

THE MILITANT

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

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KITTY HAWK TRIALS CONTINUE: The court-martial machinery set up in San Diego continues to grind out convictions for the Black seamen being used as scapegoats for the confrontations aboard the USS *Kitty Hawk*. Militant correspondent Marilee Savage writes that Airman Apprentice Nelson Mouton Jr. was found innocent of the original charges of rioting and assault, but was found guilty of refusing to obey an order while in the brig awaiting trial. Mouton, who spent 87 days in the brig and makes \$342 a month, was fined \$680 by a jury of three white officers.

Although many of the sailors being tried have been held in the brig for more than 90 days, in violation of a 1971 ruling by a military court of appeals, the military judges trying the cases have refused to release them.

Representatives Yvonne Braithwaite and Ron Dellums of the Congressional Black Caucus sent representatives to San Diego on Feb. 12 to attend the courts-martial and investigate the cases.

DEFENDING OUR RIGHTS: The U.S. government is helping local police forces acquire the most sophisticated military weaponry and surveillance devices available, while creating a vast computerized file on millions of Americans. These charges, made Feb. 4 by the Lawyers Committee on Civil Liberties, were given added currency by recent disclosures that the Central Intelligence Agency has been training police intelligence squads. The New York City police department has announced it is purging its intelligence records of one million names—leaving 240,000 still on its lists.

DISMISSAL OF TOMBS CHARGES GETS HOGAN'S GOAT: Remaining charges against Herbert X Blyden and Stanley King, the last two prisoners facing trial as a result of the 1970 rebellion in the Manhattan House of Detention, were dismissed Feb. 13 by New York Supreme Court judge Xavier Riccobono. Riccobono maintained that the prisoners' right to a speedy trial had been violated by the two-year delay. He also felt that further prosecution would be neither "wise, appropriate nor economically advisable" in view of the acquittal of four previous defendants on similar charges.

District Attorney Frank Hogan didn't say whether he will appeal the ruling, although he called it "a serious precedent for having the issue of guilt or innocence . . . determined by a judge and not by a petty jury."

Hogan's concern about the jury system should be viewed in the context of his public attack on the jurors who acquitted three of the Tombs defendants last summer. At that time, Hogan attacked the jury for "making political statements," and called its verdict "a hideous miscarriage of justice."

DOMINICANS IN NEW YORK HIT REPRESSION: Chanting "Joaquin Balaguer, asesino en el poder!" (assassin in power) and other slogans, and waving banners and signs denouncing the recent wave of government repression in the Dominican Republic, several hundred Dominicans demonstrated in front of the Dominican consulate in New York Feb. 7.

Under the pretext that a band of nine or 10 guerrillas had allegedly "invaded" the country from Cuba and were backed by the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (Dominican Revolutionary Party—PRD), President Balaguer has launched a campaign of persecution against



Militant/B.R. Washington

political activists. Public schools, the university, and five radio stations in Santo Domingo were closed down. PRD headquarters were raided and a number of PRD activists arrested. Juan Bosch and Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, central leaders of the PRD, which is the main opposition party, are being sought by the police.

The New York demonstration was called by the PRD, which also held a rally in the Dominican section of Manhattan Feb. 10.

RAP BROWN TRIAL PROCEEDS DESPITE JURY TAMPERING: Judge Arnold Fraiman has refused to declare

a mistrial in the prosecution of Black activist H. Rap Brown and three codefendants on charges of robbery and attempted murder. Louis Moss, the chief jury clerk, admitted Jan. 30 that he urged jurors to "give in" rather than hold out for acquittal, and that he complained to them about "revolutionaries that are walking out of here scot free because of hung juries."

Brown has been allowed to act as cocounsel in his case. In his opening remarks to the jury he said: "Now I am told that this is supposedly a jury of my peers. . . . If I said that you were in my peer group on the basis of your racial origin that would exclude a lot of you." (Eight of the jurors are white.) Brown pointed out that his excessive bail (\$200,000) was an example of preventive detention and violated the presumption of his innocence. He also attacked the government's claim to stand for the law, saying, "This is a country that builds an atomic bomb and drops it on people."

Of the 18 prosecution witnesses present so far only two have claimed to identify Brown, and their testimony has been discredited by defense attorneys.

N.Y. BAR GROUPS BACK GAY RIGHTS BILL: The special committee on sex and law and the committee on civil rights of the New York City Bar Association recently urged the city council to pass Intro 475. This bill, which would prohibit discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing, and public accommodations, has been bottled up in a council subcommittee for more than two years. Although a majority of the council members have signed a petition stating their support for the bill, they don't seem very eager to vote on it.

'TAXIS FOR MEN AND WOMEN': That was the demand raised by 75 demonstrators Jan. 31. They picketed the Bank of America's world headquarters in San Francisco to protest the bank's decision to discontinue taxi service for its women employees. Some 300 women on the bank's night shift currently use the taxi service, minimizing the danger of rape and assault as they leave work at 3 a.m. But when male employees asked for a parking lot, the bank management announced that they had "complained of sex discrimination," and that in order to restore "equality" the taxi service would be ended.

The demonstration was called by the Coalition for Equal Rights, which includes Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality, Chauffeurs Local 265, Bank Employees Data Processing Association, and some Bay Area women's liberation groups.

BREAKTHROUGH ON PRISONERS' RIGHTS: According to California prison officials, "The sending and receiving of mail is a privilege, not a right. . . ." On Feb. 2 a three-judge federal court in San Francisco disagreed, insisting that "the prisoner's right to correspond is a fundamental right protected by the First Amendment."

The court ruled on a suit brought against the Department of Correction by San Quentin inmates Robert Martinez and Wayne Earley. The decision was the first clear court declaration on the right to personal mail. It is particularly important because the rules attacked are nearly identical to those in prison systems all over the country.

The judges held that only "obscene" material or material that presents a "clear and present danger" to the institution could be banned. Conflicting interpretations of what is "obscene" or a "danger" may be the subject of future legal action.

The ruling also struck down the restriction that prisoner interviews for legal defense must be limited to members of the bar and investigators licensed by the state.

LAWTON TRIAL GOES TO JURY: After five months, the trial of Gary Lawton, Nehemiah Jackson, and Larrie Gardner went to the jury Feb. 8 in Indio, Calif. The prosecution has spent more than \$2-million in its attempt to convict the three Black activists of the murder of two white policemen. But every single prosecution witness has been shown to have lied about key facts in the case, and every single piece of evidence against the three has been either circumstantial or false. The jury is all-white and all over 50 years of age.

NEW FRAME-UP ATTEMPT AGAINST YWLL LEADER: John Line, state chairman of the Michigan Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), has had to face nine charges of passing bad checks over the last two years. In eight of the cases charges were dropped for lack of evidence. In the ninth an all-white jury found the Black activist innocent after deliberating less than 40 minutes. Now Line has been ordered to appear for trial Feb. 13 on a charge of passing a bad check in the same town and on the same night named in his previous trial. The attempt to railroad Line to prison is being led by prosecutor Brooks Patterson, a leader of the racist anti-busing campaign in Pontiac.

—DAVE FRANKEL

50,000 fight starvation wages

S. African Blacks defy gov't in strike wave

By TONY THOMAS

FEB. 13—"Seven years ago when Mrs. Msomi began working for a Durban textile factory her weekly pay was a little over \$4, out of which she had to pay for her own transportation to and from her home 20 miles away.

"By the time Mrs. Msomi walked out with several thousand workers this week, her pay had risen to a little over \$10. Out of this she still had to pay \$2.50 for her transportation, and with the rest she supported a pensioner husband and five grandchildren.

"The parent company of the concern for which Mrs. Msomi worked announced to shareholders last November that pretax profits had risen from almost \$2-million in 1971 to almost \$3.5-million in 1972." (*New York Times* dispatch from Johannesburg, South Africa, dated Feb. 3, 1973.)

Tens of thousands of Black African workers like Mrs. Msomi revolted against these conditions at the beginning of February in a series of illegal strikes in Durban and other parts of South Africa's Natal province. These strikes have been one of the most significant blows struck at South Africa's *apartheid* system of racial segregation in many years.

South Africa's white minority of four million maintains its rule over 15 million Black Africans by strictly segregating all aspects of life. Their aim is to reduce the political and economic power of Black Africans while using them as a cheap source of labor.

The Feb. 19 *Time* magazine reports "the average white worker earns \$475 a month and the average Black receives \$30." The Feb. 4 *New York Times* reported that 80 percent of Black workers in the Natal province area were being paid "well below" the poverty level set by the South African regime.

These conditions are fed by the Bantustan system, an attempt to put large numbers of Black Africans in reservations separated from the main industrial and political centers of South Africa. Only individual workers, and sometimes their families, are allowed to leave the Bantustans to find work in the cities. The employers or the South African government can send

these workers back at any time.

Most of the Black workers in Natal are from Kwazulu, the Bantustan of the 4.5 million Zulu people. Peter Hawthorne, writing in the Feb. 11 *New York Times*, described Kwazulu as "a territory economically incapable of accommodating the whole tribe. So most of the men work in the white man's economy, about 150,000 of them in Durban alone." In Natal they find what a white trade-union official described as "the lowest-paid province with the highest cost of living."

Militancy among Black workers has been simmering for weeks. Dock workers, bus drivers, brickworkers, and building laborers had recently struck in Capetown, Johannesburg, and Pretoria.

The Durban strikes began in a brickworks, where striking workers won a promise of weekly wage increases of \$4, bringing them up to about \$16.

"Meanwhile," the Feb. 4 *New York Times* reported, "other workers—mostly Zulus, men, women, and some Asians—began to walk off the job in textile factories, engineering workshops and other industrial plants. One was the city's biggest bakery. Others affected by stoppages included the Pepsi-Cola bottling company and some of the city's luxury hotels."

The Feb. 7 *Christian Science Monitor* reported the extension of the strike to municipal workers: "Three thousand municipal workers—in the city's drainage, road, and electricity departments—put their tools down at the beginning of the week bringing operations to a near complete standstill."

Hawthorne reported in the Feb. 11 *Times* that by Feb. 4 the strikes had affected "100 Durban concerns and involved possibly 50,000 workers. . . ."

The workers' main demands centered on wage increases. The public workers, for example, demanded a \$13 weekly wage increase, which would give them a take-home pay of \$30, the official poverty level.

The South African regime responded to the strikes by sending in special police reinforcements from Pretoria, South Africa's capital. The *Monitor* reported, "There have been several clashes over the past several days as pickets attempted to stop workers from going to work. Several arrests have



Police club Black worker in Durban

been made and truckloads of armed police are standing by at key points in the city." An AP dispatch dated Feb. 8 reported that in Durban, "police went into action four times against striking black workers today."

A *Times* dispatch dated Feb. 7 reported, "Policemen fired tear gas today at a crowd of about 200 blacks at Hammarsdale, an industrial area about 25 miles from Durban that has been closed down by strikes." These workers had broken away from a larger demonstration of about 7,000 in the Hammarsdale residential section. The police then attacked the crowd with tear gas and clubs. Afterward, "Policemen armed with riot guns and accompanied by dogs continued to patrol the residential and factory areas."

On Feb. 8, according to a Reuters dispatch, most of the municipal workers decided to return to work following an ultimatum from Durban Mayor

Ron Williams that anyone not back to work by Feb. 9 would be fired. The dispatch reported that the workers reached the decision at a number of mass meetings.

The Durban city council promised the workers an "immediate pay raise of 15 percent, which would give the lowest-paid workers a raise of \$2.30 per week." Reuters said that "without unions, and therefore [without] strike pay, remaining on strike was becoming increasingly difficult for the men."

"A worker who returned to his job at a textile mill said the men were going back 'because we are hungry, and not because we have accepted the new wages.'"

While Reuters reported that several thousand textile and rubber workers had joined the 16,000 public workers in ending their strike, it also stated that "about 10,000 men were still out, and there were several new strikes today in support of demands for higher pay."

Philly teachers protest jailing of union officers

By JOHN ISENHOWER

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 13—More than 2,500 angry teachers demonstrated outside Holmesburg prison here Feb. 11 to protest the jailing of two union officers. The demonstration followed the sentencing Feb. 9 of Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) President Frank Sullivan and chief negotiator John Ryan to prison terms of from six months to four years for ignoring an antistrike injunction.

Judge D. Donald Jamieson also fined Sullivan \$5,000 for not sending the teachers back to work. He fined the union \$160,000, plus another \$10,000 for each day the strike continues. The strike is now entering its second month. Twenty one other union leaders have also been convicted of contempt of court but have not yet been sentenced.

Jamieson vowed not to release Sullivan and Ryan until the strike is settled, although he later allowed them to leave the prison from 10 a.m. to



Local 3 teachers voting to strike at mass rally Jan. 3.

4 p.m. each day to take part in negotiations with the board of education. In his brief sentencing comments Jamieson accused the defendants of a "brutish, clumsy attack on the public welfare," and of having "chosen a route of anarchy."

This tirade was only a small part of the antiunion hysteria local officials and the media have tried to whip up around the strike. On Feb. 5 the board of education announced plans to hire 2,500 scab teachers. This, together with the imprisonment of the union leadership, represents an attempt to smash the PFT.

Teachers reacted to the jailing of Sullivan and Ryan with a rally of 1,200 PFT members at Temple University Feb. 11, in addition to the demonstration outside of the prison. Militant picket lines have also been organized at the homes of city council members and at the board of education.

Philadelphia AFL-CIO President Ed-

ward Toohey has belatedly urged unified labor support for the striking teachers, going so far as to suggest the possibility of a one-day general strike if the city doesn't back down. Tonight a meeting of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO council voted to support such a strike, although it set no date.

In response to this pressure, Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo has offered to up the board of education proposal by \$10-million. Previously he had insisted that no city funds were available to help the schools. However, his offer is not likely to satisfy the strikers.

The board has proposed a three-year contract with no pay increase the first year, a 3 percent increase the second year, and a cost-of-living increase the third year. Tied to this would be the firing of 385 teachers, an increase in the size of classes, and a longer school day.

Workers are victims of bosses' corruption

Issues posed by Penn Central RR strike

By FRANK LOVELL

The bankrupt Penn Central Railroad—largest in the country—was shut down for less than 18 hours Feb. 8. It was long enough, however, to remind the ruling class that railroads are an essential link in the transportation system and to prompt a special act of Congress to make the Penn Central run again.

About 300,000 passengers, 103,000 of them daily commuters in the New York metropolitan area, were affected

thrust into bankruptcy. For the past two and a half years court-approved trustees have been operating the company on a \$1-billion federal subsidy.

This was gobbled up by a hoard of attorneys hired to untangle the company's legal and financial affairs. Meanwhile the tracks and equipment were neglected and have fallen into disrepair. Accidents are frequent, often serious, sometimes fatal. Service is bad and getting worse.

The management seeks a temporary

management "bungling" at Penn Central in the past. "But it and other lines also suffer from featherbedding work rules and suffocating federal regulation."

The *New York Times* renewed its campaign for compulsory arbitration. "For more than a decade Presidential boards have been recommending arbitration as a means of ending the featherbedding that still smothers the nation's railroads," said the *Times*.

Recent railroad tragedies have

In the case of the railroads, the aim of the Commerce Committee study is this: "Free from investor-imposed constraints, the authority would have sufficient power to improve the service capability from a systems vantage point and, hopefully, would eventually restore a revitalized rail system to private ownership and control at little cost to the Federal Government."

Vain hope!

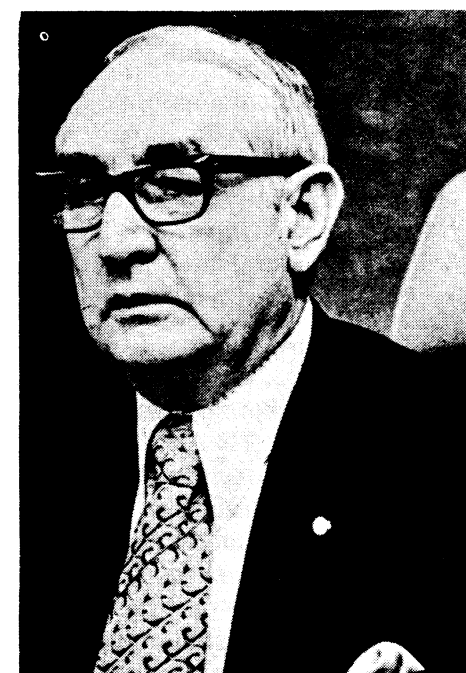
The only rational answer is nationalization of this industry under workers control, with the railroads to be run on a strictly nonprofit basis. Representatives of the employing class have proposed various forms of government intervention, but always with the proviso that private capital be allowed to invest in it. This means that it will be used, as it has in the past, as a source of profits and not as a system of transportation.

Workers badly need a mass transportation system in the cities and between urban areas—to get back and forth to work, and for more enjoyable purposes. The first step would be to nationalize the bankrupt Penn Central.

The railroad workers ought to be in the leadership of a movement to nationalize the railroads. It is the only way they can protect their jobs. And by doing so, they would guarantee the success of the nationalized rail service.

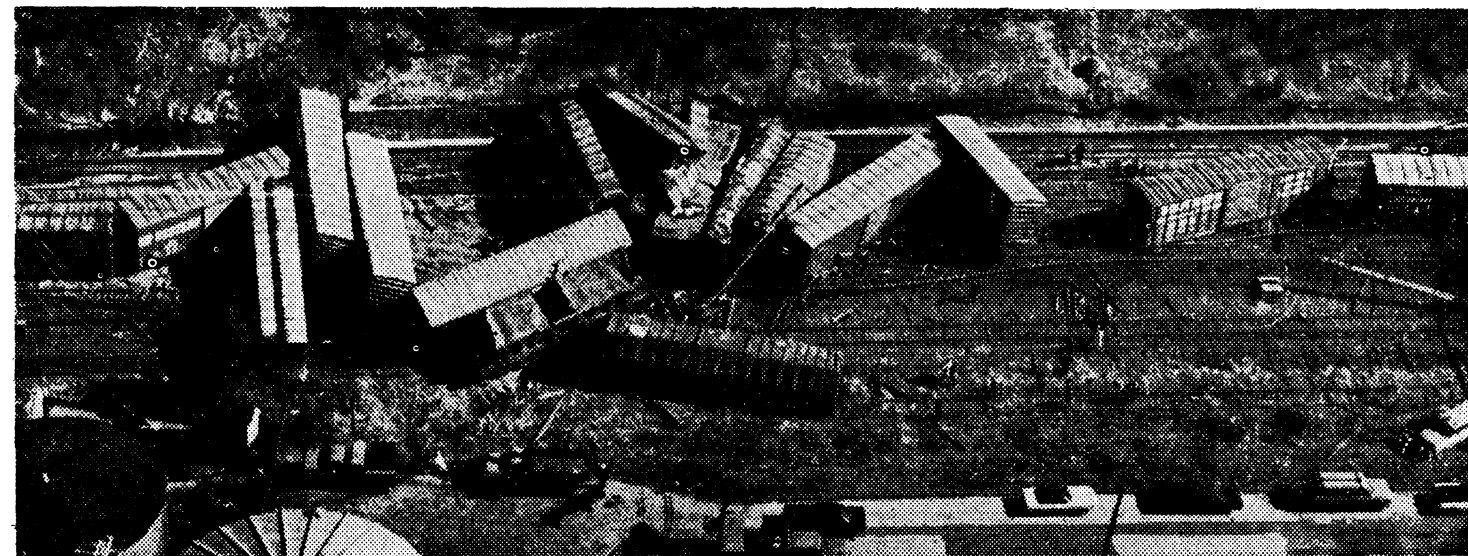
The service would be more efficient and meet the needs of both passengers and rail workers better if it were under workers control. This would also keep the operation on a nonprofit basis, which is essential to success.

The big industries that need the freight service and cannot produce without it, and that benefit from an efficient passenger service, should be charged for the maintenance and operation of the system.



UTU News

Al Chesser, president of rail workers union.



Recent Penn Central wreck in New York shows need for larger train crews, not still smaller ones

when Penn Central trains stopped.

Spokesmen for the auto, coal, and steel industries were the first and the loudest to demand government action. Richard Gerstenberg, chairman of General Motors, predicted that "virtually all GM manufacturing and assembly operations will be closed down by Monday, Feb. 12." George Stinson, chairman of the National Steel Corporation, wired Nixon that his company was "immediately and directly imperiled." Unless the trains rolled, more than a million workers would be laid off in a matter of days, according to these executives.

The U.S. Congress responded by enacting emergency legislation directing immediate resumption of service for 90 days. The legislation also instructed Nixon to have a report prepared in 45 days with a "comprehensive plan for the preservation of the central rail transportation services in the Northeast section of the nation." The act was jetted to California, where Nixon met the plane and promptly signed, making it law.

This succession of events developed on schedule and to the surprise of no one. It has become standard procedure during the past few years for settling railroad tie-ups. But the Penn Central is a special case.

This vast railroad network is a victim of capitalist greed, having been milked dry by the wealthy and prestigious board of directors before being

solution by abandoning 5,000 miles of the system's 20,000 miles of track, by cutting the size of train crews to eliminate 5,700 jobs, and by getting another stop-gap federal subsidy for \$600-\$800-million.

