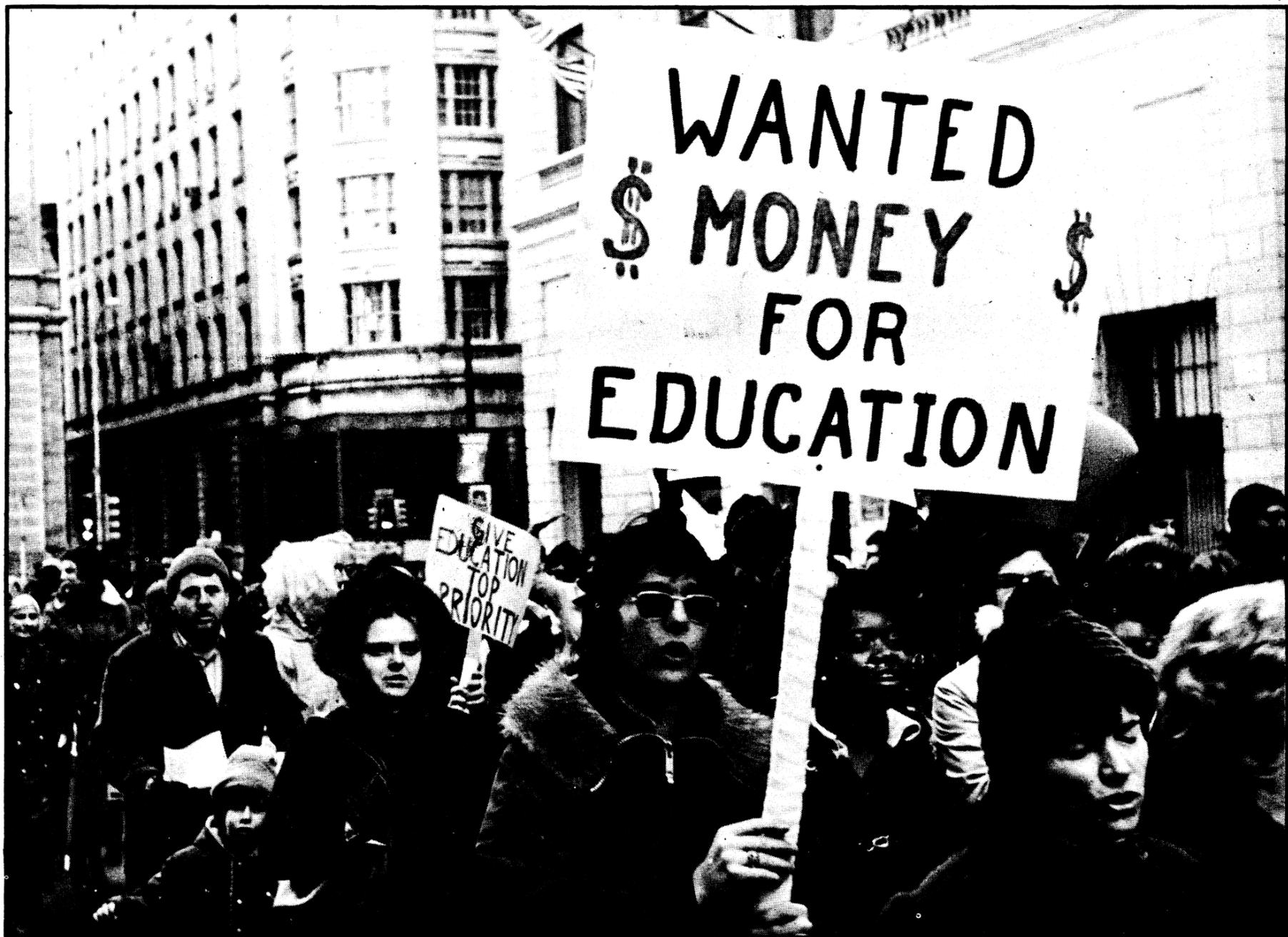


THE MILITANT

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

Growing labor support for strikers

Philly teachers union hit with mass arrests



Feb.15. Philadelphia teachers demonstrating in support of union demands for higher pay and smaller classes. See page 9.

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

DALLAS FIVE DEFENSE FORUM: Seventy-five people attended a forum on the Dallas Five at the Upper West Side Militant Forum in New York, Feb. 16. Frank Durkan, one of the attorneys for the Irish-American defendants, pointed out that they have been returned to jail, although charged with no crime.

The five have been imprisoned for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury about fund-raising activities for the Irish freedom struggle carried out in the U.S. Eileen Crimmins, speaking for the Dallas Five Defense Committee, stressed that the British government, in collaboration with the U.S. Justice Department, is attempting to intimidate and attack all supporters of Irish freedom.

IRANIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER THREATENED WITH DEATH: The Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union) has expressed deep concern for the life of Dr. Abbas Sheibany, a leader of the opposition in Iran. Sheibany, a 39-year-old physician, has already spent 10 years of his life in the shah's prisons.

On Jan. 4, Reuters announced that Sheibany's brother-in-law, Mohammad Mofidi, a student active in the Iranian freedom struggle, had been executed. Francoise Rozelaar-Vigier, sent as a legal observer to Mofidi's trial by the International Secretariat of Catholic Lawyers and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, was not allowed to contact Mofidi or attend his trial. The announcement of the trial was made only after the death sentence had been pronounced. She said that in Iran "since March 1971, 68 accused have been officially condemned to death and executed, that is, one every ten days. . . ."

The Iranian students are demanding that the shah reveal the truth about Sheibany's destiny and permit an international observer to attend his trial.

SIXTY-EIGHT-YEAR-OLD WOMAN FREED FROM BOLIVIAN PRISON: The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) announced Feb. 15 that Delfina Burgoa, a 68-year-old woman held without charges since April 4, 1972, in Bolivian prisons, has been deported to Mexico.

After interrogation and torture in La Paz, during which three of her ribs were broken, she was transferred to Achocalla, a concentration camp for women located in a cold and desolate region outside the capital. Burgoa was finally freed following an international campaign organized around her case.

Many political prisoners remain in the dungeons of Bolivia, and USLA has stepped up its efforts against the repression there. If you want to help, contact USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 691-2880.

INT'L AMNESTY CONFERENCE BARRED FROM FRANCE: French police banned the International Conference for Amnesty for Exiles scheduled to take place in Paris, Feb. 20-21. Police claimed that the presence of such groups as the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), Safe Return, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, as well as several European exile groups, would be "disruptive to public order," coming so soon before the International Conference on Vietnam scheduled to take place in Paris on Feb. 26.

SCEF representative Virginia Collins told *The Militant* that "the conference planned to take up the question of a general and unconditional amnesty not only for the more than 100,000 draft resisters in Canada, but also for the large numbers of draft resisters underground in the U.S. and for the many U.S. soldiers currently held as POWs in U.S. prisons such as Long Binh Jail in South Vietnam."

Collins said most of these prisoners are Black and Chicano, and Nixon fears their return to the U.S. More information on the plans of conference organizers can be obtained from Safe Return, (212) 691-0888.

CHICAGOANS PROTEST HUSSEIN'S U.S. VISIT: On Feb. 8, the Organization of Arab Students, Students for Palestine, and supporters from other groups including the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party held a spirited picket line and march from Chicago's Civic Center to the offices of the Arab Information Center. The demonstrators emphasized their support of the Palestinian liberation movement and were sharply critical of the Jordanian government's complicity with U.S. policies in the Middle East.

HUNG JURY IN LAWTON TRIAL: The jury in the Gary Lawton trial was declared hung on Feb. 16. A new trial has been set for Feb. 27 in Indio, Calif. Lawton, along with two other Black activists, Nehemiah Jackson and Larrie Gardner, had been charged with the murder of two white cops. This partial victory came after an all-white jury, all more than 50 years of age, deadlocked 9-to-3 in favor of acquittal after eight days of deliberation.

STEWARDESSES TO HOLD NAT'L CONFERENCE: Stewardesses for Women's Rights has set its national conference for March 10-11 at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 W. 4th St., New York, N.Y. The group was formed last year to combat the sexist treatment stewardesses face from airline companies and from the media. For more information, call (212) 876-5744.

African Liberation Day actions set for May 26

NEW YORK — African Liberation Day demonstrations are planned in at least 15 U.S. cities on May 26. This was announced at a Feb. 17 meeting here commemorating Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba, who was slain in February 1961.

The more than 800 Black people attending the meeting heard Owusu Sadaukai, cochairman of the national African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), explain the importance of the May 26 solidarity actions.

The best way to commemorate Lumumba, Sadaukai said, is to carry on the struggle for which he died. Lumumba was murdered for leading the struggle against U.S. and Belgian designs to maintain domination of the Congo.

Last year on May 27, tens of thousands of Blacks marched in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Canada, and the Caribbean against U.S. and European exploitation of African peoples. The ALSC also organized these actions.

This year the ALSC decided "to expand demonstrations . . . in light of America's escalation of the war in Southern Africa." "We must let our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa know that more than 99.99 percent of Black people in the Western hemisphere are 100 percent behind the liberation struggles," a news release from the group said.

Cities planning African Liberation Day actions include New York; San Francisco; Los Angeles; Houston; Atlanta; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; Boston; Jackson, Miss.; Newark; Chicago; and Detroit.

The New York ALSC and the Pan-African Students Organization, a group of students from Africa, hosted the Lumumba memorial meeting, which was held at Columbia University.

In addition to Sadaukai, other speakers were Len Jeffries, chairman of Black Studies at City College of New York; Salim A. Salim, ambassador from Tanzania; and Jeanne Martin Cisse, representative to the United Nations from Guinea.



Militant/James Lewis
African Liberation Day demonstration in San Francisco, May 27, 1972.

PROSECUTION WITNESSES CONTRADICTED IN BROWN TRIAL: On Feb. 7, Melvin Ware became the first government witness to claim to make a positive identification of Black activist H. Rap Brown. Brown and three codefendants are charged with robbery and attempted murder. Ware claimed to have immediately recognized Brown because he had seen him making speeches several times in the past.

Defense lawyers were generally successful in discrediting Ware's testimony when he altered it several times under cross-examination. One point defense attorney William Kunstler dealt with was Ware's insistence that he recognized Brown immediately as "the tall, slim fellow with a beard" that he'd seen at rallies. Spectators in the packed courtroom laughed because Brown did not wear a beard in 1967-68.

Ware has a case pending before a grand jury on charges of assault and weapons possession. When asked by Kunstler if he was hoping for lenient treatment, he replied, "Yes sir. I'd hope for any break in life I can get."

The H. Rap Brown Defense Committee can be reached at P.O. Box 282, Colonial Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10059.

—PETER SEIDMAN

Demand Congress restore funds

Thousands join D.C. protest of cutbacks

By DICK ROBERTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 20 — Thousands of angry people converged on the capitol building today to protest the Nixon administration's health and welfare budget slashes.

They came from as far away as Washington State and Alaska. Buses had been sent from many Southern states.

Dick Roberts is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for controller of New York City.

They represented anti-poverty organizations—child-care centers, educational and job training programs, health and housing services, programs for helping old people—and a scattering of unions.

The overwhelming majority of the demonstrators were Black and Puerto Rican, with women far outnumbering men.

Community centers in New York City had the biggest contingents. Harlem, East Harlem, South Bronx, downtown Brooklyn, the centers of poverty and unemployment in the city, sent hundreds of buses.

Outrage against "King Nixon" was a predominant theme. Marion Holmes, a leader of the Fort Greene Community Corporation in Brooklyn, said Nixon can't "represent me and these people and impound money."

"We demand that the president act as representative of the people," said Maria Matos of the Puerto Rican Community Development Project. Many members of the Brooklyn-based organization, which sponsors poverty programs, day-care centers, and neighborhood youth corps, were waving Puerto Rican flags.

Many government-funded projects under the umbrella of OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) are slated

to have their funds cut off. Project workers challenged Nixon's assertion that federally financed social services are unnecessary.

Roscoe Bradley of the Manhattan Colonial Park Health Service said that his group educated people on the causes of disease and prevention. Operating for four years, it refers 50 to 60 middle-aged and older people a month to hospitals.

Susie Acevado of the Seventh Avenue Mennonite Head Start pointed out that if day-care centers were forced to raise their fees, working women couldn't afford to send their children there.

On the speaker's platform were many Democratic members of Congress, leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, including the Reverend Ralph Abernathy and Coretta S. King, and Black city officials. By far the most enthusiastic response was given to the Reverend Jesse Jackson of Chicago's Operation PUSH.

"You show me a Richard Nixon, and I'll show you one-half million people in the streets—we must act!" Jackson declared. Hundreds of clenched fists went up when he chanted, "I am Black, beautiful, proud, it's nation time."

Most of the congressional speakers explained the actions they are taking in Congress to oppose the budget slashes. Congressman Herman Badillo of New York has offered a number of bills to take the management of welfare programs out of the hands of the White House.

Bella Abzug was cheered when she said, "The people are saying we oppose the dictatorial power of the president to rob the poor to help the rich. You must organize an end to this horror budget."

Some of the demonstrators had



Militant/Dick Roberts

Crowd of 10,000 gathered at capitol building in Washington, D. C., Feb. 20

spent the morning in the halls of Congress attempting to present their complaints. There the reception was quite different. "There were hundreds of people spending most of the time waiting in lines," said a New York hospital worker. "The Congressmen were out. They gave us the run-around. We talked to assistants," she said.

Despite the lack of clarity about specific actions to take now, virtually everyone was in a fighting mood. The calls for continued marches—"Peace in Vietnam, War in Poverty Areas" was a popular sign—were met with shouts of approval.

Glenn Allen, a 22-year-old Brooklyn carpenter, was carrying a sign, "Black Trade Unions Support Coalition for Survival."

"Since I'm Black, I came," he said.

With a job that he called "a tokenistic move," Allen felt he was lucky.

I asked him about living in Brooklyn. "Are you serious? *Are you serious?*" he answered. "A house next to mine was torn down, they put a fence around it and covered it with tar. It's a run-down lot for garbage." Allen continued, "Sometimes you feel like you're clawing. What we need is some type of thing to merge things together—there has to be a mass movement to get this done."

The rally had been called on short notice. Many had only heard about it a few days earlier, and still there were 10,000 people in Washington. They made it clear that Nixon's attempts to cut back the social-welfare budget could provoke massive opposition around the country.

Speakers to include Bella Abzug

Mar. 10 meeting to hail int'l abortion fight

By CINDY JAQUITH

FEB. 20 — The March 10 meeting on the international struggle for abortion rights, scheduled for Town Hall in New York City, is less than three weeks away. Today the meeting's sponsor, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), announced that Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) has been added to the already impressive speakers' list.

One of the meeting's most exciting features will be the appearance of Michelle Chevalier, the French subway worker who was tried recently for helping her daughter obtain an abor-

FEB. 21 — A Belgian court released Willy Peers from jail yesterday in the face of growing protests in his defense. Peers is free pending his trial on charges of having performed more than 200 abortions.

tion. Chevalier received only a light penalty and her daughter Marie-Claire won acquittal in a trial that made headlines around the world.

Gisèle Halimi, the Chevaliers' lawyer; Claude Servan-Schreiber, another leader of the French abortion movement; and Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of WONAAC, will also speak at the March 10 meeting.

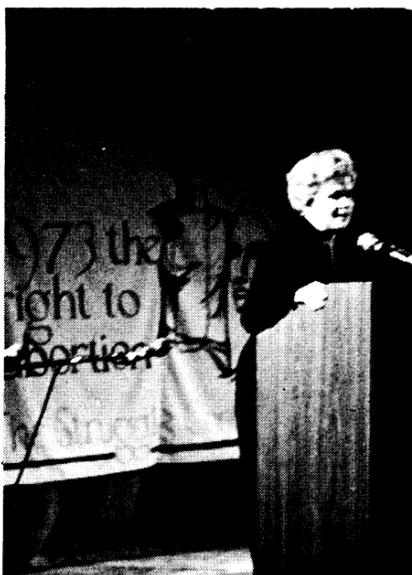
WONAAC also plans to pay tribute to the struggle for legal abortion in Belgium. The arrest of Dr. Willy Peers, a Belgian abortionist, has already sparked mass protest demonstrations there.

Supporters of Dr. Peers will hold another demonstration in Belgium Feb. 24. Local chapters of WONAAC are organizing picket lines here in solidarity with this action. The New York picket line will take place Feb. 24 at 1 p.m. at the Sabena Airlines office, 589 Fifth Ave., near 47th Street.

In addition to lending support to abortion fights internationally, the WONAAC meeting will be an opportunity to publicly assess the meaning of the Supreme Court decision.

A special attraction will be a multimedia presentation on the history of women's struggle to control their reproductive lives. Beginning with the heroic battles of Margaret Sanger and other early campaigners for birth control, the show will include such events as the mass women's marches on Aug. 26, 1970, and the demonstrations held around the country to demand abortion law repeal.

"The meeting will give us a chance to hear about the efforts around the country to throw out the antiquated abortion laws," Susan LaMont told *The Militant*. LaMont is a national coordinator of WONAAC. She added that WONAAC is support-



Militant/Laura Moorhead

Los Angeles WONAAC chapter held victory rally Feb. 13. Speaking is Lana Clarke Phelan, a leader of National Organization for Women.

ing bills to repeal all restrictions against abortion wherever these are introduced.

The Supreme Court should be deciding on two other abortion cases soon, LaMont said. The suits involve the abortion laws in Connecticut and Illinois, and a ruling in line with the previous court decision is expected.

Nine state legislatures are currently

considering bills to legalize abortion during the first 24 weeks of pregnancy. In nine other states, there are also new abortion bills on the agenda, according to the Feb. 16 *New York Times*. Local courts and attorneys general have overturned abortion laws in more than 12 states.

But the anti-abortion forces are still attempting to challenge the court ruling. The *Times* reported that "legislators in at least 15 states are seeking to introduce resolutions that would ultimately give the fetus constitutional rights." Such a bill has already been introduced into Congress.

Right-wing groups in Iowa and Oklahoma are pinning their hopes on urging President Nixon to issue an executive order against the court decision. Some of these groups have gone so far as to name this hoped-for order the "Emancipation Proclamation."

"We recognize that despite the fact that they're reeling from the Supreme Court's blow, the anti-abortion groups still represent a threat," LaMont explained. "A large turnout at the March 10 meeting will strike another blow at their reactionary campaign to deny women abortions."

For further information on the March 10 gathering, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 437, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

THE ARGENTINE ELECTIONS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN JOINS WAGE STRUGGLE, SPEAKS TO WORKERS ASSEMBLIES

By FRED HALSTEAD

BUENOS AIRES, Feb. 1—This is a very special time of year in Argentina because almost everyone who works for a living—from a steelworker to a maid in a private house—is thinking about a wage increase. It is the time when virtually every union contract in the country is renegotiated, and more than 90 percent of workers in Argentina belong to unions.

Inflation last year was 65 percent, and the employers are offering wage increases of only 15 percent.

Since a military coup removed Argentina's last elected regime in 1966

Fred Halstead, a well-known activist in the U.S. antiwar movement, was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1968. For the next several weeks The Militant will carry on-the-spot reports by Halstead on developments leading up to the March 11 Argentine elections.

the labor contract problem has been handled by the military dictatorship. It has imposed settlements by decree and cut the workers' buying power by about one-fourth in the last 10 years.

Last year the settlement was imposed Jan. 1. It called for an increase of 12 percent with a little more later, making an average of around 20 percent. This year, faced with rising militancy by the workers, the government extended the deadline to Jan. 15, after which the workers would be free to strike legally. The deadline was later extended to early February.

In spite of this, in the last two weeks of January there have been general work stoppages in two major cities—Córdoba and Tucumán—and stoppages or strikes in a dozen major industries and hundreds of plants and other places of work.

(As the words are used here, a stoppage, or *paro*, is a technique to put on heat in the negotiations. It is called for a specific amount of time, and work resumes whether a settlement has been reached or not. A *paro* usually lasts a few hours or a day or two. A strike, or *huelga*, is a showdown, called for an indefinite period of time until settlement.)

The result has been agreements in the major industries ranging from 25 to 40 percent in immediate increases with smaller amounts to come in June and toward the year's end.

These agreements are not enough to make up for inflation over the entire year—much less for the two years the government has decreed these contracts should last. But they are far higher than generally anticipated, and they do mean an immediate increase in buying power relative to the last few months.

This exceptional level of union activity comes in the midst of Argentina's first national election campaign in 10 years. This is not coincidental. The ruling class here, as in the United

States, knows that elections tend to sidetrack mass struggles. Indeed, it is in an attempt to deal with a rising level of mass struggles here in the last few years that the military dictatorship has called these elections.

Eight of the nine parties with enough support to be considered national are going along with the game. To listen to their campaigning you would hardly know there was a struggle over wages. In general they tell the workers to be calm in the plants, to wait for the election to solve their problems, and to use their energies to get out the vote. The Peronist party—whose main strength is the union bureaucracy—is particularly strong in this advice.

The one exception is the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

Open letter to workers

As wage negotiations began, PST presidential candidate Juan Carlos Coral sent an open letter to the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Confederation of Labor), the all-inclusive federation of Argentine unions controlled by Peronist labor bureaucrats. The letter was also addressed to Argentine workers in

can be asked to adopt this program and pledge that if elected they would carry it out. Finally the letter pledges that whatever comes of this suggestion, the PST will maintain this position before and after the election and will fight alongside the workers for increases of this magnitude in the current contract negotiations.

This letter has been printed in large posters and pasted up all over the country. I can testify that they are much in evidence in all the areas I have visited in the last week.

The next phase of the PST election intervention into the wage fight was to have PST candidates go directly to places of work—including where the candidates themselves work—to offer the campaign's assistance in the wage fight.

This is not a small undertaking. There are now more than 2,300 candidates using the PST ballot status through an organization called the Frente Obrero (Workers Front). This is an electoral front of working-class and socialist candidates and their supporters, which uses the PST ballot status although not all are PST members.

The Frente Obrero provides worker leaders in the plants and barrios an

cause the Peronist labor bureaucrats resist allowing the workers to have these traditional assemblies.

In many cases PST-Frente Obrero candidates are present during the stoppages taking place inside offices or plants.

So far they are the only candidates offering concrete support to the wage fight.

Jorge Mera, PST candidate for governor of Buenos Aires province, for example, spoke to several thousand steelworkers at the Somisa plant in San Nicolás during a 50-hour stoppage there last month. Mera is a former bank clerk and a well-known activist in the bank workers union.

I saw him speak on TV together with the other candidates for the same office the night after he had participated in a stoppage at a major bank in Buenos Aires. He invited the other candidates to join him in this activity. Those on camera at the time were visibly disturbed by the suggestion.

Candidates are not the only PST campaigners who are involved in this activity. I visited a headquarters of the PST on the northwest side of Buenos Aires and saw them sending out teams to talk to workers at plants in the area. This is the La Plata local (after the street its office is on), which is in a blue-collar district where there are a number of small factories. One of the teams was present at a textile plant when a spontaneous walk-out occurred over the layoff of six workers.

The workers were milling around not knowing where to meet—the union bureaucrats had declined to offer the union hall—when the PST campaigners invited them to use the PST headquarters. They accepted gladly and were on the way there when a union bureaucrat showed up declaring he had obtained the union hall after all.

