school rights, Cambridge schools, welfare. Hear: Myrna Lamb, noted feminist playwright; Gloria Albee and Joan Trachtman from the Feminist Repertory Theatre. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. Harvard Hall, Harvard University (Harvard Yard). Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party.

CHICAGO

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION TODAY. Speaker: Henry Scheer, a high school student who has traveled extensively in Cuba. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

WHY FEMINISM IS REVOLUTIONARY. Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1970 SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Donation: \$1, h. s. students 50c. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

DETROIT

IN DEFENSE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues in the Mideast*. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE NEXT STAGE OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Speakers: Carl Davidson of the Guardian, Carl Frank of the Socialist Workers Party; Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League. Fri., Feb. 12, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Joe Miles, one of the founders of GIs United Against the War, will be the guest of Charles Bailey, host of *Changes*, WCBS-FM, Sun., Feb. 14, 11 p.m.-1 a.m. Miles helped to organize antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson, S.C., two years ago. As a result, the Black GI was transferred to another base, and eventually sent to Alaska.

RIVERSIDE

THE CUBAN, VIETNAMESE AND WORLD REVOLUTIONS. Discussion leaders: Mark Cates, Irv Hall, and Gordon Pederson. Tues., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum. For further information, call 687-1129.

SAN FRANCISCO

SEMINARS FOR WOMEN: WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM.

Thurs., Feb. 11, 8 p.m.: Women in the Post-Capitalist Countries. The impact of revolution on the status of women, particularly in the Soviet Union. What women gained and lost. Sponsor: YSA and SWP. 2338 Market St.

...Cairo

Continued from page 15

The *Bulletin* quivers and shakes at the thought that nationalism is the rising tide in the Black community. Its reaction to Cairo, a very profound and concrete expression of that nationalism, is shock, dismay, and a pressing of the panic button. With this response, the *Bulletin* runs in fright from the very thing it calls for: "a turn towards class battles."

The struggle of Black people for self-determination is a class battle. It is a battle against the political power of the North American capitalist class and the status quo that class maintains. The greater the independent organization and mobilization of Black people, the harder it becomes to maintain that status quo.

In its antinationalist tirade, the *Bulletin* attempts to counter the events in Cairo with the positions of the Black Panther Party. Continually prating about the Panthers' "turn towards dialectics," the *Bulletin* sees this as the alternative to nationalism and the Cairo Front. "It is clear that the turn of the Panthers away from nationalism—and they particularly denounce the Pan-Africanism of Jones [Imamu Baraka—D.M.]—and towards, in a very confused way, socialist and Marxist concepts, has actually been accompanied by a growing popularity among masses of working-class youth." But it is precisely the nationalist awakening in the Black community that has led many Black youths to support the Panther Party. Furthermore, the Panthers, unlike the *Bulletin*, support and have helped to defend the Cairo Front.

While the Panther Party developed out of and in response to the growing nationalist consciousness in the Black community, its ultraleftism has led it to make antinationalist statements and take antinationalist positions. This stems from its failure to project a program for mobilizing and organizing the masses of the Black community. Because the Cairo United Front is projecting and acting around such a program, it is a much more consistent and revolutionary expression of Black nationalism.

What the *Bulletin* tries to do is to use the inconsistent expression of nationalism by the Panthers to attack the Cairo Front. The *Bulletin* tries to use the Panthers to cover up not only its own fear of nationalism but also its fear of revolution itself. As Brother Malcolm so aptly stated, "If you're afraid of Black nationalism you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love Black nationalism."

...war crimes

Continued from page 4

James Duffy had been a helicopter gunner with the First Cavalry. Once he saw a 12-year-old boy get hit by a truck. He reacted with horror and pain. "Then I caught myself. I had developed a shell—they brainwash you and dehumanize you—you must stay in the shell to make it through. So I started laughing about it, and so did the flight engineer."

"A lot of guys have bad dreams," said Joe Bangert. "But we are coming out of it."