The trustees provoked the closing of the railroad. They secured a federal court order from Penn Central's referee in bankruptcy, Judge John Fullam, empowering them to reduce the regular train crews of three behind freight engines to a conductor and one brakeman. These crews had previously been cut from four members to three.

This issue was the subject of drawn-out union-management negotiations. When management unilaterally ordered the reduction in freight train crews, the 28,000 members of the United Transportation Union on the Penn Central system walked out.

UTU President Al Chesser told a congressional committee that the Penn Central shutdown was "not a labor issue . . . only a vehicle to get their [management's] problems to Congress." Chesser, for his part, was just as anxious to turn the problem over to Congress. He has no plan for solving the transportation crisis.

The fact that the railroad workers are the first victims of capitalist greed and mismanagement in the railroad industry did not deter the media from branding them as major criminals in the whole operation. New York's *Daily News* allowed that there had been

shown that earlier cuts in the size of train crews are one of the causes of accidents. What is needed now is larger crews, not still smaller ones. But this is not all. Road beds must be properly maintained, and worn-out equipment renewed.

Criminal mismanagement

A 750-page report on "The Penn Central and Other Railroads," issued by the staff of the Senate Commerce Committee finds that the railroads (not only Penn Central) have been bled to death by unscrupulous company officials who paid themselves big salaries and bonuses. It said that the railroad industry acted in collusion with the plunderers of Penn Central, that Congress failed to halt the criminal mismanagement when it could have, that the Nixon administration and the Department of Transportation failed to offer remedies for the rail crisis, and that the Interstate Commerce Commission presided over the ruin of the Penn Central.

This report recommends setting up a quasipublic, federally funded Northeastern transportation authority—something like the present U.S. Postal Service, which has been turned over to private management and is operated at public expense. It is systematically cutting back mail deliveries while raising postal rates and paying interest fees to bondholders.

Longshoremen lose bid to regain lost pay

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 12—The Cost of Living Council—to no one's surprise—rejected the joint request of the West Coast Longshoremen's union and the shipowners to reinstate the 30 cents an hour the Pay Board slashed from the strike settlement last spring.

Along the waterfront there is little disappointment. Nothing was expected. The usual reaction was, "What did you expect?" Sights have already been set on July 1, when the present

contract expires.

Abolition of the Pay Board Jan. 11 meant that provisions to cancel the longshore shipclerks contract upon the demise of the Pay Board went into effect. When the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) threatened to cancel the contract, the shipowners, the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), agreed to pay the 30 cents an hour as of Jan. 20. They also agreed to jointly petition the CLC for approval of the wage boost.

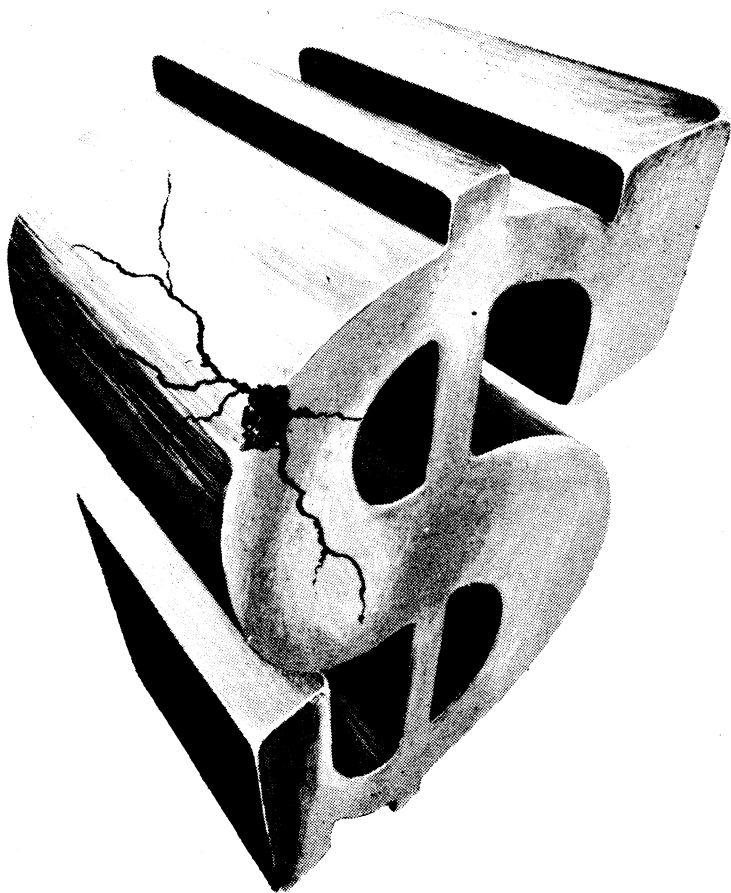
During negotiations, the PMA argued that the federal order did not abolish wage controls but only changed their form. It happened that they were right.

The CLC rejected the union's bid as "a request for renegotiation of the contract." Renegotiations to regain pay cuts are specifically forbidden in the Phase 3 guidelines. The CLC action makes it clear that wage controls continue as under Phase 1 and Phase 2. Previously, the CLC had cut the New York hospital workers wages.



San Francisco longshoremen

BEHIND THE DEVALUATION OF THE DOLLAR



By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 13—"Devaluation of the dollar . . . is at best only a temporary solution. . . . trade legislation must follow." These remarks by President Nixon emphasized the escalated stage of international trade and financial warfare that surrounds the second devaluation of the dollar in 14 months.

The president's meaning was unmistakable. Following the 10 percent devaluation of the dollar, foreign countries, especially West Germany and Japan, must allow more U.S. goods into their markets.

Otherwise the United States will retaliate by barring the U.S. market to foreign goods. "To get a policy of freer trade," Nixon said, "we must always have in the background protection."

Washington moved late at night Monday Feb. 12 to quell the biggest flight from the dollar in history. More than \$1-billion worth of dollars had poured into West German central banks in just a few hours on Tuesday, Feb. 5.

By the end of the week West Germany had purchased more than \$6-billion despite barriers it attempted to erect against the unwanted greenbacks.

They poured into other central banks too, including \$250-million into Japan. On Feb. 11 most of the governments of Western Europe and Japan announced their exchange markets would be closed.

Meanwhile, top officials of the major capitalist governments and leading central bankers were locked in secret meetings from Paris to Tokyo to bargain over the future of the monetary system.

Their decisions will affect the lives of everyone in the capitalist world. Dollar devaluation will immediately hit the prices of foreign goods in this country such as cameras, TV sets, cars, wines, and imported whiskey. Electricity and gas prices are likely to rise because of the heavy use of imported oil. Higher prices of these

and other imported products will encourage U.S. competitors to raise their own prices and add new fuel to the inflationary fire.

This is a struggle where no matter which competing capitalist power temporarily gains the edge, workers always lose. The fundamental aim of the monopolists is to shift the problems of world trade and finance onto workers' backs.

And the central problem remains the persistent inflation of the U.S. dollar and the increasing disadvantage of U.S. goods in world trade that results from dollar inflation.

Massive deficit

The final stimulant to the dollar panic last week was news of the 1972 U.S. trade deficit. The trade deficit of 1971—which had been the first in the twentieth century—had not been halted by the Smithsonian Agreement of December 1971 to devalue the dollar by about 11 percent against other world currencies.

On the contrary, foreign goods continued to swamp the American market. The 1972 deficit of nearly \$7-billion tripled that of 1971—becoming the biggest U.S. trade deficit in history.

Thus the main issues at stake in the secret meetings last week concerned the inflation of the dollar and U.S. trade problems.

● Foreign bankers urged Washington to take stiffer measures to dampen the economy and slow the inflation, despite Nixon's already harsh welfare-slashing of the 1974 budget. (See page 19.)

● Washington urged Bonn and Tokyo to revalue their currencies upward, making their goods more expensive in the United States.

To dramatize the impact of such a measure, Japanese industrialists retorted that they can't make profits unless they market 50 percent of their autos in the United States.

● West Germany opposed a unilateral

revaluation of the mark since it would hurt sales of West German products in Europe as well as the United States. But Bonn said it would accept a Common Market bloc revaluation against the dollar. This was opposed in London because of the desire to have the pound float below other European currencies, thus gaining a competitive edge for British products.

● Japan argued against a unilateral revaluation of the yen when many European markets have barriers to Japanese goods. France, for example, has embargoes on Japanese imports in 78 of its 120 major industrial classifications.

The international bankers and politicians squabbled down to the line and finally reached a compromise of devaluing the dollar against most currencies, with the Japanese yen floating upward. This means the value of the yen will be determined in financial markets, with Tokyo free to intervene in these markets if too wide a disparity grows between the yen and dollar.

U. S. investment

New threats have increasingly been hinted that if the United States once again fails to stem the flow of foreign imports, U.S. multinationals will step up their world drive to take over markets.

Thus while the dollar was devalued 10 percent, in effect reducing its power to purchase foreign corporations by 10 percent, Washington also made moves to increase the flow of dollars to foreign markets. This consisted of removing taxes Congress had erected in the mid-1960s on U.S. foreign investments.

A none too subtle defense of this strategy appeared in Joseph Kraft's nationally syndicated column Feb. 13. ". . . the country," said Kraft, "has been exporting on a grand scale technology, management and capital which has gone into purchase by American firms of some of the best companies in Europe. These investments can be made to yield returns in the form of dividends and royalty payments which should more than make up for the trade deficit in the long run."

At the same time, the editors of the *Washington Post*, in which Kraft's column appears, moped that "the effects of these recurrent crises are not limited, unfortunately, to the technicalities of international banking. They touch the most sensitive aspects of nations' lives. Each crisis contributes something more to a growing mistrust and hostility between the United States and its commercial competitors. Its strongest competitors are also its strongest military and political friends and allies. The meeting now being prepared [to agree on dollar devaluation] promises to buy a little more time. It promises nothing more."

And what "solution" do they suggest for a more long-term health of the world economy?

"When a country began heaping up surpluses, its currency would step up until a new equilibrium had been reached." Fancy words for the same thing—revaluation of the West German mark and Japanese yen.

Within the framework of world capitalism there can be no other solutions. The uncontrollable need to expand markets means that what one power gains—under the prevailing conditions of saturated world markets—another power loses.

This irrepressible competition is the cause of the financial crises, and the increasingly harsh measures against workers' wages and standards of living the world over.

Indian protests grow in S. Dakota

By DAN ROSENSHINE

FEB. 13—Wesley Bad Heart Bull, a 20-year-old American Indian, was stabbed to death in Buffalo Gap, S.D., Jan. 21. A white man named Darld Schmitz was arrested for the killing and charged with second-degree manslaughter. He is now free on \$5,000 bail.

These developments have led to a series of Indian protests and confrontations with local authorities in the nearby Black Hills lumber and resort town of Custer and in Rapid City.

Two hundred demonstrators organized by the American Indian Movement (AIM) attempted to gain entrance to the Custer County courthouse Feb. 6 to demand that the charge be changed to murder. When only four Indian activists were allowed in at a time, a scuffle broke out between police at the courthouse door and the Indians waiting outside.

A two-hour battle ensued, during which 27 Indians were arrested. One of them, Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the slain youth's mother, now faces charges carrying a maximum sentence of 30 years. On the other hand, Schmitz faces only 10 years on the charge of killing Wesley Bad Heart Bull.

During the struggle the chamber of commerce building was destroyed by fire. Russell Means, a leader of AIM, was arrested on two counts of arson and one count of rioting. After being released on \$3,500 bail, Means issued a statement pointing to the current actions as part of a struggle that began 100 years ago when U.S. troops crossed the Missouri River, violating a treaty with the Indians.

On Feb. 8 sheriffs prevented a 13-car caravan of Indian activists from Rapid City from entering Custer, and South Dakota Governor Richard Kneip ordered the National Guard into the Custer area.

Protests spread to nearby Rapid City, where the arrested Indian activists were imprisoned. On Feb. 10, 40 Indians were arrested there after street clashes with the police.

Vernon Bellecourt, national director of the AIM, called upon Indians across the country to go to Rapid City to support continuing actions. "We intend to put Rapid City on the map," he said, "and use it as a forum to draw nationwide attention to the Indian movement." According to the Feb. 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, 50 Indian activists are arriving in Rapid City daily.



Custer, S.D., sheriff arrests American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks.

Nixon & civil rights

The United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a report Feb. 9 assessing the federal government's programs for enforcing civil rights laws. The commission declared that its findings this year were "dismayingly similar" to its findings in 1970 that enforcement of civil rights laws by the executive branch "was so inadequate as to render the laws practically meaningless."

The report states that "there is no government-wide plan for civil rights enforcement." Here are just a few examples of the commission's findings:

- Although some 800 complaints of discrimination against state and local governments were filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), not one has been referred to the Justice Department for prosecution.

- The backlog of complaints brought before the EEOC amounted to 53,410 last June and is expected to top 70,000 by this June.

- "There has been virtually no effort," says the report, "to prevent flow of federal funds to nonpublic schools which are engaging in discriminatory practices."

- In cases where agreements were reached with violators of antidiscrimination laws to correct these violations, the EEOC was found to assign low priority to enforcement of these agreements.

What was the response of the Nixon administration to this indictment of its policies? Showing open contempt for the aspirations and dignity of the more than 30 million Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, the administration simply brushed it aside. Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, rejected the commission's recommendations and said the administration was satisfied with current civil rights efforts.

This is just one more instance in which the Nixon administration has publicly given the go-ahead to racist policies. It follows on the heels of Nixon's racist stand on busing, his dumping of the Philadelphia Plan for Black hiring quotas in the construction industry, and the Navy's racist crack-down on so-called "misfits"—that is, Black sailors who fight for their rights.

These facts make it clear that the government cannot be relied on to end racial oppression. The government in Washington does not represent "all the people." It governs in the interests of the few who profit from maintaining a system that breeds racism.

Only by massive struggles, independent of the Democrats and Republicans who run this country, can gains be made in the fight to eliminate racial discrimination and oppression.

Socialist alternative

This week the Socialist Workers Party launched campaigns for municipal offices in New York City, Seattle, Austin, and Houston. (See pages 14-15.) Socialist campaigns for city office are also under way in Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Atlanta. In addition, the SWP is running a candidate in a special state legislative election in San Diego.

Other branches of the SWP will soon be fielding tickets in this year's city campaigns.

The Socialist Workers Party is running candidates for office because only a socialist government can meet the urgent needs of the people of this country.

City after city has been confronted with school crises stemming from inadequate funding of public education. The mass transit systems continue to deteriorate, while fares go up and up. Racist police forces demand more arms and more money, while they brutalize and harass Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

Housing in the cities is getting worse, while rents are skyrocketing out of reach of many working people. The needs of the poor, the unemployed, and the workers whose wages can't keep up with inflation are neglected by the capitalist politicians who control the city halls in every major city.

These problems are intensifying as a result of the drastic reductions in social services contained in Nixon's new budget. Everywhere it is the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano residents of the central cities who will suffer the most from these cutbacks.

Last year's SWP presidential campaign showed that there is a growing recognition of the need for a socialist alternative. The socialist municipal candidates are presenting such an alternative in 1973. They need and deserve the support of all those committed to making the cities of this country decent places for working people to live.

Jan. 20: France

In response to SMC and NPAC's call for international antiwar mobilizations to mark Nixon's inauguration on Jan. 20, demonstrations were organized on the initiative of the Front Solidarite Indochine [Indochina Solidarity Front] in cities all over France.

Twenty-five of us, American students in Aix-en-Provence, took part in the regional march at Marseille under a banner "Out of Indochina Now!"

D. J.

Aix-Marseille, France

Jan. 20: Scotland

In Glasgow, on Jan. 20, about 200 people marched through the city in a heavy snowstorm demanding an end to Nixon's bombing of Vietnam NOW and demanding the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces and materiel from Indochina.

Actions were also staged in Edinburgh and Dundee.

The following resolution was passed unanimously at the end of the march:

"We . . . express our support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination.

"We do not accept that America has any right to be in Vietnam at all, and thus we demand complete and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces now, and an end to the support which the British government gives to Nixon's vicious aggression.

"As part of the international anti-Vietnam-war movement, we pledge to continue and to intensify our campaign until the Vietnamese have won the right to decide their own future."

Maureen Blackburn, chairperson, Glasgow Indochina Committee Glasgow, Scotland

Protest too much

Is *The Militant* never satisfied?

First you give the antiwar movement credit for the peace accords when you must know full well that the peace movement was at its lowest ebb in years at the time of the cease-fire. The most casual observer in this country knows the only reason the North Vietnamese signed for peace was because President Nixon—right or wrong morally—bombed them into submission.

Now that peace is here, you just can't stand it. You advocate more bloodshed, with the white knights (revolutionary forces based on the workers and peasants) wiping out the bad guys (landlords and capitalists backed by U.S. imperialism).

You didn't notice that the large, large majority of people in this country chose overwhelmingly to support the biggest landlord-capitalist of them all in the last elections. If your ideas are so appealing, tell me how come the Socialist Workers Party candidates didn't muster enough votes anywhere in the United States to get one lousy candidate elected?

In other words, you protest too much. There's got to be something right with our system or you would not be allowed to espouse your far-out, minority viewpoint.

M. S.

San Antonio, Texas

Taxi drivers

The most important contract negotiations in many years have begun between Teamsters Local 792 and the Yellow and Blue & White taxi companies. The current contract expires Feb. 15 during the peak of cab business in Minneapolis.

The taxi industry has long been notorious for long hours, low wages, and a high turnover of personnel. Drivers are paid only a commission of what they collect in fares and must rely upon tips to survive. Only a minority of drivers are eligible for the miserly pension and insurance plans currently maintained by the companies.

Many young workers have entered the industry in recent years. Today, part-time drivers, mainly college students, constitute the majority of the work force. These veterans of antiwar and women's liberation struggles on campus are now beginning to take an interest in the union, hoping to take advantage of the current negotiations to make a decent job out of hacking.

At the preliminary contract meeting, rank-and-file drivers presented a number of important contract demands:

Elimination of commission differentials between "full-time" and "part-time" drivers. So-called part-time drivers, many of whom work as many as five days a week, receive 3 to 6 percent less commission than other drivers.

For a \$20 guarantee for each shift worked.

For insurance and pension benefits equivalent to unionized drivers in other industries. All funds to be controlled by the union.

These points were incorporated into the official union demands by the leadership. How militantly the Local 792 Teamsters officials will fight for them depends on the extent the rank and file can be mobilized.

Bill Beatty

Minneapolis, Minn.

Chanel No. 5

The chairman of Chanel Ltd. in London, Jacques Leal, recently revealed in a newspaper interview that one of the ingredients of Chanel No. 5 perfume is the "sweat of a whipped Abyssinian civet cat."

He continued, "We usually don't like to admit it, but it's one of those ancient techniques the Chinese invented. They put the cat's head into a sort of torture chamber, whip it, the cat gets mad, and gives off a glandular secretion."

Leal admits of course that "a Frenchman wouldn't whip cats," but justifies creating a demand for the stuff that necessitates the torture: "We just buy the stuff in bottles. Don't ask me how many whipped cats go into a year's output. I wouldn't dare hazard a guess."

Other ingredients in Chanel No. 5 are castor oil from the Canadian beaver, ambergris from the sperm whale of Chile, and musk from the Tibetan deer.

All animal owners, lovers, and humanitarians should express their abhorrence at these practices by boycotting Chanel products and writing a letter to the Chanel company expressing their feelings.

Paul Obis Jr.

Chicago, Ill.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Victor Hawks

Trotskyists who knew him were saddened by the death of Victor Hawks Feb. 5 in Oklahoma City. Victor, 28, was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. The immediate cause of death was pneumonia.

Victor had attended the University of Oklahoma in Norman. He first became aware of revolutionary politics as an activist in the O. U. Committee to End the War in the mid-60's. This awareness soon led him to the YSA and later into the Socialist Workers Party.

Born in Tennessee and raised in Oklahoma, Victor suffered from a rare disease (agammaglobulin anemia) that inevitably results in death at an early age. Yet he spent the last several years of his struggle for life fulfilling the demanding tasks of a revolutionary socialist without a hint of his personal self sacrifice.

While the absence of his good humor, his wit, and propensity for singing in the Irish dialect will be missed by those who were closest to Victor, his personal courage, his political determination, and above all his awareness of revolutionary duty in the face of personal adversity, can serve as both a model and an inspiration for revolutionary socialists everywhere.

John Shaffer
Houston, Texas

Leave Canada alone

As a student and socialist concerned with the issues plaguing our "modern society," I would like to commend *The Militant* for its stands on abortion, civil liberties, student rights, et al.

However, as a Canadian studying in the United States, I cannot condone the fact that in your newspaper the movement to divide my country has found a voice.

May I suggest that your paper turn its support to the movement to separate Mississippi from the union to create a state for the Blacks, and leave my country alone.

C. B.
Houston, Texas

'Savages'

Native Americans in this area are objecting to the symbol and nickname used at Eastern State College at Cheney.

The school's students and football team are nicknamed "savages," and their symbol is an Indian.

Talk about racism!
J. V.
Seattle, Wash.

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.

\$100,000 just to visit Nixon?

Sometime shortly before the general election last November, President Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union was invited to the White House, where he had his picture taken with President Nixon.