They held their meeting at the union hall and afterward several came to the PST office to form a Frente Obrero group in the factory. The walkout ended after a day and a half, with all six laid-off workers being reinstated.

In general the PST-Frente Obrero campaigners are quite deliberate about what they are doing in taking the campaign to the workers. They offer the workers whatever assistance the campaign can provide in their immediate struggle. The offer is almost always well received by the workers, if not by the bureaucrats.

The socialist candidates tell the workers that the PST cannot solve their problems for them. They must organize themselves to do that, and the PST and the Frente Obrero will help them get organized. Then a committee of the workers is chosen from among the volunteers and a time and place set for the committee to meet to begin organizing around the particular problems in the plant. These committees usually also support the Frente Obrero campaign, but it is hoped they will continue after the election.

Another PST headquarters I visited, on Callao Street not far from down-



PST campaign meeting in workers' neighborhood outside Buenos Aires

general. It points out that most parties are asking for workers' votes with the claim that they represent workers' interests, but that promises are vague and specific proposals lacking.

Therefore the PST proposes: 1) A general increase in wages of 50 percent and a minimum wage of \$120 per month. (The present minimum is \$64 per month. An auto worker gets about \$75.) 2) Nationalization of all the monopolies and big businesses. (At least half the parties, including the Peronists, claim to be for "socialism.")

The PST letter calls on the workers to demand that the CGT convoke a public assembly where all the parties

opportunity to run for office on the basis of independent working-class political action against all the capitalist parties. The 2,300 figure is more than twice what Frente Obrero leaders estimated they would have when I talked to them at their founding congress last Dec. 17.

Sometimes the PST and Frente Obrero candidates simply talk to groups of workers at the plant gates or cafeteria. Often they go inside to speak to assemblies of the workers called to discuss the contract negotiations. In some cases the appearance of the candidates is instrumental in the convening of such assemblies. This is an important contribution be-



Slogan on wall calls for committees of support to the Workers Front campaign in factories, unions, and neighborhoods

Militant/Fred Halstead

town Buenos Aires, is in a commercial area. (There are seven locals of the PST in Buenos Aires proper right now, and 20 more in the greater metropolitan area. The number increases steadily.)

At the Callao local, work is directed mainly to banks, a major post office, the telephone exchange, dock workers, hospital workers, and to a neighborhood of improvised tin shacks called a *barrio de miseria*. (Ordinary workers cannot usually afford to rent regular apartments in a central city area here.)

The PST has 70 members in this local now, plus a high school youth group of 15 and some 100 sympathizers who do some activity. The local is five months old and has grown rapidly since the founding of the Frente Obrero in December.

The physical setup of the headquarters is typical of the dozen or so I have seen in various places in Argentina. It is on the second floor of

the United States, and they are not monopolized by advertising companies. I have seen many large PST election signs painted on walls here. All the parties do this, and there is an agreement—which is rarely violated—that if a party paints a wall white and leaves its signature, the wall belongs to it for the campaign.

There is no such etiquette for pasted posters, however, and you have to be at it constantly to keep your posters visible. This makes it possible to change the content of posters frequently to keep up with events, and the PST uses this to good effect in the current union struggles.

A small room in the headquarters contains two mats on the floor for tired activists to use for an occasional nap. This is a virtual necessity because they have a very long day. Many are up at 5 a.m. to get to distributions in front of work places for the first shift, then to go to work themselves, then return at 6 or 7 in

didate for Buenos Aires city council from the Barrio de Pompeya.

At another headquarters on Donato Alvarez Street, a group of youngsters explained how they covered the area assigned to the local. They work in small zones, with three people assigned to a team for each zone. They sell the party newspaper *Avanzada Socialista* (at 10 cents), sell bonds supporting the campaign (at 20 cents), paint walls with slogans, paste up posters, visit each factory in the zone at least three times during the campaign, and go house-to-house in the workers' areas.

Said one young man: "The bourgeois parties tell the workers to vote for them and nothing more, and they use the election to defuse the mass struggle. We use the election campaign to increase the organization and mobilization of the masses and the contacts of the party with the masses, and to aid in their struggles. We go to factories, remind the workers that they have a right to general assemblies to discuss the contract, and so on. In the neighborhoods, we encourage the workers to organize on their own behalf."

I watched this process at a Sunday afternoon meeting called by the PST in the Barrio Raphael Castillo, which is part of the district of de la Matanza in Buenos Aires. This was the party's first public meeting there in the process of setting up a local in the barrio.

Raphael Castillo is more than an hour by bus from downtown. It is not a *barrio de miseria*, but an area where most workers own their own homes, which they have built themselves on small lots. The main street is paved, but not the side streets where the small brick houses are. Here and there I could see a family and friends building a house. It is traditional for friends to spend a Sunday this way. Electricity is supposed to be supplied to the lots, but a well must usually be dug for water.

A barrio meeting

A sound truck was used to announce the meeting. At first it was planned for the open air, but the police forbade this so it was held in an empty storefront rented for the day in case of that eventuality.

The beginning of the meeting was a little painful. People came slowly and hesitated outside until urged to step in. Three workers started the meeting for the PST. One was a construction worker, about 40. Another, about 20, works at the nearby Chrysler plant. The third, about 30, was a strike leader there until fired recently. Now he too works in construction to feed his large family. They spoke one at a time, talking about workers' problems, asking what the problems are in the barrio, finally succeeding in getting the audience into the discussion.

The problems began to pour out: no lights in some areas, only one badly crowded school, none at all if you lived a little farther out, bad water, an ambulance service that doesn't care about the barrio, lack of medical care in general, union officials who refuse to put up a fight for the workers, and so on.

As the discussion proceeded, a group of about 30 adults made up the core of the meeting, with 50 in attendance overall, plus some younger children. A party worker took names of volunteers for committees to deal with the various problems. Somebody volunteered a place for future meetings. Then Nora Ciapponi, the PST vice-presidential candidate, spoke, or rather she talked, sitting on a rough plank held up by bricks.

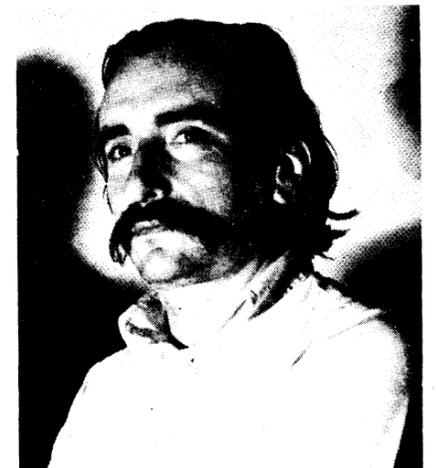
She laid it on the line: The barrio's problems can't be solved easily. We can't solve them for you. The other parties make promises. We say you've got to do it for yourselves. You have the power if you organize. If you don't get together to solve the problems, they won't be solved. We'll help with that and be in the front line with you like on the wage fight. It's bigger than this barrio. You need a workers party to defend your interests.

She outlined the various concrete struggles taking place around the country, the position of workers, of women, of youth, of political prisoners, and described the policy of the Peronists and others in refusing to support them. She explained the need for nationalization of both the foreign and native capitalists, "who have sold out our country and robbed us. We don't owe them a dime."

She ended on a note that I appreciated: "This is not a small meeting. It's bigger than what you had before. There are people like you all over the country—all over this barrio. Get to them. They'll listen, just like you did."

They gave her a big hand and the meeting ended on a high note.

Later I asked one of the PST organizers what she thought of the response. "Fair," she said. "We should have another local here soon."



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

As the March elections approach, the growing impact of the campaign of the Workers Front and the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina (PST) is worrying the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy and former dictator Juan Peron himself. In a message released Jan. 27, Peron claimed that the occupation of the Somisa steel plant by the workers (see story in last week's Militant) was the work of "a group of agents provocateurs." The Workers Front and PST were prominent in their support of that strike.

The Jan. 31 issue of the PST's newspaper *Avanzada Socialista* reported on three physical assaults against PST members. On Jan. 21, 15 armed goons of the Peronist-led Union Obrera Metalurgica (UOM—Metalworkers Union) tore up copies of *Avanzada Socialista* being sold by two women outside the Fiat Concord factory in Cordoba. They fled, however, after being surrounded by 200 workers from the plant who came to the defense of the women.

On Jan. 26 PST members selling their newspaper outside a plant in Munro were shot at from a car. One person who witnessed the attack recognized the car and those in it as paid goons of the UOM.

Two other PST members were attacked by the head of the Portworkers union while distributing leaflets at the waterfront in Buenos Aires.

a building that looks about 100 years old and in only a modest state of repair. It was once a rather luxurious apartment building, judging from the large rooms, high ceilings, and long patio open to the sky. Inside are five rooms and a kitchen, where coffee and *maté*, the traditional drink made of leaves, are available.

The largest room, big enough for about 30, is used for meetings. There are two offices, but only one phone, and a room for materials including buckets of paste and paint and brushes for painting slogans on walls.

Walls at the sidewalk are much more common in Argentine cities than in

the evening for meetings and activities until around 11 p.m. Every Saturday night they have a party, sometimes with a guitar player, or if there are a lot of youth, with rock and roll records.

I asked one of the young women there how they kept up the pace. "It is our first chance for open legal activity," she said, "and we must make the most of it. Besides it is not so hard to run when you can see so much progress so quickly."

There was only one candidate there when I visited: Josepha Dufort, a 35-year-old woman who serves diet meals in a nearby hospital. She is a can-

Militant launches sales campaign

This week *The Militant* is launching a campaign to substantially increase our week-to-week single copy sales. This drive will run for three months with a goal of doubling or tripling our street sales.

The Militant is circulated primarily through subscriptions and street sales. Last fall we successfully completed a subscription drive, selling 35,000 introductory subs. Now we want to focus the same enthusiasm and energy on individual sales.

Our initial goal is to sell 7,000 copies a week in this way. The branches and locals of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have already pledged to sell the bulk of these. In addition, the traveling Young Socialist teams, which will be visiting campuses throughout the country this spring, plan to sell 150 copies each week, for an additional 1,800 copies.

The key to the success of this campaign will be establishing regular sales of *The Militant* at high schools, campuses, workplaces, shopping centers, and other locations where people interested in radical ideas can be found. To meet and surpass our national sales goal, we need the help and active participation of all our readers and supporters.

This campaign coincides with the new stage in the worldwide struggle between imperialism and revolution that has been ushered in with the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire accords, and the detente between Nixon and the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies. More than ever, there is a need for a paper that tells the American people the truth about what is happening in Indochina and will uncompromisingly defend the right of the peoples of Indochina to self-determination. The sales drive will be an important part of the campaign to expose the true aims of U. S. imperialism and to continue to mobilize opposition to Washington's war aims in Southeast Asia.

Our coverage of revolutionary struggles provides information and analysis unavailable from any other source. This week, for example, we are publishing the first of a series of weekly articles on the workers' upsurge in Argentina, written by Fred Halstead. He has been sent by *The Militant* to provide on-the-scene coverage of the Argentine elections and the activities of the socialist movement there.

The municipal election campaigns the SWP is launching across the country will also be featured in *The Militant*. Sales of *The Militant* will be one of the best ways to build support for these campaigns. Supporters of the SWP election campaigns are urged to participate in distributing the campaign newspaper, and to take a quota of *Militants* to sell each week.

The Militant is now approaching its forty-fifth year of championing the struggles of those fighting against exploitation and oppression across this country and throughout the world.

Since 1969, we have grown from 12 to 28 pages, and we have increased our average weekly circulation from 10,000 to almost 25,000. The staff has been expanded to provide more comprehensive coverage of the developing struggles in this country, and the "World Outlook" section was added last summer to broaden our international coverage. This spring's sales campaign is part of this effort to increase *The Militant's* readership and influence in preparation for still further expansion.

Recent experiences with *Militant* sales show the potential for the campaign we are launching. For example, the Detroit SWP and YSA sold 415 copies of a recent issue by aiming their sales at activists interested in the STRESS hearings, which have been reported extensively in *The Militant*. Houston supporters sold 396 copies of the issue featuring the interview with Corky Gonzales by organizing sales at Chicano high schools and on college campuses.

Regular scoreboards will report on the progress of the sales campaign and will be expanded each week to incorporate new quotas taken by *Militant* supporters. Reports on sales experiences and ideas for improving sales will be included in regular articles on the campaign.

If you can help, write to *The Militant* business office and ask for a weekly bundle of *Militants*, and to have your area listed in the scoreboard.

Socialist vote

The socialist vote in the South was startlingly high in 1972 compared with the past.

In Louisiana, the best socialist vote for president before 1972 was 5,249 for Debs in 1912. Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, received 14,398 votes in Louisiana.

In Mississippi, the best socialist vote for president before 1972 was 2,061, again for Debs in 1912. Jenness and Pulley received 2,458 in Mississippi.

In Virginia, the best socialist vote for president before 1972 was less than half the 9,918 votes that the Socialist Labor Party ticket of Louis Fisher and Genevieve Gunderson received in Virginia in 1972.

In Georgia, the only socialist candidate on the ballot in 1972 was Alice Conner for U. S. senator. Her vote of 7,587 was not only the highest vote ever polled by a socialist for any office in Georgia, but the highest percentage of the total vote ever polled by a Georgia socialist candidate.

In Texas, the 90,000 votes polled by one of the SWP candidates for state office was the largest vote ever given a socialist candidate in that state.

Richard Winger
San Francisco, Calif.

Counter-information

The Militant here at our little newspaper is the best counter-information coming out of the United States. Those few copies I have been able to get ahold of have been of valuable assistance in presenting the Italian public with often unknown facts and insights into the real situation in the U. S. A.

Carl Evans Clifford
Nuovi Tempi
Roma, Italy

YMCA workers organize

About 40 people picketed the YMCA Feb. 5 and went to its executive offices to demand that the YMCA recognize the right of its workers to unionize.

Students from Northeastern University came on the picket line, which was also supported by the Northeastern University Afro Institute, the Northeastern University Young Socialist Alliance, and the Dorchester Tenants Action Council.

The workers at the Huntington Avenue YMCA have been trying to organize for four months. The great majority of them have signed cards saying they want to affiliate with the Service Employees Union.

The workers are paid very poorly. Housemen get \$2.24 an hour and have to work six days a week. Maids are paid only \$2.05 an hour. Workers who are on a job-release program from prison get \$10 a week, "if the Y has enough money." Many workers have not had raises in 18 months.

In addition, the management of the YMCA has instituted speedup within the past week. For example, where two women were assigned to a floor before, now one has to clean a floor by herself.

One significant aspect of the demonstration today was the support from Northeastern University students. Many of the workers thought it was important to get as much support from the students as possible. One of them put it this way: "I think people look more at the younger generation than they did a long time ago. A long

time ago, you know, when war broke out, everybody was just contented and went along with it. We don't sit back anymore and say 'that's all right.' If we're against the issue we let everybody know we're against it."

Tony Prince
Boston, Mass.

'Anti-Semitic'

Recently I purchased a subscription to *The Militant*. In many of your issues I have noticed a definite anti-Semitic undertone.

Having read numerous attempted justifications of your continuing "anti-Zionist" campaign, it has become all too clear to me that this is merely a pretext for your true feelings of prejudice directed against Jews and Judaism. Anti-Semitism is a non-Marxist position diametrically opposed to humanitarian values.

R. W.
Ithaca, N. Y.

Witch-hunt in Israel

I would like to thank *The Militant* for publishing in the Feb. 2 issue the two documents concerning the witch-hunt attack launched recently by the Zionist regime against the Israeli revolutionary left.

Being an Israeli Palestinian Arab, I would like to thank *The Militant* for paying attention to this grave situation in "democratic Israel." However, I would like to see *The Militant* expose more and more of Israel's fascist style of "democracy."

Abu Iyad
New York, N. Y.

False charges

A few weeks ago I sent *The Militant* a slanderous letter, written by myself, falsely accusing the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance of "white racism" and "racist segregationism."

Having recently read some of the SWP's literature on Malcolm X, the Black liberation struggle, the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination, and Black control of the Black community, as well as *The Militant's* excellent coverage of the Black freedom struggles against colonialism-imperialism in Africa, I have reconsidered my position, which was based on ignorance.

Please accept my apologies for my previous letter's bitter remarks.

Carl Vrooman
Pasadena, Calif.

Ireland

I just read Gerry Foley's article on the *ard sheis* [convention] of the Sinn Fein in the Feb. 16 *Militant*.

My hat is off to him; I think it's one of the best articles I've read recently in *The Militant*. I'd be interested in seeing a critical analysis of the origin and role of the Provisional wing in a future issue, as there seems to be even less reliable information available on the Provisionals than on the Officials.

P. A.
Cambridge, Mass.

Conditions at GM

"From my 30 years' experience at Fleetwood Fisher Body I know that this document doesn't exaggerate the



Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

Not enough 'firsts'

bad conditions in GM plants, nor does it magnify the lack of respect management shows for the UAW. The Company has always flagrantly violated the terms of the Contract. No provision is made in the Contract for its enforcement."

This is John W. Anderson, former president of United Auto Workers Local 15 and a leader of the early strike struggles to build the auto union. He is speaking about a series of newsletters the UAW international sent to local union officers in the General Motors complex in 1964. These letters, Anderson says, have since been suppressed.

Excerpts from them are published in a UAW United National Caucus pamphlet entitled "Working Conditions in GM: A Bird's Eye View."

The following is what the UAW said about production standards in 1964: "Any mention of working conditions cannot be separated from the basic problem of how much work an employee can be forced to perform during the course of the day.

"Standards established in the various plants of the Corporation are notorious for their failure to include any allowance for fatigue. Employees who work on heavy jobs, hot operations, or on conveyor and assembly lines are expected to perform at the same pace during the entire work day. Although an employee works eight, ten or twelve hours without letup, he is expected to perform at the same high peak of efficiency during every single hour."

Also included in the pamphlet are sections on discrimination, grievance procedure, company prerogatives, and corporation profits. This is all informative material for those who have been reading about the current epidemic of "blue-collar blues." It can be ordered from United National Caucus, P. O. Box 146, Centerline, Mich. 48015. Fifteen cents a copy.

Frank Lovell
New York, N. Y.

Bothered

The *Militant's* articles on abortion have bothered me a great deal. As a woman interested in women's liberation, I do not believe that abortion is now, or ever has been, the most important goal of the women's liberation movement.

I believe it is a very serious, personal moral decision (yes, moral). I resent the fact that a stroke of the pen by seven men has closed free and open discussion on this topic to the detriment of everyone, especially the potential children.

It seems ironic, too, that the decision has been made by seven male members of the ruling class — imagine, not even one woman was directly responsible for this decision!

Perhaps the Supreme Court justices were implying more than they stated explicitly — that abortions are primarily for the benefit of middle and upper middle class women who can't stand the "indignity" or "inconvenience" of pregnancy — married or not.

D. D.
Chicago, Ill.

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.

If you live in New York City, your subway train may be driven by a woman next year. Marion McAllister, a 36-year-old Black woman, is training to become the first female "motorman" in the city's subway system.

McAllister's new job is part of the trend toward women breaking into job categories previously denied them. Women filled 75 percent of the new bus driver openings in the 1960s, for example, and nearly a quarter of bartenders are now female. These facts are contained in a recent government report on the 1970 census.

The changes taking place in women's role in the economy encompass more than just entering new occupations. There has also been a significant increase in the number of women seeking work. The report showed that 65.3 percent of the new jobs added during the 1960s were filled by women.

Almost half—44 percent—of all working-age women now hold jobs. This represents an enormous increase since the late 1940s. According to the Jan. 9 *Washington Post*, there has been a 91 percent increase in the number of working women since 1948.

Why are more women working? The *Post* cites the explanation of government officials: "... a number of demographic, economic and social trends explain the rise including a rising proportion of single women... declining birth rate and labor-saving appliances and fast convenience foods making it easier for wives and mothers to hold jobs; and rapid expansion of service industries creating new job opportunities for women."

These and other changes have also helped produce new attitudes toward women and their role in society. The biggest impact has been among women themselves, who are showing increased willingness to challenge the traditional "women's place." Marion McAllister is one example.

Unfortunately, the "firsts" for women workers are few and far between. Even Herbert Stein, head of the Council of Economic Advisors, had to admit this.

"Given... rising work participation and a half dozen years of agitation [read women's liberation activities]," said Stein, "one might have guessed there would have been significant progress in employment for women outside the traditional female occupations. But on the whole, there appears to have been very little change."

Only 3.5 percent of the dentists in the U.S. are women, for example, slightly more female dentists than we had in 1910. Twenty-eight percent of college professors are women, the same number as in 1930. By and large, women are still to be found in the lowest-paying jobs.

The gap between what men and women earn has not closed. In 1971, the average full-time female worker earned 59.5 percent as much as a male worker, according to the Feb. 12 *Time*. This actually represents a drop; in 1956, women were earning 63.6 percent of what men received.

In President Nixon's economic report, the chapter on women attempts to justify this gap. By making "adjustments" to account for shorter hours worked by women (did they account for the longer hours worked by women in the home?) Nixon came up with a figure of 66 percent. The *New York Times* reported another study that pushed the percentage up to 80. But that still leaves a big gap.

How can women close the gap?

Nixon's economic report is certainly not the place to look for answers. Some of the president's latest proposals, in fact, would make it even harder for women to work. For example, he wants to slash day-care programs that many women depend on so they can hold jobs.

Equal pay laws are already on the books, but Nixon seems to have a hard time enforcing them. Some additional steps that should be taken are the payment of maternity benefits and the construction of child-care facilities at work places. And there should be preferential hiring of women, as well as Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, to make up for years of discrimination.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'Racial polarization' in Cairo, Ill.

Cairo is a small town in the southern tip of Illinois. Blacks make up about 40 percent of the total population of 6,000. Since early 1969, they have faced increased social and economic assaults by the white city government. At times, Cairo Blacks have been terrorized by white vigilantes supported by the local police.

Recently the U. S. Civil Rights Commission scored this state of affairs in a report entitled, "Cairo, Ill.: A Symbol of Racial Polarization."

The commission found severe inequalities in education, the administration of justice, private and public employment, housing, health care, and economic development. Its report recommended that unless the city government corrects these problems, the state of Illinois should take charge of the local government. It offered specific steps for correcting the situation.

Although this is the first time the commission has issued such a strong recommendation, it did not spell out what it would do if its recommendations are not followed.

Reverend Charles Koen, chairman of the Cairo United Front, the town's major civil rights group, hailed the report. "We feel the U. S. Civil Rights Commissioners' report concerning the findings at the hearing held in Cairo, Ill. is very accurate and objectively done...."

"We certainly hope that the findings of the U. S. Civil Rights Commissioners report will motivate Illinois state officials as well as federal officials to use their vast resources and finances and to move in a more active and positive manner towards solving the many problems facing Cairo."

The report was released Feb. 6, 11 months after a panel of commissioners held hearings in Cairo. Among other things, they report a total breakdown of law and justice in Cairo. They found that the rights of Blacks are not adequately safeguarded and that the police force is "biased and unprofessional

in the performance of its public trust." They scored police harassment of Blacks, excessive force in the course of arresting Blacks, even for minor traffic offenses, and indiscriminate shooting into the all-Black housing project.

The report recommended that Cairo recruit, hire, and train Black police officers and establish a comprehensive police-community relations program. It also recommended federal action against law officers and agencies that continue discriminatory practices.