"Why don't you name the names of your officers?" challenged a reporter.

"It's the chiefs of staff and Nixon," shot back Bangert. "That's where the policy comes from."

"We are here, united, saying we want an immediate withdrawal of troops—immediately," stated Bangert as the panel on the First Marines closed.

A panel was held on the treatment of prisoners of war, both Vietnamese held by Americans and Americans held by Vietnamese. Nixon's attempts to use the POW issue was shown by the testimony to be cynical and hypocritical.

Mrs. Virginia Warner of Ypsilanti, Mich., the mother of James Warner, who was shot down over North Vietnam in 1967, testified that she has recently heard from her son, and he is being humanely treated. She said she wanted to appeal to middle-aged, middle-class America. "Nixon is using the POW issue for political purposes," she charged. "I'd like to see us get out of Vietnam." She received a standing ovation.

A medical panel was held, as well as one on weapons, which covered the technological escalation of the war.

The investigation had a major impact on Detroit, drawing well over 1,000 Detroiters as observers. The National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee have both pledged to help spread the truth about the testimony by building the spring antiwar offensive. Liberal Detroit Congressman John Conyers and presidential aspirant Senator George McGovern both called for probes based on the information elicited. Conyers questioned the government's willingness to tell the truth and proposed that "these veterans be brought to Washington to deliver their testimony before the appropriate congressional authorities."

The day before the investigation began, cover-up charges against Maj. Gen. Daniel Koster, division commander of the troops at My Lai, were dismissed, as the Army put it, "in the interest of justice." Unlike Tom Paine's "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots," the GIs of the Winter Soldier Investigation have boldly met their responsibilities and have given the General Koster of this country cause to worry over who will come to define the terms "in the interest of justice."

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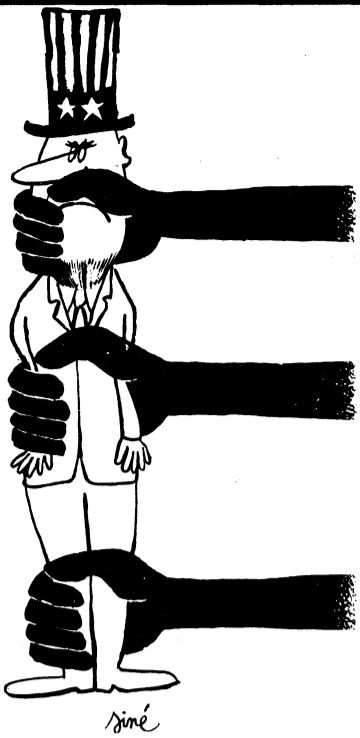
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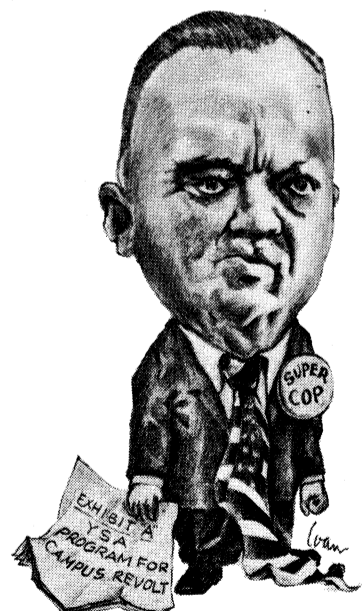
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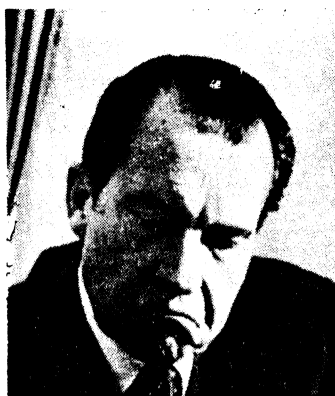
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THE MILITANT

L.A. cops attack Chicano protest

By BAXTER SMITH

LOS ANGELES—A massive Chicano demonstration and rally of over 10,000 took place here Jan. 31 and was followed by brutal police attacks on the Chicano community. Like the three previous demonstrations which the Chicano Moratorium Committee has called in the past six months—Aug. 29, Sept. 16, 1970, and Jan. 9, 1971—this action was a militant expression of the growing nationalist pride and dignity of the Chicano people. It was a legal, orderly protest against the policies of the government—in this case against the policy of systematic police brutality practiced upon the barrio to stop the independent organization and mobilization of the Chicano community.