This was the first polite public recognition the Nixon administration accorded Hall. Nixon, or some of his agents, were aware that Hall was around long before he got the call to come to the White House for pictures. So it wasn't because they didn't know what he looked like and wanted to find out. They knew a lot about Hall, probably more than the 85,000 sailors and others he is supposed to represent know about him.

Paul Hall has long been well known to several government agencies, having worked closely with the U. S. Maritime Commission during World War II. For most of the postwar years he has been busy around Washington currying favor with government agents and politicians of all stripes. But he was one of those pointedly omitted from the guest list when Nixon invited 170 union officials and their wives to dinner at the White House on Labor Day, 1970.

George Meany and all his cronies were there, plus others who thought they were being honored. But Hall was not among them. Under ordinary circumstances this would have seemed unusual because Hall was a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and generally known to be one of Meany's favorite sycophants. At the time, however, everyone knew why Hall was absent.

He had been indicted by the Justice Department for illegally contributing union funds to the 1968 presidential campaign of Hubert Humphrey. In addition, there was plenty of evidence that Hall had acquired large sums through a shakedown racket of foreign seamen on chartered U.S. ships under SIU contracts. About the only defense Hall had was the fact that he had contributed union money to

both the Republican and Democratic parties in the 1968 campaign. This wasn't expected to stand up very well in the courts.

Something happened between 1970 and 1972 that changed Hall's fortunes. He operates on the general principle that if you happen to buy your way into trouble it ought to be just as easy to buy your way out. Especially if you are in a position to use the money of others, and if you think there is more where that came from.

For some reason the Justice Department was slow to prosecute the case against Hall. And when a federal judge last fall threw out the charges against him for lack of a speedy trial, the Justice Department did not appeal the ruling.

It was denied at the time that there was any connection between the charges being dropped and the fact that Hall was then serving as the chairman of a "labor committee" to reelect Nixon. Even so, before the election there did not seem to be sufficient reason to invite Hall over to the White House in light of all that had gone before.

After the election Nixon appointed Hall to his Phase 3 labor-management advisory committee. And this could hardly be accounted for by the scant number of votes Hall was able to deliver and the tarnished "labor image" he lent to the campaign.

Additional information is now available. The Seafarers International Union is listed as contributing \$100,000 to the Nixon campaign Nov. 2. On the same day the SIU borrowed \$100,000 from the Chemical Bank in New York, which news accounts say is associated with a member of Nixon's fundraising team.

When sailors are told to kick in to repay the bank loan, they must surely think that \$100,000 is a pretty high price to pay for a visit to the White House, even if it brings the dubious status of "advisor."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'You can't be too Black'

In 1970 the Navy eased its admission standards and went on a campaign to double its recruitment of Blacks to 12 percent. It even coined the phrase, "You can be Black and Navy too." But in light of the *Kitty Hawk* case and other recent racial incidents, the Navy is having second thoughts about the wisdom of its 1970 decision.

A recent ACLU military study exposed some of the Navy's problems. "Racial tension in the military has reached the crisis level. There is open racial warfare on ships at sea, at bases in Europe and Asia and in bars servicing military installations."

The Feb. 2 *New York Times* revealed that the Navy is taking strong measures in response to the situation. It has decided to oust from its ranks sailors it considers "a burden." Many are white sailors who protested the Vietnam war, but a substantial proportion, according to the *Times*, are Black.

The Navy is trying to cover over this new move and its racist history by arguing that it can no longer be "responsible" for the problems of society. The brass is claiming that many Black sailors come into the Navy predisposed to be "troublemakers." They point to the House Armed Services Committee "report" that most of the Blacks involved in the *Kitty Hawk* incident were of "below average mental capacity" and unfit in other ways for military service.

Those to be purged will be given general discharges "under honorable conditions." Their discharge papers, though, will be coded to indicate that they were "undesirable." Prospective employers can read these codes.

Recruitment "standards" will also be raised so fewer Blacks will be signing up.

The Navy hopes its new decision will weed out all Blacks who might be inclined to stand up and rebel against the overt racism endemic to the Navy. Rather than disciplining the white racists, which would involve charges against most naval officers, the Navy has a simple, and very old, solution to the "racial problem": keep Blacks out.

Although the Navy would like to indict society in general, and Black sailors in particular, for its recent problems, a look at the Navy experiences of Mark Essex, the New Orleans sniper, tells a different story.

Several Black sailors who knew Essex dispute the Navy's assertions that Essex's actions were not caused by Navy racism. Fred Allen, one such friend, said, "Essex came into the Navy expecting to be treated in the same decent way he had always been treated back in Emporia, and he found it wasn't like that at all. It wasn't long before he wanted out of the Navy, as most of us Blacks did."

Essex's Navy friends point out that he was frequently the target of abuse from white racist sailors on the base near San Diego where he was stationed. Allen recounted one occasion when he and Essex were going to supper and Essex was attacked by two white enlisted men.

Essex was brought before a captain's mast (administrative discipline) hearing, but no charges were made against the whites. Also, white petty officers "seemed to be laying for him, grabbing him for special duty and every kind of dirty job. Finally he started talking back, telling them to go to hell and of course that meant another captain's mast," added C. B. Wilson.

Wilson explained what he thought were the reasons that led to Essex's actions atop a New Orleans hotel Jan. 6. "... the racism, the discrimination and the hassling finally got to him and before he left here after his court-martial he was a really torn-up young guy."

The case of Mark Essex shows that while the Navy may purge some Blacks, this will not end its problems. And for those brothers who now face the Navy's gaff, Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party 1972 vice-presidential candidate, recently had some words: "You can't be too Black and Navy too."



Take your choice—A University of Maryland professor advised a Senate panel that aspirin is better for colds than most of the heavily advertised cold and cough mixtures. Another professor told the senators that the best thing is hot chicken soup. Meanwhile, the Agriculture Department has been finding somewhat undue amounts of a "relatively harmless" variety of arsenic in chicken livers.

Stoic—When Nixon resumed the bombing of North Vietnam, reporters asked his friend Billy Graham how he felt about it. The spiritual leader responded: "The whole world has a great deal of violence going on which doesn't occupy the headlines. There are many people being killed by drunken drivers and crime. Man is

prone to violence and there will be no cessation of that, not until the Christ of our Kingdom comes."

Opportunist demagoguery—Pressed further about the bombing, Reverend Graham—apparently with a view to getting published in this column—added: "I deplore the suffering and killing of the war and I pray it can be ended as soon as possible. But we also have to realize that there are also hundreds of thousands of deaths attributed to smoking. . . ."

Recycling Dep't—The February *Countryside & Small Stock Journal* reports, with a certain understandable jaundice, that Firestone Tire & Rubber scientists say they can grow yeast-based food on rubber from scrap tires.

Could taste "a little flat" suggests **C&SSJ**. And, we might add, use of deflated tires could lead to inflated prices.

British Health Plan (Phase I)—The British tobacco industry is experimenting with ersatz coffin nails, but it will take at least 10 years to determine if they're any safer. Meanwhile, the pushers are concerned that they'll be so tasteless nobody will want them anyway.

British Health Plan (Phase II)—In another major safety move, British manufacturers are pin-pricking the paper around the cigarette filter. This lets in extra air, thus diluting the smoke and reportedly reducing the quantity of tar in each puff. Having

to puff more to get the same dose, people may get tired enough to quit, right?

Just stick to the facts—An AP dispatch from Fùerth, Germany, reports: "A man impersonating a U.S. Army officer picked up the \$11,895 payroll for an artillery battery here and disappeared. . . ." Our question is, Why do they assume he was impersonating an officer?

Fertile pot—Police in the Washington, D.C., area raided a dealer who was cutting marijuana with toasted horse manure. Noting that tea or oregano is customarily used in such cutting, a somewhat saddened police officer said, "In this day of consumer fraud, nothing surprises me anymore."

Women In Revolt

Women's rights in Israel

"The popular image of the Israeli woman as a sexy, gun-toting desert fighter is a big myth. In reality, she's seldom more than a housewife or a secretary." This is a quote from Marcia Freedman, leader of a group called Israel's Women for a Free Society, which was described in an Oct. 30 Associated Press dispatch from Haifa.

The article provides an insight into the changing thinking of some Jewish women on their role in Israeli society, but it totally ignores the most oppressed women in Israel, Arab women.

Israel's "progressive" image with regard to women's rights is receiving increased criticism from Israeli Jews and from Jews in the United States. The Jan. 21 *Los Angeles Times*, for example, carried an interview on this subject with Dr. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, editor of *The Jewish Spectator*.

"I criticize the prime minister [Golda Meir] because she said Israel does not need women's liberation," Weiss-Rosmarin stated. "There is no country where the specific unfreedom of Jewish women is more burdensome and oppressive because the religious law is the law of the state."

According to Judaism, women are inferior to

men—plain and simple. From this flows an incredibly backward set of laws. For example, in Israel only men may request divorces. If a woman's husband dies, she must receive his brother's permission to remarry.

In addition to the divorce law, Israeli women must give up virtually all rights when they marry. Their possessions and they themselves become the legal property of their husbands.

Abortions are illegal, and according to Freedman, the state health service won't even give out contraceptives. The Zionist government has been conducting a barely disguised racist campaign to increase the birth of Israeli Jews. (Their birth rate is declining faster than the birth rate of Arabs in Israel.) Jewish women are encouraged to bear as many children as possible—failure to accept the role of breeder is tantamount to betraying national defense.

Freedman also told AP that the government provides child-care facilities only to those on welfare.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that protests have arisen. Last year high school students in Tel Aviv waged a struggle for access to

birth control devices. Recently women in a Tel Aviv candy factory went on strike for equal pay. They closed down the shop and won an increase in wages.

The real Israel hardly corresponds to the "egalitarian" or even "socialist" image portrayed by Zionist propaganda. How can a society that tells women to be breeders call itself "progressive" on the question of women? If Golda Meir and her cohorts were really out to defend the interests of the Jewish people, they would not force women to go to butcher abortionists.

How can a government that doesn't even believe in child-care centers boast of the success of communal life in the kibbutzim? With all the money the U.S. pours into Israel, there surely is enough to build child-care facilities and abortion clinics, and to distribute contraceptives.

But decent child care and access to birth control pills are obviously not priorities for the Zionist government—more U.S. jets and other military hardware are. This is one of the contradictions feeding the new challenges women are making against their oppression in capitalist Israel.

Cindy Jaquith



iLa Raza en Acción!

We should not have to beg

With the vast wealth and advanced technology that exist in this society, there is little excuse for any kind of ill health. It is quite likely, for example, that science could find a cure for cancer, if the available resources of society were put behind the research effort.

For many diseases cures have already been found. Yet Chicanos and other poor people continue to suffer and die from them because "our" government would rather pour the money into implements of war.

For example, with presently available testing and preventive measures, tuberculosis should not be a problem today. And for most of America it no longer is.

But this is not the case in the barrios of Los Angeles. Just compare the situation there with that of the Anglo community. Only one out of every 1,000 eighth-grade children in many "middle-income" (i.e., white) areas of Los Angeles County test positive for TB.

But in the barrios it is not uncommon for as many as 200 out of every 1,000 *chicanitos* to test positive. This was proven from tests by the TB and Respiratory Disease Association of Los

Angeles County. The facts were reported in the Dec. 25, 1972, *Los Angeles Times*.

Having these test results in hand, the only humane and logical course of action for Los Angeles medical authorities would be to mount an all-out campaign in the Chicano community to prevent these children from developing active cases of TB.

However, this is not being done.

Only 50,000 tuberculin skin tests were given to school children in all of Los Angeles County last year. If the resulting inflammation from the skin test is 10 millimeters or more in diameter, the individual may have TB. National standards recommend that the person be referred to the Health Department for further checking.

But in Los Angeles, Health Department facilities are so understaffed and overcrowded that only 15-mm. cases are referred. This means that a large number of children who may well have TB are simply brushed aside.

And tuberculosis is far from being the only health problem in the barrio.

In East Los Angeles not only are present health facilities criminally inadequate, but even some of

these are endangered.

The East Los Angeles Free Clinic is a place the community trusts to solve problems that county health services won't. Old people who speak no English go there. Young people who have VD, are pregnant, or are on drugs know they'll get sympathetic help there. Many are unemployed or on welfare, or are just poor and too embarrassed to go anywhere else.

But now the Catholic Campaign for Human Development has refused to continue funding the clinic. Why? The Free Clinic has been giving counseling on birth control and abortions. For having committed this "sin" the thousands of Chicanos who use the services of the Free Clinic will now be forced to go elsewhere.

The Free Clinic is the type of health facility that is needed in the barrios—where the people speak our language, understand our problems, and care about us.

We should not have to go begging hat in hand to the Catholic Campaign or some other "charity" organization. There should be a network of federally funded clinics. And they should be under the direction and control of the Chicano community they're supposed to serve.

Miguel Pendas



Nixon's 'peace with honor' a lie

What U.S. has done to South Vietnam

By PETER SEIDMAN

"... we finally have achieved a peace with honor."

"I know it gags some of you to write that phrase, but it is true, and most Americans realize it is true. . . ."

These are the words of Richard Nixon at a presidential news conference held Jan. 31, 1973.

Aware of the deep hatred masses of people around the world feel for this dirty war, Nixon cannot even make his triumphal announcement without referring to how the description "honorable" makes people "gag."

Indeed, there is no honor for the people of the U.S. in the government's war of genocide against Vietnam. Honor is due the antiwar majority in this country, which by going into action against the war stayed Nixon from committing even more terrible crimes than he did to achieve his "peace with honor."

During the Tet offensive of 1968, U.S. forces leveled the town of Ben Tre to prevent it from coming under the control of the National Liberation Front. An American officer justified this action by explaining, "it became necessary to destroy the town to save it." This is the logic of imperialism, as is revealed by the record of what the U.S. aggression has done to South Vietnam.

'Pacification'

In order to "pacify" the rebellious countryside of South Vietnam, the imperialists sought to drive the peasant population into "strategic hamlets" or into the cities by launching a campaign of terror bombing, ecological destruction, and police dragnet.

● "In the seven years between 1965 and 1971 the U.S. military forces exploded 26 billion pounds (13 million tons) of munitions in Indochina, half from the air and half from weapons on the ground. This staggering weight of ordnance amounts to the energy of 450 Hiroshima nuclear bombs.

"For the area and people of Indochina as a whole it represents an average of 142 pounds of explosive per acre of land and 584 pounds per person. It means that over the seven-year period the average rate of detonation was 118 pounds per second.

"These average figures, however, give no indication of the actual concentration; most of the bombardment was concentrated in time (within the years from 1967 on) and in area. Of the 26 billion pounds, 21 billion were exploded within South Vietnam, one billion in North Vietnam and 2.6 billion in southern Laos. . . ."—Arthur H. Westing and E.W. Pfeiffer,

"The Cratering of Indochina," *Scientific American*, May 1972.

● "Four million of [South Vietnam's] 14 million acres of forest were defoliated by American planes between 1961 and 1970, in an effort to remove the triple layers of leaves and jungle growth under which the Communists hid and lived.

"Another 500,000 acres of the country's 7.5 million acres of cropland were sprayed with herbicides, a military strategy designed to deprive the Communist forces of food.

"Giant U.S. Rome plows bulldozed more than 800,000 acres of land used by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces for sanctuaries and base camp areas. . . .

"Before . . . March, 1972, it was estimated there were 26 million craters in the South alone"—*New York Post*, Jan. 24, 1973.



Peace with honor?

The National Liberation Front estimates that about 1.3 million persons in South Vietnam alone have felt the effects of some type of U.S. poison.

● To this log of imperialist horror must be added the fiendish weapons created to wage a war against the masses of Indochina:

Napalm (more than 200,000 tons were dropped on Vietnam between 1965 and the cease-fire).

Antipersonnel bombs.

Weathercontrol projects (Operation Intermediary-Compatriot) aimed at producing massive floods.

Techniques designed to start massive *fire storms* in the jungles of Vietnam (Operations Sherwood Forest and Pink Rose).

● The U.S. set up Operation Phoenix, part of its pacification program, to "eliminate" NLF cadre in the countryside and thus discourage any op-

positional political activity there. In his book *War Without End* (New York, 1972) Michael Klare cites the testimony of an ex-CIA agent, William Colby, who headed one of the pacification projects in Vietnam, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"... Colby stated that in 1969 a total of 19,534 suspected VCI agents had been 'neutralized'—of this number 6,187 had been killed, 8,515 arrested, and 4,832 persuaded to join the Saigon side. By May 1971, 20,587 people had been killed under the Phoenix program."

"Pacification" did not end the struggle of the Vietnamese peasantry for land reform and self-determination, but it did do terrible damage to the rural economy of Vietnam and drive millions away from the countryside and into the cities.

The Senate Refugee Subcommittee

old Continental Palace Hotel, popularly known as the Continental Shelf.

"The charm has gone, and the terrace has become one of the most sordid places on earth. [There are] young homosexual boy prostitutes, children selling cigarettes, men selling bad paintings and dirty pictures, and prostitutes who are mutes. There is even a mute midget.

"The scene might stagger the imagination of an Italian film director, but it is a matter of fact to habitués of downtown Saigon."

Washington has artificially maintained the economy of Vietnam for many years. Only the \$660-million in aid the U.S. supplied kept the country solvent last year. The reason for this lies in the U.S. destruction of the agricultural base of the Vietnamese economy.

This excerpt from the Jan. 24 *New York Post* tells the story: "In 1964, South Vietnam was still exporting rice from its rich paddy lands. In 1972, the country imported 250,000 tons of rice and will need more next year—even if the war really ends for good—a Vietnamese government official predicted.

"The nation's rubber crop—once a prime export—totaled 83,000 tons in 1961, and was worth \$44 million in export income. This year the crop fell to 20,000 tons and will be worth only \$6 million on the international market."

Inflation & unemployment

The massive injection of U.S. capital into South Vietnam's economy has produced a staggering inflation—23 percent in 1972. What this means for the people is that a bunch of bananas that cost seven piasters in 1960 in Saigon today cost 70 piasters, eggs cost 10 times more today than they did in 1959, and the price of rice has increased five times since 1966.

Unemployment threatens to rise as the U.S. withdraws the last of its thousands of troops and cuts back on military construction projects. By December 1972 as many as 200,000 had lost their jobs. The Jan. 24 *New York Post* quoted one South Vietnamese official who explained that one million jobs would have to be found quickly after the cease-fire. "We must or we'll have trouble."

This is the country the U.S. has created in its genocidal war to preserve capitalism in Southeast Asia.

Only a tiny handful of corrupt politicians and heroin profiteers benefit from the Thieu regime for which the U.S. imperialists have caused so much blood to be shed. In *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York, 1971) by Richard Halliday.

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Between 1965 and 1971 the U.S. exploded the equivalent of 450 Hiroshima nuclear bombs in Indochina.



There are 26 million bomb craters in South Vietnam alone.

has estimated that between 1965 and 1972, U.S. bombing and military operations killed 415,000 South Vietnamese civilians, and wounded another 935,000.

Between six and eight million people in South Vietnam have been made refugees, out of a total population of approximately 18 million! There are an estimated 700,000 orphans in South Vietnam.

"... a peace with honor. I know it gags some of you. . . ."

These refugees have flooded into the cities of Vietnam. Only 10 percent are in the miserable, barbed-wire prisons called "refugee camps."

The population of Danang, for example, had swelled from 108,000 in 1959 to 437,000 by the beginning of 1972. After the NLF April-May offensive, another 400,000 refugees from the furious U.S. bombardment of Quang Tri flooded into the city.

The population of Saigon has gone from one million people in 1960 to more than three million today. Almost 40 percent of South Vietnam's population today lives in the cities, compared to only 15 percent at the beginning of the war.

These cities have become centers of corruption, black-marketeering, crime, and disease as millions of Vietnamese victims of the war fall prey to the unemployment, inflation, and hopelessness that are the realities of those parts of Vietnam considered "secure" by the U.S. imperialists.

"As American troops rapidly depart," writes Charles Mohr in the Feb. 1 *New York Times*, "vice is a depressed industry in Saigon. But the fittest—if that's the word—have survived and congregate in astonishing numbers in the roofed terrace of the



More than one-third of all South Vietnamese have been made refugees.

From Intercontinental Press
By JON ROTHCHILD

"Q. Dr. Kissinger, because of a news report from Paris this morning that actually there were some 15 or 20 protocols of which only four are being made public, were there any secret protocols agreed to?"

"A. The only protocols that exist are the protocols that have been made public."

"Q. Wait a minute—what about understandings?"

advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material." (Paragraph b.)

Administration officials are now saying that a careful reading of Article 20 shows that there is no specific time set for the cessation of U.S. military actions in Laos or Cambodia. This is in marked contrast to the details packed into most of the other provisions of the accord. The absence of a vigorous public North Vietnamese denunciation of continued U.S. aggression in Laos and Cambodia now becomes explainable. At

led by tanks staged what was called a very heavy attack on government forces near Saravan. A 'large number' of government troops fled the field of battle and are still missing, military sources said. . . .