The commission described Cairo as an economically depressed area where "Blacks are distinctly subordinate to their white neighbors by all standards of economic comparison." Median income for a white Cairo family in 1969 was \$6,428, unemployment for white males in 1970 was 6.5 percent. During the same period, the median family income for Blacks was \$2,809 and unemployment for Black males was 16.5 percent.

The report found that Blacks have been under-represented or excluded from most city and county boards and commissions responsible for establishing policy and hiring. It recommended that the city actively recruit, hire, and train Blacks for city and county government jobs.

The commission found that the housing authority continued to operate segregated public housing in defiance of federal policy. It recommended plans to desegregate this housing.

The commission also found the public schools to be of "poor quality" and health care to Black residents "totally inadequate."

Meanwhile, what have the white city fathers been doing? Brother Bob Williams of the United Front in Cairo reports that the Cairo police recently bought two new M-60 machine guns, "their solution to the many problems facing the Cairo Black, poor and oppressed community. We cannot see how two M-60 machine guns will serve the needs of the people of Cairo...."



No messin' around—Dog owners may be moving from Montgomery County, near Washington, D.C. A statute pending there would make failure to clean up after the pup on public property an offense punishable by up to 90 days in jail plus a \$1,000 fine. The chap who drew up the bill must have really stepped in it.

Big blast—A Tokyo telephone worker was laying cable in a conduit when a blast ripped through the tunnel. He was shot 40 feet into the air through a manhole, which was, fortunately, open. He went feet first through the roof of a nearby building, suffering relatively minor injuries. He might check out the old railroad song "Drill

Ye Tarriers, Drill." It includes the verse about the worker who was blasted a mile high and then got a dollar less in his next pay envelope. The explanation: "You were docked for the time you were in the sky."

Far out—A bill in the Texas legislature would bar colleges from collecting student fees to pay radical speakers or fund "militant student groups, homosexual dances and other activities that are repulsive to students." (Including attending classes?) The sponsor of the measure said it would bar student fees for "radical speakers" like Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and Julian Bond, Democratic member of the Georgia legislature.

Equal opportunity = communism?—Bridgeport, Conn., officials said they would appeal a federal court order to increase minority representation on the police force. Mayor Nicholas Paluzio said it was "one of the most un-American rulings I ever heard of."

A gas—The British magazine *Medical News* reports that people who smoke around swimming pools may be gassing their companions. The article said carbon monoxide from the cigarette smoke can mix with fumes from chlorine in the water to form small quantities of phosgene, a poison gas used in World War I.

Big enough to wave a flag in—Bob Hope's new Palm Springs pad, de-

scribed as a single-family dwelling, will include a 100-foot indoor swimming pool disguised as a natural lake. Total space for the dwelling will be greater than that of the local department store.

Just doing it the American Way—Two former American Airlines officials were indicted for allegedly sharing in more than \$100,000 in kickbacks from companies involved in the production of the airline's in-flight magazine *The American Way*.

Basic sales approach—"You have to continually make the consumer want natural gas appliances, whether they can get gas or not."—Marketing consultant Joseph Lyndon.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Legalize the 'illegal aliens'

In recent months there has been ominously increased government focus on the "problem" of "illegal aliens." Raids, legislation, and "reform" of immigration police agencies are all part of the new crackdown. Articles in major dailies speak of a problem of "crisis proportions."

In New York, *la migra* (the Immigration Service) has been conducting dragnet-type raids in the city's subway stations, on the trains, and on the streets. *Migra* officers stop at random people who look or sound Latin and demand visas or proof of citizenship.

Meanwhile, investigations of the *migra* itself are being carried out by the U.S. attorney's office. A federal grand jury in San Diego has already indicted officials accused of taking bribes to let people without papers cross the border from Mexico.

In fact, an investigation of the entire Immigration and Naturalization Service is being conducted by the Departments of State, Justice and Labor, as well as by the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Immigration Subcommittee.

We also find that new laws are being proposed

that will step up the intimidation and harassment undocumented workers face. One such law is the Dixon Arnett Law in California, which is presently inoperative pending court action on its constitutionality.

And now the Rodino-Kennedy Bill—a measure similar to the Arnett law—is before the U.S. Senate. Introduced in the House by Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) and in the Senate by Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) the bill has the blessing of the Nixon administration. It has faced little opposition in Congress so far.

Officials of *migra* employees unions have joined in denouncing "corruption on the border" and are complaining that the agency is not functioning efficiently enough to keep out the "aliens."

AFL-CIO officials have joined the racist chorus with the claim that undocumented workers are "stealing jobs" and driving down wages.

Even some Chicano movement leaders have accepted the phony arguments. César Chávez and the leadership of the United Farm Workers Union are supporting the new legislation.

The real problem involved here is that the employers can super-exploit these workers because they are without documents. This is the real issue unionists and movement leaders must address themselves to.

Instead of demanding more sanctions against the undocumented workers, unions should demand that the "illegality" of these people be abolished, that they all be granted visas immediately.

And unions should be organizing these workers and fighting for their rights. In this way they can be a powerful addition to the working class and Chicano movements. The only ones who benefit from keeping these workers "illegal" are the farm bosses, the sweatshop operators, and the *coyotes* (labor smugglers).

Chicano activists have a great responsibility to educate people about the racist crackdown and to help lead the fight against it. The watchword must be solidarity. The people of Aztlán must not be pitted against their *mexicano* brothers and sisters. Don't let the gringo bosses play their old game of divide and rule.

Miguel Pendas



National Picket Line

How much is 20% of nothing?

About 60,000 garment workers in New York got a 20 percent wage raise recently, spread out over three years. In the first year it will be 8 percent, and 6 percent more in each of the next two years.

It is hard to believe how little this amounts to. But the publicity made it sound good, almost as if they got more than was coming to them. After all, the government has decreed that workers should not get more than a 5.5 percent increase a year. But piecework is standard in this industry, and the wages are unusual. The union is also unusual, even by AFL-CIO standards. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union "fights" for piecework rates.

When the new three-year contract was signed Feb. 6, after brief negotiations with no hint of a possible strike or even a word of discord, it was a big occasion in "Fun City." At least they tried to make an occasion of it.

This one was signed at City Hall by ILGWU President Louis Stulberg and Nat Boriskin for the dress manufacturers. Mayor Lindsay sat between them and signed as a witness to the deed. They

all made speeches congratulating each other.

Lindsay stressed the importance of the garment industry to the city, the largest employer except for city government itself. He said they were all interested in "fair and equitable" wages and praised the ILGWU for abolishing the old sweatshop system.

Boriskin reported happily, "We have stopped a lot of the pilferage. We have also cleaned up the streets a lot." He was pleased about more cops in the garment district and better street lighting.

Stulberg praised the manufacturers for their "social awareness." He thought, however, something ought to be done about foreign imports that threaten home industries.

Despite this slight note of criticism, which of course was not directed against any of those present, they were united in their optimistic view of the future, which includes a "hospitality center" for dress buyers who come to New York from the provinces. Lindsay said he will ask the Board of Estimate for \$200,000 for this worthy project. The idea is to "make life easier and more attractive.

Frank Lovell



... give the buyers a place to congregate, rest and do business." They all agreed that such far-sighted plans have stopped the exodus of dress manufacturers from New York City to southern states.

There wasn't anyone there to listen to these fine speeches except the news reporters, and they had heard it all before.

There wasn't anyone there, either, to speak for the garment workers, who are 90 percent Black and Puerto Rican. They have no representation in the union, and none of the ILGWU officials speak Spanish. The untimely reference to the old sweatshops of another era would have galled these garment workers, who spend their days in the sweatshops of New York. If the exodus of manufacturers to the South is ended, that is only because it is hard to find any place where labor costs are lower than in New York.

A sewing machine operator averages \$99.24 a week before taxes and union dues are deducted. Three years from now she will get 20 percent more. How much is 20 percent of nothing?

Philly unions call general strike

Teachers hit with mass arrests

By DAVE FRANKEL

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 20—The announcement of plans for a general strike in support of the demands of the striking teachers here capped the most dramatic day so far in the six-week-long walkout by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). The Philadelphia AFL-CIO executive council, in conjunction with the Teamsters and other independent unions, has set Feb. 28 as the date for a massive labor march and rally in support of the striking teachers.

"We're not going to permit anybody to break that union without a fight," said Edward Toohey, president of the AFL-CIO executive council here, as he announced the strike in support of the PFT. Toohey also voiced the fear that the city government's tactics have fostered among labor officials here, declaring, "Unions are not going to accept being picked off one at a time by mass arrests."

The call for a general strike was precipitated by the jailing of PFT President Frank Sullivan and chief negotiator John Ryan, followed by the refusal of the courts to set bail for them and the arrests since Feb. 15 of 778 teachers. Yesterday 373 teachers were charged with contempt of court for violating an injunction barring picketing.

Even before the announcement of the general strike, it was clear that the city's latest moves in its strike-breaking campaign against the PFT had failed to demoralize the teachers.

Pickets were stationed at schools throughout the city this morning, despite the mass arrests. At the same time some 500 teachers demonstrated outside the offices of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union here. William Ross, the president of the Philadelphia school board, is also an officer of the ILGWU.

The demonstration was a spirited one, with teachers carrying a variety of signs. In addition to the familiar "No contract, no work" there was one that read, "The three Rs: Rizzo plus Ross equals Ruin." Another pointed out the reality of "Rizzodelphia—teachers in jail, criminals in city hall." One picket carried a gorilla mask representing Ross.

After an hour and a half at the ILGWU hall the demonstration moved to the state office building, where the negotiations between the union and the school board were going on. The pickets circled the building, chanting "No contract, no work," and "Free Frank Sullivan and John Ryan."

Suddenly the line surged forward.

Everybody started booing and the people up front started pounding on the plate glass windows of the building. Two members of the board of education scampered away, to the jeers of the crowd.

As the line reformed, one teacher remarked to a friend, "That made my day."

After the second such rush the cops brought in reinforcements. The demonstrators massed in front of the building for a short rally before marching back to the ILGWU headquarters. They sang the old song familiar to civil rights demonstrators in the 1960s—"We Shall Not Be Moved." Except this version had verses like: "Till we get our contract. . . ." And "though they try to break us. . . ."

Although none of the news accounts say whether this demonstration was the last straw, it was announced later in the day that William Ross had resigned from the board of education. According to one radio announcer, "As a long-time labor leader, Ross was in a difficult position."

Ross's resignation came on the heels of another embarrassing one, which also made front-page headlines. On Feb. 16 Celia Pincus, the director of Mayor Rizzo's Office of Education, sent in her resignation. Rizzo accepted it yesterday, hours after the 68-year-old Pincus, the former head of the PFT, was arrested on a picket line at William Penn High School.

Pincus made her decision to resign her \$18,000-a-year job after Rizzo went on television and radio for eight minutes, denouncing the strike as "an act of blackmail by a power-hungry few."

A general strike had been threatened by Philadelphia union officials

last week. When people on the picket line today were asked about the likelihood of them actually going through with their threat, all were skeptical. Most labor officials here backed Rizzo's bid for the mayoralty and are reluctant to get into any major battles with him.

Toohey, the chief of the AFL-CIO in Philadelphia, explained his relations with the strikebreaking head of the board of education by maintaining that he had "never had an unpleasant word with Bill Ross."

(The leaders and many members of the Teachers union also supported Rizzo in the election, but as a result of the strike, most have changed their minds.)

The announcement today that the Nixon administration is sending Assistant Labor Secretary William Utery to join in the negotiations here heightens the possibility that the expectations of a settlement may be used as an excuse to back out of the call for a general strike. At any rate, the skepticism voiced by picketing teachers today certainly seems warranted.

As of this report, the strike seems to be solid. The PFT estimates that about 10,000 out of 13,000 teachers in the school system are out. 2,000 of those who are in the schools are nonunion teachers. The city's estimate is also in this range, although it claimed that 260 out of 280 schools were open yesterday. "They put a principal in the school, he locks the front door, and they call that open," explained one striking teacher.

There can be little doubt that the resignation of Ross and Pincus and the call for a general strike represent a significant brightening in prospects for a settlement favorable to the teachers.



Striking teachers and supporters demonstrate in Philadelphia

St. Louis teachers win strike settlement

By HELEN ST. JOHN

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 19—Public schools here will open tomorrow after a settlement of the 28-day strike—the first teacher walkout in the city's history. The strike won some gains for teachers, including the right to collective bargaining, and an immediate wage increase of \$200, to be followed by another \$300 a year starting in September. The teachers had demanded an immediate \$1,000-a-year raise.

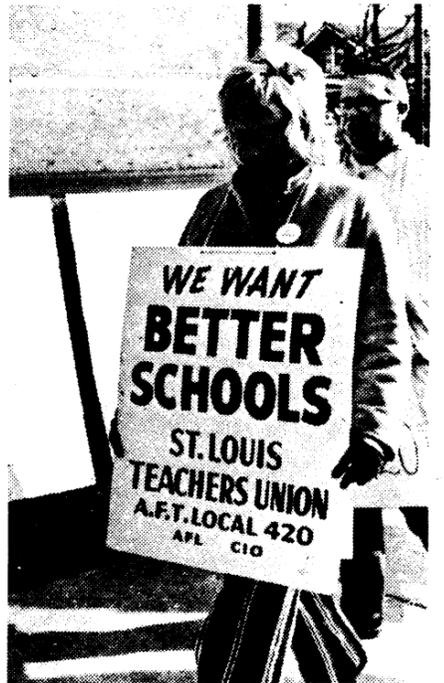
The teachers also won a hospitalization plan, which will begin in September, and a formal grievance procedure. A demand for setting a maximum class size was not won.

Although the agreement contains a no-reprisal clause, reports are that fines will still be sought against leaders of the teachers organizations. They are charged with violating a temporary court injunction. The agreement also has a no-strike clause that will be in effect for 18 months.

The vote to end the strike was taken Feb. 18 at separate meetings of the St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420 (AFT) and the St. Louis Teachers Association. The vote of the union teachers was 847 in favor to 397 against, with many not voting. The association is reported to have voted 90 percent in favor, with 700 members voting.

A similar package that was contingent on the board being able to obtain more money was rejected by the strikers earlier. Teachers voted for the agreement only after the city gave the board the funds to implement it.

Many teachers feel they could have won more. However, the strike has established a new relationship between the board of education and the teachers—one in which the board may be more responsive to teachers' demands in the future.



Houston Shell workers strike solid

By CHIP JEFFRIES

HOUSTON, Feb. 19—Members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367 here, who have been out on strike since Jan. 26, as part of the nationwide walkout against the Shell Oil Company, recently rejected a strikebreaking attempt by federal arbitrator E. D. Kincaid.

At a negotiating session called by Kincaid, Shell presented the union with a "final offer." The union negotiators refused the offer.

Kincaid apparently agrees with Shell's perspective that "employees should be given the right to determine their own contract instead of having terms dictated to them by the international unions." His next step was to order Local 4-367 to hold a meeting to let the membership de-

cide if they wanted to vote on the Shell proposal.

Such "concern" for the democratic rights of the workers was really a thinly disguised attempt to break the unity of the strikers, one that was rebuffed when the Local's membership voted 1,300 to 7 to reject Kincaid's proposal. Strikebreaking attempts by federal arbitrators are not new—it's only surprising that this one came so early in the strike. In any case, Local 4-367's rank and file now knows where the "impartial" arbitrator stands.

Since then, federal safety and health inspectors have found themselves "locked out" of the struck refinery and chemical plant. During the 60 days before the strike, federal authorities cited the Deer Park refinery and chemical plant with some 475 violations of

the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

While the inspectors have threatened to file suit in federal court if the company persists in barring them, the union is continuing its fight for decent health and safety provisions in the new contract. These are the major issues still outstanding in the dispute, and both sides are predicting that the strike will last anywhere from three to six months.

The strike has gained broad support, including the backing of 11 national ecology groups, which answered Shell's claim that the strikers were contributing to the "energy crisis." At a Feb. 9 news conference Houston Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Dan Fein stressed his solidarity with the striking Shell workers.

By PETER SEIDMAN

Following the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement, President Nixon announced at a news conference Jan. 31 that he was opposed to granting amnesty to draft resisters: they had to "pay their price" for what they had done. Nixon spoke as though he were part of that section of society that had paid its price for the war.

The truth is that Nixon, his fellow politicians, and the owners of the corporations in this country did not bear the costs of the Vietnam war. Most of these costs were borne by the peoples of Indochina. But what of those costs borne by people in this country? Who paid?

First and foremost, it was not the supporters of the war—the presidents, senators, representatives, selective service administrators, generals, and industrialists who went to fight in Vietnam. Through its draft system, the government since 1965 compelled almost six million men to enter the armed forces or face criminal charges.

Of these men, more than 2.3 million were forced to serve in Vietnam.

And by the time the Pentagon issued its final weekly casualty toll for the war, 45,941 of these men had been killed and 300,635 wounded in

servicemen on active duty, 11.2 percent of all U. S. troops in southeast Asia were Black. And 12.3 percent of all Vietnam combat deaths were of Black soldiers.

While the Pentagon lumps the casualty figures for Chicanos and Puerto Ricans with the general "Black" and "white" figures, some statistics are available to show this pattern holds true for all oppressed nationalities. According to the Aug. 31, 1970, issue of *Hard Times*, "In Vietnam, Chicanos die more often than even Blacks; Chicanos represent 3 percent of the population and 19 percent of the casualties. In New Mexico, Chicanos form 27 percent of the population, 69 percent of the draftees, and 44 percent of the dead."

It was the poor, the oppressed nationalities, the workers—who paid "their price" for the war, with their lives.

Of course, the lives of a few hundred thousand Americans and millions of Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Thais do not count for much in the imperialists' ledgers. They committed vast fortunes to the bombing, burning, and brutalization of Indochina as well. Perhaps, then, Nixon and his corporate allies "paid their price" for the war in money, with which they are so well endowed?

Again, this was not the case. While the war-

in the payroll tax, which is basically a tax on workers.

"According to one projection in the budget, the recent tax changes mean a decrease of \$25 billion in income and corporate tax over the years 1969-1974, and an increase of \$20 billion in payroll taxes. So to keep the present tax schedule is a dandy way to make the burden of government fall chiefly on ordinary wage-earners."

A dandy way indeed!

Perhaps most serious, though, for the average working person has been the way rapid inflation produced by the war has eaten away at wages. Nixon has tried to place the blame for inflation on higher wages. But in fact, it has been government deficit spending, largely to finance the war, that has been the source of inflation.

Information supplied to Senator J. William Fulbright's staff and made available in the *Congressional Record* on Sept. 13, 1972, revealed that at that time the U. S. government had already spent \$79.7-billion more than it had raised in taxes to pay for the war.

This money was spent on instruments of destruction—B-52s, bombs, etc.—which are not sold on the market. But the corporations that make these war products circulate the money they are paid for them, for which no corresponding goods exist on the market.

To "absorb this surplus purchasing power," the corporations constantly raise their prices. Money is pumped into the economy by government deficits, and prices are raised to make the extra profits—this is the main mechanism of inflation in the U. S. economy.

What this has meant for working people is that real wages have remained frozen throughout the period of U. S. escalation in Vietnam, from 1965 through today. Real wages in 1971 were at the same level as those of 1965.

During the first eight months of 1971, before wage controls were imposed, wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of 5.2 percent. In the 14 months following Phase 2 controls, wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of 6.6 percent. So, inflation continues to beset U. S. workers, despite the controls on their wages—further giving the lie to the capitalist slogan "higher wages cause inflation."

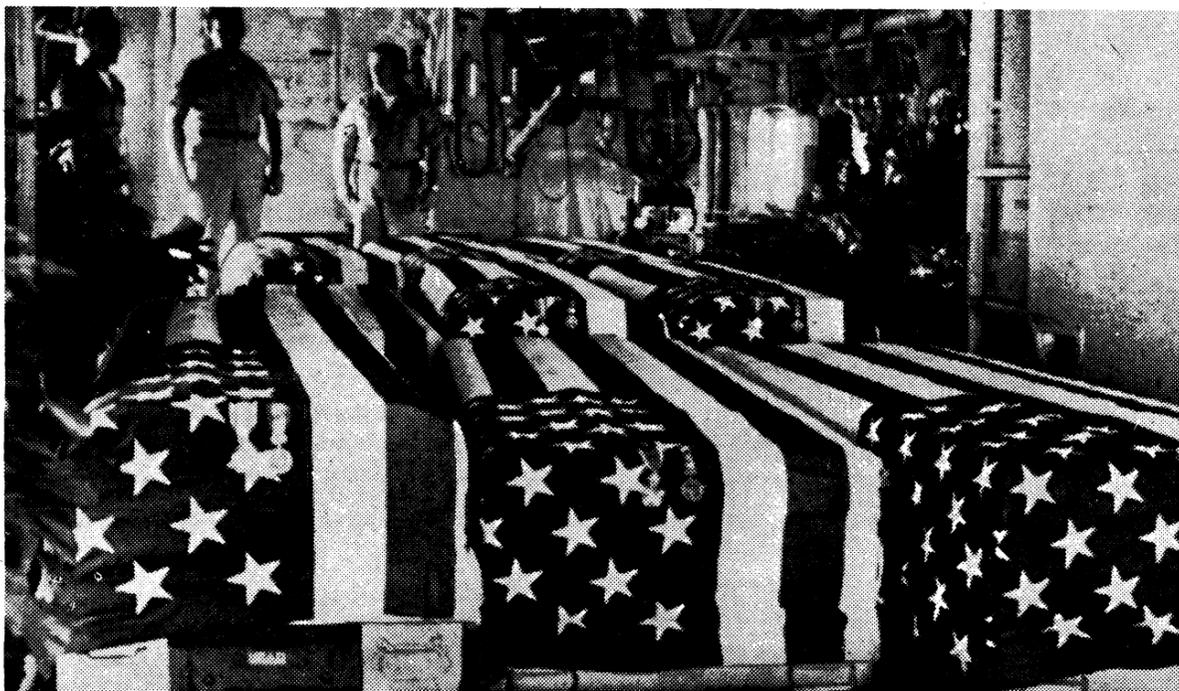
Meanwhile, corporate profits for 1972 reached record heights, near \$100-billion before taxes. It was not the corporate profiteers, or Nixon, with his palatial homes in Washington, D. C., San Clemente, Key Biscayne, and Camp David, who carried the financial burden of the war. They only profited from the bloody hell they perpetrated in Indochina.

Another way to look at the cost of the war is to consider how the \$144-billion spent on the destruction of Vietnam might have been used to improve the quality of life here in the U. S. You could bring 25.5 million poor people above the official poverty line for \$11.4-billion.

You could construct 660,000 low-cost houses for \$10-billion. You could meet the hospital needs of urban areas for \$18-billion. You could meet the budget deficits of the Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago school systems for about \$107-million; in fact, you could increase by 10 times the amount of federal money spent on funding public education (to \$40-billion). And still you would be only a little more than halfway through that \$144-billion!

All this means that the rulers of this country financed their war at the expense of the wages, housing, health, education, and quality of life of the working people—particularly Blacks and Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities—people whose wages are lowest and who are most affected by the decay of the cities and of social services.

Who really paid for the Vietnam war?



combat.