And, as with the three previous demonstrations, the ruling powers of Los Angeles made it clear that they do not want the Chicano community to exercise its right to assemble. By the end of the day, Gustav Montag, 24, an East Los Angeles resident, was dead and many more were injured—victims of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department.

For over a week prior to the demonstration, Mayor Yorty and L.A. police chief Davis red-baited the Moratorium, speculated about the possibilities of violence at the rally, and ordered police on 12-hour shifts with all leaves canceled for the duration of the weekend. Despite this obvious attempt to scare people away, over 10,000 Chicanos gathered in Belvedere Park in East Los Angeles. They came from the four corners of Los Angeles and the surrounding areas and were organized in feeder marches from the barrio. There were contingents from Venice, Lincoln Heights, Hollenbeck, San Pedro, San Gabriel, and Pomona.

Some marched for two days to reach the rally and were greeted with great ovations when they arrived. Marchers were predominantly youthful, well-organized, and self-monitored, usually by Brown Berets.

Baxter Smith is the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party candidate for Board of Education (number five).



Jan. 31 Chicano Moratorium, Los Angeles

Photo by Dave Saperstein

The Belvedere Park action demonstrated the deepening of nationalist sentiment among Chicanos. Shouts and chants of "Chicano Power" and "Viva la Raza" punctuated the rally.

The central theme of protest against police violence in the barrio was reflected in many picket signs and banners. Some of these read: "Parents against police violence," "Unity against police violence," and "We will not be intimidated."

The demonstrators were determined not to let police terror tactics stop them from organizing to gain control over their own community.

Rally speakers reflected the breadth of unity around the central slogans. They included David Sanchez, organizer of the Brown Berets and co-chairman of the Chicano Moratorium; Cecilia De La Rodriguez of the Barrio Defense Committee; Chicano attorney Oscar Z. Acosta; Esteban Torres, head of the Congress of Mexican-American Unity; Berta Romona Thayer, a representative of the Northern California Raza Unida Party; and many others.

Speakers described police attacks on

Chicanos, on Chicano youth in particular, and the harassment of the Chicano Moratorium when they organized in the barrio for the Aug. 29 antiwar demonstration. The crowd stood in a moment of silence to commemorate the Aug. 29 deaths of three Chicanos, including the noted journalist Ruben Salazar. Speaker after speaker asserted the necessity for Chicanos to form their own organizations and undertake independent forms of struggle to achieve their aims.

"Broken windows are just broken windows," said Berta Romona Thayer. "We want true power through our own political party. We have to take power; no one is going to give it to us."

There were no uniformed police and no incidents before or during the rally. However, after the rally, despite the so-called "low-profile" of the police and their stated intention of not provoking any incidents, they still found cause to shoot people down. At the end of the rally, Moratorium leaders urged everyone to leave the area and go home. They warned against the danger of police provocation and, in an

organized fashion, the monitors directed people to leave the area.

However, some demonstrators gathered in front of a nearby police station and from there some proceeded to the Whittier Blvd. shopping area. There a confrontation developed between them and some sheriff's deputies. According to a statement made at a news conference the following day by Rosalio Munoz, the chairman of the National Chicano Moratorium, "The police opened fire with guns against people with sticks and stones. There was no order to disperse, no tear gas fired." Gustav Montag was killed.

Shocked and enraged youth vented emotions in the area. Looting and several fires were reported.

While accounts differ as to the actual sequence of events that lead to the killing, it is clear that the police posture of a "low-profile" was merely a hoax. They had created an atmosphere of violence around the demonstration in a smear campaign throughout the previous week. They then lurked in the community in massive numbers, armed with shotguns.