"Forty miles farther south, on the Bolovens Plateau, North Vietnamese troops staged a heavy shelling and ground attack on Pak Song and another on Phouthevada. Yesterday [February 4], military sources said, government troops attempting to reopen the road to Phouthevada were driven back by 'fierce' North Vietnamese gunfire."

exactly enough military pressure on Vientiane to force a cease-fire—one that will entail, according to Article 20 of the Vietnam pact, a withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops while some sort of coalition government remains in power in Vientiane. It seems equally clear that in Laos, much more than in South Vietnam, the puppet administration has been incapable of resisting the advance of the revolutionary forces.

The immediate question that arises is: Did Kissinger warn Hanoi that if the liberation forces in Laos did not agree to a quick settlement, U.S. B-52s would be turned loose on Hanoi and Haiphong once again? Is that why the North Vietnamese leaders agreed to the secret clause pledging to urge the Pathet Lao to settle and tacitly agreeing not to vigorously protest U.S. bombing of Laos until a cease-fire was reached?

If this is the case—and no one can doubt Nixon's willingness to obliterate North Vietnam if he believed it necessary to attain his objectives—then it must be said that Hanoi has done the Indochinese peoples and the international working-class movement a grave disservice by keeping this imperialist blackmail a secret.

In whose interest was the secret deal made? Does it help the masses of revolutionary fighters in South Vietnam continue their struggle? Or does it help Nixon obtain what he wants?

It may well be that the North Vietnamese are not in a strong enough military position to defend themselves against genocidal destruction by the U.S. air force. If that is the case, then certainly no one can fault people who have fought so heroically for so many years against such odds.

KISSINGER CAUGHT IN ANOTHER LIE SECRET DEAL ON LAOS REVEALED

"A. There are with respect to certain phrases read into the record certain statements as to what they mean. But these have been explained in these briefings and made clear. There are no secret understandings."—From January 25 *New York Times* transcript of Henry Kissinger's January 24 news conference explaining the Vietnam accord.

"The United States and North Vietnam agreed secretly in their negotiations in Paris last month that a ban on foreign military activity in Laos and Cambodia would not take effect immediately, sources in the Nixon administration reported today."—*New York Times*, February 10.

It is no surprise to learn that Henry Kissinger does not always tell the truth. The fact that imperialist governments fail to inform their citizenry of what is being said and done in their name, that the Nixon administration has carried this "normal" governmental penchant for deceit to record heights, is likewise no great shock.

What is disturbing about the news about Laos—apart from the nature of the secret agreement itself—is that the North Vietnamese leadership has not only engaged in secret diplomacy, but has in fact agreed to secret clauses, thus keeping important information about the cease-fire accords hidden from the Vietnamese people, the international workers' movement, and the worldwide antiwar movement. Why did Hanoi fail to expose Kissinger's lie, thus in effect covering for the Nixon regime?

The U.S. sources that revealed the secret understanding said that Kissinger and Tho "entered into an explicit oral agreement" that neither the United States nor North Vietnam would stop military activities in Laos and Cambodia until the opposing parties of the civil war in both countries had reached a cease-fire accord on their own.

"According to the sources," the *New York Times* reported, "they also agreed that Washington would urge the Vientiane government and Hanoi would urge the Pathet Lao to approve a cease-fire within 15 days of the Vietnam cease-fire. . . ."

"They also reported that Mr. Kissinger . . . and Mr. Tho . . . had agreed in some detail as to the meaning of 'foreign military activity'; their understanding provided for a cessation of all American air raids and for a withdrawal of the 50,000 to 60,000 North Vietnamese troops currently believed to be in Laos."

Article 20 of the Paris agreement states: "Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military

the negotiating table Hanoi agreed, in effect, that it would not object if the U.S. air force continued to drop bombs on Laos and Cambodia until the domestic liberation forces could be convinced to agree to a cease-fire."

In both countries the effect of this secret clause has been far from trivial. U.S. bombing in Laos has been heavy. "Pentagon sources say," the February 9 *Washington Post* reported, "that while the number of U.S. planes [involved in the bombing of Laos] varies daily, the average involves 30 to 50 B-52 heavy bombers, about 200 smaller fighter-bombers, and about a dozen heavily-armed AC-130 gunships."

South Vietnamese gunships, it was reported, are also being used "to spray machine gun fire along the border areas."

The reason for the U.S. bombing is beyond dispute. The military relationship of forces in Laos is much more unfavorable to the pro-U.S. regime than is the case in South Vietnam. The offensive launched in re-



Kissinger and Le Duc Tho

cent weeks by the Pathet Lao has been meeting with considerable success, despite the bombing.

The February 6 *Washington Post* carried a report on the Laotian military situation. Government troops, Lewis M. Simons wrote, were "nowhere on the offensive." The Pathet Lao, who already control between two-thirds and four-fifths of the country, were advancing on a series of fronts:

"The most effective Communist attack, described as a 'blow to the government side,' took place at Nam Yeu, in the far northeastern corner of Laos near the Burmese border. Pathet Lao troops, attacking in battalion strength, overran the government base there Saturday morning [February 3], military sources said. . . ."

"Far to the south, in the Laotian panhandle, North Vietnamese soldiers

"In the middle of the panhandle, near Thakhek, by the Thai border, the situation was described as 'deteriorating.'"

"At another central panhandle location, Muong Palan, North Vietnamese forces drove back attacking government forces in a battle which began on Friday [February 2] and continued today [February 5]."

It is difficult to resist concluding that the liberation forces have the ability to militarily depose the Souvanna Phouma government. There is no evidence that any significant section of the Laotian people support the pro-U.S. clique that rules in Vientiane and its environs.

Nevertheless, the opinion of most observers is that the current liberation forces' offensive is intended not as a bid for state power, but as pressure in negotiations. On February 6, while his army was in shambles throughout the country, Souvanna Phouma suddenly expressed great confidence that a cease-fire agreement would be concluded within one week.

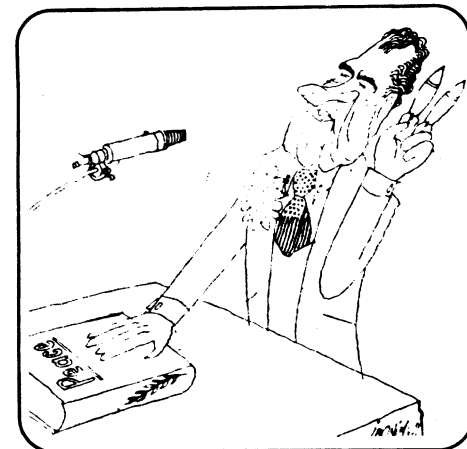
Also on February 6, Ronald Ziegler announced that Henry Kissinger would stop in Vientiane on February 9 on his way to Hanoi and Peking. Ziegler said Kissinger would engage in discussions aimed at bringing about an early cease-fire in Laos.

On February 8, a "highly informed diplomatic source" in Vientiane reported that agreement had been reached in principle between the government and the liberation forces on a Laotian cease-fire to take effect on February 14. "It is felt," Malcolm Browne wrote in the February 9 *New York Times*, "that the precarious military situation of the Vientiane Government—in which several key towns and bases are either under siege or threatened—has contributed to bringing the negotiation process to a conclusion."

In the February 11 *New York Times* Browne quoted an unidentified Western diplomat in Vientiane as evaluating the situation rather more starkly: "Prince Souvanna is in a most unenviable position. His forces are being slaughtered, and the longer the cease-fire waits the more Laotians [read puppet troops] will die needlessly."

On February 12 Laotian government sources announced that a formal accord inaugurating a cease-fire would be signed February 13 by representatives of the Vientiane regime and the Pathet Lao. The agreement was said to be scheduled to go into effect the following day. No details were released, but it was assumed that the opposing camps would maintain their present positions throughout the country.

The secret Tho-Kissinger clause must be viewed in light of this entire chain of events. It seems clear that the North Vietnamese leadership put



Der Spiegel

But if it is the case, the North Vietnamese leadership should say so, should explain to their own people and to the worldwide labor movement and antiwar movement that the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies have not provided them with the means to defend themselves, and that U.S. imperialism has threatened them with total destruction.

One of the most revolutionary contributions made by the Bolsheviks to the conduct of foreign policy was their rejection of secret diplomacy—the assertion of the absolute right of the world working class to know what was going on at the top levels of command. When the Bolsheviks were compelled by circumstances they could not control to make major concessions to imperialism—as in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty—they did so openly, explaining to the world movement that the agreement was a temporary retreat.

The question now arises, are there further secret clauses on Indochina? Has a deal been made for Cambodia? Are there "understandings" covering the question of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam? The North Vietnamese leaders owe it to their own people, to the fighters of South Vietnam, and the rest of Indochina, and to the international working class and antiwar movements to reveal any such clauses. To do otherwise is to free Nixon's hand for new aggression.

'Many hamlets razed'

Thieu army bombards liberated territory

From Intercontinental Press

FEB. 12—Since the Vietnam cease-fire went into effect, an estimated 200,000 South Vietnamese civilians have been driven from their homes, mostly by government attempts to "nibble" at liberated territory. Some people have been able to return to their villages after brief fire fights between Saigon soldiers and the liberation forces. But 40,000 to 50,000, according to statistics released by U.S. and South Vietnamese officials, remain in temporary shelters as of February 8.

In the February 8 *New York Times*, correspondent Joseph Treaster reported that since the cease-fire was proclaimed between 200 and 300 hamlets have changed hands. One official of the Saigon regime, Tran Nguon Phieu, told reporters that about 20,000 homes had been destroyed in the provinces around Saigon during the period January 28 to February 7. He said the total number destroyed in South Vietnam could be as high as 40,000.

In the February 8 *Christian Science Monitor*, Daniel Southerland described the effects of the battle for hamlets on the population of Long Khanh province. The upsurge of post-cease-fire fighting in the area, Southerland wrote, "has left no one a clear winner."



Liberated village in Mekong Delta flies National Liberation Front flags.

"The government can claim a victory in that it has driven the Communist troops out of all twelve of the hamlets which they penetrated in this province to the northeast of Saigon. . . .

"But the manner in which the government's local defense forces melted

The Saigon troops used "the heaviest weapons at their disposal, including bombs, artillery shells, and helicopter rockets."

That Thieu's soldiers have been attacking liberated villages without provocation has been established by reports from several Western newsmen who have visited villages being administered by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. In the February 8 *Washington Post*, Martin Woollacott, a correspondent of the British *Manchester Guardian*, described his experiences in Binhphu, "a Communist-controlled village in Dinh Tuong Province [south of Saigon], which is brave or foolhardy enough to flaunt its blue, red, and yellow Vietcong flags within sight of the government-controlled highway."

"Let this be clear," a PRG official told Woollacott and other reporters as they entered the village. "Since the cease-fire, the government has repeatedly bombed, mortared, and shelled us, wounding and killing many people and creating many problems. Because of these acts by the other side, it is at your own risk that you stay here."

The official was not exaggerating. "The shells started dropping just as we raised our fourth glass of rice wine," Woollacott wrote.

On February 10 the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry announced

that the Saigon army had carried out 328 encroachment operations against liberated areas between January 28 and February 8. "Many hamlets were razed," the ministry said, and there were "thousands of dead and wounded."

While Thieu has been systematically violating the terms of the cease-fire agreement, his American backers have been busy devising ways to get around the accords' provision that there be no foreign intervention in the affairs of South Vietnam. Essentially, the U.S. technique involves sending Pentagon employees to the haberdasher's to get fitted out with non-khaki gear.

The size of the "nonmilitary" U.S. presence in South Vietnam, according to Peter Osnos, writing in the February 9 *Washington Post*, while much reduced from the peak years in the late 1960s, will still be larger than that maintained by the United States in any other country. The old "pacification" project, one of the most notorious mechanisms of U.S. intervention, will be taken over by a "directorate" in the U.S. embassy.

While the U.S. military mission will be reduced to fewer than 100 persons, between 5,000 and 6,000 civilians will be retained on contracts paid for by the Defense Department.

"These contract employees," Osnos wrote, "most of whom have been here

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Antiwar protest set for Feb. 24

On Saturday, Feb. 24—only three days before the opening of the scheduled international conference to "guarantee" the Paris accords—antiwar groups will be picketing the White House demanding an end to all forms of U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia: an end to U.S. bombing in Laos and Cambodia, an end to U.S. military presence in Thailand and off the shores of Vietnam, and an end to U.S. support of the Thieu regime. The picket will take place from 10 to 11:30 a.m.

On the same day, from 12 noon to 5 p.m., the National Peace Action Coalition, sponsor of the picket line, will be holding a national steering committee meeting that is open to all antiwar activists. A panel on the current stage of the war will include Professor Gabriel Kolko of the University of Toronto, Fred Branfman of Project Air War, and Dick Roberts of The Militant.

The meeting will be held at the Metropolitan AME Church, 1518 M St. NW, in the Downstairs Meeting Room.

"It is only clear who the losers have been. They are the people whose homes were destroyed as the South Vietnamese forces retook one hamlet after another which had been temporarily lost to the Communists.

away in the face of some of the initial Communist attacks hardly inspired confidence. And the brutal manner in which the government forces blasted their way back into the hamlets has hardly won friends."

Nixon, others exploit return of ex-POWs

By CAROLINE LUND

FEB. 13—The return of American prisoners of the Vietnam war began yesterday amid a fanfare comparable only to those accompanying the Apollo moon flights. With the live television coverage of the returns, headlines in all the newspapers, and a mass of detailed coverage of the red-carpet treatment initially being given the POWs, Nixon no doubt hopes to strengthen his image as a bringer of peace and detract attention from the fighting still going on in Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, the Thieu regime in Saigon directly flaunted the provisions of the Vietnam accords. Thieu claims to have released thousands of North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front prisoners but has not turned them over to the North Vietnamese or Provisional Revolutionary Government authorities. There is no way of knowing whether these prisoners were in fact released, or were simply killed. Thieu made the preposterous claim that the 10,600 prisoners had declared their loyalty to the Saigon government.

The hospital commander at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines, where the first group of American POWs arrived yesterday, announced that the men were in "reasonably good" health. The humane treatment of prisoners by the North Vietnamese—as demonstrated by the condition of these prisoners as well as others released in the past—belies the image of the North Vietnamese the U.S. government promotes. For instance, it would be hard today for Nixon to get away with his April 1971 statement that the North Vietnamese "without question have been the most barbaric in the handling of prisoners of any nation in history."

Nixon is attempting to use the POWs, as he has ever since 1969, to counteract antiwar sentiment in this country. Several years ago he sent astronaut Frank Borman around the world to try to promote international sympathy for U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. He also successfully used the POW issue to keep the weak-kneed "doves" in Congress from passing any kind of effective antiwar legislation.

The one thing Nixon is worried about, however, is that some of the released prisoners may spoil his plans by coming out with antiwar statements. For this reason, he insisted that all POWs be turned over to military authorities and be prohibited from making any statements to the press.

Nixon's fears that some of the POWs will be opponents of the war appear to be well founded. On Jan. 2 the official Vietnam News Agency in North Vietnam published a statement by 30 American prisoners of war calling for an end to the war. The signers included 20 crewmen from B-52 bombers downed during the Christmas bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

The military brass's fear of antiwar sentiment even among officers was also indicated by their kid-glove handling of the case of Captain Michael Heck. Heck refused to continue taking part in last December's bombing raids. He was given a discharge from the Air Force rather than being court-martialed, no doubt to avoid

publicity that would result from a trial. Although the discharge was less than honorable, Heck plans to fight for an honorable one in the courts.

In addition to gagging the former POWs, the military wants to keep them isolated to reassert military authority over them and put pressure on them not to speak out against the war in the future. One purpose of the so-called "debriefings," according to military spokesmen, is to "put in proper balance" accounts of the extent of antiwar sentiment in the United States.

Members of Congress, meanwhile, are trying to outdo each other in "patriotism" by proposing benefits for the released prisoners. Senators, including George McGovern, and representatives have proposed amending the veteran's benefits laws to grant ex-POWs a lifetime income of \$30 to \$40 a month for each year of imprisonment.

While publicizing the initial benefits ex-POWs will receive, the Nixon administration proposed to Congress Feb. 10 to cut out millions of dollars in physical disability benefits for Vietnam veterans.

From Intercontinental Press
By JON ROTHCHILD

An editorial published in the January 28 issue of *Renmin Ribao*, the leading newspaper of the Chinese Communist party, called the Vietnam cease-fire agreement a "brilliant victory" for the liberation forces. The article noted two respects in which the ac-

clamped the blockade on North Vietnam last May 8. This "produced a situation in which North Vietnam became 100 percent dependent upon China for the provision of its equipment."

"Everything from the Soviet Union had to transit Chinese territory. Nothing could go through the waters and come into Haiphong overseas. This means that China's preoccupation with

in their counterrevolution—*Renmin Ribao* has already proclaimed that the Vietnamese need no longer fear "outside armed intervention"—but because "a certain country would not give up its attempt to dominate the area."

"The Chinese leader," the *Washington Post* explained, "explicitly exonerated the United States, saying that Washington and Peking had agreed not to seek hegemony over Asia and

for consolidating security and world peace open now," he said. "The political settlement in Vietnam can be expected to have a positive effect on relations among states involved in one way or another in events in Indochina. Moreover, this shows it is possible to find a peaceful and just solution to other conflicts, to liquidate the danger from existing hotbeds of war, above all in the Middle East. . . ."

In an article published in the February 4 *New York Times*, Hedrick Smith quoted the above section of Brezhnev's address and commented:

"Those expansive words of almost parental pride were spoken by neither Richard Nixon nor Henry Kissinger but Leonid Brezhnev. The Soviet leader—who had gambled so delicately last May by hosting Mr. Nixon over Hanoi's objections while Haiphong harbor was mined, and then had to endure the embarrassment [!] of the intensive American bombing of Hanoi in December—chose a banquet honoring visiting North Vietnamese dignitaries last Tuesday to relish what he saw as the moment of peace with victory."

Brezhnev himself noted that the Soviet Union had "helped actively on all fronts [to bring the agreement about], military, political, and diplomatic." And he further hinted that the Soviet Union intended to press for strict implementation of the terms of the agreement when the twelve-power "international conference" on Indochina convenes: "The peoples expect that other parties will honor and completely observe the commitments assumed. An important role in this is to be played by the coming international conference, in which the Soviet Union will take an active part."

Spartak Beglov, a political commentator for the Novosti press agency, went somewhat further than Brezhnev in lauding the effect the Vietnam cease-fire would have on Soviet-American relations: "The greater has been a turn in America from the illusions of a policy of strength to a recognition of the political realities, the wider have opened goodwill sluices in search of more fruitful relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

And he further observed, "Of course the work of restoring peace in Vietnam is only begun. The implementation of a just peace will depend to a large extent on how unswervingly and consistently this agreement is put into practice by the parties." (Not by the United States or Saigon, but by the parties. Is this perhaps a warning to the liberation forces that the Kremlin will tolerate no "violation" of the accord, such as armed defense against Thieu's repressive terror?)

On the international arena, the next stage in "implementation of a just peace" will come at the convening of the international conference provided for in the Paris accords. The participants will include North Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Saigon clique, the United States, the Soviet Union, China,

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HOW PEKING AND MOSCOW VIEW CEASE-FIRE IN VIETNAM

cords allegedly represent an advance for the people of Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese question could now be solved, the Maoist journal claimed, "without outside armed intervention." And the end of the fighting would have a "positive influence on the reduction in tension in Asia and the world."

On February 1, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai made his first public comment on the agreement. At a Peking banquet honoring chief North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho, Chou called the accords a great victory and paid special tribute to the "valiant, tenacious, inspiring, and heart-stirring struggle under difficult conditions" that

Soviet encirclement came into play. This means that China's feeling that it would rather have four Balkanized states in Indochina rather than an Indochina dominated by Hanoi and possibly susceptible to Moscow, came into play."

Sullivan concluded that as a result of "calculating" the quantity of supplies they could get through China, the North Vietnamese leaders "probably came to the conclusion that they had to drop all these demands that they had sought continuously since 1968: the overthrow of President Thieu, the establishment of a coalition government, the cutoff of all American support [to Saigon] . . ."

Flora Lewis, the *New York Times* correspondent who covered the Paris negotiations, shares Sullivan's analysis. On January 30 she wrote that "the United States helped China gain control over the flow of supplies to North Vietnam [!] by shutting off Soviet sea routes when it mined Haiphong and other ports. That increased Peking's leverage on Hanoi."

"In the American analysis, Peking now opposes the idea of Hanoi's domination of the Indochinese peninsula, for fear that this would permit an entrenched Soviet influence on China's southern flank. Therefore, with the sea lanes shut, Peking measured carefully its nourishment of North Vietnam's offensive capacity, to help convince Hanoi that a compromise settlement was essential."

A similar interpretation of the Chinese bureaucracy's notion of "victory" in Indochina appeared in the February 5 issue of the U.S. weekly *Newsweek*: "The cease-fire in Vietnam has brought an about-face in China's attitude toward U.S. forces in Southeast Asia. Chinese diplomats are spreading the word that Peking now believes the U.S. should keep its air strength in Thailand and the Seventh Fleet in Asian waters. The rationale apparently is that China sees these forces as a counter to the growing Soviet presence in that part of the world. In addition, Peking no longer regards them as a threat to its own territory."