The Pentagon lists an additional 10,303 U. S. servicemen as dying in Vietnam from what it describes as "nonhostile" causes. These deaths include more than 1,000 homicides, more than 3,000 deaths from aircraft crashes, and more than 1,000 deaths from self-inflicted accidental and nonaccidental wounds.

Who were the people who died in Vietnam? The draft reflects the class and racial oppression present in all of U. S. society. While hundreds of thousands of primarily white and economically better-off youths could escape the war altogether or delay their enlistment through student deferments, others less fortunate were faced with the draft.

In addition, for many Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Indian youths—given the high rate of unemployment for these oppressed nationalities—the service offered at least a chance to find work and possibly learn skills that would be helpful in finding jobs later on.

But once in the military, young Blacks, for example, found only a greater opportunity to die in Vietnam. The following table, based on the most recent available figures from the Department of Defense, makes this clear.

COMBAT DEATHS IN VIETNAM

Black	5,661	(12.3%)
White	39,799	(86.6%)
Indian	180	(0.39%)
Asian	289	(0.62%)
Unknown	12	(0.02%)
TOTAL	45,941	(100%)

The Dec. 2, 1971, issue of *Jet* magazine explained that while Blacks were only 9.9 percent of all

fueled inflation created serious problems for U. S. capitalism, the burdens of this were shifted as much as possible onto the backs of working people. So while corporate profits and politicians' salaries soared during the years of war, the masses of people had to fight even to maintain their real wages against the inroads of higher taxes and inflation.

Speedup and unemployment increased as the bosses sought to maintain their profits in face of increased competition from abroad. And the cities in which most people live and the social services they need deteriorated badly.

How much did the war in Vietnam cost the American people in money? In a study that appeared in the *Congressional Record* Feb. 8, Professor James Clayton of the University of Utah estimates that although the direct cost of the Vietnam war from 1965-72 was \$144-billion, the total cost of the war when veterans payments, interest costs, and other expenses are finally met will be \$409-billion. These figures do not include the "nonmilitary aid" paid to the corrupt military dictatorships in South Vietnam (\$8.5-billion), Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand.

The money for the war came from two sources: taxes and government deficit financing. Each of these squeezes the working class and means increased profits for the capitalist rulers.

Columnist Joseph Kraft explained the meaning of U. S. taxes in a Jan. 30 column in the *Washington Post*: "... the present tax schedule is very favorable to those of us who do well. It incorporates cuts made in 1969 and 1971 in the income and corporate taxes which are progressive. It also incorporates rises in the last three years



Helped by Peking, Moscow U.S. aims to guarantee Vietnam 'stability' at Paris conference

By CAROLINE LUND

FEB. 21—It was reported today that a cease-fire agreement has been initiated by representatives of the government of Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Pathet Lao. The text of the agreement is not yet available. The cease-fire is to take effect tomorrow. A Pathet Lao spokesman indicated that U.S. bombing of Laos would be halted on the same day, but he declined to say that any American officials had assured this.

FEB. 20—Yesterday U.S. officials reportedly told the Vientiane government in Laos the U.S. would halt its bombing raids there Feb. 25. According to "highly reliable diplomatic sources" paraphrased by *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis Simon, "the rationale for the deadline . . . is that the Nixon administration does not want to enter the international conference on Indochina, which begins in Paris on Feb. 26, while U.S. planes are still bombing Laos."

The bombing of Laos continues, however, inflicting untold destruction, as Nixon prepares for the conference that is supposed to "guarantee" the "peace" in Indochina. By mid-February U.S. bombing of Laos was reported to be approaching the intensity of wartime strikes against North Vietnam. On Feb. 15 the Pentagon announced an increase in the number of daily B-52 strikes from about 280 to 380.

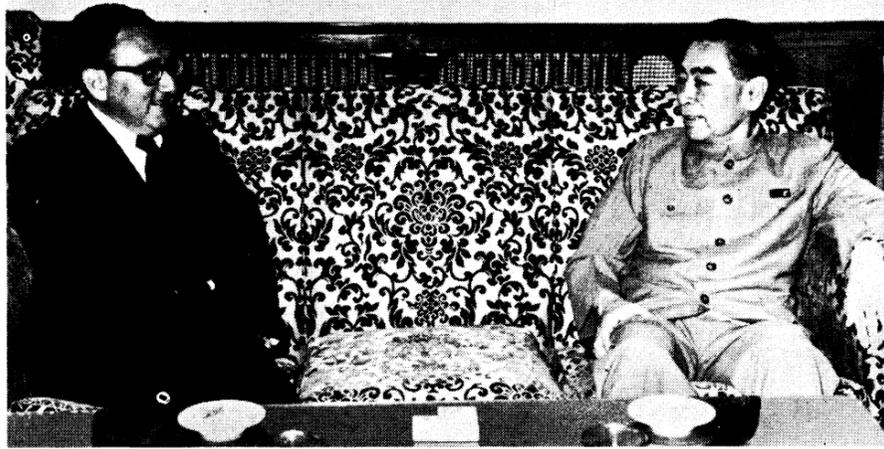
U.S. air strikes also continue unabated in Cambodia. Napalm is being used, as was revealed when Cambodian rebel forces sunk an American barge on the Mekong River on Feb. 16. The barge was carrying several tons of napalm, as well as other armaments, destined for the Phnom Penh government.

In South Vietnam, meanwhile, the Feb. 18 *New York Times* reported that the Saigon air force has been flying between 100 and 200 "tactical air strikes" per day since the cease-fire went into effect. This is despite the fact that air strikes are explicitly prohibited by the cease-fire accords. Although the Thieu regime, the National Liberation Front, and the North Vietnamese have formally called for a cease-fire, the fighting continued unabated. The Thieu regime claimed Feb. 19 to have killed more than 7,000 rebels since the cease-fire began.

A report in the Feb. 19 *New York Times* cited Thieu's plans for categorizing the more than 600,000 refu-

and the herding of refugees is the reality of life in war-torn Southeast Asia, the Nixon administration is trying to say that peace is virtually achieved. According to Washington, all that is needed to take care of any remaining problems is the 12-nation conference on Indochina.

Unfortunately Nixon is not alone in playing up the prospects for "peace" in Vietnam under the Thieu regime. One of Henry Kissinger's main topics of discussion on his recent visit to



Henry Kissinger and Chou En-lai

Peking was the upcoming conference on Indochina. Syndicated columnists Roland Evans and Robert Novak noted Feb. 19 that "Kissinger's agenda in Peking" included "a U.S.-Chinese deal to help keep the peace in Southeast Asia."

"That means," they explain, "seeking an agreement not to feed Hanoi weapons in the highly critical phase when the 60-day period covering the exit of all U.S. troops expires."

There is no way of knowing what the Peking bureaucrats agreed to, but during Kissinger's visit they raised no public criticism whatsoever of continuing U.S. bombing in Laos and Cambodia and its propping up of reactionary regimes in Southeast Asia. In fact, the Chinese press agency, Hsinhua, made a point of reporting that Mao Tse-tung had asked Kissinger to convey his regards to President Nixon!

For three consecutive days, the newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, *Jenmin Jih Pao*, carried front-page photographs of Kissinger with Mao Tse-tung or Chou En-lai. Chinese television carried shots of long handshakes and friendly conversations between Mao and Kissinger.

lished there—if China helps." By "political stability" Nixon means stability for a proimperialist regime in Saigon, and a crushing of the social revolution in Vietnam.

Columnist Joseph Alsop has come to similar conclusions. In the Feb. 16 *Washington Post* he notes that "without saying much about it, the leaders in Peking positively appear to favor a continued U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia" as a counter to Soviet influence.

Thus, as Evans and Novak put it, "Sitting in the catbird seat rapidly warming its relations with both Moscow and Peking, the U.S. is in a position to play one off against the other—to 'diddle the Commies,' as one high official puts it, to Washington's own advantage."

Now Nixon is attempting to involve Hanoi as well in his game plan to achieve "stability" in Southeast Asia. Before his Peking visit, Kissinger spent four days in Hanoi at the invitation of the North Vietnamese government. A major aim for Kissinger was to get Hanoi's cooperation in pressuring the Pathet Lao in Laos to accept a cease-fire and settlement.

So far this does not seem to have worked out for Washington. Prince Souvanna Phouma, head of the Vientiane government, complained Feb. 20 that Kissinger's visit to Hanoi had brought "slim results" toward achieving a settlement.

"It's all your fault," the Feb. 16 *New York Times* quoted a Vientiane government negotiator as saying to U.S. reporters. "We had worked out an agreement which was virtually ready until the Americans began insisting on all kinds of other things. Now the Pathet Lao have dug in their heels, demanding all kinds of other things—even guarantees that American bases in Thailand will be closed down."

Another topic of Kissinger's discussions in Hanoi, according to Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, was to explore "the substance of topics" to be dealt with at the 12-nation conference on Indochina.

One of the topics up for discussion at this conference—foreign aid to Indochina—has already come in for some debate in the U.S. Congress.

In January Nixon pledged to provide some \$7.5-billion in reconstruction aid to countries of Indochina, \$2.5-billion of it to North Vietnam. He did this partly in response to worldwide sentiment that the U.S. is to blame for the massive destruction caused by the war, and should pay reparations.

But Nixon's real aims with this "aid" have nothing to do with humanitarian concerns. It is simply another way in which Washington hopes to maintain its domination over Southeast Asia.

Continued on page 22

Nixon stages POW return

"I have to salute the flag, don't bother me," said one American ex-prisoner of war as his wife ran up to him when he got off the plane. This was just one of the almost too-patriotic-to-be-true statements attributed to some of the returning POWs.

Nixon couldn't have been happier, as the POW returns dominated the news every day. On Feb. 16 he declared that when a prisoner of war returns after six years with "God bless America" on his lips, this means "it has all been worthwhile" (the war, that is). In a story in the Feb. 20 *New York Times*, entitled "Managing the P.O.W.'s," James Sterba exposes how this whole extravaganza of tear-jerking patriotism was carefully orchestrated by the military and the Nixon administration.

A team of 80 military public relations experts was assembled for the job. No reporters were allowed to accompany the planes that picked up the POWs. When the ex-prisoners reached Clark Air Base in the Philippines, the stopover before going on to the United States, reporters were allowed no direct contact with the men for several days; they were only permitted to watch the ex-POWs eat. Finally six reporters were each allowed a 20 minute interview with a POW, although all "controversial" questions were prohibited, and military officers were to monitor and censor any statements considered to be "sensitive."

Did you wonder why the four POWs from Hanoi who made statements when they disembarked at Clark Air Base all used similar words thanking their "Commander in Chief"? That's because information officers on the evacuation planes made "suggestions" and approved a "rough draft" of what they should say.

But the patriotic fervor whipped up by the brass around the POW returns will not change the antiwar sentiment of the American people. As a *New York Times* writer noted Feb. 18, "the prisoners come home to a country in which many citizens do not necessarily agree with the idea that loyalty to the Government is one's highest duty."

Thieu bars free speech for NLF

A major concern of the Thieu regime in Saigon has been to try to prevent the people of Vietnam, the United States, and the rest of the world from hearing the views of the Vietnamese rebel forces or learning about what it's like in rebel-controlled territory.

In Saigon, the National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese delegates to the Joint Military Commission are kept under armed guard by the Thieu regime and are forbidden to talk with reporters. In some areas of South Vietnam where the Joint Military Commission is stationed, the NLF and North Vietnamese delegation headquarters are surrounded with mine fields.

"On Saturday [Feb. 17]," the Feb. 19 *New York Times* reported, "the Saigon authorities warned newsmen that if they attempted to visit the Communist members of the Joint Military Commission . . . they could be shot by military policemen."

The Feb. 16 *Washington Post* reported, "Outside Saigon, the government has attempted with limited success to block reporters from visiting Vietcong-controlled zones. Vietnamese nationals working as interpreters for Western news agencies have been threatened with imprisonment for visiting Communist areas."

NPAC picket, meeting Feb. 24

"The U.S. government is savagely bombarding Laos and Cambodia while Nixon travels around the country patting himself on the back for bringing 'peace with honor,'" stated Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, on Feb. 20. He was explaining the importance of the picket line NPAC will hold at the White House Feb. 24, and of the expanded steering committee meeting NPAC plans for the same day in cooperation with the Student Mobilization Committee.

Gordon challenged the "phony euphoria Nixon has tried to build up around the cease-fire agreement," noting that the U.S. government "continues to push military efforts to crush all resistance to its puppet regimes."

The picket line, calling for an end to all U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia and no aid to the Thieu regime, will take place from 10 to 11:30 a.m. The steering committee meeting, open to all antiwar activists, will be from noon to 5 p.m. at the Metropolitan AME Church, 1518 M St. NW, in the Downstairs Meeting Room.

gees in South Vietnam according to their degree of sympathy with the National Liberation Front. At least 25,000 thought to be too friendly to the rebels will be forcefully prevented from returning to their homes in rebel-controlled areas.

But while the bombing, napalming,

According to Evans and Novak, "Kissinger was sent to Peking to make one major point: contrary to critics convinced that Nixon's only purpose in the long Vietnam negotiations was to cover an 'honorable' U.S. withdrawal, the President genuinely believes political stability can be estab-

World Outlook

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MARCH 2, 1973

'It is capitalism gone wild'

Conditions in Brazil today: poverty, injustice, economic boom

[The following interview with a young Brazilian was recently obtained by Fred Halstead in Montevideo, Uruguay.]

Q. What is the political and economic situation in Brazil right now?

A. Politically it is one of repression, an unabashed right-wing military dictatorship. They have opened the country to unrestricted exploitation by foreign capital, particularly from the United States. They use avowed censorship, control of the educational system, control of the media, of the political processes, and widespread arrests to silence any criticism of this policy.

Economically there is a sustained boom, based primarily on the influx of foreign capital and partly on some showy government projects such as roads and buildings for which the government has gone deeply into debt.

Economically it is capitalism operating in a semicolonial country without restraint—even the restraints of bourgeois democracy—and the results are terribly destructive of the quality of life as well as of the standard of living of the ordinary workers. It is

capitalism gone wild, or allowed to run to its logical extreme.

Q. What is the government's attitude toward the United States?

A. Totally in accord with American foreign policy and totally subordinate to American corporate interests. Foreign capital, most of it from the United States, is having a field day in Brazil now. One of the first acts of the military dictatorship after it overthrew the liberal populist regime of Goulart in 1964 was to revoke the very modest law governing the removal of profits by foreign capital from the country.

The government uses its propaganda to glorify the United States and the "American way of life," and they encourage North American religious missionaries to come and work among the Brazilian masses. This is particularly true of the Mormons. Of course, they don't mention the American workers' right to strike.

Q. What about strikes in Brazil?

A. Strikes are outlawed. In most cases there simply aren't any unions.

Where unions are allowed to exist, they can't strike and the leaders must be approved by the government. If the workers elect nonapproved leaders, the police attend the meetings. The employers simply don't have to worry about serious collective bargaining, and the workers are completely at the mercy of the employers.

This has resulted in a 45 percent drop in real wages since 1964, and they were none too high then. A recent survey showed that a worker on the minimum wage per hour—and the great majority are on the minimum—would have to work twenty-eight hours a day simply to feed, clothe, and house a family.

The result is terrible poverty and very long hours of work, as well as much child labor. It is common for ordinary workers to work eleven hours a day, to work Saturday and Sunday, and for wife and children to work as well.

Many workers are forced to live in favelas (shantytowns) where they pay no rent—and have no sanitation or running water, not to mention electricity or refrigeration. Conditions are no better, perhaps worse, in the countryside.

Q. But Brazil is a vast country with huge wilderness areas, and one would think frontier farming would provide a great escape for the city masses.

A. The fact is that the development of the wilderness is entirely in the hands of big capital—most of it foreign—which is given huge grants of land and generous concessions. There have been small farmers who cleared some wilderness and worked the land, but they are simply driven off when the big capitalists come in. Sometimes whole small towns are driven out.

There are places where such development is taking place where signs are put up: "For North Americans only." These are compounds where the American businessmen, technicians, etc., live.

The small farmers face the choice of working for the corporations or of moving further into the wilderness only to be robbed again a little later on. If they work for the corporation, they are paid so little they go deeply in debt to the company store. Then if they try to leave, they are hunted

down as criminals either by the corporation's hired gunmen or by the police.

Q. What about the indigenous people in the wilderness?

A. They are killed off by and large. It is very hard to get out word of their fate. In Brazil now, the weak are not allowed to protect themselves, and no social movements are allowed to develop to publicize and fight on their behalf. In the voracious march of capital, the Indians are the weakest of the weak. Some, of course, can work for the corporations. But by and large they prefer to retreat, or fight and die. But it is no contest.

Q. With all this poverty, what sustains the boom?



President Emilio Garrastazu Medici

A. In Brazil now there is a very weak internal market. The boom is based mainly on production for export. Foreign capital exploits the natural resources without restraint and the workers at very low wages without restriction, and it is able to produce commodities cheaply to compete on the world market. It is a paradise for foreign capitalists and their agents in Brazil, but it is a life of desperation for the average worker.

Q. What about the middle class, or those who identify with it, like doctors, engineers, teachers, and so on?

A. The middle classes by and large supported the populist regime [of Goulart], which was liberal capitalist and which had some concern for the internal market. Between 1964 and 1968 the popular movements, including workers' organizations like unions, continued to exist, and there were even mass mobilizations.

On December 13, 1968, a decree
Continued on following page



Highrise housing contrasts with extreme poverty of Brazilian favelas, or shantytowns

...conditions in Brazil

Continued from preceding page
was issued taking away individual liberties, the right of assembly, free speech, free press, etc. The middle-class vanguard reacted in desperation, with guerrillism and individual terrorism. They were simply killed off or jailed and tortured. The government used these incidents to deepen the repression, and many fine young people were lost.

Now things are quiet. The newer workers have never known anything but brainwashing from the government control of press, radio, movies, education, etc. They don't like the situation. The government is not popular. But many don't know who is to blame.

Q. With all this injustice isn't there opposition?

A. Yes, but it cannot be expressed openly. The government tries to appear benevolent. If you are nonpolitical and don't complain too much, you are not repressed. But if you have concern about the destructive effects on the country, on the future, on the masses, you must be careful.

Periodically the government sends out questionnaires to local govern-

ments, factories, rural areas, packing plants, etc. These must be filled out by supervisors, even foremen. They ask questions about the mood of the workers, about who is agitating, etc. You never know when a bad report might be made on you.

From time to time the government carries out raids, arresting several thousand persons. They are kept a few days and released, usually not being told why. A few are kept. These may be charged, but some stay in jail for months or years without formal charges.

All candidates for election are screened through a series of tests which effectively eliminate all who might not go along with the government. But even then, in many areas, the officials are simply appointed by the president [Emílio Garrastazu Médici] a military dictator.

If a city is declared a "national security area," the mayor is appointed. Of course a "national security area" is any place sophisticated enough to offer serious opposition. Thus, cities like São Paulo and Porto Alegre have appointed mayors.

Q. What about the old political parties of the left, of the populists,

the Social Democrats, and Communists?

A. They are not active. The continuity with the past has been broken. They have very little influence in the mass. The masses are without leadership. It could lead to precipitate explosions. Already in the North there have been instances of groups of workers or peasants rising up in desperation, raiding a small city simply to steal food and whatever they could carry away. The actions are brutally repressed. It will take a party like Lenin's to operate in this situation.

Q. What about the national bourgeoisie?

A. There really isn't any. They are all agents of foreign capital, or closely related to it. For the last twenty years every Brazilian minister of finance has been a person who worked for an American corporation before and after holding the ministry.

There is a section of the rich who have offered criticism. They are those who are most interested in or dependent upon the internal market. They would prefer some democratic reform as a check on the situation.

But even this criticism is not tolerated. The newspaper *Opinião*, which voiced some of these ideas, was closed down this month [January]. □

'Big step forward'

Irish republican women's liberation

By Gerry Foley

The women's liberation debate at the Official republican convention in Dublin December 16-17 illustrated the political strengths and weaknesses of the movement as it takes up the task of trying to form a mass revolutionary party in Ireland.

In the 1971 convention, or *ard fheis*, most of those who spoke on the women's liberation resolution were still dominated by economic schemas. They were evidently nervous about raising specifically women's demands, preferring to view the female sex simply as a disadvantaged part of the working class with special economic interests. At the same time, the pressure of Catholic moral indoctrination was quite apparent.

This year, however, the discussion on women's liberation was serious and thoughtful, and it ruled out demagoguery of any kind. The republican women's liberation activists were clearly well on the way to challenging not only the dogmas of the Catholic church but of vulgar "Marxism" as well. The preamble to the resolution said:

"Recognising that both men and women are oppressed by the capitalist system, we believe that women are conditioned in a particular way to accept a secondary and submissive role in society and that this conditioning has led them to accept inequality of education, law, wages and opportunity. We believe that the special function of women in child-bearing has been exploited by the capitalist state as a means of oppressing women, in that they are forced to bear the full responsibility of rearing children without adequate and guaranteed support or protection for the vital work that they do.

"Recognising also that in a State in which the moral code of a particular Church is enforced by law, women are denied the right to control their own bodies and ultimate destiny. We believe that if we are to produce generations of free and conscious citizens both parents must share full responsibility in all aspects of their children's life from birth; the community must implement their responsibility for the welfare of all children."

Although this preamble does project the idea of some sort of ideal family life, the call for the right of women to control their own bodies is in fundamental contradiction to the Catholic conception of sexual morality and the family, which offers celibacy as the only alternative to patiently accepting the consequences of "natural law," meaning as many births as fertility permits. The right of abortion also follows from the right of women to control their own bodies, although none of the speakers explicitly drew this conclusion.

If the Official republicans follow the principles set forth in this preamble, they cannot help running up against the institution of the family itself. They will have to examine its real social role and origins.

Furthermore, an attack on the traditional conceptions of family life and the relations between the sexes will

'Espionage and sabotage network' in Israel is a plot against the left

By Victor Cygielman

[The following are excerpts from an article by Victor Cygielman that appeared in the January issue of the Paris monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Entitled "From the plot against the state to the plot against the left," it presents one analysis of the meaning of the government-inspired witch-hunt launched in Israel after the discovery of an alleged "espionage and sabotage network."

[*The Militant* has previously printed the analysis of the anti-Zionist left on this question. (See the issues dated February 2 and 9.) The present article is of interest primarily because its author is a well-known representative of the Zionist "left," and can in no way be accused of friendliness toward the anti-Zionist struggle.]

[The translation of the article is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Before the opening of the trial, it is impossible to determine in Tel Aviv to what extent the "espionage and sabotage network," in which about forty Israelis—both Arabs and far-leftist Jews—have been implicated, really succeeded in impairing Israeli security. Nevertheless, it does seem that the accused have already been tried and found guilty by the Israeli press. . . .

While Israel has been strongly influenced by English jurisprudence and criminal law, it does not seem to have assimilated any respect for the *sub judice* concept, according to which the accused is presumed innocent until he has been convicted by a court of law. . . .

Annoying detail: News released by one policeman is often denied by another the next day. One day we heard

that the "network" was planning to assassinate General Moshe Dayan. The next day this report was "corrected" with the statement that it was "only" a question of kidnapping the general. The day after that it was explained that Dayan's name did not even come up, but since the Christmas eve "operational plan" projected attacks against Israeli personnel whom the accused regard as "chauvinist," it was only natural to assume that the defense minister was among the targets.