Sheriff Pitchess was quick to declare that the Jan. 31 events proved rallies led to violence, whatever their leaders' intentions might be. Rallies and marches must be stopped, he implied. The *Los Angeles Times'* lead editorial Feb. 2 spelled it out more clearly. They said, "What is required is a permanent moratorium on Chicano Moratoriums." This was, and remains, the real aim of the ruling class—to roll back the insurgent Chicano people, over three-quarters of a million of whom reside in the Los Angeles area. The ruling class is using its police to attempt to beat Chicanos into submission—to stop their developing independent struggle at all cost. This is their answer to the rising Chicano movement—harassment, arrests, frame-ups, and murder of its militants and supporters.

This attack on the right of Chicanos to organize, demonstrate, march, and rally, if successful, will not only harm the Chicano movement, but will be extended to all other sections of the movement. It must be exposed and vigorously fought by all.

Mass birthday rallies demand: free Angela Davis

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Close to 3,000 people gathered at Manhattan Center here the evening of Feb. 2 as part of the growing worldwide campaign to free Angela Davis. The occasion was to celebrate her 27th birthday, which fell on Jan. 26. Featured speaker was Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, national leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Over half of the audience were Afro-Americans.

Some of the other speakers were: John Abt, defense counsel for Davis while she was incarcerated in New York; Haywood Burns of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; William L. Patterson for the National Committee of the American Communist Party; Anne Braden, executive-director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF); and Rev. J. Metz Rollins of the National Committee of Black Churchmen.

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, former chairman of the Oceanhill-Brownsville pub-

lic-school governing board, chaired the rally.

The thread that ran through every speech was the need to build a mass movement for the defense and freedom of Angela Davis. Such a movement would also help to free other political prisoners like the New York Panther 21, Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, and the Berrigan brothers.

Abt and Abernathy directly connected the escalation of the government's attack on civil liberties with the escalation of the war in Indochina.

Abernathy began by describing Dynamite Hill, an area of the Black community in Birmingham, Ala., where Davis grew up. It achieved this appellation because of the repeated bombings by white racists. One of these bombings occurred in September 1963 at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Four little Black girls, all of whom were known by the Davis family, were killed.

Because of the civil rights mobilization going on at the time, this bomb-

ing was heard around the world. Yet, the FBI, very adept at tracking down radicals, has never been able to find the white racists responsible.

Abernathy, who is also indigenous to Alabama, then sketched how Davis is being vilified by the press.

Abt dealt with the grand jury transcript. He said that it shows no intent on Davis' part to participate in the Marin County courthouse escape, only that she publicly bought guns. Intent has to be shown if the state is to prove that she aided and abetted the escape. The guns were purchased, he related, because her life had been threatened as a result of the state campaign to take her job at UCLA. She enlisted Jonathan P. Jackson, who attempted the ill-fated escape at the courthouse, as a bodyguard. In obvious desperation to free the Soledad Brothers, one of whom is his brother, George Jackson, he borrowed her guns with the idea of taking hostages.

Abt also stated that no ballistics report on the bullets that killed Judge

Harold Haley was shown to the grand jury, which further weakens the state's case.

The rally ended with the showing of an inspiring film, *Angela Davis: Portrait of a Revolutionary*.

Similar birthday rallies for Davis were held throughout the country. In Chicago, 350 Blacks attended a rally. Speakers included: Rev. Charles Koen of the Cairo United Front; Bobby Rush of the Illinois Black Panther Party; Reginald Davis, Angela's brother; and Franklin Alexander of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis.

In a very significant rally on Jan. 26, over 2,000 people filled the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., in a birthday tribute. Rev. Jesse Jackson of Chicago SCLC was the featured speaker. On the same day, a similar crowd gathered at UCLA.

On the weekend before her birthday, 600 met in Memphis to hear Sallye Davis, Angela's mother.