It might be hoped that such reports are nothing but CIA-inspired slander, brazen attempts to introduce dissension into the "socialist camp," perhaps even provocations planted by Khrushchevite revisionists who have infiltrated the State Department. But unfortunately, there is corroborating evidence—from Chou En-lai himself.

In the middle of January, Takeo Kimura, a member of the ruling Liberal Democratic party in Japan, visited China with several other Japanese luminaries. Naturally, they had discussions with Chou, who, they report, made two important points in the course of their talks about the future of the Asian continent. First, as reported in the January 29 *Washington Post*, Chou said that the Vietnam cease-fire would not bring peace to Asia. Not because the United States and its Saigon puppets intend to press on

the Pacific. . . . The "certain country" is the Soviet Union unless, of course, the Maoists have North Vietnam in mind.

Chou's second observation had to do with U.S.-Japanese relations. Kimura's account was reported in the January 20 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*: "In the future, the Japanese-American Security Treaty will cease to exist, Japan being an independent country. But for the present, since Japan needs the protection of the American nuclear umbrella, it is inevitable, Mr. Chou En-lai believes, that the treaty be preserved. It is in the context of Japan's relationship with the Soviet Union that this is necessary,



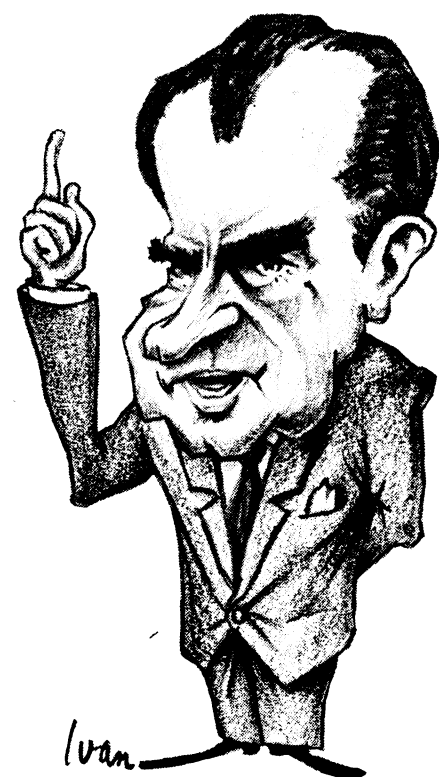
Leonid Brezhnev

and not because of Japan's relations with China. It would serve no purpose for Japan to pass from the American atomic umbrella to the Chinese, because Chinese nuclear arms are not of an offensive type."

The "brilliant victory" that the Peking bureaucrats are now hailing, it may fairly be concluded, is the victory of "peaceful coexistence," not the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. "The Nixon administration," the *New York Times* observed in a February 3 editorial, "appears to have good reason to believe that an improvement of economic as well as political relations with China could be one of the earliest and most profound benefits to this country from the Vietnam settlement."

Peking's predominant concern is to outbid its rivals in Moscow for the favor of U.S. imperialism, to ensure that the American ruling class is convinced that Chairman Mao is fully committed to the new "Concert of Asia," even if that entails a continued massive U.S. military presence.

It cannot be said that the Soviet leaders have ceded victory to Peking in the struggle for accommodation with Nixon. On January 30, the Kremlin bureaucrats had their own banquet for Le Duc Tho. Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev took the occasion to make a speech. "New possibilities for easing tension,



Richard Nixon

had been waged by the Vietnamese liberation forces.

Chou's remarks were apparently greeted approvingly by the assembled dignitaries. But he neglected to mention that his own government played a not inconsequential part in making the already difficult conditions of the Vietnamese struggle still more difficult. Peking was congratulated for its role, however, by an authority who, while lacking Chou's extensive knowledge of the specifics of Chinese aid to the Vietnamese, had enjoyed the advantage of participation in U.S. strategy sessions on how to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

Speaking on the U.S. television program "Meet the Press" on January 28, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William H. Sullivan, former U.S. ambassador to Laos and recently Henry Kissinger's right-hand man during the secret Paris negotiations, explained the dynamics of the process leading to the cease-fire:

"It is very clear that the attitude of China has had a great deal to do with the way in which this situation has worked out."

The Chinese leadership, Sullivan said, was put on the spot when Nixon



Chou En-lai

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 23, 1973

Anti-strike legislation threatens Quebec trade unions

[The following are excerpts from an article in the January-February issue of the Québec revolutionary socialist newspaper *Libération*. The translation is by *Labor Challenge*.]

By Alain Beiner

After a year of unprecedented workers upsurge, 1973 threatens to be a period of government offensive against the Québec trade unions. The increasingly serious crisis shaking the labor movement challenges the ability of the unions to reply to the blows of this offensive.

On December 21 Labor Minister Cournoyer had presented the national assembly with his "Christmas present" to the working class. Entitled "Law assuring the welfare of the population in case of a labor conflict," Bill 89 includes a series of very complex articles claiming to protect "essential services."

Among other provisions, this government bill declares that any strike is outlawed in the public services (not only the public and parapublic sectors at the provincial level, but also the municipal employees and the workers in all aspects of public and private transport, maritime, air or rail) as long as "essential services" have not been "defined" by "agreement" between the parties or by the labor tribunal.

According to the draft law, the government can end any strike "or lock-out" in the public services to "verify if this conflict endangers health, security, public welfare or the education of a group of pupils." Such conflicts

could be referred to the National Assembly and to "commissioners of disputes" whose decision will be binding on the parties.

Business columnist Claude Beauchamp wrote in *La Presse* December 26: "The right to strike . . . is to all intents and purposes abolished in the public sector. . . ."

Since the crushing of the public and parapublic strike last April, and since the crumbling of the big May wildcat—for lack of leadership and political perspectives—the government thinks it is able, in the interests of maintaining the "social peace" that is so necessary to imperialist investments, to eliminate the gains which were won from Prime Minister Lesage in 1965 by the organized labor movement.

This attempt to use Bill 89 to legislate or formalize such a setback of the Québec working class comes after months of threats by Cournoyer, who was studying the possible reaction of the union leadership before proceeding. In this sense the presentation of the law, and its imminent adoption, are only the beginning of the government offensive, while the decisive test of forces will take place when the government tries to apply the law to a strike movement.

But it is certainly no accident that the government chose this time to present its anti-strike bill, six days after the three labor leaders had buried one of the principal achievements of the struggles at *La Presse* and in the civil service strike, that is, the united action of the three centrales, FTQ-CSN-CEQ [Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec—Québec Workers Federation; Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Unions; Corporation des Enseignants du Québec—Québec Teachers Corporation].

In a December 15 statement, the union leaders canceled the important meeting of the executives of the three centrales set for the 18th and 19th of the same month and postponed to an "undetermined date" the setting up of a permanent common front which was to elaborate in the short run an overall strategy for the language struggle and for regional political action.

This decision not only convinced the government that the time was ripe for the boss offensive, but it is in flagrant contradiction with the aspirations of the membership expressed so well in the May uprising.

The government offensive was also encouraged by the refusal of the three labor leaders to rely on the force of the working masses, which could have been mobilized in a defense campaign against the one-year sentence which

weighs against them. While the three leaders decided to appeal their sentences to the Supreme Court of Canada, following the rejection by the Superior Court of Québec, they appealed to the membership to remain calm and not to react in the same way as in May, thereby confining the defense campaign within the narrow framework of the bourgeois courts.

This confusion in the labor movement at the moment of the boss offensive has already provoked grum-



Radical America

'We will win.' This is the symbol chosen by workers in the city of Sept-Îles, who took over their town last spring. It points to the united power of the three main trade-union federations.

blings among important groups, as demonstrated by the January 12 statement of the Federal Bureau of the National Federation of Québec Teachers. This resolution, adopted on the initiative of the Professors Union at the University of Québec in Montréal, underscores the necessity of returning to common fronts in the struggle against Bill 89, in order to "commit all the union forces to oppose any intervention of the State in the union organizations."

Meeting in Québec City January 17-20, the leading body of the CSN pledged to mobilize all its forces in the coming months in struggle against Bill 89. The 150 members of the CSN's Confederal Council voted that if the bill is adopted "in whole or in part" the public service workers in both public and private sectors will use all methods to fight it, including if necessary illegal strikes or refusal to negotiate under the anti-strike law.

The council also voted to approach the other three union centrales (FTQ, CEQ, and the Centrale des Syndicats Démocratique, a right-wing split-off from the CSN) to discover "the possibilities of common action" in struggle against Bill 89. □



Radical America

One of the many mass demonstrations of Quebec workers during last spring's strike upsurge, triggered by walkouts of public employees. Quebec workers seized control of more than a dozen radio and TV stations as well as several entire industrial towns. Bill 89 is part of an attempt of Québec bosses to head off such powerful upsurges in the future.

Argentine socialist campaign backs strike,

The articles on this page are reprinted from the January 24 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina. They describe a recent strike at the Somisa steel plant in the city of San Nicolas in the province of Buenos Aires.

The PST is becoming known in Argentina as the initiator of the Workers and Socialist Pole in the current election campaign there. The Workers and Socialist Pole is an electoral bloc that is running 2,300 candidates throughout Argentina.

Included within it are the Frente Obrero (Workers Front), an organization of trade unionists and other workers in fac-

tory and neighborhood committees; and the Socialist Front, which includes several socialist groups, the main one being the PST. The purpose of the Workers and Socialist Pole is to present a pro-working-class alternative in the elections, opposed to all candidates and parties of the capitalist class.

The role of the Frente Obrero in the strike described in these articles shows how the campaign of the Workers and Socialist Pole is being conducted. It is not simply intended to get votes or win posts, but to help mobilize the workers themselves in struggle. It seeks to carry this struggle from the plant level to the political level.

The translation is by *The Militant*.

Chronology of the Somisa s

On Friday [January 12], two opposing worlds coexisted, separated by the impeccable lawn of a golf course. On one side, the Colonial Hotel—holdout of the oligarchy and customary lodging of José Rucci [Peronist head of the General Federation of Labor] when he visits his division—was barely stirred by the aides of [Somisa steel company] president, General Chescotta. Chescotta had come to speak with the 8,000 steel workers on the other side, who had taken over the plant.

Somisa was rising up over a problem that we feel in every factory: *the domination and goon tactics of the union leaders and their inability to defend our rights against the bosses.*

How STASA was born

Exploitation, unsanitary conditions, and low wages have prevailed in Somisa for years. One *compañero*, who shovels 14,000 kilograms during his shift and earns 480 pesos [about 48 cents] a day, explained to us on Friday, as he marched with a picket that traveled around the city seeking support for the strike:

"We struggle against the sellout leaders of the UOM [Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union] to replace them with new *compañeros*. If they betray us or are not capable of improving things, we'll get rid of them too. But we can't go on this way."

For the past two years, the Somisa workers have been trying to combat the ineffectiveness of the UOM and have demanded the right to form a new organization to represent this specialized branch of the steel industry. That is how STASA (Sindicato de Trabajadores Siderúrgicos de Argentina—Argentine Steelworkers Union) was born—a union that brought together the best activists in the plant, gained growing support from the rest

of the workers, and led the most important activities inside the factory.

The company had no choice but to take a cautious attitude toward this new development, which although not legally recognized, gained recognition among the workers. Instead, the steelworkers bureaucracy of Cechi and Rucci constantly attacked the STASA activists with their goons. The dam finally burst on Wednesday [January 10], when an armed gang attacked three *compañeros* from STASA: Valdivia, Primavera, and Urqueaga. The latter's blood-stained shirt became the flag for the struggle that broke out at dawn.

The conflict

To the cry of "Out with the UOM goons!" and "For the recognition of STASA!," a group of activists of the Tocho and Palanquilla section began calling for a strike. Little by little, they were joined by every other section, and then by the workers on the other shifts, until all the workers were inside the plant.

In a magnificent display of unity, courage, and combativeness, they remained there until Saturday [January 13] morning holding permanent meetings, and gained the support of the foremen of ASIMIRA and the IBM technicians.

'Is father coming?'

At 8 p.m. on Friday, the army and the police, which had been stationed nearby, made known their intention to vacate the plant. A meeting was then held silently attended by some 500 relatives who had brought provisions. The workers voted to stay in the plant and to resist the troops' charge. On the other side of the gate a four-year-old boy who was playing with a poster

Luis Gomez: strike leader, Workers Front candidate

"Let the socialist mayor speak!" Hundreds of times that chant was repeated during the days of continuous meetings inside Somisa. That is because Luis Gómez is not only the soul and nerve of the struggle; he is also the candidate for mayor [of Buenos Aires] of the Frente de los Trabajadores.

His name is clearly identified with this strike, as well as with the long battle for union democracy and for a militant organization to improve the terrible working conditions at Somisa.

He went into Somisa eight years ago. And with the same determination with which he had tamed colts in the countryside, he has been fighting against the union bureaucracy and the bosses. He was a delegate from Tocho and Palanquilla [factory committee] and later a member of the Internal Commission [executive committee of the factory committee], from which he was removed by the UOM bureaucracy. For the last two years



Luis Gomez

Avanzada Socialista

he has been organizing STASA [the rebel union at Somisa].

His campaign on the ticket of the Frente de los Trabajadores—like that of Díaz Jordán, the Ramos brothers, and other outstanding activists at Somisa—is at the disposal of the struggles of the workers and popular masses. □

San Nicolas workers show the way forward

The Somisa workers occupied the plant for two days, condemning the cowardly assault of the trade-union goons and demanding the legalization of the new union. There were other motives behind the strike as well: low salaries, unsanitary conditions, lack of dining rooms.

These workers, who suffer the same problems as the rest of us, have shown that unity and combativeness force the bosses, the government, and the repressive apparatus to retreat, and that the only way out of the swamp of hunger and misery is through struggle.

At a time when the entire labor

movement is asking itself what to do about that swamp, the *compañeros* at Somisa have given us the answer with their valiant strike. Let us listen to their just battle cries; let us applaud their decision; let us discuss their correct and just demands in the factories; let us support their struggle for workers democracy and for the recognition of their union; and let us be ready to fight all together, in the same way they did, for a 50 percent general wage increase and 120,000 pesos [about \$120 per month] minimum salary, retroactive to December 1, 1972, and for a sliding scale of wages, to be adjusted every two months. □

Socialist candidate joins wo

The National Commission of the Frente de los Trabajadores [Workers Front] spoke to the Somisa workers over a telephone they had taken control of to inform them of its initial solidarity actions.

● Jorge Mera, candidate for governor [of Buenos Aires province] of the Frente Obrero and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers Party], was on his way to San Nicolás to organize support from there.

● Another *compañero* was on his way to Córdoba to inform SMATA [a rebel auto union in Córdoba] and *compañeros* Páez and Tosco of the strike. (As a result, a meeting of SMATA of 3,000 workers learned of the strike through a message from the Frente de los Trabajadores and unanimously resolved to solidarize with it.)

● In Buenos Aires, the printing and distribution of 20,000 leaflets and 10,000 posters asking for solidarity state-



Jorge Mera, candidate for governor of Buenos Aires Province, formerly a leader of bank workers union.

plant occupation

rike

condemning the goons asked his mother: "Is father coming?"—"No. He is staying inside and we're staying outside."

The repressive forces didn't dare

The troops never came. The workers' determined unity frustrated the intended attack and forced the authorities to maintain an extremely cautious approach. Management called the STASA leadership to negotiations and agreed, along with the police and military authorities, to arrange a meeting between the workers and General Chescotta.

The following morning, Chescotta agreed not to take any punitive measures of any kind and to act as mediator before San Sebastián and [Argentine President] Lanusse. The workers

decided to end the strike, maintaining their stand of no collaboration, and to call on Somisa to conduct negotiations with the minister and the president.

These *compañeros* have won a very important victory in their first battle. They have successfully tested a tool of organization and struggle. All the workers recognize STASA and its magnificent group of courageous activists as the new undisputed leadership.

Their firmness and determination have forced the government to pause for negotiations. That pause must be taken advantage of to complete the process of internal organization, choosing delegates in every section who will constitute a powerful framework for the battles to come.

Avanzada Socialista fraternally salutes the *compañeros*, pledges its support to the struggle for the formal recognition of STASA, and calls upon them to use the same method to wring out of the bosses and the government a just settlement and a solution to the old problems that plague Somisa. □



Avanzada Socialista

A group of strikers at Somisa. Jorge Mera is near center, with fist raised.

rkers in occupied plant

ments and actions was under way.

● In San Nicolás, the Frente was at that point beginning to organize neighborhood committees for the task of collecting provisions and forming a city-wide organization of workers and popular masses in support of the strike. In addition, propaganda in support of the strike was being disseminated through leaflets, newspapers, radio, and TV.

● Friday, 8 p.m. — 500 women send food through the gates. 3,000 workers are meeting. Barrionuevo, secretary of STASA, is reporting on the ultimatum sent by Colonel Carro. He is interrupted by an announcement: Jorge Mera and a national delegation of the Frente de los Trabajadores have arrived and are waiting outside. The meeting is informed. The visitors are received with an ovation.

Barrionuevo, Valdivia, Gómez, Ramos, and other *compañeros* from STASA go outside to meet them. Mera

expresses solidarity and reports on the actions being carried out. The delegation is invited to come in and received with embraces and applause.

Díaz Jordán, one of the candidates from San Nicolás of the Frente de los Trabajadores, said: "We are proud to meet you at the barricades." Thousands of surprised and curious workers see, for the first time, a political leader and a candidate for governor as one more worker participating in the meeting in a disciplined way.

8:30 p.m. — The meeting decides to resist the army's imminent attack. Mera asks to be allowed to stay alongside the *compañeros*, despite the fact that he does not work at Somisa. Two hours later, when the government withdraws the ultimatum and begins negotiations, Mera leaves to help from the outside and utilize the platform and propaganda openings of the Frente de los Trabajadores to help the strike. □

World news notes

Police battle students in Beirut

Recent clashes between students and police in Beirut, Lebanon, were characterized by *Los Angeles Times* correspondent William Coughlin as "the worst street battles since the confrontation between the government and Palestinian guerrillas in 1970." Armed riot police attacks on student demonstrators lasted for more than a week in early February.

Students took to the streets in support of a strike by 15,000 elementary and high school teachers. The teachers were asking a 40 percent wage increase and reinstatement of 324 teachers the government dismissed as "agitators" or organizers of the strike.

According to Coughlin, "Newspaper front pages here have been filled with photos of police clubbing both students and passers-by and with vivid descriptions of casualties in the street war." On February 3, "police fired into the air over the heads of taunting students, who had barricaded one of Beirut's main thoroughfares."

The wave of student demonstrations, which continued after the striking teachers went back to work, spread to other Lebanese cities as well, Coughlin reports.

Thought-control move in Czechoslovakia

The Husak regime in Czechoslovakia is broadening its witch-hunt for dissidents by forcing all workers—party members and non-party workers—to fill out a questionnaire designed to finger anyone who was sympathetic with the movement for democratic socialism during the 1968 "Prague spring." The questionnaire asks workers to write an autobiography and says, "Include your political activities during the years 1968 and 1969 and your contemporary attitude toward this activity."

The Czechoslovak Communist Party purged one-third of its membership at the time of the 1968 events in its attempt to silence criticism. Last summer 46 oppositionists were tried and sentenced to prison terms for publishing oppositional leaflets and journals.

Soviet citizen's question on Vietnam

An interesting question was raised by a Muscovite at a current events forum held in Moscow in December. The forum, described in the January 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, consisted of a panel of Soviet newsmen who answered questions from an audience of about 300.

"Wasn't it time to call Mr. Nixon a criminal for deceiving the people, a questioner demanded, and shouldn't Soviet citizens be demonstrating against the United States? The audience sat hushed. . . .

"Let the American people speak out about Mr. Nixon, replied Mr. Smirnov. They re-elected him recently on a promise of peace. It was up to them to influence their President."

The Kremlin bureaucrats refused throughout the Vietnam war to call for worldwide mass actions against the war. The question raised at the Moscow forum would indicate that this policy of betrayal of the Vietnamese does not have the support of many Soviet citizens.

Anniversary of 'Bloody Sunday'

The February 3 issue of *Red Mole*, biweekly paper of the International Marxist Group in England, reported the following on solidarity actions in London marking the anniversary of the Bloody Sunday massacre in Ireland last year:

"A monster rally which packed the Camden Town Hall, with an overflow of thousands spread out into the surrounding streets—this was the high point of the anti-Internment League activities in Britain calculated to use the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, on Sunday January 28, to rejuvenate the solidarity movement in this country.

"At two simultaneous meetings, one inside and one outside the Town Hall, speakers ranging from one mother and four wives of internees, James Wray, father of one of the victims of Bloody Sunday, through Provo, Official, PD [People's Democracy], Gery Lawless (IMG) and Paul Foot (International Socialists) and including Fulvio Grimaldi (editor of *Lotta Continua*, the Italian left-wing daily) and Mike Cooley of the AUEW (TASS) [the technical section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers], urged the need for solidarity with the struggle in Ireland, and explained the connection between this struggle and the political conjuncture in the world anti-imperialist struggle."

In addition to the demonstrations held in the United States, about 100 people marched to the British Government Office in Toronto, Canada, to demand an end to the concentration camp system in Northern Ireland and the withdrawal of British troops.