One day we get a list of arms discovered at the home of one of the accused. The next day—mistake, there were no arms. The Israeli chief of police, Inspector General Enaul Rosolio, told reporters about the "very serious harm" the "network" had done to Israeli security. But Shlomo Hillel, the minister of police, minimized the importance of this damage to security. . . .

Israel is not a totalitarian country, and a frame-up trial is unthinkable in present-day Israeli society. But one cannot help wondering whether certain Israelis in high places have not given way to the temptation to use the business of the "network" to launch a political operation just at the opening of the election campaign. This could explain the inflating of the police dossier, the exaggerated press accounts, the manipulation of news provided to certain newspapers that are more eager to hit below the belt than to play fair.

For the real accused in this case—beyond the forty or so prisoners—is the whole Israeli left. The witch-hunt that has just been launched is attacking the entire left, even all moderates. No one is spared, not even the "doves" of Golda Meir's government. Thus, the right-wing national-

ist Knesset deputy Mr. Shmouel requested an urgent parliamentary discussion to "examine the spiritual sources of treason."

Treason, according to him, is nourished and encouraged by all those who criticize the Israeli occupation and speak of returning the Arab territories; by all those who propagate "defeatist" views, who are to be found among the left in Israel and "even in the leadership of the Labor party." . . .

Very few people have tried to find in the reality of Israel itself the reason for the violent anti-Israeli sentiment that motivates the four accused Jews, whether or not they are found guilty of espionage. Nevertheless, if the charges are confirmed in court, it would be useful to ask why such a Jewish-Arab espionage and sabotage group, unprecedented in Israeli history, should be formed precisely during the 1970s.

The continued Israeli occupation of wide Arab territories, and above all the denial of Palestinian national rights, concern a growing section of the Israeli public. According to a recent poll, 68 percent of all Israelis believe that there will be no Israeli-Arab peace until the Palestinian problem is resolved; and among those between the ages of 18 and 29, 72 percent hold this view. But is it not in the nature of things that the youth—and especially young intellectuals, like three of the arrested Jews—should be particularly sensitive to the manifestations of injustice and discrimination they see around them? It would not be impossible that, impelled by an implacable revolutionary dialectic, they might be led to fight the Zionist establishment by every means, including arms. . . . □

s debate tion program



Irish women's action demanding right to contraception in 1971.

bring the Official republicans into conflict not only with the vestiges of their Catholic education and the reactionary institutions and attitudes of Irish Catholic society, but also directly with the Southern state, whose historical, social, and ideological roots are in the Catholic middle class and the clerical machine.

The Southern government has proved willing to drop Article 44 of the Free State constitution, which gave recognition to the Catholic church as the "guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens." It had to make a gesture to defend itself against the charge of being clerically dominated. But there is little indication that it is willing to drop the much more important Article 41 on the family. The backhanded support of the decisive sectors of the hierarchy for repealing Article 44 seemed motivated in fact by the hope that sacrificing a purely formal recognition of the church's position would divert attention from the following provisions of Article 41:

1.

1. The State recognises the Family as the natural primary and fundamental unit group of Society, and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights, antecedent and superior to all positive law.

2. The State, therefore, guarantees to protect the Family in its constitution and authority, as the necessary basis of social order and as indispensable to the welfare of the Nation and the State.

2.

1. In particular, the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved.

2. The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.

3.

1. The State pledges itself to guard with special care the institution of Marriage, on which the Family is founded, and to protect it against attack.

2. No law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage.

3. No person whose marriage has been dissolved under the civil law of any other state but is a subsisting valid marriage under the law for the time being in force

within the jurisdiction of the Government and Parliament established by this Constitution shall be capable of contracting a valid marriage within that jurisdiction during the lifetime of the other party to the marriage so dissolved.

Because of the religious underpinnings of both Irish states, the women's liberation issue has direct implications for the struggle for a united Ireland. In fact, the present feminist currents in Ireland seem to have been given their initial push by the development of the crisis in the North.

When the explosion of communal warfare in 1969 once again raised the question of national unity and reform of the two religion-based Irish states, the Dublin government became acutely sensitive to charges of clerical domination.

A strong women's liberation movement in the South could serve as the cutting edge for the demands that arise naturally from the Northern crisis for secularizing Irish society. Some attempts to do this were made in 1970. They seem to have failed, among other reasons because the Official women's liberation activists and their allies did not have a perspective of mass organizing.

On the other hand, the women's liberation discussion offered some important tools for solving the general political problems of the movement. This was the only debate in which the concept of an abstract unity of all the oppressed and exploited was openly challenged on the floor. This vague, idealized notion of unity, borrowed from Stalinist sources and from the commonplaces of new-left populism, has been more or less sacrosanct up till now.

Mairin de Burca, Official Sinn Féin's main leader on women's liberation, argued that women must organize to fight against their own specific oppression and that, at least initially, this fight must be waged against another stratum of the oppressed population, working-class men. She pointed out quite clearly—apparently as a result of bitter experience—that those who say that women must not alienate men but first seek unity on issues that unite both sexes are simply using a demagogic argument against any militant struggle for the specific demands of women. (The effect of this argument, in fact, is to divert struggle into harmless liberal channels, into a campaign of education and social enlightenment.) De Burca made a comparison with the civil-rights struggle in the North, in which, she said, the Catholics had to begin the fight because they were the most oppressed. It was not true, she said, that Protestant workers had exactly the same interest as Catholic workers. The same was true of male and female workers.

At the same time, it would have been helpful if de Burca had stressed that the call for women to organize and fight against their particular oppression is a call for *unity in struggle*, as opposed to the abstract, all-embracing, passive kind of unity touted by the Stalinoids, new-left populists, and workerists. The failure to make such an analysis, in fact, was the greatest default in the women's liberation discussion.

Although a whole series of demands were raised, there was no indication of any concrete activity or campaign on which the work of the Official republican movement would be focused.

For all its weaknesses, however, the women's liberation discussion was rich and full of promise. De Burca's rigorously critical attitude to a number of pious "left" generalities was particularly encouraging. □

World news notes

U.S. Navy out of Culebra!

The Puerto Rican House of Representatives unanimously adopted a resolution early last month demanding the immediate withdrawal of the United States Navy from Culebra and Vieques, two small islands off the coast of Puerto Rico. The Navy has used the islands for years as a military training ground.

Bombing on the island of Culebra has met with increasing resistance from its inhabitants. Several years ago, 10 people were killed and several injured on the island because of a "technical error" committed by the Navy, according to the Jan. 23 *El Diario-La Prensa*, the New York Spanish-language daily.

The Puerto Rican Commonwealth Senate has also adopted a resolution calling for the Navy to withdraw from Culebra and Vieques.

Pereira to replace Amilcar Cabral

The February 4-5 issue of *Le Monde*, a Paris daily, reports that Aristide Pereira, assistant secretary-general of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde—African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) will succeed Amilcar Cabral as the leader of the PAIGC. Cabral, former secretary-general of the PAIGC, was assassinated on January 20 in Conakry in the independent Republic of Guinea. The PAIGC is fighting for independence for the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau.

Le Monde reports that Pereira will assume the chief responsibilities of the party leadership until the convocation of the Higher Council of Struggle, chief PAIGC decision-making body between its congresses.

Le Monde reported that at a Feb. 2 news conference in Conakry, Guinea, announcing Pereira's selection, Luis Cabral (Amilcar Cabral's brother and a top leader of PAIGC) "affirmed that the murder of his brother had been arranged by the Portuguese political police 'with the aide of traitors from our party.' Because of the aid that they give to the Lisbon government the NATO countries have 'participated indirectly in the operation' Luis Cabral added."

Before the announcement of Pereira's appointment, reports had been carried in the press that Victor Monteiro, another leader of PAIGC, had been chosen to replace Cabral. However, PAIGC had denounced these statements as "Portuguese propaganda" designed to divide the liberation movement.

Student protests erupt around world

Over the past month massive student protest actions have erupted in countries around the world. In Egypt—after the government had closed down the universities for three weeks—mass student demonstrations had continued for five consecutive days as of February 16. The main chant of the marching students was "Where is democracy?" Meanwhile Greek students were pressing the first political challenge to the military regime of General Papadopoulos. Thousands demonstrated in downtown Athens February 16 against a new law permitting the drafting of any dissident students. The Greek military dictatorship passed the law to try to crush a two-week strike of 4,000 students at Athens Polytechnic. The strike called for an end to repression and for student voice in educational policies.

Carrying signs in solidarity with the Greek students, some 20,000 Belgian high school students marched through Brussels January 31 protesting the Belgian defense ministry's plan to abolish draft deferments.

In Canada, on the other hand, the issue presently provoking protests across the country is government cutbacks in student aid and education spending, and increases in tuition fees. Mass meetings, building occupations, and demonstrations over this issue have occurred throughout English Canada as well as in Québec. In several places these student actions have been led by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the revolutionary-socialist youth organization in Canada.



15,000 Belgian high school students demonstrate January 31

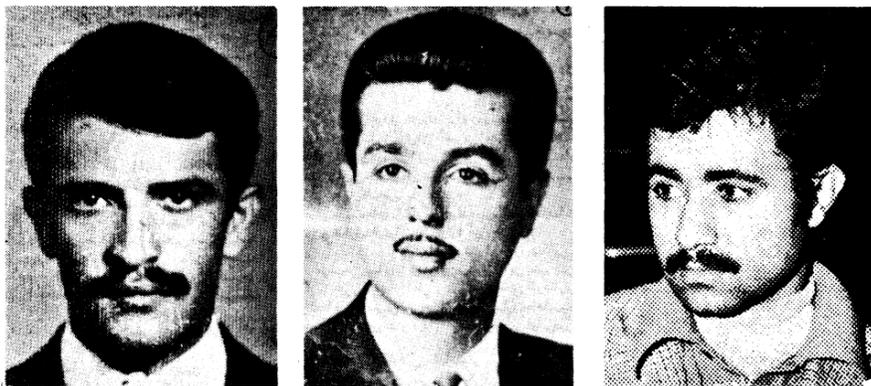
Rouge

Wave of murder and torture in Iran

By Kaveh Ahangar

Growing radicalization of the Iranian masses in the past two years has forced the shah to unleash the most unprecedented repression in recent Iranian history. This repression has resulted in the brutal murder and terrorization of thousands of Iranians throughout the country.

The agent of this repression is a coordinated force composed of local police units, the national gendarmerie, the army, and a special Gestapo-like counterinsurgency organization called SAVAK.



Some of the many young Iranian guerrilla fighters who have been murdered by the shah's regime: Rasol Meshkinfam(l), Badi Zadegan, Gholanreza Gulpoo.

The terror has in large part been a result of the importation and local innovation of various kinds of torture methods. These methods include the following: 1) the use of electrical hot plates (which led to the death of a well-known guerrilla early this year); 2) the introduction of electrical shocks into the genitals of men and women (a method recently imported from Israel); 3) the application of a large weight on the male genitals for a period of time; 4) the blinding of persons (through which one progressive religious leader met his death last year); 5) rapes; and 6) psychological "mind-changing systems" (as reported personally by the shah to a *Le Monde* correspondent last year). Murder is the last form of repression, but certainly not the least.

As for the prisons around the country, all are full, with new ones being constructed and old ones converted to special receiving camps. It was recently reported that the Women's Prison in Tehran was converted to a Family Prison, where the families of captured guerrillas are taken for torture and interrogation.

Several hundred guerrilla fighters from a number of different organizations—the most well known being the Fedayeen of the Masses and the Mojahedin of the Masses—have been taken to prisons and subjected to all kinds of torture. As of last year, the entire "Fedayeen" leadership was liquidated by the counterrevolution and 30 cadres from the "Mojahedin" organization have been shot to death in the past six months—and the murder still continues.

Imperialist base

Besides Israel, Iran is probably the most important base of imperialist aggression in the Middle East and in the Gulf. Palestinians, the people of Dhofar, and other peoples of the Trucial States on the Gulf, as well as other Middle Eastern and Iranian masses, are suffering from the same

imperialist aggression through the imposition of the local state oppression. The characteristic form of this oppression is the imperialist imposition of a "comprador" military-feudal clique upon the oppressed masses.

To halt radicalization in Iran, the imperialists and the local oppressors will utilize every means at their disposal, including various forms of state terror. In fact, a report in the December 19, 1972, *Wall Street Journal* joyfully announced that Iran had signed an accord with the Pentagon for the purchase of 580 Sea Cobra armed helicopters (of course, tested in the battlefields of Southeast Asia).

They are manufactured by the Bell Helicopter Corporation, a division of the Textron conglomerate.

The price of these murder machines—\$720-million—is close to 10 percent of Iran's gross national product for fiscal year 1971.

According to the same *Wall Street Journal* article, the shah had earlier purchased some P3 long-range heli-



The Shah and Empress Farah in their carriage.

copter gunships, a product of the bankrupt Lockheed Corporation, and some C135 transport aircraft from Boeing.

United Aircraft Corporation, which has yet to be awarded a contract, is trying very hard to get "a piece of the action." This company has taken some of its hardware to Iran (such as the S67 Blackhawk) to demonstrate its effectiveness for counterinsurgency operations (and probably to bribe some corrupt army generals).

Aid to Lockheed

All this amounts to material aggression against 30 million Iranians,

who are stricken by hunger, disease, and illiteracy. This latest form of aggression seems to be a reverse economic foreign aid by millions of poverty-stricken Iranians to the bankrupt Lockheeds of the military-industrial complex.

Another example of this latest form of economic oppression by the imperialists is the shah's announcement of the purchase of three to five super-sonic Concordes manufactured by the French and British counterparts of Lockheed, the bankrupt Rolls-Royce (total cost: \$150-250-million).

The following letter will give an indication of the brutal nature of police repression by the shah's regime. It was received by the Third National Front and published in its European organ, *Khabar-Nameh* of December 1972.

Shaheen Tavakuli, a member of the Fedayeen of the Masses, was arrested May 24, 1971. At the same time her husband, Hamid, and her brother, Said, were also arrested with another comrade, who was shot dead in cold blood. The following is the text of her defense summation in the military tribunal in Tehran in April 1972:

"When I was arrested I made no attempt to resist the arrest. SAVAK agents tore up my clothes in public and paraded me in the street naked. My husband was shot at the time of the attack and was taken to the hospital. I was taken to one of the stations established for interrogation of prisoners. Six SAVAK agents, a major called Farid, a lieutenant named Nicktab, and four others began my ordeal. They took off my remaining clothes, naked, hands and feet chained and my mouth closed, I waited. The agents had plenty of booze. While interrogating and torturing me, their brutality and inhumanity doubled with

every additional drink. That night those animals raped me."

Shaheen continued: "The Iranian government and this military tribunal has accused me of gangsterism. In reality those six SAVAK agents and thousands of others like them around the country are the true gangsters. It would be difficult to find a gang of criminals who could be as shameless as the shah and his SAVAK agents."

This is not an isolated incident. A Special Report on Political Prisoners released in November by Amnesty International is factual testimony to the extent of murder and torture in Iran.

Rhodesian blockade of Zambia thwarted

White-minority-ruled Rhodesia lifted its economic blockade of the independent African republic of Zambia February 4. The blockade was initiated January 9, after Zambia-based African nationalist guerrillas stepped up their activities aimed at gaining political power for the Black majority in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Despite the lifting of the blockade, Zambia has decided to keep its border with Rhodesia closed. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called the Rhodesian move a trick, and said Zambia would continue to build up alternate routes for its exports and imports to avoid Rhodesia.

Zambia, a land-locked country, had sent a large amount of its exports (especially copper) and received a large amount of imports through Rhodesia.

The Rhodesians had another obstacle in their path—lack of support from their two chief allies in Africa, the Republic of South Africa and Portugal. David Ottaway reported in the January 21 *Washington Post* that both Portugal and South Africa feared the blockade "could result in a deterioration of the situation throughout white-ruled southern Africa and perhaps drag the country into an unwanted war."

Furthermore, both South Africa and Portugal feared that Rhodesia's boycott would impair the gains they themselves made from trade with Zambia.

YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DERRY

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

- What were the main topics of discussion at the recent convention of the Official Republican movement?
- What are the major differences between the Officials and the Provisionals today?
- What is the strength of the Republicans, and the nationalist population, in the North today?
- Insofar as their political outlook is concerned, what important changes have occurred in the Official ranks?

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

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

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Rodriguez confronts rivals for L.A. mayor

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 19—"The Socialist Workers Party is alive and well in Los Angeles." These were the opening words of a segment devoted to the Los Angeles SWP municipal campaign on the 6 p.m. TV news on the local CBS affiliate Feb. 17.

The coverage stemmed from a "meet the candidates" event held that morning. Reporters and campaign supporters talked with the SWP candidates for mayor, city council, board of trustees of the community colleges, and board of education. The newscast attributed the low level of interest in the Los Angeles municipal race to the lack of clear-cut partisan politics.

The reporter contrasted this to the endorsement of mayoral candidate Olga Rodriguez by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, and commended her for her determination to run without paying the \$700 filing fee. "Her first project would be to give Chicanos and Blacks control over their own community," the newscast concluded.

This week, Walter Lippmann, candidate for board of education position 4, spoke at Hamilton High School and to meetings of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, Chicana Welfare Rights Organization, the Los Angeles Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Olga Rodriguez appeared on the "Impacto" TV interview show on Ch. 4 and the "Newsbeat" program on Ch. 9. She spoke at classes at Grant and Salesian high schools and to a candidates' meeting held by the Los Angeles



Olga Rodriguez Militant/Mark Satinoff

city employees Chicano association. At the latter meeting it was obvious that the other mayoral candidates have begun to resort to more radical rhetoric since their first confrontation with Rodriguez's socialist views.

However, their reactionary stance is unchanged. Democrat Jesse Unruh is still outspoken in his opposition to Chicano control of the Chicano community. Councilman Joel Wasch, labeled by the media "the antiestablishment candidate," had to admit that he had never heard of the case of Los Tres del Barrio when asked whether he supported their defense. Black Councilman Tom Bradley, an ex-cop, took no position on any question; and Mayor Sam Yorty, as usual, did not attend.

Rodriguez attacked the gerrymandering of districts, which prevents Chicano representation on the city council. She encouraged Chicanos to organize to defend Los Tres and all

other victims of police harassment.

Socialist candidate for city council position 11, David Brown, appeared along with David Aberson, attorney for the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, on "The SWP on the Air," a talk show on KPFFK, a Pacifica station. They discussed with commentator Theodore Edwards the restrictive ballot requirements in Los Angeles that the SWP is fighting.

A socialist campaign conference will be held at UCLA March 16 and 17. There will be discussion on the deportation of undocumented workers, the high school struggle, women's liberation and the abortion victory, and other questions. The conference will feature a talk entitled "Who Rules Los Angeles" by Olga Rodriguez. A campaign banquet will follow the conference.

San Diego socialist campaigns on campus

By HOLBROOK MAHN

SAN DIEGO, Feb. 18—"For a race that has generally been devoid of concrete positions, Dork has been the exception.

"She has continually risked political suicide by firmly favoring the dropping of all charges against the attack carrier sailors; free 24 hour child care, abortion, birth control, preferential hiring, training and promotion for all women and complete student and teacher control over hiring, firing, curriculum and student fees."

These are quotes from an article that appeared in the *Daily Aztec*, San Diego State University's newspaper. This story reflects the response San Diego's socialist campaign is receiving from the college campuses. Leslie Dork, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, is running for the state senate in the 38th District.

A group of Young Socialists for Leslie Dork has been organized at San Diego State University. Supporters have been setting up campaign tables regularly on five San Diego campuses. The Young Socialists for Leslie Dork at SDSU is sponsoring a debate on March 1, at which all but one of the seven candidates have agreed to appear.

Dork spoke to a meeting of the National Women's Political Caucus Feb. 8. She cited the Supreme Court's decision on abortion as a victory for the feminist movement and explained how the Democratic and Republican parties serve as tools for the oppression of women. Her talk was well received by the more than 50 women in attendance, many of whom wished her success and asked for more information on the socialist campaign.

Campaign supporters, including Dork, have participated in picket lines in support of the sailors from the *Kitty Hawk* who are being court-martialed.

Unless one candidate gets more than 50 percent of the total vote in the election March 6, there will be a runoff election April 3. The top vote getters in the three "qualified" parties—Republican, Democratic, and American Independent—will be automatically eligible for the runoff. Because of California's restrictive election laws, however, Dork has to get as many votes as the lowest polled by a candidate from one of the three "qualified" parties to be eligible for the runoff.

A major campaign rally is scheduled for March 2 at SDSU. Socialist candidates in the municipal elections to be held next fall will be announced.

Scherr urges Ohio support for ERA

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND—The campaign of Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Cleveland, is having an impact on local and state politics. The Ohio legislature is currently discussing the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). At a public hearing in Columbus Feb. 13, nearly every one of the more than 800 women present received a position paper put out by Scherr urging immediate ratification of the ERA.

Scherr called for abolishing laws that discriminate on the basis of sex, extension of protective labor laws to men, and equal pay for equal work.

"True equality," Scherr stated, "will mean maternity leaves as a right . . . free abortion facilities, no forced sterilization, and birth-control devices available upon demand."

The ratification of the ERA "is a long overdue basic democratic right and a first step toward true equality," she said.

On the following day, a U.S. district court judge ruled the Ohio abortion law unconstitutional. Within an hour Scherr issued a statement hailing the decision as "a victory for the abortion rights movement and all Ohio women."

"In 1971," Scherr continued, "5,545 Ohio women between the ages of 10 and 16 were forced to bear unwanted children because they could not get legal abortions. Most of them were expelled from school." If elected, she pledged to urge the Cleveland board of education to distribute contraceptive information to Cleveland high school women and to stop the practice of expelling pregnant women.

On Feb. 18 Young Socialists for



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Young Socialists for Scherr are campaigning on Cleveland campuses.

Scherr spokeswoman Christine Gauvreau debated a representative of Women Concerned for Life on WKYC-TV.

The issue of crime and police brutality has become an increasing concern in Cleveland as a result of stepped-up police attacks on the Black community. Roberta Scherr and Young Socialists for Scherr coordinator Cecil Lampkin attended a forum on police-community relations sponsored by the 21st Congressional District Caucus Feb. 17.

In a statement distributed at the forum, Scherr attacked Republican Mayor Ralph Perk and the Democratic-controlled city council for their "war on Cleveland's Black community."

She singled out heroin traffic, protected by racist, corrupt police, as one of the major problems facing young

Black people. While Perk is planning to close one-half of the existing drug-treatment centers, Scherr called for "free government-funded treatment centers controlled by the Black community."

"The police should be responsible to the Black community," she said. "The Black community should have direct control over the hiring, firing, and conduct of the police in the Black community. As an immediate step, the Socialist Workers Party supports the demand for a civilian review board."

In addition to these activities, Scherr addressed a meeting of 30 students at St. Ignatius High School and approximately 100 students at Normandy High School. In the past week 25 people have signed endorser cards being circulated by the Young Socialists for Scherr.

SWP picks council candidates in Austin

By DEREK JEFFERS

AUSTIN, Feb. 15—Two Socialist Workers Party candidates announced yesterday their entry into the race for seats on the city council. Melissa Singler announced her campaign for mayor of Austin last week.

On Feb. 14, the socialist candidates held a news conference before filing for office. Steven Fuchs, 19-year-old candidate for place 5 against councilman Jeff Freidman, said the SWP would sue to have the current 21-year age requirement for council candidates removed if he is barred from the ballot because of his age.

Fuchs said, "Young workers and students like myself are forced to breathe the same polluted air, face the same unemployment, pay the same rising prices, and yet we are not allowed to hold office to try to solve these problems." So far Fuchs is the only challenger to Freidman, who is regarded as the most liberal council member.

James Burfiend, SWP candidate for place 2, is taking on perhaps the most reactionary council member, Dick Nichols. The other candidate for this spot is Bob Binder, former University of Texas student body president, who has been labeled by the press as "the student candidate." During the recent controversy about police brutality in the Chicano community, Binder spent his time reminding voters of the "good things police do."

Mayor Roy Butler and Nichols both came to observe the socialist news conference. Singler took advantage of the opportunity to renew her challenge to debate Butler. But the mayor, according to the *Austin American*, "who has declined comment on his re-election plans, said he had not decided about a debate, should he run again."

The local NBC-TV affiliate ran the SWP announcement as their lead evening news story, and other media also gave major coverage to the news conference.

Fuchs attended a special city council meeting Feb. 15 called to review the City Charter. He demanded the council place a referendum on the April 7 ballot to eliminate the age restriction for council members. But his opponent, Councilman Freidman, successfully moved to place only those referendums on the ballot that had been suggested by a council commission, thus quashing Fuch's proposal.

On Feb. 14, Singler spoke before several hundred people at a rock concert held to gather signatures for a referendum to allow vendors to sell on the sidewalks next to the UT campus.

Chertov challenges opponents to support Dist. 1 N.Y. socialist campaign is off and running

By GINNY HILDEBRAND

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 — "Just one look at areas like Harlem, South Bronx, Bedford-Stuyvesant, or the Lower East Side will tell you that life in New York City for Blacks and Puerto Ricans is getting worse.

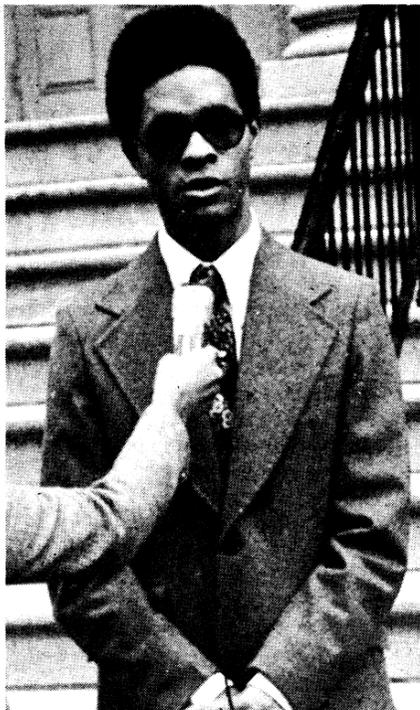
"Our communities are facing impossible conditions of oppression—no housing or slum housing, crowded, run-down schools, unemployment as high as 40 percent among our youth, inflation eating up our wages.

"When you talk of the crisis of the cities you're talking about a crisis for millions of Black and Puerto Rican people."

These were the opening remarks of Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, at a news conference Feb. 15 on the steps of City Hall. Also present at the news conference, which announced the opening of the municipal SWP campaign, were Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for city council president, and Dick Roberts, candidate for city controller.

The sharp contrast between the alternative presented by the SWP and that of the other parties was highlighted by the news conference of Vito Battista, a conservative Republican, who was at City Hall at the same time to announce his candidacy for Brooklyn councilman-at-large.

Battista's candidacy falls in line with all of the other announced candidates for municipal offices from the Democratic, Republican, Conservative, and Liberal parties. They are raising crime in the streets as the major issue of this campaign. Their solution is more cops on the streets and harsher prison sentences.



Norman Oliver Militant/John Lauritsen

The SWP candidates have begun taking their ideas to the public. On February 15, Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for city council, District 3, attended a meeting on the Lower East Side where several of the Democratic mayoralty hopefuls spoke.

Two important issues facing the primarily Puerto Rican Lower East Side are community control of the schools and the right of the students to bilingual education. Luis Fuentes, the pro-community-control superintendent of District 1, has proposed a \$42-million budget to improve the inade-

quate schools and finance bilingual education.

Ignoring these issues, Congressman Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) centered his remarks at the meeting around a call for more police. Former Environmental Control Administrator Jerome Kretchmer called for a "fair shake" for everybody, and Congressman Ed Koch (D-N.Y.) only put in a five minute appearance to distribute lapel pins of New York City's flag.

During the question period, Chertov challenged these candidates to endorse the school board's budget and the right of the community to keep Fuentes as superintendent in District 1. No indications of support were given.

In order to learn more about the problems facing tenants in Manhattan, Richard Ariza, SWP candidate for Manhattan councilman-at-large, attended a meeting Feb. 15 of the Clinton Community on New York's Upper West Side. The topic of discussion was how to prevent the city from tearing down their apartments to make way for a Convention Center and high-income apartments.

The media has already shown significant interest in the alternatives posed by the Socialist Workers Party campaign. The Feb. 15 news conference was covered by the *New York Times*, the *New York Post*, the *Long Island Press*, UPI, Channels 4 and 5 TV news, and several radio stations. Interviews with Norman Oliver have been given to WRVR-FM, WNYC-AM/FM, WCCR-FM (City College of N.Y.), WFUV-FM (Fordham University), *The Villager*, *Pace College Press*, and the New York City Community College newspaper, *Arts*

and Sciences.

Oliver's tour of New York City campuses and high schools begins this week with meetings at Brooklyn College (where he will be participating in a meeting commemorating the assassination of Malcolm X), New York University, City College of New York, and Stuyvesant High School. These meetings are being organized by the Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Oliver.

Already there are active Young Socialists for Oliver at 14 city colleges and 11 high schools. The first major activity of the YSO will be to publicize the campaign kick-off rally scheduled for March 2 at 8 p.m., Tishman Auditorium, New York University Law School, 40 Washington Square South. The featured speakers at the rally will be Norman Oliver and Linda Jenness, the SWP 1972 presidential candidate.



Joanna Misnik

Berkeley SWP fights for socialist city gov't City council won't let student run for school bd.

By RICK CONGRESS

BERKELEY, Feb. 16—More than 150 people attended the rally launching the SWP 1973 municipal election campaign here tonight. The event marked the formal introduction of the socialist slate for the elections, which will be held April 17.

Caryl Sholin, feminist activist at the University of California at Berkeley and SWP candidate for board of education, chaired the rally and introduced the other SWP candidates. Running for city council are: Ken Miliner, who was the SWP nominee for Congress in the 7th C.D. in 1972; Nancy Mackler, former staff worker for the National Peace Action Coalition; Brian Williams, UC Berkeley student leader; and Kathryn Pon, Asian-American activist. Doug Hewell, 15, a student at Berkeley High School and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, is also running for the board of education.

Harry Ring gave the keynote speech. Ring is the head of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau and a member of the SWP national committee. He analyzed the development of the so-called radical slate, the April Coalition, which is based on an alliance between a section of the Democratic Party and some radicals in Berkeley.

Ring declared that electoral coalitions with capitalist parties like the Democratic Party "are not instruments for struggle, they are substitutes for mass struggle." He concluded his remarks by pointing toward the perspective of mass action, independent of the capitalist parties, put forward



Kathryn Pon Militant/Harry Ring

by the SWP campaign. "We want to see the unity of all the oppressed against all the oppressors," he said. "We say that kind of unity is a winning coalition."

Ken Miliner spoke about the program the SWP will put forward to solve the problems facing the residents of Berkeley. He stressed the fact that the economic and social ills of Berkeley are the same as in any other city in America, and that the city administration, although it has a "progressive" veneer, is run in the interests of the capitalist class, just as in other cities.

He cited the example of the police getting the biggest slice of the Berkeley city budget, and the fact that business taxes make up only one twenty-seventh of city income, to illustrate this point.

The audience greeted the candidates and the plans for the campaign with enthusiasm. More than \$500 was raised to help fund the campaign.

Earlier in the week the city council refused to discuss a city charter amendment, prepared by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which would allow high school students to run for the board of education. The resolution, if passed, would have placed a charter amendment on the ballot for the April 17 elections. The resolution was prompted by Doug Hewell's attempt to file for the board elections. The city clerk had refused to accept Hewell's filing papers on the grounds that he was "too young."

The resolution won substantial support in the brief time before the Feb. 13 meeting of the city council. On Feb. 9 the *Daily Californian* editorially endorsed Hewell's right to run. Other supporters of the resolution included Norman Brasel, president of the Alameda Federation of Teachers Local 1528; Lewis Hedgecock, president of the Hayward Federation of Teachers Local 1423; Victor Van Bourg, labor attorney and candidate for the board of education; Barbara Dudley, attorney and activist in the Berkeley Tenant Organizing Committee; and Jeff Mackler, president of the Northern California Conference of AFT locals.

Despite this support, not one member of the council would raise the question for a vote. Only after two supporters of the resolution took the floor, pointing out that this was the last city

council meeting that could act to put the charter amendment on the ballot, did the council take up the motion.

The question was "resolved" by referring the resolution to the Charter Review Commission, thus killing it. Ilona Hancock, one of the April Coalition "radicals" on the council, made the motion to refer the proposal.

When Jeff Mackler tried to protest the summary dismissal of the resolution, Mayor Warren Widener had the microphone turned off. Outraged at this display of contempt for the rights of young people by the city council, Hewell and several high school supporters walked out of the meeting.

At a news conference on Feb. 15, Hewell condemned the council's undemocratic action in not even allowing the voters to decide on the proposed charter amendment. He said he will continue his campaign, and continue to fight for the rights of high school students.



Doug Hewell

"Us attack the dollar?"

Role of multinational firms in \$ crisis

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 19—The Nixon administration achieved two immediate objectives in devaluing the dollar last week. A historic flight from the dollar was halted.

And world financial centers got the message that U.S. protectionism could quickly be placed on the agenda if Washington is unable to reduce the flow of foreign goods into this country.

"Europeans are expressing . . . dismay and resentment over what is seen as a new mercantilist attitude in the United States as they take a second look at the devaluation of the dollar," *New York Times* reporter Clyde Farnsworth wrote from Paris Feb. 15. ". . . there is mounting concern over the big clubs the United States is using to get its way on trade," Farnsworth added.

In the 1930s, trade warfare precipitated world economic collapse. Spokesmen for the American ruling class increasingly sound like they are willing to risk it again if U.S. monopoly doesn't get its way.

From Washington, Representative Wilbur Mills, the powerful Arkansas Democrat who heads the House Ways and Means Committee, called for an immediate 15 percent surcharge on all imports. "Bold action" will be required "if new attacks on the dollar are to be avoided," Mills said Feb. 16.

On Feb. 18, U.S. Treasury Secretary George Shultz told a national TV audience that he expected the devaluation to slow down the flow of Japanese goods. But Shultz warned that if the United States does not get what it wants, "We are in a position to take action ourselves."

Shultz is not speaking for the Ameri-

can people. The "we" in this sentence stands for a few giant U.S. firms that are battling for control of domestic and world markets. The "multinationals" want fewer foreign goods sold in this country, more U.S. goods sold abroad, and more foreign corporations under the sway of U.S. capital.

Another defender of these interests, New York Senator Jacob Javits, spoke up for them in the Senate Feb. 2. Javits pointed out that 298 multina-

... these figures make it clear that the activities of the MNC not only strengthen the trade account but also provide a major and growing plus item on the investment account," Javits argued.

He also said, "If one uses the rough yardstick that every billion in trade causes a job swing of some 50,000, the surplus on the trade account of MNC activities clearly will have created many more jobs in the United

could be wrong?"

The major role of U.S. multinational corporations in world trade is well known. Not so well known is their role in world finance. Yet these same multinationals are largely responsible for the periodic currency crises—including the "attack on the dollar" last week.

Little noticed was a report issued in Washington Feb. 12 by the U.S. Tariff Commission. This revealed that multinational corporations that engage in world finance hold \$268-billion worth of currencies in the international money market; that \$190-billion of this is controlled by U.S. banks and corporations; and that all governments hold \$88.5-billion in international currency reserves.

These figures mean that U.S. banks and corporations hold more than twice as much international currency as all governments; and they hold 71 percent of all international currency.

Thus the shift of only a fraction of the monies of these firms can topple currencies and force banks to realign their values. "It is probably the giant multinational banks and corporations that applied the most potent pressure on the German central bank and forced the decision on devaluation," said *Business Week* magazine Feb. 17. "A Frankfurt banker estimates that corporate treasurers alone were responsible for 'about 50%' of the \$6-billion in dollars that flowed into Germany."

This is not to speak of the fact that these corporations reaped millions in profits overnight when the dollar was devalued. "Sellers of dollars for marks last week alone made an estimated

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Der Spiegel

West German currency exchange deluged with orders to sell dollars—from U.S. firms

tional corporations account for 51 percent of all U.S. exports and 34 percent of imports.

Citing a study in the February *Survey of Current Business*, Javits also noted that the share of U.S. trade dominated by the multinationals had increased significantly from 1966 to 1970, although total U.S. trade declined in the same period.

States than jobs that have been lost."

So according to Javits, multinationals are good because they create jobs to produce exports in this country, they are good because they are good investments in foreign countries, and they are good because 34 percent of U.S. imports are from U.S., not foreign owned, corporations abroad. In this best of all possible worlds, what

San Bernardino Chicanos boycott schools

By HARRY RING

SAN BERNARDINO, Calif., Feb. 9—A Chicano school boycott entered its fourth day here. Supported by their parents, more than a thousand students, representing a third of the city's Chicano school population, walked out of high schools, junior highs, and elementary schools protesting the racism to which they are subjected.

More than 800 are attending a newly established Chicano freedom school—La Escuela de la Nueva Raza—being conducted at Casa Ramona, a community center. At one barrio school, Franklin Junior High, school officials estimated that 70 percent of the Chicano school population was out.

This is the third Chicano school boycott in as many years. The first involved 50 students from one high school. Last year's involved 500 in several schools. The present action is not only the biggest but the first in which a freedom school has been organized.

Last night more than 500 students and their parents insisted that their demands be considered at a meeting of the board of education.

The Chicano community is demanding that 75 percent of those hired during the coming school year be Chicano. They want an expanded bilingual, bicultural program and insist that a Chicano be appointed director of the program.

At present Chicanos constitute 20 percent of the school population, but only 4.5 percent of school employees—teaching and nonteaching combined—are Chicanos.

The board did agree to hire Spanish-speaking secretaries for barrio schools and at least one Chicano and one Black counselor for each of the city's four high schools.

The other demands, the board asserted, involved budgetary problems and would be dealt with, as one board member put it, "with deliberate speed." Angry Chicanos responded that they have been waiting 150 years.

Chicanos face tough opposition from the five-member school board.

A previous board had been pressured into making some modest concessions to the Chicano community. Anglos hostile to the Chicanos responded by forcing a recall election, in which they replaced four "waverers" with hard liners. There is one Chicano board member.

Treatment of Chicanos in the San Bernardino school system is typically racist. Many children come from Spanish-speaking homes and enter school with little or no English.

While there are bilingual courses, they are not effective, and the children are strongly discouraged from speaking Spanish outside the bilingual classrooms. The result is that by the time they reach the fifth or sixth grade, they are having difficulties in both languages.

Only a third of the city's Chicano high school students make it to graduation. Ten percent of those go on to college, but only half of those, it is estimated, actually graduate.

Several years ago Chicano voters carried a \$43-million school bond issue over the opposition of many Anglos. Chicanos favored the bond

because the money was supposed to be used to rebuild old, unsafe school buildings and, of course, most of those are in the barrios.

After the money was appropriated, the outraged community learned that all but \$7-million was being used to build several ultramodern, air-conditioned high schools in the Anglo section of town. It took a bitter fight to get the remaining money for alterations on some of the Chicano schools.

While the boycott action continues, La Escuela de la Nueva Raza seems to be functioning on a solid basis. A staff of about 45 was quickly assembled, including parents and students from area colleges. Pupils gathered in a large courtyard seemed relaxed and happy. They obviously shared the view of Esther Estrada,

a community spokeswoman.

She told the school board: "I want to thank this board for giving our Chicano students the opportunity for experiencing a totally different kind of education."

"But," she added, "I wouldn't expect you to understand."

FEB. 19—During the second week of the boycott, no students had returned to school, and the school board continued to refuse to meet any of the community demands. Nearly all but 100-150 students are expected to return to school tomorrow. Directors of the freedom school have vowed to continue operating beyond the boycott for those students who do not feel they can return to the public school system.



Militant/Harry Ring

Chicano freedom school meeting at community center in San Bernardino

Analysis of Supreme Court ruling

Abortion victory reflects rise in women's expectations, demands

By LINDA JENNESS

As recently as five years ago, abortion was a secret ordeal, shrouded in guilt, which millions of women went through alone and afraid.

The change in public opinion on abortion has been very recent. In fact, in 1968 polls showed that fewer than 15 percent of the population believed women had a right to abortion. This figure rose dramatically to 40 percent in 1969 and to 50 percent in 1971.

What caused this rapid change in attitudes that helped lay the basis for the Supreme Court decision to legalize abortion? How did this issue shoot to the forefront of public debate and controversy in such a short period of time?

The change in attitudes on abortion has taken place in the context of broader shifts in attitudes about the role of women in society. Significant changes have occurred in the situation of women.

Nearly 44 percent of women now work outside the home, and the percentage is rapidly growing. Women are receiving more education than ever before. The use of birth-control devices and the pill has become widespread and is generally recognized as a legal right.

All these developments have helped to raise questions about the traditional view that women should be restricted to being housekeepers and mothers. The most conscious expression of this questioning came with the rise of the women's liberation movement.

Increasing numbers of women are finding that although they have more options than ever before in terms of jobs, education, and participation in society, they are still hampered at every turn by the pervasive forms of sexual discrimination and oppression.

They are finding that although our society has the wealth and technology to build child-care centers, develop birth control methods, and take other measures that would tremendously alleviate the discrimination women face, the government has chosen not to do so, and resists doing so.

The contradiction between what is possible in terms of freeing women, and what is actually being done, became painfully clear around the issue of abortion. With greater possibilities for control over their lives than ever before, women still have not been able to control their own bodies.

Modern medical science can provide abortions that are safer by far than childbirth itself. Yet before the Supreme Court decision, anti-abortion laws denied this medical advancement to most women. Doctors could transplant lungs and hearts, yet women were dying by the thousands at the hands of quack abortionists.

Another factor that created an atmosphere conducive to changing views on abortion has been the rise of the antiwar movement and the struggles of Blacks and other oppressed peoples. These and other movements for social change have helped to bring about a general climate of challenging traditional attitudes and values. This ferment and radicalization has extended to many social questions, including religion, the family, sex, etc.

A turning point in the fight for the right to abortion came with the rise of women's liberation consciousness. Before the emergence of the new wave of feminism, supporters of legal abortion tended to present their arguments in a half-apologetic or wrong fashion



—justifying it in terms of population control, or demanding legal abortion only in the case of birth defects, danger to the mother's life, rape, or incest.

The women's liberation forces helped to pose the issue in a new way by stating categorically that abortion is a woman's right. The feminists took the issue off the axis of population control and placed it where it belonged — on the woman's right to control her own body and her own life.

The concept of a woman's right to choose appeared in some of the early suits filed by feminists and others against the abortion laws, such as the class-action suits in New York filed in 1969. These suits declared that the state abortion law denied women the right to privacy and the right to life and liberty.

Similar legal action was taken by women in other states during the same period. A suit filed by women in Texas won in a lower court and went on to the Supreme Court, where it became part of the basis for the Jan. 22 abortion ruling.

The first big breakthrough came in 1970. The New York State legislature, which the previous year had easily defeated a minimal abortion reform bill, passed a law permitting abortions through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. "Women's liberation played an important part in the passage of this bill," Governor Nelson Rockefeller told the *New York Times* as he signed the measure into law.

This victory inspired supporters of abortion rights across the country to overturn the anti-abortion laws in their states. It also spurred the right wing into action, leading to the so-called right-to-life campaign against legal abortion spearheaded by the Catholic Church hierarchy.

By 1971 it was clear that the anti-abortion forces were on a serious offensive to roll back the victory in New York and to prevent further gains by the abortion rights movement.

The attack by the reactionary "right-to-life" forces became a central challenge for the fledgling women's liberation struggle.

Among those groups and individuals who responded to the challenge, of special importance was the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). WONAAC became the first nation-wide feminist coalition to fight for abortion law repeal. It stated very clearly that abortion was a

woman's right and rejected the concept of population control. WONAAC's three demands were: Repeal all abortion laws, no forced sterilization, end all contraceptive laws.

The women who participated in WONAAC initiated class-action suits and petitioning drives. They organized demonstrations, picket lines, and hearings, which were often the most visible manifestation of support for abortion law repeal. They counterposed a visible, mass-action approach to the strategy of those who wanted to be "quiet" and work "behind the scenes."

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of WONAAC, expressed the importance of this perspective in the following way: "This victory was not won by working quietly behind the scenes. It wasn't won by refusing to confront our enemies. When women took up the battle in our own behalf, when we thought the unthinkable and said the unspeakable, then and only then did the murderous laws crumble."

The anti-abortion forces, however, have not given up their campaign. They will continue to try to reverse this victory and to obstruct its implementation.

As these reactionary forces realize, the Supreme Court decision has far-reaching implications for the struggle of women against all forms of discrimination and oppression. Lack of the right to abortion has been one of the key rationalizations for discriminating against women in all areas. Employers have always said that women shouldn't get equal pay or shouldn't receive equal educational opportunities because working or studying were seen as subordinate to women's "natural function" of motherhood. The Supreme Court decision deals a blow to this concept.

The court ruling will not only affect the hundreds of thousands of women who have abortions every year. Millions of women who never participated in the abortion rights struggle have been inspired by the court decision. They see that women can challenge the oppressive institutions in this society, even on a subject as taboo as abortion.

By speaking out, refusing to accept the idea that biology is destiny, women have won a victory. The new confidence stemming from this victory will help bring more women into the fights ahead.

Debate widens over ERA

By CINDY JAQUITH

FEB. 20—"Forget about horse race betting, this is the most emotional topic we've got this year." This is the response of one Virginia state legislator to the debate surrounding ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The ERA has produced a sharp confrontation between supporters of equal rights for women and right-wing organizations.

Almost 1,000 women attended hearings on the ERA in Richmond Feb. 1, one of the largest turnouts ever for Virginia legislative hearings, according to the Feb. 2 *Washington Post*.

Anti-ERA forces are strong in Virginia, as shown by the fact that on Feb. 6 the House Committee on Privileges and Elections killed the amendment for this year.

The controversy over the ERA in Virginia is indicative of the debate developing around the amendment nationally. The ERA would make discrimination on the basis of sex illegal. Thirty-eight states must ratify the bill for it to become law; on Feb. 12, New Mexico became the twenty-seventh state to pass the ERA.

However, in the last several weeks, five state legislatures have defeated the bill: Utah, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Montana. These setbacks have occurred in the midst of increased activity by the right wing against the bill. The anti-ERA forces include groups such as the Stop ERA committees, the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, and various orga-



Militant/Greg Cornell

nizations affiliated with the Catholic Church.