345 doctors publicly defy French abortion law

[On February 5, 331 French doctors caused a big stir by revealing publicly that they had performed abortions. They did so in a signed manifesto for the "freedom of abortion." Their admission entails the risk of penalties of up to ten years in prison and fines as high as \$14,000. In theory, they could also be barred from medical practice.

[The text of their manifesto was published in the February 4-5 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. A translation by *Intercontinental Press* follows.]

For several months now, and particularly since the Bobigny trial [See *Intercontinental Press*, November 27, 1972, p. 1295], everyone has been able to see that, as far as questions of sexuality and abortion are concerned, France is one of the last re-

maining countries still in the Middle Ages. In spite of the hundreds of thousands of secret abortions and the tragic consequences they bring, public authorities and the board of the *Ordre des Médecins* [Medical Society] persist in not taking this reality into account. They put off indefinitely any change in the existing legislation.

Nevertheless, when a woman has decided to interrupt a pregnancy she does so in spite of the law and the personal convictions of her doctor. Depending on her financial means, she can get an abortion in complete safety abroad, and even in France, or else she is forced to seek a secret abortion at the risk of her life (there are dozens of such deaths each year). Every year, thousands of women fall victim in this way to tragic complications (perforations, hemorrhaging, infections, etc.) and expose themselves

to the possibility of prosecution.

Doctors, who know about these risks, objectively share in responsibility for these deaths. Many of them have become aware of this and their attitude has evolved. The position of the [Medical] Society's board is not the position of all doctors, upon whom it cannot foist its own moral rules.

France, "the country of liberty," does not give women the liberty to control their own bodies. Sexual education is nonexistent; the law on contraception is not applied; couples are deprived of information permitting them to achieve sexual equilibrium and choose the moment they wish to bring a child into the world; the National Family Planning Program has just been refused recognition as a useful, nonprofit organization, which prevents it from receiving any subsidies.

We believe that all individuals must be in a position to be responsible for their own bodies and their own health, as well as to benefit from all progress in scientific knowledge.

We want:

1. All means of contraception to be made available to everyone, including minors, thanks to a broad informational campaign, and to be reimbursed by social security.

2. Abortion to be free.

The decision to have an abortion must be left entirely up to the woman. We reject any commission being set up that forces her to justify her choice, that retains the notion of guilt, and that allows secret abortions to continue (as the experience in foreign countries shows that it would).

Abortion, just like any other medical and surgical operation, must be reimbursed by social security.

Modern methods, which have made abortion into a simple act involving no risks, must be put within reach

of everybody so that women can interrupt their pregnancies under the best medical and psychological conditions.

Freedom of abortion means that the decision to have or to perform one must be made on the basis of nothing but one's own moral or religious convictions.

The undersigned doctors state that they perform abortions or do what they can to help obtain them outside of any considerations of financial gain; and that they solemnly pledge to answer collectively for their action before all judicial or medical authority, as well as before public opinion. □

Eight women, ranging in age from twenty-two to fifty-two, faced trial in Strasbourg, France, January 19 for undergoing abortions. Six were released, including several who failed to appear—a very unusual occurrence in French court practice—and two were given suspended fines of 300 francs (about US\$60).

"A strong current of public opinion was running in favor of the accused before their trial," the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported January 21. "On the eve of the trial 250 demonstrators marched demanding their release and free abortion on demand. A more important development was that for the first time unity was achieved among women of all tendencies." □



French women's demonstration for right to abortion. Sign says 'For years and years, one million women have had clandestine abortions every year. Why is it only today that people speak of it?'

Belgium

Thousands come to defense of abortionist

Abortion laws in Belgium carry a maximum of twenty years for a doctor who performs an illegal abortion and five years for a woman who undergoes one. The law recognizes legal abortion only in specific therapeutic cases when a woman's life is endangered.

Under this reactionary legislation, Dr. William Peers, head of the Center of Obstetrics and Gynecology in the province of Namur, Belgium, and cofounder of the Belgian Society to Legalize Abortion, was jailed on January 18 following denial of his lawyers' request for release. He was charged with having performed about

320 abortions during 1972.

A second request to free Dr. Peers was rejected by the court of Namur on February 1. Given the lack of a bail system in Belgium, Dr. Peers is at the mercy of the court, although his lawyers will again on February 17 file a request for his release pending trial. On January 27 in Namur, just prior to the denial of the second plea, some 10,000 supporters of the Willy Peers Committee demanded his release.

Le Monde's Pierre de Vos described the Peers case as "currently occupying as much news space as the unfolding governmental crisis in Bel-

gium or the gas strike that is paralyzing the country."

"The case of Willy Peers . . . is rapidly becoming a national demonstration to legalize abortion, and to a large extent the breadth of the campaign is surpassing everything that has occurred in France during the past few years," said de Vos. □

...and in Italy

A proposed abortion law has been submitted to the Italian parliament by Loris Fortuna, also the sponsor of the controversial divorce law. His law would give a woman the right to an abortion only when three doctors state that continued pregnancy constitutes "a threat to her physical and mental health." At present, abortions are banned under all circumstances in Italy.

Opposition to the proposed law is coming from the Vatican, the neofascists, the Christian Democrats, and almost all bourgeois parties, according to a report in the Danish daily *Politiken* January 22. There are an estimated 800,000 illegal abortions in Italy each year, from which 20,000 to 25,000 women die for lack of medical help. □

On January 31 two organizations in the United States—the Ad Hoc Artists' Movement for Freedom and the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition—held a picket line in front of the Belgian Consulate in New York City to demand freedom for Dr. Peers. WONAAC is building another picket line to be held February 24 at the Belgian airlines (Sabena) of-

fice, 489 Fifth Avenue (near 47th Street), starting at 1 p.m. This action will be in solidarity with a demonstration planned on the same day in Belgium on Dr. Peers' behalf.

Telegrams and letters of support for this defense effort can be sent to: Comité Willy Peers, 75 Rue Roberts-Jones, Brussels 1180, Belgium.

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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What's wrong with Union of the Left?

Analysis of March election in France

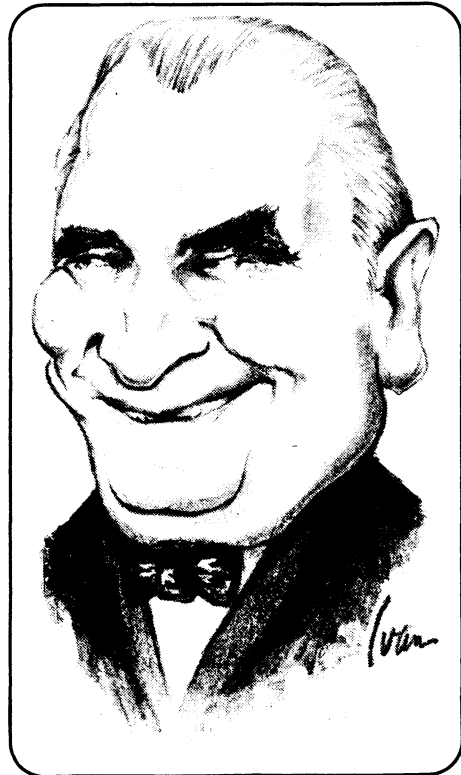
By TONY THOMAS

The Jan. 20 *Daily World*, a newspaper that reflects the viewpoint of the Communist Party of the U.S., carried two pages of articles on the French Communist Party's policy in the parliamentary elections scheduled for March 4 and 11. The French Communists have formed a bloc with the Socialist Party and a splinter group from the Radical-Socialist Party called the Left Radicals. The bloc is called the Union of the Left.

One of the articles in the *World* is a speech James Jackson, a top leader of the U.S. Communist Party, gave at the December 1972 congress of the French Communists. Jackson praises the Union of the Left as "an outstanding contribution, an experience which holds particularly rich lessons for us."

Jackson claims that the Union of the Left is a model of the political effectiveness of the "anti-monopoly coalition" electoral strategy pushed by the CPUSA. This concept holds that there are two types of capitalist exploiters—the smaller ones and the bigger monopolists—and that working people can make progress by uniting with the "non-monopoly" sector of the capitalist class in the political arena.

This view assumes that the basic



French President Georges Pompidou

political and economic interests of working people coincide more or less with the interests of the non-monopoly capitalists. In reality, however, the interests of all employers are diametrically opposed to the interests of working people. Thus the end result of such an "anti-monopoly" coalition is to subordinate the demands and struggles of the working class and other oppressed groups to the political positions and interests of their capitalist oppressors.

An examination of the Union of the Left and the French Communists' position will show how this strategy of "anti-monopoly coalition"—or "advanced democracy" as it's called in France—stands in the way of the struggle of the oppressed.

Union of the Left

The Communist and Socialist parties of France initiated the Union of the Left June 27, 1972, although the Communist Party and sections of the Socialist Party had favored such a block for years. Its principal aim is to win a parliamentary majority in opposition to the government coalition controlled by the UDR (Union pour la Défense de la République—Union for the Defense of the Republic.)

The UDR has been the dominant capitalist formation in France since Charles DeGaulle came to power in 1958. It controls a big majority in the current National Assembly. French Premier Pierre Messmer and President Georges Pompidou are both UDR members.

The elections to the National Assembly will be held in two rounds. In the first round, scheduled for March 4, only candidates who secure an absolute majority in their districts will be elected to the Assembly. In districts where no candidate wins a first round majority—usually the case in most of the districts—there will be a runoff among the leading candidates March 11. In this second round only a plurality is required to win.

The participants in the Union of the Left will run their own candidates in the first round. On the second round they have agreed to support a common candidate on the basis of whichever candidate receives the highest number of votes on the first round or on the basis of the political importance of the candidates involved.

If the Union of the Left gains a majority in the 487-seat National Assembly, or if they can combine with other forces to make a majority, they are pledged to attempt to elect a government, that is a cabinet and a premier.

Even if they do gain a majority in the March elections, however, Pompidou, whose term runs to 1976, will have the right to immediately call new Assembly elections. If the Union of the Left wins this second series of elections, it will have the undisputed right to form a government.

Election bloc

The Union of the Left originated in an attempt to heighten the vote-catching appeal of the Communist and Socialist parties. The fact that the two parties had not launched a joint effort since the cold war began in the late 1940s had reduced their electoral appeal.

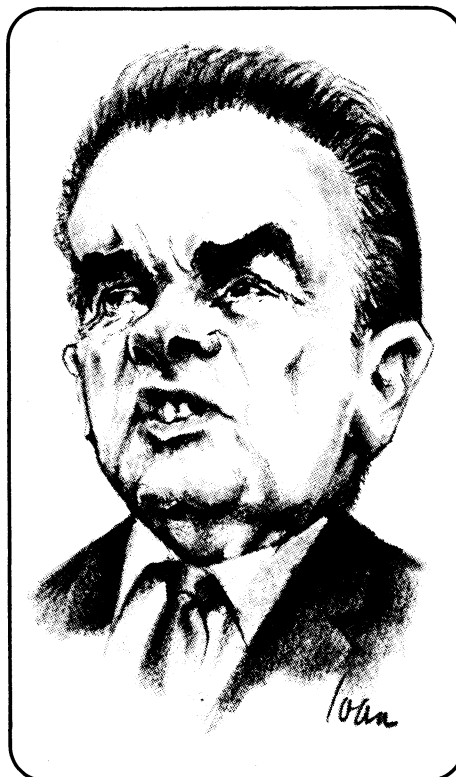
As Henry Giniger wrote in the July 2, 1972 *New York Times*, "So long as the left was divided, it did not appear very credible to the electorate as an effective replacement for the Gaullist-dominated coalition in power. Now that the main forces of the left are united, its critics are changing their tune. . . ."

However, in forming the Union of the Left, the Socialists and Communists were not attempting to unite the working class parties of France for a struggle for socialism. While the French Communists claim their strategy will lead to socialism in the long run, they have been explicit that a Union of the Left regime will remain within a capitalist context. They label their chief goal the achievement of "advanced democracy," a more "democratic" variant of capitalism that would carry out reforms in the interests of "anti-monopoly" forces.

In fact, one of the reasons the Communists desire the bloc with the Socialists is to dispel anti-communist illusions many in France hold that the Communists aim to overturn French capitalism.

The Socialists' dedication to the defense of capitalism in France is more widely recognized than that of the Communist Party. At the same time, Socialist Party First Secretary François Mitterrand thinks that such a bloc with the Communists will help the Socialists regain lost influence, particularly within the working class, where the Communists are very strong.

The Aug. 23, 1972, *Christian Science Monitor* observed that "in the



Georges Marchais, general secretary of French communist Party.

coming elections, Mr. Mitterrand needs the Communists' well-oiled, vote-producing machinery, particularly among workers."

"The Communists also need the Socialists," the *Monitor* continued, "to show voters that they are indeed prepared to share power, to take the parliamentary road rather than that of violent revolution. Hence the alliance."

The Union of the Left's main components are the Communist and Socialist parties, which are seen as the main workers parties in France. However, the Communist and Socialist leaders do not project the Union of the Left as a clear working-class slate counterposed to all of the capitalist parties and politicians. In fact they have tried to involve capitalist politicians and formations in the Union of the Left.

Jackson is quoted in the *Daily World* as saying that the French Communists and Socialists have "extended an open hand to all other popular parties and groups to join, and since then they have enlisted the left-wing of the Radical-Socialist Party, several left groups formerly associated with the UDR or Gaullists, and many others."

The Radical-Socialist Party is a liberal capitalist party. The Communists and Socialists attempted to get this party to join the Union of the Left. However, only a small splinter from this party, now known as the Left Radicals, opted for the Union of the Left. The rest refused and are backing their own slate in the elections.

The "Common Program" of the Union of the Left projects the reforms the Communist and Socialist leaders claim they will carry out in government. The program rhetorically mentions an ultimate, "peaceful transition to socialism," after a prolonged period of "advanced democracy." But the core of this program is to limit the struggles and demands of the French working class to reforms within the context of maintaining the capitalist system.

While some of these demands reflect the interests of the French workers, most of them are intended to gain the Union of the Left a more "responsible" image among supporters of French capitalism.

In the nationalizations proposed by the "Common Program," the Union of the Left calls for full compensation to the owners rather than direct confiscation. To pay these bosses for what

they robbed from the French workers is both unfair and economically unfeasible.

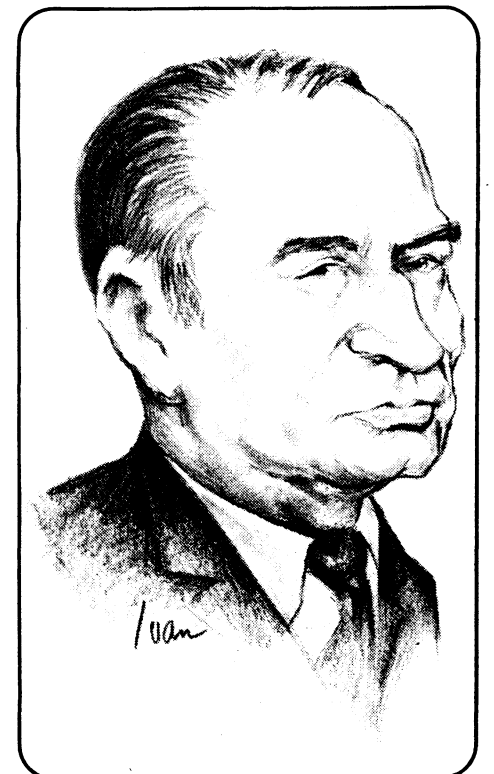
Yet the Communist and Socialist leaders propose this to placate "anti-monopoly" bosses. These nationalizations would increase the size of the nationalized sector of the French economy from the current figure of 10 percent of the gross national product to 14 percent.

Still another example of the spirit in which the Union of the Left presents its demands is given in the Nov. 28, 1972, issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, a French socialist newspaper.

At an election rally at a factory in Porte de Lois, a worker asked Georges Marchais, general secretary of the Communist Party, if the demand for a 40-hour workweek would be implemented immediately after a Union of the Left victory. Marchais replied that such a demand would have to wait until the end of the Assembly session, which could be as much as five years after the elections.

If Marchais is wary of implementing this demand, which has been won in a number of other capitalist countries, including the U.S., how will some of the other more far-reaching reforms fare under a Union of the Left government?

An article in the Feb. 3 issue of *Rouge*, newspaper of the Communist League, the French section of the



François Mitterrand, first secretary of French Socialist Party.

Fourth International, outlines the political retreat the Union of the Left has made. Henri Weber writes: "Each day leads to a new restriction. No, they will not set up socialism during the five years of their legislative power; yes, they will keep Pompidou president. No, they will not touch the institutions of the Fifth Republic (or so little that it would hardly be anything to speak of); yes, they will be faithful to the Atlantic Alliance and the Common Market. No, the cost of their social reforms will not be unreasonable, they don't exceed an annual increase in the budget of 10 percent; yes, they will energetically oppose all new demands of the rank and file. . . ."

As Weber points out, the Union of the Left maintains a position of political support to the Atlantic Alliance. This is an anti-Communist alliance of the Western imperialist powers against the Soviet Union that even

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Houston socialists enter city race

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON, Feb. 8—Three Socialist Workers Party candidates today filed declarations of candidacy in the 1973 city elections. Two television stations, four radio stations, and both of Houston's daily newspapers covered the filing, which took place in the mayor's office.

The city clerk who accepted the affidavits warned the socialist candidates that this did not guarantee their names would be on the ballot in November. The city is going to wait until June to print official filing forms for candidates.

Mayoral candidate Dan Fein, a Houston school teacher, termed the city's action in not fully accepting the declarations of candidacy "illegal." He stated that as a result of two successful suits the SWP filed during the last city elections, the present candidates were fully qualified to file now.

The suits abolished the requirements that candidates must have been residents of Houston for five years and have owned real estate for two years before the election. They also abolished filing fees for city offices and struck down a state loyalty oath that required candidates to promise to resist any attempts to alter "the present representative form of government." The city is appealing these court decisions and is also trying to get the state legislature to pass new restrictions.

In a statement to news media Fein said, "The SWP stands shoulder to shoulder with the strikers at Shell Oil in Deer Park, who are fighting for safer working conditions. I'm glad to see such wide support for this strike in the community and especially the picketing being carried out by the strikers' wives and relatives."

"We also support the demands of Houston firemen for collective bargaining, and under our administration all city workers would have the right to strike."

Brenda Brdar, SWP candidate for city council, District C, said that the SWP campaign would support the demands of the women's movement for equal pay and equal job opportunities. She said she would work to enforce the recent Supreme Court decision legalizing abortions. She also said she would move to appropriate city funds to establish free abortion clinics so that abortions would be available to anyone who needed them.

Kathy Stallworth, the candidate for at-large position number 1 on the city council, explained



Brenda Brdar

Militant/Dave Warren

why the SWP opposes the way city council members are elected.

"Council people representing individual districts are elected by all the voters in the city as a whole. The results are that predominantly Black and Chicano districts are deprived of the opportunity to elect Black and Chicano city council members to represent them," she said.

At a campaign rally Feb. 11, the three candidates spoke to an enthusiastic audience about the goals of their campaign. "We're out to win," said Dan Fein. "And we're out to convince more and more people of the need to fight for a socialist America." Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston in 1971 and for governor of Texas in 1972, chaired the rally.

Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president in 1972, also spoke. She urged everyone present "to endorse this campaign, actively support it, give your money to it, and help show these Texas Democrats and Republicans what the socialists can do."

Singler to head Austin SWP ticket

By JAMES BURFIEND

AUSTIN, Feb. 9—Melissa Singler, a long-time antiwar and women's liberation activist, has announced her candidacy for mayor of Austin on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. The announcement, made at a press conference here Feb. 7, was covered by all the local radio and TV stations and by both the city daily newspaper and the University of Texas paper.

Singler promised to take her campaign "from one end of this city to the other." She emphasized the need for Blacks and Chicanos in Austin to gain control of their communities in order to put a stop to the series of cases of police brutality. She also focused on the many problems women face in Austin, and expressed the hope that the SWP campaign will succeed in altering the all-male composition of the city council.

In the last Austin municipal elections in 1971, the SWP candidates were denied ballot status because of laws requiring candidates to be at least 25 years old, have three years' residency in the city, and to sign a loyalty oath. Federal courts



Militant/Derek Jeffers

Steven Fuchs addressing Austin campaign banquet.

have since upheld an SWP challenge to the loyalty oath and residency requirements.

It was learned Feb. 6 that the city attorney's office had quietly reduced the age requirement to 21, and the residency requirement to one year. The next day, Singler declared she would refuse to sign the loyalty oath because it was clearly unconstitutional. She pointed out that the other changes in the election code were made because of the court fights the SWP had undertaken.

The next day the city attorney's office decided they couldn't stand up to the socialist campaign and totally rewrote the oath, eliminating those parts the courts objected to and leaving only one vaguely worded sentence.

Singler immediately issued a statement welcoming the change as a concession, but pointing out that any loyalty oath is a violation of constitutional rights. The SWP will sign the revised oath under protest.

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance topped off the week with a banquet Feb. 9, attended by 70 people, to open a new headquarters and to officially start the campaign. The speakers included Linda Jenness; Steve Wattenmaker, an active-duty GI stationed at Fort Sam Houston; Professor Robert Palter of the University of Texas; Steven Fuchs, a member of the YSA; and Melissa Singler.