Atlanta *Militant* correspondent Evelyn Clark reports that until January the ERA was expected to pass easily in the Georgia state legislature. Then many of the legislators backed down because of a campaign by the Birch Society and others.

About 500 people came to a hearing on the ERA at the state capitol in Atlanta Feb. 7. "The crowd was split half and half," Clark says. "The first two hours of testimony supported passage of the ERA and was very broad and educational. The second two hours was dominated by Bible quoting and a high degree of irrationality."

Debby Bustin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta,

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THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR:

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION OF 1925-27

The following is the tenth in a series of articles on the Left Opposition in the USSR. This series commemorates the fight Lenin and Trotsky began 50 years ago against the degeneration of the revolution.

By DAVE FRANKEL

The mass upsurge that shook China in 1925 made newspaper headlines around the world. In a period of four months it swept away the warlords in Canton and in all of Kwangtung province, giving the Kuomintang a territorial foothold in China for the first time.

The bureaucrats in the Kremlin were ecstatic. The presidium of the Bolshevik Party's fourteenth congress predicted in January 1926 that the Kuomintang would "destroy the foundation of the rule of the imperialists in Asia. . . ." The Comintern hailed "the transformation of the Kuomintang into a resolute fighting force, into a real party of the Chinese revolution. . . ."

Chiang Kai-shek, at that time a Kuomintang general, swore loyalty to the world revolution. "I too, am willing to lie beside the graves of those who have already fallen martyrs to the National Revolution, the Three People's Principles, and Communism," said Chiang. In reciprocation Michael Borodin, the chief Comintern representative in China, advised that "no matter whether Communist or Kuomintang, all must obey General Chiang."

Chiang took Borodin's words to heart, and on March 20, 1926, he moved to exclude the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from positions of power in the army and in the Kuomintang apparatus. The Hong Kong strike committee was declared dissolved and its members arrested. Wang Ching-wei, Chiang's chief "left-wing" rival for leadership in the

the American Communist Party, flatly stated that "there has been no insurrection in Canton." The laudatory speeches and articles depicting the Kuomintang generals as allies of the world revolution didn't miss a beat, and the Kuomintang was admitted as a "sympathizing party" into the Comintern, with Trotsky casting the only opposing vote.

The Northern Expedition

Equipped with Soviet arms, aided by Soviet funds, and with an army trained by Soviet advisers, Chiang began the famous Northern Expedition in June 1926. The expedition, designed to unite China under the Kuomintang government, was carried out under the guise of an anti-imperialist national revolution. Chiang's Canton coup had been mainly an attack on the position of the CCP within the army and the Kuomintang, and the masses still believed that the Kuomintang represented their aspirations.

Chiang's armies were preceded by a mass upsurge of unprecedented proportions—one that the warlords were unable to resist. Frequently the Kuomintang troops had to do little more than occupy territory that had been already conquered. By early November they had control of most of central China up to the Yangtze River.

While Chiang's armies advanced under the cover of revolutionary rhetoric, behind the lines they suppressed the mass movement. On July 29 martial law was decreed in Canton. Three days later all "labor disturbances" were forbidden "for the duration of the Northern Expedition." On Aug. 9 workers were forbidden to bear arms of any description, to assemble, or to parade. On Oct. 10 the Kuomintang government called off the Hong Kong strike and the boycott of

When the central committee of the CCP appealed to Borodin to turn over some of the Soviet arms going to Chiang to the peasant associations, Borodin refused, arguing that this would "merely serve to arouse the suspicion of the Kuomintang and lead to resistance on the part of the peasantry against the Kuomintang."

Borodin, for his part, was only following the line of the Comintern. In October 1926 the Stalin-Bukharin leadership wired the CCP to put a brake on the peasant movement so as not to alienate the generals leading the Northern Expedition. In July the seventh plenum of the executive committee of the Comintern had insisted that the agrarian movement "march together with the Kuomintang to the very end." Its instructions were observed.

By February 1927 Chiang was openly destroying the mass organizations. In city after city union organizers were murdered and union headquarters occupied by his soldiers. Yet on Feb. 25 the Comintern asserted that "the Chinese Communist Party and the conscious Chinese workers must not under any circumstances pursue a tactic which would disorganize the revolutionary [Kuomintang] armies just because the influence of the bourgeoisie is to a certain degree strong there. . . ."

The CCP was in the leadership of militant labor and peasant unions by now numbering literally in the millions. Its own membership was about 58,000, with a youth organization of 35,000. For the moment, the power of the masses was being channeled into supporting Chiang, but this power represented a potential threat to him.

While Chiang realized that at some point he would have to completely des-

workers for him.

Finally, on April 12, Chiang struck. The attack began in Shanghai. By noon all union and Communist headquarters, picket centers, and newspaper offices were in the hands of Kuomintang troops. Their occupants and defenders were executed. By the next day similar attacks had taken place throughout the areas controlled by Chiang.

For months the CCP had been telling the Shanghai workers to support the Kuomintang. Now, when it was too late, 100,000 reacted by staging a protest strike. But the Comintern had instructed the CCP to avoid an open battle. A demonstration of unarmed workers was marched into the machine guns of Chiang's butchers on April 13. After that, open resistance to the reign of terror ended.

Unable to admit that Trotsky was correct in demanding that the CCP break with the Kuomintang, Stalin defended the old policy and called for its continuation. The only difference was that now the CCP was told to make common cause with the politicians of the "Left" Kuomintang. Trotsky's impassioned warnings were barred from print.

The "Left" Kuomintang, led by Chiang's old rival Wang Ching-wei, held power in the tri-city area of Wuhan in central China. The Shanghai coup dealt a heavy blow to the revolution, but in Central China the mass upsurge was just reaching its peak.

Some 10 million peasants were organized into peasant associations in a few short months in the spring of 1927. Opium dens were cleaned out, gambling equipment was burned, foot-binding was abolished, wasteland was put under cultivation, the landlords' land was taken over, schools were established, and hoards of food and commodities built up by speculators were confiscated.

The landlords struck back. They hired bands of criminals and made common cause with rebellious military detachments that supported Chiang Kai-shek.

The peasants turned to the "Left" Kuomintang for help, but the basis for the alliance between the CCP and the Kuomintang "radicals" was that the agrarian revolution would not touch the land of the generals, politicians, gentry, and officials who supported the Wuhan government. The peasants were denied the arms they needed, and the CCP did nothing to prepare them to defend themselves.

In Stalin's view "the revolutionary Kuomintang in Wuhan" would "be converted into an organ of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. . . ." Trotsky insisted that it was necessary to break with all the factions of the Kuomintang and initiate the formation of independent councils of workers and peasants (soviets). "We say directly to the Chinese peasants," said Trotsky on May 18, "the leaders of the Left Kuomintang . . . will inevitably betray you if you follow the Wuhan heads instead of forming your own independent Soviets."

In reaction to the agrarian revolution being carried out by the peasantry, the generals of the "Left" Kuomintang threw in their lot, one after the other, with their fellow landlords. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the founder of the CCP, later explained that "not a single one of the bourgeoisie, landlords, war lords, and gentry of Hunan and Hupeh provinces but was the kins-

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Revolutionary workers and students being shot by Kuomintang soldiers on the outskirts of Shanghai in April 1927. Onlookers in white helmets are European officials.

Kuomintang, decided to take a trip to Europe.

Having established himself as the military dictator of Canton, Chiang explained that his coup was due to a "misunderstanding." Communist leaders who had been arrested were freed, but Chiang kept the power he had taken.

The reaction of the Stalinist leadership in the Comintern was to deny that anything had happened. The facts about the Canton coup were kept out of the Soviet press. The April 21, 1926, *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of

British goods, although none of the workers' demands had been met.

In the countryside of Kwangtung province the landlords launched a brutal offensive against the peasant associations. Meetings and headquarters were attacked, and scores of peasant leaders murdered.

Still, the CCP was prevented from breaking with the Kuomintang. Borodin argued that the peasants would have to wait, since "in view of its mixed class composition" the Kuomintang could not "undertake the confiscation of private property."

the mass organizations, the CCP failed to prepare the masses for the inevitable confrontation. Some of the CCP leaders saw the disaster that was looming ahead, but they were ordered to adhere to the line of the Comintern.

On March 21 the CCP led a victorious insurrection in Shanghai, the most important industrial city in China. The uprising involved 500,000 to 800,000 workers under the slogan "Hail the National Revolutionary Army! Welcome to Chiang Kai-shek!" Six days later the CCP organized a welcoming demonstration of 50,000

Union of Left 'a blind alley'

French Communist League enters elections

By TONY THOMAS

The revolutionary socialists of the Communist League (French section of the Fourth International) have launched an ambitious campaign in the parliamentary elections scheduled for March 4 and 11. The Communist League will run candidates for the French National Assembly in 133 of the 487 election districts. Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), another socialist organization, whose candidates the League is supporting, will run candidates in 176 other districts.

These candidates probably will not get sufficient support to participate in the second round runoff elections March 11. In that race the Communist League has decided to call for a vote for candidates of the Union of the Left, an electoral bloc dominated by the Communist and Socialist parties, although the League is critical of its platform and perspective.

The scale of the League's campaign was shown by a rally it held to launch its campaign in the Paris region. Between 6,000 and 7,000 attended the rally, held at the Paris Sports Palace. The rally was covered by French television, radio, and major newspapers.

The rally opened with a speech by a representative of Lutte Ouvrière. The Communist League offered Lutte Ouvrière the platform as an act of solidarity against the banning of a Lutte Ouvrière meeting.

Alain Krivine, the Communist League's candidate in the 1969



Communist League rally at Paris Sports Palace

Rouge

French presidential elections, and League leaders André Fichaut and Daniel Bensaid spoke. Both Krivine and Bensaid attacked the Union of the Left as a blind alley for the struggle for socialism in France.

André Fichaut discussed the necessity of democracy in the workers movement, using as an illustration a recent electrical workers' strike in Brest, which he had been a leader of. He stressed the importance of democratically controlled strike committees.

The final speaker was Ernest Mandel, a Belgian Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International. Mandel has been banned from France since 1968. His appearance surprised

the crowd, which responded enthusiastically.

The Feb. 10 issue of *Rouge*, a weekly newspaper published by the Communist League, carries a special section on the Communist League's campaign in Rouen, an industrial city in northeastern France.

The Rouen campaign started with building Jan. 11 and 20 antiwar mobilizations called by the Indochina Solidarity Front, a French antiwar organization. The Rouen candidates also addressed meetings of hundreds on the campuses. The candidates spoke on the breakdown of the institutions of French society and the inability of the Union of the Left to provide a

solution to the problems of French workers and students.

In addition to supporting the antiwar and workers movements, the Rouen candidates have been using their campaign to promote the struggle for high school rights and for women's right to abortion.

Rouge also reported that the Rouen revolutionary socialists were publishing a special campaign newspaper *La Lutte Continue* (The Struggle Continues), which was "freely and massively distributed." The Rouen campaign had more than 25 meetings scheduled for February, including rallies at factory gates and at public markets.

Answer to the Daily World

Trotskyism: the road to the right?

By MILTON ALVIN

In the Dec. 30, 1972, *Daily World*, voice of the Communist Party, columnist George Morris exhumed the late Max Shachtman for a political autopsy. In a contemptuous and condescending way he states, "It is not very often that this column notes the affairs of live or dead Trotskyists."

Max Shachtman, a member of the Communist Party in the early 1920s and a founder of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International, died Nov. 4, 1972. He broke with Trotskyism in 1939 and eventually joined the Socialist Party. (See *The Militant*, Dec. 1, 1972.)

Morris notes Shachtman's evolution to the right took place after he "advanced the thesis that the Soviet Union is not a workers' state . . ." and that "he eventually took his group into the Socialist Party."

Morris's main thesis is that Trotskyism is the breeding ground for right-wing politics. He asserts "the well-established historic reality that Trotskyism is the road to the right . . ."

In trying to prove this point, Morris cannot forgo the temptation to unload Louis Budenz on the Trotskyists. Budenz, Morris contends, began as a Trotskyist "for whom the Communist Party wasn't 'left' enough" and "ended up in the ultrarightists' gutter."

What are the facts? In 1934 Budenz was a leader of the American Workers Party, which united with the Trotskyists to form the Workers Party. Budenz vigorously opposed the merger. When he was unable to block the unification he held membership in the Workers Party for three months.

Then, Morris neglects to mention, Budenz went on to join the Communist Party and for more than a decade

was a prominent leader of that organization, serving as editor of its newspaper, then the *Daily Worker*.

As editor of the *Daily Worker* Budenz energetically defended the numerous crimes of the Stalinists against the workers movement. His colleague George Morris stood shoulder to shoulder with him and supplied the paper with the same kind of smears of political opponents that appear in his column today.

When the cold-war period arrived in the late 1940s Budenz deserted the Stalinist ship to return to the Catholic Church. He became the government's most prominent informer during the witch-hunt period, offering "expert testimony" before congressional red-hunting committees and the courts.

If renegades are proof of a false program, as Morris believes, then he should explain the huge numbers produced by the Communist Party.

Stalinism has graduated more paid informers than any other movement. It is up to Morris to tell why Budenz, Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, and many others who were longtime Stalinists became government stool pigeons.

In his smear against the SWP, Morris writes, "Shachtman first tried to win the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party for his position [on the Soviet Union]. But the SWP wasn't yet ready to go that far at that stage and rejected him." (Emphasis added.)

Morris throws in "at that stage" to suggest that the SWP adopted Shachtman's position at a later stage. This is a typical Stalinist slander.

The SWP has never changed its position that the Soviet Union is a workers state and that it must be de-

fended against imperialism even though it is ruled by a self-serving privileged bureaucracy.

The truth about Shachtman is that he split from the Socialist Workers Party and from Trotskyism because he could no longer support the position of unconditional support to the Soviet Union. It was the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 that sparked his political disorientation.

He was one of a large number of radicals—including members of the Communist Party—who fell victim to the wave of anti-Soviet propaganda U.S. imperialism was able to generate by exploiting the worldwide revulsion that greeted the Stalin-Hitler pact.

The unprincipled pact with Hitler capped a long list of crimes against the working class committed by Stalin and supported by his followers, including all the George Morris and Louis Budenzes.

Among these were the betrayal of the Chinese Revolution of 1927, the capitulation to Hitler without a struggle in 1933, the imposition of Peoples Frontism on the French and Spanish workers in 1935, the frame-up Moscow Trials of the mid-1930s and numerous other crimes.

Morris's main purpose in falsifying Shachtman's political record is to intimidate CP members and supporters who are presently raising questions about Soviet policies.

Communist Party members are openly opposing the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Many are asking questions about the repression of dissidents in the Soviet Union. CP and Young Workers Liberation League members are disturbed by the deals between Soviet leaders and Nixon at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution.

Morris is trying to inhibit discussion of these questions by conjuring up the ghost of Max Shachtman. He is trying to establish the idea that any questioning of Soviet policy automatically leads to the swamp of social democracy.

Above all he wants to discourage people from reading or hearing what Trotskyists have to say.

Shachtman identified the Kremlin bureaucracy with the Soviet Union itself. His revulsion against the crimes of that bureaucracy led him to the totally false notion that the Soviet Union was no longer worthy of defense. That did lead him into the camp of imperialism, as Trotsky predicted.

Morris, like Shachtman, also identifies the privileged Kremlin rulers with the USSR itself. He, however, defends and tries to explain away the crimes of the bureaucracy in the name of "defending the Soviet Union" and combating "anti-Sovietism."

As a servile pawn of the bureaucracy, he supports a reformist line in the U.S., which his party promotes as a means of realizing "coexistence" between U.S. imperialism and the Moscow bureaucrats.

Both the Socialist Party of Shachtman and the Communist Party of Morris support the Democratic Party and have done so for decades. Whatever their purposes may be, they find themselves in essential political agreement on this and many other questions. No amount of squirming on the part of Morris can change this reality.

Perhaps Morris would like to write a column explaining how this can be. In the meantime, he would be well advised to stick to his rule of not writing about "the affairs of live or dead Trotskyists."

What's happening to the dollar?

Decline of the Dollar by Ernest Mandel. Monad Press (Distributed by Pathfinder Press). New York, 1972. 128 pp. Cloth \$4.95, Paper \$1.75.

What is behind the crises of the international monetary system? This question is hotly debated in radical movements around the world as well as in the secret meetings of central bankers.

Decline of the Dollar provides a historical and analytic explanation selected from the writings of the Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel. It is divided into two parts.

The first part contains a series of Mandel's articles opening with the 1964 crisis of the British pound and concluding with the dollar crises ultimately leading to devaluation in 1971. The second part is a more general presentation of the Marxist theory of international finance. (This appeared first in the March-April 1969 issue of the *International Socialist Review*.)

From the outset of the writings pre-

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sented here, Mandel contended that the central factor weakening international finance was the inflated dollar. This was true even though the initial upheavals centered on the British pound.

In February 1965 General de Gaulle shocked international bankers with the proposal that the major world powers go back onto the gold standard. Mandel replied in an article entitled "De Gaulle Doesn't Know It But the Golden Days of Capitalism Are Over."

He pointed out that the health of the international financial system is tied to the health of the dollar—the main world currency—and consequently to the health of the American economy. But this contains an insoluble contradiction.

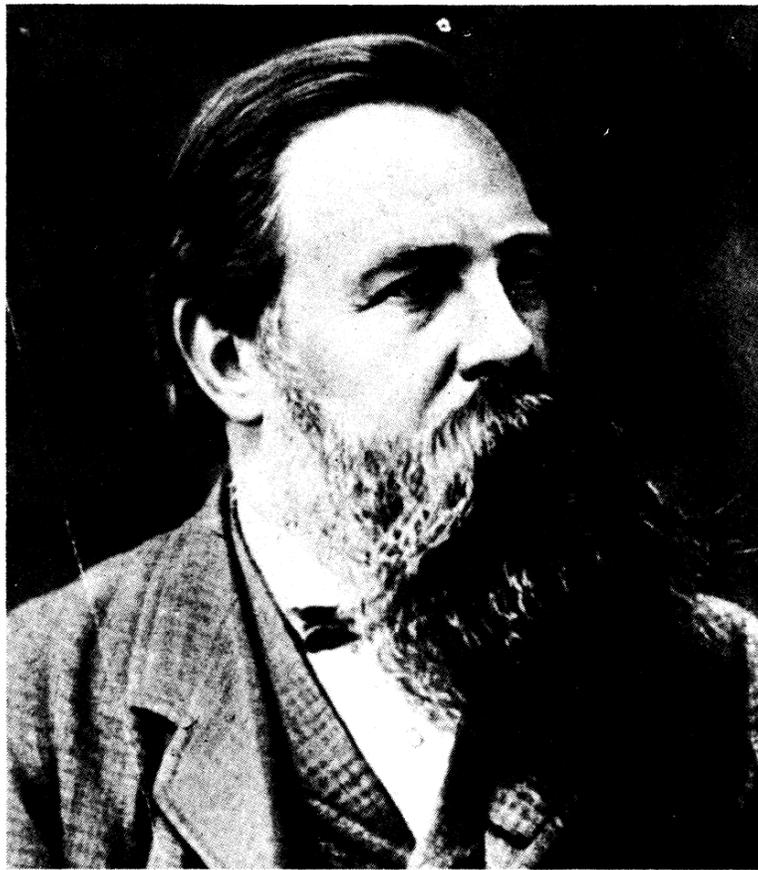
In order to keep the U.S. economy growing, Washington must continuously inflate the dollar. "Inflation in the U.S.," Mandel said, "... is rooted in the huge volume of public debt and unproductive expenses (twenty-five years of uninterrupted 'boom' based on military expenditures!) as well as in a staggering amount of private indebtedness. To destroy these roots would mean destroying the very factor which up to now has prevented a new depression of the 1929 type."

But continuous dollar inflation threatened to wreck international finance. This is because world trade and investment require currencies that remain fairly stable over long periods.

Could the contradiction be ironed out? Not within the framework of world capitalism, Mandel asserted. The subsequent history of international finance testifies to the validity of this analysis.

Readers of *Decline of the Dollar* will also find most helpful the introduction, chronology, and glossary written by Jon Britton. These explain the Bretton Woods system of world finance and trace its major developments leading to the 1971 collapse.

—DICK ROBERTS



Engels on socialism

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific by Frederick Engels. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 63 pp. Ninety-five cents.

Anybody reading this pamphlet should be sure not to skip the introduction Engels wrote in 1892 for its English edition.

Why is it, he asks, that in England "almost all educated people ... believe in all sorts of impossible miracles, and that even geologists like Buckland and Mantell ... contort the facts so as not to clash too much with the myths of the book of Genesis"?

He demonstrates the value of the materialist approach to history by explaining the historical reasons for the conservatism of the English middle class in matters of religion.

It was the Catholic Church that united all Western Europe in a single political system. The Church served as its center, surrounding feudal institutions "with a halo of divine consecration" and maintaining as its humble handmaid the science necessary for developing industry. Its own hierarchy and its dominion over fully one-third of the land were the very embodiment of the feudal system.

The Protestant sects of seventeenth-century England were the back-

Pamphlets

bone of the antifeudal revolution led by Cromwell. But by the end of that century the English bourgeoisie had been accepted as a recognized part of the ruling class. The Protestant sects now served as a conservative force, propping up the established order. The materialist ideology of the French *philosophes* no longer corresponded to the needs of the English bourgeoisie (although crushing French pretensions to maritime rivalry and annexing French colonies did).

Engels applies historical materialism to show how the prejudices, social relations, and political and economic needs of the English bourgeoisie combined to mold its ideological outlook. He then applies the same methodology to the rise of scientific socialism.

One of the great contributions of Marxism is that it shows how the evolution of ideas is linked to the evolution of society as a whole. Thus Engels explains the rise of utopian socialism, formulated by such men as Fourier, Saint-Simon, and Owen at the opening of the nineteenth century, as a reaction to the disappointment of the French revolution. Where the triumph of reason had been forecast, what was at hand was the bitter exploitation of the working class.

But the utopians were unable to develop a theory of history that could answer this question: If socialism is rational, why wasn't it instituted long ago? Although Marx and Engels built on the intellectual acquisitions of those who had gone before them, they were the first to understand that the theory of socialism was not "an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."

Having explained the ideological and material bases for the development of socialism, Engels tells how Marx explained the mechanics of capitalist production and put this mode of production in its historical context.

In his introduction to *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, George Novack points out that it has been one of the most influential and widely circulated of the Marxist classics. Unfortunately, it is not widely used in the basic philosophy courses given at American colleges—a fact that can also be explained through the method presented by Engels.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Population control in India

The Myth of Population Control: Family, Caste, and Class in an Indian Village by Mahmood Mamdani. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1972. 174 pp. Cloth \$7.95.

"... we entered a crowded slum area. ... People eating, people washing, people sleeping. ... People defecating and urinating. People clinging to buses. People herding animals. People, people, people, people. As we moved slowly through the mob ... the dust, noise, heat, and cooking fires gave the scene a hellish aspect. Would we ever get to our hotel? All three of us were, frankly, frightened ... since that night I've known the feel of overpopulation."

This description of Delhi comes from Paul Ehrlich's *Population Bomb*, the Bible of those who believe "too many people" cause poverty, slums, and pollution. Mahmood Mamdani appropriately uses the quote in the introduction to his book *The Myth of Population Control*.

After quoting Ehrlich, Mamdani coolly observes: "The fact is that a hot summer night on Broadway in New

Books

York of Piccadilly Circus in London would put Ehrlich in the midst of a far larger crowd. Yet such an experience would not spur him to comment with grave concern about 'overpopulation'."

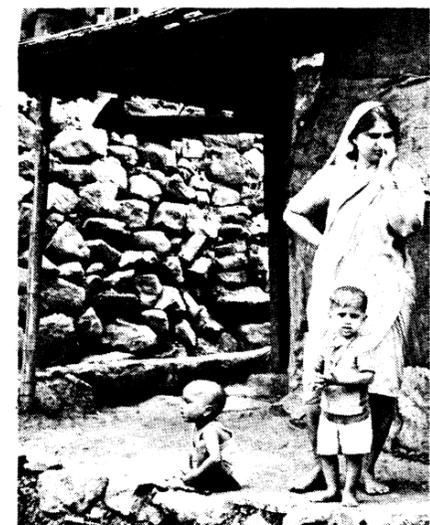
Mamdani, an Indian, based his book on a birth control study conducted in the village of Manupur in the 1960s.

Poverty in India is not caused by "overpopulation," Mamdani contends, and Indians want no part of American teams that come to teach them birth control.

But while rejecting the population-control theory, he seems to accept as unshakable the traditional Indian norm that women's chief role is to bear as many children as possible. He sees no chance that Indian women will challenge these traditions that deny them the right to control their reproductive lives.

Forced motherhood is no more desirable than forced sterilization. Mamdani's assumption that the two are separate, almost unrelated questions prevents his book from being the powerful answer to the population control forces that it might otherwise be.

—CINDY JAQUITH



Militant/Barry Sheppard

Oil giants mask profit drive with talk of 'energy crisis'

By STEVE BECK

"The 'energy crisis' could well serve as a smoke-screen for a massive exercise in picking the pocket of the American consumer to the tune of billions of dollars a year. . . . [It] was manufactured right here in Washington. It could have been averted with a stroke of the President's pen."

That's how David Freeman, former White House energy adviser and current Ford Foundation researcher, recently described the national fuel shortage. In past weeks factories in West Virginia, Illinois, and Mississippi have been idled. Denver high schools have been forced onto three-day weeks, and housing projects in New York City have been denied daytime heat. But it is greed, not ecology, that has led to this winter's freezing nights, lost work-days and climbing utility bills.

Oil refineries can distill crude oil into either gasoline or the heavier heating oils, and usually do so in time to meet winter needs. This year, the oil giants chose to freeze us out.

"As late as last September, government assessments showed that U. S. refineries could provide adequate distillates for the coming heating season," Darrell Trent of the Office of Emergency Prepared-



ness (OEP) testified before the Senate Interior Committee.

The former OEP director, George Lincoln, also complained that the refiners tricked him, promising enough fuel to squeeze by. "Actually," Lincoln said, "heating oil inventories have been sagging since last March, but the refineries were turning out gasoline instead since the administration's Phase 2 price ceilings on gasoline were more profitable than heating oil prices."

Abundant supplies of natural gas that accompany every oil deposit aren't even tapped by oil drillers. Federal law holds its price at 26 cents per thousand cubic feet, so the profit-conscious oilers simply let it bubble up near their offshore rigs or burn it off on land.

Imported oil, meanwhile, is blocked by the oil import quota, a system restricting imports of the cheap foreign fuel to 12.2 percent of domestic production east of the Rockies. The quota means \$5-7-billion extra income to the oil industry each year. Nixon "temporarily" suspended it this January only after supplies were already critically low.

The oil profiteers seem to have three goals in their game of energy blackmail:

1) To decontrol natural gas prices. Lawrence Stern of the *Washington Post* estimates that "a 30-cent increase in the interstate price of natural gas would hand over to the major producers \$6.6 billion in annual gas billings." Naturally, it is the consumers who will pay, although in most states probusiness utility commissions already grant premium rates to industrial users.

2) To secure a favorable imports policy. Claiming to fear "international blackmail" by Mideast oil producers, these domestic blackmailers are seeking a means to preserve the profitable monopoly of U. S. oil. Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) has announced he will introduce legislation to make the U. S. self-sufficient in energy within 10 years.

3) To isolate the ecology movement. The petroleum industry recently poured out \$3-million in ads

saying "A country that runs on oil can't afford to run short." Meanwhile, the electric companies' advertising program hits us with \$2-million a year in media pollution aimed at convincing us that "environmental cleanup" needs lots of power, so we should stop objecting to their new plants.

In fact, power production is a very dirty business. Coal and oil-burning plants pollute the air, and dams flood scenic river valleys. Nuclear plants are of questionable safety and harm aquatic life when water used to cool their reactors is dumped back into nearby lakes and streams.

A study of 124 major power plants by the Council on Economic Priorities showed the utilities to be criminally lax in their pollution-control efforts. Forty-six percent continued to burn high-sulphur oil or coal, 81 percent made no effort to control emphysema-inducing nitrogen oxides, while 64 percent had not installed the most modern soot-control devices.

The negligence of the power and oil companies is best revealed by their first victims: their own employees. For example, welding engineer Carl Houston spent two years fighting industry and Atomic Energy Commission indifference over faulty construction of the Surry nuclear power plant in Virginia. Three months after the AEC gave it the okay to start up, technicians Roger Wood and William Van Duyn were scalded to death there.

Communities across the country have blocked construction of new power plants whenever pollution controls were thought to be inadequate. To rid themselves of blame for the sad state of power production, the utilities and oil giants now seek to blame environmentalism for an electrical shortage. They are turning the screws with a fuel shortage of their own making.

Private ownership, not technology, stands in the way of clean power. Many promising avenues of research could lead to non-polluting generators: solar power, wind power, "fusion reactors" (something like a controlled hydrogen bomb,) and something called "magnetohydrodynamics" (MHD), a process that would convert heat directly into electricity and save vast amounts of fuel.

But research and development has proceeded at a snail's pace. In 1970 the power industry spent a mere \$46-million for R&D, compared to \$395-million for advertising and sales.

Yet even before advanced methods can be put to practical use, pollution can still be minimized by requiring utilities to use the most advanced pollution-control equipment and cleanest fuels. The power companies have resisted such measures fiercely, while spewing out clouds of self-congratulatory advertising each time public pressure forces them to adopt stiffer controls.

In his upcoming message on energy policy, President Nixon is not likely to deny much to his friends in the power industries. According to *American Political Report*, a conservative newsletter with contacts in Washington, "Nixon administration energy crisis policies will be aimed at confronting environmental extremism as well as consolidating the federal-level patchwork of energy regulation."

In the process, fuel and electric prices are likely to rise, pollution regulations bypassed, and the public till plundered for research funds (rather than the hefty 15 percent on investment that is the norm for the oil industry.) The polluters, not the people, should be forced to pay for cleaning up the mess they have made of our resources and environment.



L.A. Chicanos meet on fight to defeat deportation bill

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A day-long conference was held in the Chicano community here Feb. 3 to discuss ways of defeating the racist, antiworker Rodino-Kennedy deportation bill now before the U. S. Congress.

This bill will ostensibly fine employers who hire "illegal aliens," that is, workers without visas or work permits. However, the law will really be used to crack down on workers, including Raza workers who are citizens or already have papers.

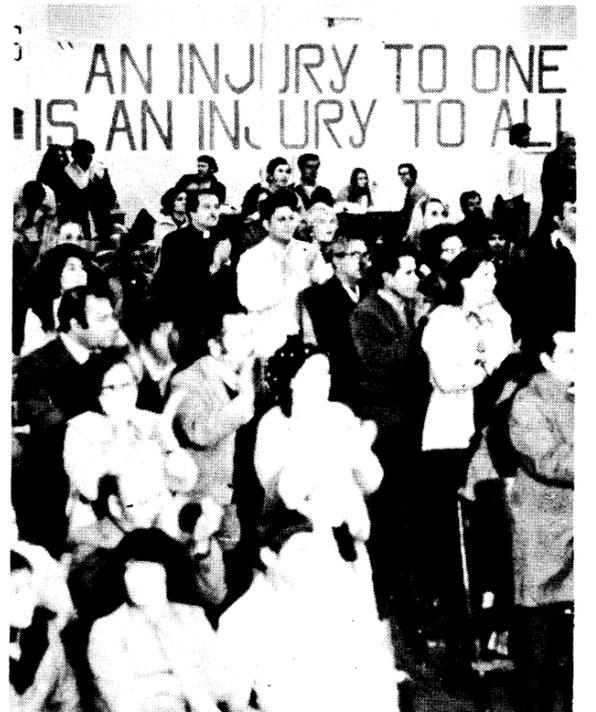
The chief organizer of the conference was CASA-Hermanidad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers)—an organization of Raza workers (most of them without papers) that fights against deportation.

Organizers said that more than 350 people registered for the conference. About 90 percent of the participants were Chicanos, including many youth. The entire conference was conducted in Spanish and English.

Speakers included congressman Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) and Jerome Waldie (D-Calif.).

Bert Corona, a leader of CASA, read telegrams of support from representatives Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) and Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.). Messages were also read from Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, and from the Communist Party. Reverend Al Dortch offered the aid of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Roybal, Waldie, Badillo, and Abzug have all opposed the Rodino-Kennedy bill. Roybal, how-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Los Angeles anti-deportation conference

ever, indicated that he is offering amendments to the bill. If these are accepted, he said he will support the bill.

The conference was described as a "working meeting," and several hours were devoted to workshop discussions. One workshop discussed the everyday problems undocumented workers face; another, how to build a national movement against the bill.

It was stressed that one of the most important aspects of the struggle is to answer the racist arguments that are used to justify deportation. For example, it is U. S. imperialist domination of Latin America that forces workers to come here in search of jobs in the first place.

Much of the discussion at the conference centered on writing letters of protest and lobbying members of Congress to vote against the bill. One aspect of the fight that was left unclear is whether the movement should struggle to defeat the bill or whether the amendments of the type proposed by Roybal will make it "acceptable."

CASA will function as a national clearing house for information to fight the Rodino-Kennedy bill. They can be reached at: CASA, 2673 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006. Telephone: (213) 487-4171.

...Vietnam

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As Senator Hugh Scott (R-Penn.) delicately put it, "If we are engaged in the rehabilitation, we will have a great deal more input into how the peace is kept."

In an appearance before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Feb. 7, Secretary of State William Rogers clarified an important point about the aid proposed by Nixon. He said the aid would not involve outright grants. "I think aid would require purchases within the United States," he stated.

A *New York Times* editorial Feb. 9 referred to the proposed aid to North Vietnam as "a device for ensuring Hanoi's good behavior during the early months of cease-fire and political maneuvering."

According to an analysis by Flora Lewis in the Feb. 15 *New York Times*, "In a sense, the aid will be to the forth-coming political warfare in Vietnam what United States air power was to warfare even after the Americans withdrew from major ground combat and undertook Vietnamization. . . ."

As soon as he heard the talk of U. S. aid, Saigon President Thieu put out his hands for more. In an interview broadcast Feb. 18, he said his regime would need even more economic aid from the U. S. than before the cease-fire. "Now we need more money, we need more work, more air force, but more money, too for development."

Reactionary officials of the Thai government raised a similar plea for more money when Kissinger stopped in Bangkok Feb. 8. The Thai officials cited the urgency of stopping the growing guerrilla struggle in that country.

The way the U. S. rulers use aid to dominate other countries is well illustrated in Cambodia. A report by Henry Kamm in the Feb. 16 *New York Times* described the effects of the \$100-million in economic aid and \$170-million in military aid the U. S. provides each year to the Phnom Penh regime. "American power in Cambodia is so great," writes Kamm, "and Cambodia is so feeble that the country's future is in the hands of the United States."

Noting that the U. S. foists much of the bill for the Cambodian army, Kamm quotes a Cambodian "political leader" as saying, "If you [the U. S.] held up their pay for one month it would finish the Government."

Through financial control, and through the cooperation of all the so-called great powers invited to participate in the Paris conference, the U. S. rulers hope to stifle organized resistance to the proimperialist puppet regimes in Southeast Asia. This will not mean "peace," nor will it mean self-determination for the Indochinese peoples.

...\$ crisis

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\$330-million," said *Business Week*.

What is more significant is that U. S. banks and corporations themselves played a big role in forcing the devaluation of the dollar. "We were modestly long in our position on foreign currencies," an executive of the Los Angeles Security Pacific National Bank told *Business Week*. It means they were dumping dollars and buying marks.

So Senator Javits should have added in his tribute to "MNCs" that in addition to expanding U. S. trade and taking over foreign markets, U. S. monopoly is willing to break the back of any currency that stands in the way—any currency.

Concern for jobs, whether American or foreign, plays no role in the sales and investment decisions of these giant firms. They attempt to sell as much as they can in any and every market they can, and this overriding objective sweeps all else in its path. Increasing world trade warfare, as ominous as its social implications are, is the natural and inevitable consequence.

...ERA

Continued from page 17

directed her remarks at the anti-ERA speakers:

"People said that Black people were

happy the way they were as slaves. I recognize that there are a number of women who continue to defend their inequality. I feel these women are playing the role of 'happy slave'. . . .

"Do not go against the tide in this country," Bustin told the legislators. "More and more women are taking a firm stand in defense of our rights. . . . We will not stop until we have won our rights." Heavy applause greeted Bustin's speech.

Dymphna Flavin, Seattle *Militant* correspondent, reports that two busloads and several car pools converged on the Washington state capitol in Olympia Feb. 7 to participate in hearings on the ERA. More than 400 women packed the galleries of the Senate chambers. Another 100 ERA supporters lined the halls, where the hearing was broadcast over loud speakers.

"Fifty witnesses signed up to testify in support of the ERA, while the opponents could muster only a dozen," Flavin says.

One speaker for the anti-ERA forces was Kenneth VanDerhoef, the head of a group called Human Life. He urged the legislature to "admit there are differences" between men and women.

Madeline Leininger, dean of the University of Washington School of Nursing, called for support to the ERA and described the discrimination against women who seek professional careers.

Bill Olwell, an official in the Retail Clerks union, endorsed the ERA. "When a man goes home to take care of a sick wife, he's a hero," he said. "When a woman goes home to take care of a sick child—well, too many times and she's fired."

...China

Continued from page 18

man, relative or old friend of the officers of that time."

Faced with this situation, the Wuhan "radicals" launched their own wave of terror against the mass movement. Wang Ching-wei concluded that "to go with the masses means to go against the army. No, we had better go without the masses but together with the army." The "radicals" formal-

ly expelled the CCP from the Kuomintang July 15.

In the meantime, in every village and town of Central China mass executions were the order of the day—an entire generation of revolutionary leaders was being slaughtered. On July 14 Bukharin finally declared: "The revolutionary role of the Wuhan government is played out; it is becoming a counterrevolutionary force."

But Bukharin was quick to add that "the support given to Wuhan . . . was correct. . . ." Now he called on the CCP to "prepare the masses for decisive action . . . develop the agrarian revolution . . . arm the workers and peasants . . . organize a competent fighting illegal party apparatus."

The Stalin-Bukharin team announced that the revolution was advancing "to the highest phase of its development." The CCP was told to lead the masses in a direct struggle for power—not in the name of their own organizations, but in the name of the "Left" Kuomintang.

Finally, on Sept. 19, 1927, the CCP was allowed to operate in its own name. This was followed by a series of adventurist uprisings, beginning with the Autumn Harvest risings and ending with the bloody failure of the Dec. 11-13 Canton Commune.

About 5,700 of the most devoted and self-sacrificing member of the CCP gave up their lives in Canton so that Stalin, or so he hoped, would be able to present a victory to the fifteenth congress of the Bolshevik Party, which met Dec. 2-19.

These bitter events dominated the dispute within the Bolshevik Party throughout 1927. As the next article will show, they were a key factor in Stalin's decision to expel the Left Opposition from the party.

We inadvertently dropped a line from the last article on the Left Opposition. It should have read: Stalin and his supporters argued that what was on the agenda for the nonindustrialized countries of Asia was a "democratic," or capitalist, revolution. The tasks of this revolution would stop with national unification and independence, a democratic government, and land reform. A workers government, the nationalization of industry, a planned economy—all these things would be left for a later stage.

Socialist Directory

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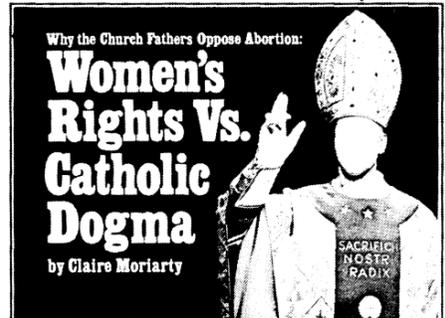
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THE MILITANT

Detroit hearings end

Black commission calls actions to end racist 'STRESS' terror



Black Commission of Inquiry at final session, Feb. 17

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, Feb. 18 — The Independent Black Commission of Inquiry into Police Terror reported its findings at the fifth and last in a series of public meetings. (See *The Militant*, Feb. 23.) This final meeting also heard action proposals for ending police harassment.

More than 80 people gathered at Wayne State University's general lectures auditorium Feb. 17 to hear the commission's report and to map a strategy for freeing the city from the police terror.

Earlier in the week, 150 people attended the fourth hearing, held at Presentation Catholic High School. Testimony from the audience documented the daily harassment and brutality Detroit's Black community faces at the hands of the special plainclothes squad known as STRESS ("Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets") and the regular "line" officers.

Gil Bass, reporting to the final session for the commission, said that the hearings had substantiated charges of a reign of police terror in the Black community. The commission found, he said, widespread violation of the civil rights of Black citizens, including detention without arrest, arrest without probable cause, use of cruel and obscene language, degrading insults and racist slurs, illegal searches, false arrests, coercion, immoral acts at gunpoint, assault, and "other heinous crimes."

The commission also reported that the STRESS squad has a "take-no-prisoners attitude," which has resulted in the deaths of many innocent people.

"STRESS," the commission said, "must be abolished."

The Citizens Complaint Bureau, it found, "is totally useless." "Police investigating police is a joke." The commission charged that the cops have "a vendetta against the Black community."

Several commissioners commented on the findings. Stu House, aide to Congressman John Conyers, called attention to the pattern of the latest wave of terror. After a manhunt was begun

for three alleged police killers—Hayward Brown, John Boyd, and Mark Bethune—police began harassing first the families of the three suspects, then their friends, then acted on "tips," and finally, resorted to indiscriminate harassment of Black citizens.

House took special note of the "sexual abuse of Black women." The police, he said, "acted as a Gestapo," entering "homes like a group of storm troopers."

Gene Cunningham of *South End*, the Wayne State University newspaper, commented that it wasn't "just STRESS, but the entire police force is out of control." He said there was "no citizen redress" and urged that the "thrust of proposals [to end STRESS] should be towards total community control of the police department."

A number of proposals were put forward for an action campaign to abolish STRESS and to end the police terror.

The proposal submitted by the steering committee of the Black Commission won overwhelming support. It was signed by Gene Cunningham; George Cushingberry, vice-chairman, Association of Black Students, WSU; Lonnie Dee, Black Panther Party; Garry Adeogun, Black People to Abolish STRESS; Charles Haynie and Willard Living of WDET-FM "For My People"; Vera Coleman and Maceo Dixon, coordinators of the Black Commission of Inquiry; and six members of the steering committee of the commission.

Also voting for this proposal were Stu House and Loretta Akers.

The proposal was introduced by Darrius Mans, a member of the steering committee. It calls for a mass demonstration in April when the common council meets to discuss the police budget. The actual date for the budget hearing has not been set. The demonstration would demand "Abolish STRESS Now!" and "No funds To STRESS!"

The proposal calls for a broad educational campaign to reach into every high school, campus, community

group, and shop where Black people are to be found. Its aim will be to explain the true role of STRESS and the police in the Black community, the need to abolish STRESS, and the need to move toward community control of the police.

Another proposal advanced by Black People to Abolish STRESS was accepted as a friendly amendment to the steering committee proposal. Among other things it called for the to-be-formed coalition to put all candidates for mayor on the spot and make them take a position on STRESS and the demonstration.

Proposals presented by two small sectarian radical groups in attendance, calling for "building a labor party now" and getting involved in an internal faction fight in the National Welfare Rights Organization, drew little support.

While the Black media, especially WCHB, WDET, WCAR, and the *Michigan Chronicle*, have been giving extensive and accurate coverage of the commission's activities, the white media has tended to downplay it through the second week of hearings.

Typical of coverage this week were articles in the *Michigan Chronicle* and *Muhammad Speaks* and extensive radio coverage. WDET-FM played the entire tape from the first hearing on Feb. 17. The station reported receiving many calls from both whites and Blacks. Black listeners generally confirmed the testimony on the tape as true, while white listeners made racist statements such as "get that bitch off the air"—in reference to the testimony of a Black woman brutalized by police.

The findings of the commission differed sharply from the report of Police Commissioner John Nichols before a closed meeting of the Detroit common council. Nichols denied there was any harassment of Black citizens. He said, "It isn't a question of harassment." "In all cases we've reviewed," he claimed, "there was a valid reason that led officers to an address to question occupants or search the premises."

Bilingual petitions won for N.Y. school bd. election

By EILEEN WELLS

NEW YORK, Feb. 17 — Federal Judge Charles Stewart ordered today that nominating petitions for the New York school board candidates must be made available in Spanish as well as English.

Nominating petitions for the election of 33 community school boards are scheduled to be circulated starting Feb. 20. The court order resulted from a suit filed on behalf of candidates and voters from six school districts, and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), a nonpartisan voting rights group.

The suit charged the board of elections and board of education with denying Spanish and Chinese voters their right to participate as candidates and voters in the May 1 election.

In addition to Spanish petitions, the suit seeks to have bilingual registration materials and ballot instructions. These points will be taken up by the judge later this week.

According to Cesar Perales, executive director of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, which handled the case, Chinese plaintiffs were not included in the court order and were asked to negotiate separately with the board of elections. "The 1965 Voting Rights Act, under which Puerto Ricans are guaranteed the right to vote, does not apply to Chinese voters," Perales said.

After meeting with the board, the attorneys reported that Chinese language materials, including petitions, would be printed by the board for distribution in two school districts. These districts encompass Chinatown and are the only ones with a sizable enrollment of Chinese students.

Georgina Hoggard, chairwoman of the District 1 school board, announced that as a result of a petition drive CoDEL launched in the district, hundreds of signatures had been collected from Puerto Rican and Chinese parents asking for trilingual election materials and procedures.

"Our people have realized that if they want their lives to change, one thing they've got to do is vote," she said.

NEW YORK, Feb. 18 — Seventy people attended a candidate-screening session today held by the Coalition for Education in District 1. The coalition, representing parents in the predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese district, seeks to back a slate of pro-community-control candidates in the May 1 school board elections.

Key points in the coalition's criteria for candidates are: 1) support to embattled school superintendent Luis Fuentes; 2) opposition to budget cuts; 3) general support for the concept of community control, including the right of the community school board to hire and fire teachers, paraprofessionals, and administrators.

The coalition announced it had obtained a campaign headquarters.