More than \$400 was raised to help finance the initial campaign activities. The SWP will announce its slate of candidates for city council next week.



Melissa Singler

Scherr campaign gains momentum

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, Feb. 10—"I'm not just your typical candidate for mayor, you know. Most candidates are men who make over \$25,000 a year, and who tend to be well, let's say, on the mature side of life. And generally they don't have antiwar activists, feminists, and radical students address their campaign rallies." With these words, Cleveland Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Roberta Scherr opened her speech to 75 enthusiastic supporters at a banquet at Debs Hall tonight.

Several Cleveland-area activists addressed the rally, including Kathy Palumbo of the Cleveland Abortion Project Coalition. "I know that none of the other parties will nominate a candidate who will take such a strong stand on the abortion issue, and the feminist movement in general," she said. "Therefore I would like to suggest that all women here support Roberta Scherr for mayor."

Richard Cramer, a coordinator of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition and Cleveland Area Vets for Peace, echoed these sentiments. "The antiwar movement was in several areas quite an education for me. . . . I got quite a crash course in who could be counted on and who couldn't. When there was an antiwar activity, I've seen Roberta Scherr when she was tired or drenched or half frozen . . . and when she said she was going to do something she did it."

Ann Weld Harrington, chairperson of the Cleveland Gay Activists Alliance, extended her support to the socialist campaign and urged others to do the same.

Cleveland is 40 percent Black and, like other major cities, faces the problem of police brutality. In her speech, Scherr charged that Cleveland Mayor Ralph Perk and the Democratic city council are "pouring millions of dollars into the police force. For example, Perk set up the \$29-million Impact program to combat 'stranger to stranger' crimes. Now Perk, along with the county, wants to spend \$91-million on a new justice center."

Scherr said that both Perk and former mayor Carl Stokes are responsible for the brutality of the Cleveland police department. "Almost every week the papers carry stories of young Blacks who are murdered in cold blood for 'suspected' crimes. And when the Black community proposes action against this problem, such as a civilian review board, it is met by virtual silence from every Democratic and Republican politician."



Roberta Scherr at Cleveland rally Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

The rally also heard Karol Stern, former member of the Cleveland chapter of the Young Workers Liberation League. "The YWLL has consistently supported liberal Democratic Party candidates since its inception . . . because of its political dependence on the Soviet bureaucracy, it does not have the program or the ability to bring about the necessary social change—a socialist revolution. To the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party concrete, visible activities aimed at achieving a socialist revolution are a way of life. . . . Thousands of voters in Cleveland can enjoy the novel experience this fall of voting for the best candidate for mayor, Roberta Scherr."

In response to an appeal by campaign manager Duncan Williams, \$3,345 was raised in contributions and pledges.

Young Socialists for Scherr coordinator Mary Zinn announced a socialist petition drive to gather 6,000 signatures to place Scherr on the ballot. The drive will take place March 30 to April 21 and will culminate in a conference entitled "Toward a Socialist America." The conference, to be held April 20-21 at Case Western Reserve University, is sponsored by the Young Socialists for Scherr and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Norman Oliver candidate for mayor

SWP maps plans for New York elections

By GINNY HILDEBRAND

NEW YORK, Feb. 13—Members of the three New York City branches of the Socialist Workers Party held a joint meeting Feb. 10 to discuss the 1973 municipal elections and nominate a slate of SWP candidates for the major offices in New York City.

The meeting mapped out an ambitious campaign to put forward socialist solutions to the deteriorating quality of life faced by most New Yorkers, especially the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Based on the experiences of the 1972 SWP campaign, enthusiasm over the prospects for support in this campaign was high.

The New York mayoral race began last November, and the media devotes daily attention to the candidates and issues affecting the lives of eight million New Yorkers.

The nine SWP nominees comprise the largest slate the party has run since it first fielded candidates in New York in 1939. Heading the ticket will be Norman Oliver, candidate for mayor. Oliver, 22, has been a participant in the Black liberation movement since high school, when he edited a city-wide newspaper, *Black Student Voice*, in Detroit. As an antiwar activist, he has toured U.S. military bases in Europe investigating racism in the armed forces.

A member of the Young Socialist Alliance since 1968, Oliver is a member of the YSA national committee. In 1972, he was the SWP candidate

against racist States Attorney Edward Hanrahan in Cook County, Ill. He is the only Black candidate announced for mayor.

Joanna Misnik is the SWP candidate for president of the city council. Misnik is a well-known antiwar leader who was one of four women seeking the congressional seat now held by Bella Abzug in a nationally prominent race last year.

Dick Roberts, a staff writer for *The Militant*, is the SWP candidate for comptroller. A lecturer on Marxist economics, Roberts is well qualified to present solutions to the financial crisis confronting New York.



Doug Jenness, New York City organizer for the SWP, presents report on election campaign to city-wide meeting.

The SWP candidate for Manhattan borough president is B. R. Washington, a graduate of Manhattan Vocational High School and former member of Transit Workers Local 100. Washington, who was the SWP 1972 candidate for Congress in Harlem, is a leading activist in the New York African Liberation Support Committee.

Eva Chertov is the SWP candidate in council district 3 on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Chertov, who lived in Cuba for seven years, has many years of experience in bilingual education. This is a key focus in the struggle of the district's Spanish-

speaking community to gain control of the schools.

Richard Ariza, a Latino activist and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, is the SWP candidate for Manhattan council at large.

Maxine Williams, candidate for Brooklyn borough president, was active in the Hunter College Third World Women's Organization. She has spoken and written frequently on Black women and feminism.

Mark Friedman, a Young Socialist Alliance activist at Brooklyn College, will run for Brooklyn council-at-large.

James Mendieta, the 1972 SWP candidate for Congress in Brooklyn's 14th District, will seek the office of Brooklyn district attorney. A 34-year-old transit worker, Mendieta spent several years in federal prison for drug-related crimes before joining the socialist movement.

Norman Oliver will launch his campaign with a tour of New York campuses, coordinated by the Young Socialists for Oliver, a group open to all young supporters of the socialist mayoral alternative. Meetings are already set on 10 major campuses and high schools.

On March 2, Norman Oliver will be the featured speaker at a city-wide kick-off rally for the New York SWP campaign. Linda Jenness, the 1972 SWP candidate for president, will also speak. The rally will take place in Tishman Auditorium, New York University, 40 Washington Square South, at 8 p.m.

Seattle socialists denounce budget cutbacks

By GARY JOHNSON

SEATTLE, Feb. 5—At a news conference today the Socialist Workers Party launched its 1973 campaign for municipal and county elections in Seattle. Heading the slate of six candidates is Craig Honts, 21, a leader of the antiwar movement at the University of Washington and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, running for mayor against incumbent Wes Uhlman.

Honts, who was the 1972 SWP candidate in the 1st Congressional District, blasted Nixon's budget, saying, "the budget gives Boeing \$860-million to build the B-1 bomber, missiles, and helicopters but cuts out \$475,000 from the Seattle school district and closes down the in-patient treatment at the Public Health Service Hospital." He pledged that if he is elected city hall would "become an organizing center

for the mass struggles against a system that puts military spending above the real problems we face."

Louise Pitell, 22, a former national staff member of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, announced her intention to run for the Seattle city council. Pitell hailed the Supreme Court decision on abortion as a historic victory for women. She also urged all supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment to join at the state capitol Feb. 7 to demonstrate support for the ERA at a legislative hearing.

Eric Huffman, who won a seat on the Franklin High School senate running as a socialist, responded to reporters' questions about his age and qualifications for city council.

Huffman, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, defended the right of young people to run for office,

pointing out that youth under 18 cannot vote but are nonetheless bound "by the laws and decisions of this system." Huffman reminded the reporters that it is young people who are in the forefront of all the struggles for social change in this country.

Three other candidates are also running on the SWP slate. Clare Fraenzl, 28, former high school teacher and now a secretary, is the candidate for the Seattle school board. Patrick Hayes, 23, candidate for King County executive, is a former sailor who was discharged from the Navy because of his antiwar activities. He is a veteran antiwar activist and helped organize last month's antiwar demonstrations.

Gary Johnson, 20, is running for city council. In 1971, he polled more than 5 percent of the vote in a city council primary. He is currently a co-

plaintiff in a suit challenging the Washington State filing fees, stemming from his 1972 campaign for superintendent of public instruction on the SWP ticket.



Craig Honts

Berkeley SWP wins fight against filing fee

By RICK CONGRESS

BERKELEY, Feb. 7—Acting on a motion initiated by the Socialist Workers Party and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), the Berkeley city council yesterday waived a \$100 filing fee for candidates who could not afford to pay.

A city ordinance requires the \$100 fee for candidates in municipal elections to appear in a voter's pamphlet prepared by the city. The city council motion, which passed by a 7-2 vote, stated that any candidate who filed an affidavit declaring inability to pay would be exempted.

In arguing for the motion, a representative of CoDEL pointed out that the fee discriminated against poor candidates. Several recent court decisions

involving successful filing-fee challenges by SWP candidates were cited.

A brief prepared for the council by attorney Keith Roberts pointed out that the \$100 fee bore no relation to the actual printing costs, and thus served only as a means to exclude poor candidates from equal publicity.

Councilman and Vice-mayor Wilmont Sweeney, a champion of "moderate" liberalism in Berkeley politics, and Councilman McLaren, a conservative, cast the only no votes. By way of explaining his vote, McLaren fumed, "This will let every dingbat in the whole community get his name up in print to make antiestablishment statements."

The passage of the motion was widely reported in the Bay Area media.

Today, while SWP campaign workers were checking over the election codes at the city clerk's office, a Black woman who had previously filed as a candidate for city council but had been unable to pay the fee, approached the city clerk and said, "I'm one of those dingbats who wants to get her name in print."

BERKELEY, Feb. 9—Doug Hewell, a 15-year-old member of the Young Socialist Alliance, has been denied the right to file for the board of education for the April 17th elections. In refusing to accept his candidate papers on Feb. 8, the city clerk cited the age requirement of 18 to run for city office.

Hewell then promptly submitted a resolution to appear on the agenda

of the Berkeley city council for its meeting Feb. 13. The resolution reads: "Whereas students have the right to participate in the determination of educational policies; be it resolved: The Berkeley council allow high school students to run for the Berkeley board of education."

In a press statement, Hewell said, "Students and faculty must have greater control over all aspects of public education, including the hiring and firing of teachers. . . ."

Today the *Daily Californian*, the University of California at Berkeley student newspaper, editorialized in favor of the right of high school students to run for the board of education.

New book distorts views

Was Malcolm X a revolutionary?

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Peter Goldman, a reporter when he first interviewed Malcolm X in 1962 and now a senior editor at *Newsweek*, insists on calling this "a white book about Malcolm X . . . written from a white perspective." He would have done better to call it a white liberal book, from a white liberal perspective; and since Black and white liberals share basic assumptions, it would have been even more accurate to say a liberal book and a liberal perspective.

Liberals have changed many of their ideas since 1962, especially about race relations; they used to think everything would be taken care of by passing a few laws, and now many of them think nothing can be done and have stopped trying. Goldman has not become quite that pessimistic, but in most other respects he remains a typical liberal. He was strongly influenced by Malcolm and he tries to pay tribute to his memory by telling the truth about him. But the truth as he sees it is blurred and in some places stood on its head by his incorrigible liberal biases.

A clear example of this is the way he presents Malcolm's views on independent Black political action in 1964 after Malcolm had left the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims)—views that remained unchanged until Malcolm's death the following year:

"He was adamantly against registering black people as Democrats or Republicans, a commitment that struck him as a sellout in advance. There was a vein of political naivete in this, since most of the real political decisions in Harlem are taken by signed-up Democrats in Democratic clubhouses and Democratic primaries; to register blacks as independents would, whatever its spiritual satisfaction, cut them out of the real electoral process."

For most liberals political action means being part of the Democratic Party. They simply cannot understand how anyone fails to see this. In their minds people who think of political action in any other terms are blind, retarded, or naive. Malcolm was breaking with this conception and trying to move the Black masses in another direction. His reasons for doing so were *political*. But Goldman, when he tries to explain Malcolm's position, is capable only of suggest-

The Death and Life of Malcolm X by Peter Goldman. Harper & Row. New York, 1973. 438 pp. Cloth, \$8.95.



Malcolm X speaking at New York Militant Labor Forum in 1964

ing that it may have given him "spiritual satisfaction" to attack the two-party system that oppresses Blacks.

Not all of Goldman's liberal prejudices are as glaring as that one. Some are not of much importance, but others have a ruinous effect on his attempts to understand and explain what Malcolm was trying to do, especially in his last year.

In part, Goldman's book is a polemic against the conclusions reached in my book, *The Last Year of Malcolm X*, which was completed in the spring of 1966. He calls it "an ingeniously done Marxist analysis, pur-

porting to show that Malcolm was evolving into a prosocialist, anti-capitalist revolutionary. . . . My own feeling is that the book is too narrow and schematic a treatment of Malcolm's lively and free-running intelligence. . . ."

Leaving aside questions of tone style, or method, let's try to stick with the substantive questions—was Malcolm a revolutionary in his last year or not? Here's how Goldman handles that:

"He thought of himself," Goldman writes, "as a teacher, a minister, a Muslim, an African, an internationalist and in the most general terms a revolutionary; and, before any of these things, as black." But the fact that he thought of himself as (and was) many things did not make him any the less a revolutionary.

"He talked about revolution, without defining either its means (except that it probably wouldn't be nonviolent) or its ends (beyond 'respect and recognition' for black people)," Goldman asserts. I think that most objective readers of *Malcolm X Speaks* or *By Any Means Necessary* would consider that a bad distortion.

"His radicalism directed itself only gradually or fragmentarily at the basic institutions of American democracy and American capitalism; Malcolm attacked those institutions savagely for their hypocrisies and cruelties, but he accepted them then [March 1964] as given and proposed that they might even be used." Why the "but"? Every intelligent revolutionary accepts the institutions of capitalism as "given," until they are replaced, and everyone but infantile ultraleftists tries to make use of some (elections, legal action, etc.), whenever that will

benefit the revolutionary cause.

"He was a revolutionary without an army, or an ideology, or any clear sense of how the revolution was to be waged and what it would do if it won. Malcolm, instead, was a revolutionary of the spirit, which is the most subversive sort of all; he was interested less in overthrowing institutions than in undermining the assumptions on which our institutions have run."

A revolutionary of the spirit (only), that is, one who has no clear sense of revolutionary principles, strategy or tactics, is usually acceptable to the liberals. It makes you wonder why the liberals almost without exception wouldn't have *anything* to do with Malcolm in his last year.

Although he doesn't say so flatly and cleanly, Goldman is admitting in the passages cited that Malcolm was some sort of revolutionary. So let's see next what he does about the adjectives prosocialist and anticapitalist.

Writing about Malcolm on his return from Mecca and Africa in the spring of 1964, Goldman says: "He did come home impressed by his glimpse of socialism and his introduction to its vocabulary. He worked some of it tentatively into a few speeches and interviews, arguing that racism wasn't the only problem—that it was the handmaiden of colonialism and capitalism." The key words for Goldman there are "tentatively" and "few."

"One guesses that Malcolm's interest in African socialism at that point was more that it was African than that it was socialist; it was in any case a minor motif in his speeches." There it's "minor."

Goldman then uncritically cites some condescending testimony from Charles Silberman about a radio panel on which he and Malcolm spoke in June 1964: "I got the feeling that he [Malcolm] really didn't know what he meant by the [radical] words [he used] and that he didn't have any real conviction about them. He was trying out any idea that would come to him and asking himself, 'Is this the way I go?' I remember thinking he was really floundering."

"Or improvising," Goldman adds. "Socialism remained a downtown idea and a downtown theme for Malcolm. . . ." (Downtown here means not in Harlem.)

But, Goldman has to add in a later chapter, "A strand of Left rhetoric did appear in some of Malcolm's later speeches and interviews, particularly but not exclusively downtown. He continued to see color as central but not necessarily the single motive force in his world: Malcolm began arguing that the nonwhite people of the world had not only their nonwhiteness in common but their exploitation by the West. Occasionally, he identified capitalism straight out as an enemy—'You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker'—and socialism as the almost universal system among the new Third World nations coming into independence." Quite a strand.

Goldman doesn't take this seriously, however; whatever clashes with his prejudices can easily be labeled "rhetoric." Furthermore, he assures us, "his Left language and Left themes were hardly more than asides for Malcolm—and in his very last speeches and interviews they abruptly vanished." He then proceeds to speculate about why Malcolm's radical "rhetoric" vanished from his last speeches. We need not bother with his speculations here because the statement itself is simply untrue.

Malcolm's last complete speech, three days before his death, was at

SWP: 'trendiest of Old Left'?

Peter Goldman's dislike of socialism rubs off onto the Socialist Workers Party, the only party on the left with whom Malcolm X had friendly relations during his last year. Goldman's designation of the SWP as "trendiest of America's Old Left parties" still has me puzzled. "Trendy," if I understand the term correctly, refers to people who are very sensitive to shifts in fashion and who swiftly change their own stance or position in response to such shifts; in politics, this would refer to unprincipled opportunism, I think. Goldman seems to be charging the SWP with "trendyism" because it supported Malcolm in every way possible during his last year, and he expresses this when he quotes an unnamed journalist as saying the SWP "really jumped on Malcolm's bandwagon." Goldman and his fellow journalist both seem to have forgotten that there was no Malcolm bandwagon in his last year. That was when he was virtually alone, fought or boycotted by virtually all Black groups, and when the SWP's support for Malcolm brought forth denunciations of "racism" from virtually all groups claiming to be Marxist. In fact, the evidence is that the SWP's support for Malcolm showed it to be the least trendy of any organizations—left, right, or center. But any stick seems suitable for liberals beating the Marxist dog. Say what you've said before, and that proves you're dogmatic, schematic, and hopelessly doctrinaire. Say something you've never said before (called for by something as urgent as the emergence of Black nationalism in the 1960s), and you're trendy. — G.B.

Supreme Court abortion ruling has impact around the world

Columbia University, where he said, "We are living in an age of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era. . . . It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

For some reason (his own politics?), Goldman seems driven to belittle any and every sign or evidence that Malcolm was becoming prosocialist. For him, they are at most "bits of socialism in his late vocabulary, whatever they may have signaled about his thinking." He even offers a kind of "logic" for his stubbornness on this point: "Having once indentured his soul to a particular leader [Muhammad] and a particular dogma [that of the Nation of Islam], he would not have done so again [indenture his soul to socialism or other "dogmas"]." This aspect of Goldman's Malcolm ends up somehow more like Goldman than Malcolm.

Goldman does not seem aware of what he is doing, perhaps, but in his eagerness to minimize Malcolm's interest in socialism and revolutionary ideas generally, he succeeds in disparaging Malcolm's intelligence and integrity:

"Malcolm had only a provisional public philosophy in those days [March 1964]—not so much a single, coherent system of thought as a loosely strung set of positions that were changing even as he announced them. . . ."

"The truth, as Malcolm himself kept telling us, was that he didn't know where he was going or what he wanted to be, except *flexible*."

"His ideology and his program, to the extent that he had any. . . . [May 1964]"

Continued on page 22

By CINDY JAQUITH

FEB. 13—The U. S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion continues to have a powerful impact in this country and around the world. In Italy, 33 Socialist deputies endorsed a bill Feb. 11 allowing a panel of three doctors to permit abortion where "the physical and mental" health of the woman is endangered. At present, all abortions are illegal in Italy.

In France, hundreds of doctors and professionals, inspired by the U. S. abortion ruling, have publicly stated their support for doing away with the archaic French abortion law. And in Belgium, a demonstration has been called for Feb. 24 to defend Dr. Willy Peers, jailed for performing abortions. (See *World Outlook*, WO/4.)

In solidarity with the Belgian action, chapters of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) here will hold picket lines Feb. 24.

One of the major activities for WONAAC in the coming weeks will be building the March 10 meeting on the international struggle for abortion rights. Three of the featured speakers at this meeting, which will take place in New York, are leaders of the French abortion rights movement: Gisele Halimi, the lawyer who defended Marie-Claire Chevalier and her mother Michelle in the recent French abortion trials; Michelle Chevalier; and Claude Servan-Schreiber, a journalist and leader of Choisir (Choice), an abortion rights group

in France. Dr. Barbara Roberts, a WONAAC national coordinator, will also speak.

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

Based on the Supreme Court ruling, women in Washington, D. C., won two significant victories this week. A District Superior Court judge ruled Feb. 12 that age must not be the only factor in a hospital's refusal to perform an abortion. The case in question concerned a 17-year-old woman whose mother had denied her permission for an abortion.

The judge's decision, termed "unprecedented" by the *Washington Post*, said in part: "neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone." Although the ruling is not binding on other judges unless upheld by a higher court, it represents a major victory for the thousands of young women who seek abortions every year. It could also apply to many other spheres where there are age restrictions.

On Feb. 6 the D. C. city council repealed a regulation that required women to undergo a 24-hour waiting period before obtaining an abortion. The regulation was aimed at making it more difficult for nonresidents to get abortions.

Also in the wake of the court decision, the abortion laws in Illinois, Ohio, Oklahoma, Iowa, and Rhode

Island have been ruled unconstitutional, and major parts of the New Mexico law have been overturned.

According to the Feb. 5 *El Diario*, Representative David Urbina has introduced a bill into the Puerto Rican House to make abortion legal through the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.

The anti-abortion forces continue to denounce the decision and threaten action against it. Congressman Lawrence Hogan of Maryland proposed a constitutional amendment to recognize the fetus as a human being from the moment of conception. Senator James Buckley of New York has also announced his intention of submitting an amendment, perhaps based on a states' rights argument.

WONAAC and other abortion rights groups have declared their intention to fight any attempts by the reactionaries to defy the court decision. In addition, WONAAC and other supporters of women's rights are supporting bills to repeal all restrictions on abortion wherever such bills are introduced.

Wide interest in the abortion issue remains. In Boston, 200 men and women attended a Feb. 10 meeting called by the Women's Abortion Action Coalition. In Minneapolis, more than 300 women attended a New Feminism Conference sponsored by the Women's Liberation Group on the University of Minnesota campus. Abortion was one of several topics discussed at the conference.



Gisele Halimi (l), Michelle Chevalier, and Marie-Claire Chevalier. Halimi and Michelle Chevalier will be attending the March 10 WONAAC meeting.

Tribune Socialist

Malcolm X titles from Pathfinder

By Any Means Necessary
by Malcolm X, edited by George Breitman, 192 pp., \$5.95, pbk \$1.95.

The Last Year of Malcolm X
by George Breitman, 159 pp., \$4.95.

Malcolm X on Afro-American History
80 pp., \$1.

Malcolm X Speaks
edited by George Breitman, 242 pp., \$6.95.

The Assassination of Malcolm X
by George Breitman and Herman Porter, 60 cents.

Malcolm X Talks to Young People
35 cents.

Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas
by George Breitman, 50 cents.

Myths About Malcolm X: Two Views
by Rev. Albert Cleage and George Breitman, 50 cents.

Two Speeches by Malcolm X
50 cents.
PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Debates structure, not issues

Women's Political Caucus meets

By LINDA JENNESS

HOUSTON—The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) held its first national convention here Feb. 9-11. Almost 2,000 women from 48 states attended, many more than anticipated by convention organizers. Most of those attending were women active in the Democratic and Republican parties who seek to involve more women in the two-party system and get more Democratic and Republican women elected to office.

The convention was called "the first national political convention of women in 100 years." But unlike the Seneca Falls convention in 1848, where Victoria Woodhull was nominated as the first woman candidate for the presidency of the United States by the Equal Rights Party, the NWPC convention did not attempt to set a pace for the feminist struggle.

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), for example, after criticizing

the NWPC for not supporting her campaign for president in 1972, also criticized feminists in the NWPC who "downgraded the traditional role of women."

She said it was "not the function of the National Women's Political Caucus to be the cutting edge of the Women's Liberation movement." Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) also criticized the caucus for having focused too much on "narrow feminist issues" and urged the caucus to take up "broader" issues.

So instead of discussing the need to implement the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, or the importance of fighting for the passage of the ERA, or any other issues related to the oppression of women, almost all the time was taken up establishing a national structure for the NWPC. Democratic Texas legislator Frances (Sissy) Farenthold was elected chairwoman, and a new steering committee was set up.

One of the most active caucuses at the convention was the Chicana Caucus. It presented several resolutions, one of which called upon the NWPC to recognize La Raza Unida Party and to include the name of the party in all of its official and promotional materials.

The Chicana Caucus, along with the Union Women Workshop, also asked that the NWPC endorse the Farah boycott and the lettuce boycott. A refreshing break from the organizational hassles was a demonstration of several hundred convention participants at Foley's department store to protest the sale of men's pants made by the Farah Manufacturing Company.

Workers at Farah plants in Texas and New Mexico have been on strike for 10 months. About 85 percent of the workers in the Farah plants are Chicanas.

Zahraie defense comm. gains new supporters

SEATTLE, Feb. 13—At a news conference here, the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie announced that it has received the endorsement of Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman in its campaign to stop attempts to deport Babak Zahraie. Dellums and Uhlman endorsed the committee's campaign in response to an appeal for support to Babak Zahraie's request for permanent residence status in the U.S.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie continues to urge organizations and individuals to send letters of support to John Boyd, Seattle Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) district director. In addition to the letters by Dellums and Uhlman, the committee released letters and telegrams that had been sent by Allard Lowenstein; Benjamin Spock; the Iranian Students Association in the U.S.; Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California ACLU; the entire faculty of the philosophy department at Portland State University; and many other concerned individuals across the country.

At Zahraie's hearing Feb. 8, the Immigration officer commented on the "heavy mail traffic" in the INS office surrounding this case. The questioning of Zahraie centered on the technical aspects of his application for permanent residency. At no time did the INS attempt to introduce unsubstantiated charges of "conspiracy" or

"subversion." In previous hearings on a trip Zahraie took to Canada, these charges took up the bulk of the session.

The INS officer stated that the Immigration Service had definitely granted Zahraie's motion to reconsider and is now processing Zahraie's permanent residency application. This is a reversal of a previous INS decision to not even consider the application. A ruling on the application is expected in six weeks.

After the hearing, Zahraie told *The Militant*, "Under public pressure the INS has now been forced to consider my application. I feel that only the continuing pressure of an outraged public will force them to grant my application."

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie has called upon its supporters to keep the pressure on in support of Zahraie's application.

Zahraie began a nine-city speaking tour Feb. 12 to publicize his case and win full support for civil liberties for foreign students. Among the major tour activities will be a speech to the National Lawyers Guild convention Feb. 18.

To obtain materials from the committee or to send donations, contact the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, P.O. Box 15422, Wedgewood Station, Seattle, Wash. 98115. Telephone: (206) 543-8958.



Militant/Dave Frankel

Feb. 8 picket line in front of Department of Immigration office in New York City, organized by Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie.

State rests case in Ruchell Magee trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 14—The state plans to rest its case against Ruchell Magee today. None of the prosecution witnesses have testified conclusively that the defendant killed Judge Harold Haley during the escape attempt of several Black prisoners Aug. 7, 1970.

Dr. John Manwaring, a pathologist, reported yesterday that the autopsy performed on Judge Haley revealed two wounds on the body. Manwaring repeated the opinion he expressed in the trial of Angela Davis that "neither one of these wounds by itself could be fatal."

The state contends that Ruchell Magee killed Judge Haley by firing a shotgun at his head. According to the Feb. 12 testimony of criminalist Fred Wynbrandt, the bullet that was found lodged in Haley's back came from the pistol held by San Quentin convict William Christmas.

During cross-examination, Manwaring said that the autopsy revealed an unusually small clot of blood in the head wound. He admitted that the

small blood clot could have been the result of the heart having already stopped beating. The pathologist said sheepishly that this key piece of evidence can no longer be analyzed because he flushed the blood clot down the toilet.

Manwaring's testimony illustrates the mishandling of evidence that resulted from the hurried attempts to fabricate a case against Ruchell Magee and his former codefendant, Angela Davis. County and state officials have reported that they lost shell casings, left weapons used as exhibits unidentified, and neglected to take fingerprints at the scene of the shooting.

The contradictory testimony of the prison guards and sheriff's deputies demonstrates that they, too, prepared their reports hastily in order to cover up the brutal manner in which they opened fire on the prisoners' escape vehicle. Sergeant Joseph Murphy explained earlier in the trial that San Quentin riflemen are instructed to disregard hostages in their attempts to stop escaping prisoners.

Trilingual ballot urged for New York's Dist. 1

By CLAUDIO TAVAREZ

NEW YORK, Feb. 14—On Feb. 10, 130 people attended a rally conducted in Spanish, Chinese, and English to discuss the upcoming school board elections in District 1. The pro-community-control Coalition for Education in District 1 organized the rally, which took place on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

The May 1 school board elections will test whether the Albert Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers can again successfully appeal to the racism of older white District 1 residents to elect a school board hostile to the Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Black parents and their children. It is these children who make up the vast majority of District 1 students.

At the rally parents were encouraged to join the coalition and to participate in the Feb. 18 screening of school board candidates. The coalition will choose candidates who can best represent the interests of parents

and students and defeat the UFT-supported slate.

Luis Fuentes, District 1 school superintendent, urged people at the rally to join the fight to get trilingual nominating petitions and ballots for the May 1 election. He referred to a suit being filed today by the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

The suit seeks an injunction preventing the board of elections from printing English-only nominating petitions and ballots. An English-only ballot would not only have the effect of disenfranchising non-English-speaking registered voters. It would also disenfranchise thousands of Puerto Rican and Chinese parents who are neither citizens nor registered, but who have the right to vote on school board elections.

The District 1 school board, Paul O'Dwyer, a civil liberties attorney and candidate for president of the city council; and Congressman Herman Badillo (D-Bronx) are supporting the suit. Virtually all the participants at the rally signed a petition urging a trilingual ballot.

Rosa Esperón, a parent and coalition activist, gave a brief history of the development of the community control conflict in New York. Clayton Flowers, director of District 1's Black studies program; Claudio Tavaréz, a district paraprofessional; and Georgina Hoggard, chairwoman of the District 1 school board, also spoke. Hoggard called for unity around a pro-community-control slate and declared her intention to run again for the board.



Herman Badillo

RUP candidate wins ballot status in Ca. race

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—In a Jan. 30 primary election, Raza Unida Party candidate Andres Torres won ballot status for the runoff election for state senator in the San Fernando Valley's 22nd District.

Torres ran sixth in a field of 14 with 595 votes. By outpolling two candidates who were seeking the Peace and Freedom Party nomination, he qualifies for the Feb. 27 runoff ballot. Because the contest is supposedly "nonpartisan," he will be listed

as an independent.

In the primary, he polled more votes than one of the Democrats and five of the Republicans.

Several of the Democratic and Republican candidates spent more than \$100,000 on their campaigns. The Democratic winner, Alan Robbins, gave away 59,000 ball-point pens to win over the voters. James Keysor, another Democrat, gave away long-playing records of six presidents' inaugural speeches.

It was a particularly hotly contested race because it may tip the balance of power between the almost evenly matched Republicans and Democrats in the State Senate.

The Raza Unida campaign faced harassment from Los Angeles police. On two separate occasions, fund-raising dances were raided on the pretext of checking for liquor violations. Police confiscated door proceeds, beat people up, and arrested several campaign workers, including local RUP Chairman Ray Porras.

In addition to the confiscations, the problem of raising bail was an added financial hardship on the campaign. Legal action is planned against the cops.

Those interested in the Raza Unida campaign may contact: Partido Raza Unida, 551 South Maclay, San Fernando, Calif. 91340. Telephone: (213) 361-6281.



Andres Torres

Militant/Jack Barrett

NIXON'S 1974 BUDGET AIMS TO PROP UP WEAKENED DOLLAR

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon's budget-slashing policies are being viewed by many as a reflection of the president's personal philosophy. His proposals are being compared to the "do-nothing" Republicanism of the Hoover era 40 years ago.

But the 1974 U.S. budget has little to do with Nixon's personal ideas. It has been molded by the needs of U.S. capitalism in world trade and finance. And Nixon, like the other top Republican and Democratic party officials, is following the dictates of U.S. monopoly.

A financial commentator in the Feb. 4 *New York Times* observed that "the first budget of the second Nixon Administration marks the end of an era that began with the pursuit of both

gress. "The history of this policy goes back before 1972," Nixon said, "and back before the dramatic moves taken on August 15, 1971. It goes back to the decision made in 1969 to bring an end to the dangerous inflation that had started in the mid-sixties."

(This decision to restrain the economy was actually made in 1968 during the Johnson administration, as Nixon indirectly states in the next sentence.) "The decision was carried out," he said, "by slowing down the rise of Federal spending and continuing the temporary tax increase that had been enacted in 1968 and by tightening monetary conditions."

The president admitted that "curbing inflation and cutting back on defense production necessarily involved a downturn in the economy and a

that further expansion could trigger further rapid inflation. Nixon's 1974 budget is part of a policy aimed at "cooling off" the economy, and just as in 1969, this means cutting the budget and increasing the unemployed.

"Only by holding the line on Federal spending will we be able to reduce the inflation rate further in 1973," Nixon emphasized in the economic report to Congress.

Times economist Eileen Shanahan explained that "Maybe an unemployment rate of less than 4.5 per cent would be all right in 1974, the Administration's argument goes on, but to continue to reduce unemployment very rapidly this year would threaten a resurgence of inflationary pressures that would have a number of undesirable results."

Thus the drastic slashes in social welfare programs in the budget are rooted in the government economic program to stabilize the dollar through increased unemployment. According to the plan, this will provide needed labor power to keep the expansion going without giving workers the leverage to fight for needed wage increases.

Shanahan remarks in the beginning of her Feb. 4 analysis, "There is a paradox in the response that is coming from Congress—and from the public for that matter—to President Nixon's economic and budgetary plans.

"The cutbacks in specific programs have generated a hurricane of criticism. But the broad underlying economic assumptions of the budget and the President's economic report have gone essentially unchallenged."

This is not hard to explain. The capitalist politicians who are criticizing the budget cutbacks, from the Congress to the mayors of big cities across the country, *accept the underlying assumptions*. They agree with Nixon that the needs of U.S. monopoly to stabilize the dollar are paramount, and they cooperate with the administration in not exposing the real reasons for the budget slashes.

The result is that desperately needed social-reform programs become a political football, and no attention is given to the pressing question of protecting workers against inflation and unemployment.



Richard Nixon's 1974 budget calls for squeezing the economy. So did Lyndon Johnson's 1969 budget.



guns and butter, the Vietnam war and the war on poverty, and ended with excessive inflation and excessive unemployment—and with the collapse of the international monetary system to boot."

This gets at the main considerations of Nixon's proposed budget.

The Johnson administration "Great Society" programs were launched in the mid-1960s under the impact of the civil-rights struggle and the Black rebellions in the cities. They were token programs aimed at heading off the Black movement, and they were financed when the U.S. economy was on the biggest upswing in its history, fueled by armaments spending for the war in Vietnam. The stock market climbed to near-record highs, and the arrogant rulers of the United States set their sights on teaching the liberation forces of Vietnam a lesson no matter what the cost.

A lot has changed since then!

Of overshadowing importance, so far as the economic policies of the government are concerned, is the dollar inflation that was triggered by escalated war spending. The dollar was toppled from its once paramount position in world finance, and the international monetary system that had been constructed around the dollar in 1944 collapsed. This is a central concern to the rulers of this country.

Inflation doesn't mean the same thing to the owners of industry as to the workers who produce their wealth. If rents and grocery prices go up, it has little impact on the luxurious living standards of ruling-class families whose income from stocks and bonds is measured in the tens of thousands of dollars.

The monopolists' concern is the fact that inflation erodes the value of the dollar and it makes U.S. products less competitive in world trade.

President Nixon explained the real reasons for slashing the budget in his Jan. 31 economic report to Con-

gress. "The history of this policy goes back before 1972," Nixon said, "and back before the dramatic moves taken on August 15, 1971. It goes back to the decision made in 1969 to bring an end to the dangerous inflation that had started in the mid-sixties."

In other words the ranks of jobless were swelled to more than five million in order to dampen workers' wage demands. This "reduces inflation" because it gives the monopolists greater leverage for competition in world trade.

"And to speed up both the decline of inflation and the recovery of the economy," Nixon continued, "I announced the New Economic Policy. . . . Temporary controls were imposed on prices, rents, and wages."

The combination of recession and wage freeze ultimately paved the way for economic recovery. But already, with unemployment still officially at 5 percent and numbering about 4.8 million workers, the government fears



500 at L.A. rally for Los Tres

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—More than 500 people—mostly Chicano students—rallied here Feb. 5 to free Los Tres del Barrio. Los Tres are three young Chicanos who were entrapped by police agents for their anti-drug activities.

Speakers at the rally included Bert Corona from CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers), Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales of the Denver Crusade for Justice, and Raúl Ruiz from the Raza Unida Party.

Corky Gonzales was in the same jail with Los Tres while he was serving time on frame-up charges resulting from the Aug. 29, 1970, Chicano Moratorium. Corky described how deeply impressed he was with the devotion of Los Tres to the Chicano liberation movement.

Also speaking were representatives from the National United Committee to Free All Political Prisoners, the Labor Committee of La Raza Unida Party, and the Irish Republican Clubs.

A student leader of the recent strike that shut down the National University of Mexico called for greater solidarity between the Mexican student movement and the Chicano movement.

A message from Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, was read urging a united defense of Los Tres.

Jorge Rodríguez, an activist from the Committee to Free Los Tres, chaired the rally. He announced that three days earlier, police had dispersed a peaceful protest at the American Embassy in Mexico City demanding freedom for Los Tres.

After the rally about 100 people marched to the nearby federal courthouse and formed a picket line out front. When Los Tres attorney Antonio Rodríguez returned from the courtroom, he announced that the judge had heard arguments in favor of appeal motions filed by the defense. A ruling on the motions is not expected for some time.

The motions, if granted, would set the basis for a new trial. A motion is also pending to reduce bail, which is presently set at \$50,000 each.

Los Tres—Rodolfo "Rudy" Sánchez, Juan Fernández, and Alberto "Beto" Ortiz—were activists at La Casa de Carnalismo, a Chicano community organization that was involved in an effort to drive heroin dealers out of the barrio. They were convicted of shooting the armed federal agent who entrapped and threatened them. They are now serving time in federal prison.

For further information about the case, contact: Committee to Free Los Tres, P. O. Box 33511, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Contributions to aid the defense should be sent to the same address.



Militant/Harry Ring

In Review

'Reefer Madness'

Reefer Madness. A G&H Production. 1936. Distributed by the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws.

Don't pass up a chance to see this pioneer effort in the government's anti-marijuana campaign. The movie, made in 1936 in close collaboration with the FBI, is even better than the poster.

"May, bring me some more reefers!"
"Quit that crazy laughing, Ralph. It gives me the creeps."
"I want to see Bill."

Unfortunately, he can't. Bill's on trial for murdering his girl friend,

Film

Mary, while under the influence of the weed. And Ralph himself, along with his girl friend, Blanche, is being held prisoner in the apartment of two pushers, May and Jack.

Both Ralph and Blanche know Jack really fired the shot that killed Mary. And Ralph is beginning to crack. Too much marijuana has already started to turn his brain to jelly.

When the jury finds Bill guilty, Ralph snaps and bludgeons Jack to death with a handy fireplace poker. Hopelessly insane by this time, he's carted off to a mental institution.

The cops take Blanche, May, and the poker down to headquarters, where Blanche tells all. This gets Bill off the hook, but Blanche still feels guilty. As a series of flashbacks highlights her marijuana-smoking past, she leaps from a twentieth-story window.

In case you've somehow missed the point about the dangers of the weed, there's more. Bill's high school principal and the local FBI agent examine some "case histories" of marijuana "addicts." One 16-year-old "addict," they tell us, killed a family of five with



an ax. Another, after sampling one joint, went out to rob a bank.

Reefer Madness is so crude that it's hard to imagine the reaction of its original audience in 1936. Its wooden acting and lurid dialogue reminded me of a 1950s skin flick. It was, however, the government's opening shot in the scare campaign against marijuana. —MICHAEL BAUMANN



The First Circle. Directed by Aleksander Ford. Distributed by Paramount Pictures.

When Aleksander Ford, a Polish film director now living in Israel, began working on Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *First Circle*, he must not have been able to gauge the immensity of the undertaking.

But this isn't just another case of a first-rate book getting turned into a Z-rate movie.

In the Soviet Union and the other bureaucratized workers states, critics are rated according to how willing they are to slander and suppress rebels like Solzhenitsyn. In the West, however, media personalities are ranked according to how cleverly they can miss the point.

Ford's movie ends up as an extreme example of the latter approach. He mixes things up according to the worst traditions of Hollywood: a few vignettes of brooding prisoners, typical "heavies" rolling cigarettes and philosophizing bitterly, a couple of flashbacks

Film

(true love, war, etc.), with scenes of torture and execution thrown in (a man walking around with a sledgehammer, making sure everyone's dead).

What keeps this film from being unrelieved torture is Gunther Malzacher, who plays Solzhenitsyn's hero, Gleb Nerzhin. Gleb represents the revolutionary spirit that cannot be crushed by the bureaucracy. And Malzacher plays Gleb with a dignity that is impressive, even though it's incongruous in such an undignified movie.

Gleb inhabits the Mavrino labor camp. (Solzhenitsyn terms it the "first circle of hell" because the hardship of prison life is cushioned but not eliminated by the relatively comfortable living conditions.)

Prisoners at the camp work on scientific research for the Stalinist bureaucracy's secret needs. But unfortunately, the subtle hell-fires that are supposed to flicker around Gleb in this first circle are turned to soggy ashes under Ford's direction.

A striking departure from the book is the insertion of more than enough skin-shots to give the film its "R" rating. This will shock any viewer who has read Solzhenitsyn, since he is always cautious and serious in his treatment of sex.

In his works on prison life, the characters dwell on the emotional aspects of sexual experiences; remembering them is one of the subtle tortures associated with the first circle.

But under Ford's direction, this subtle theme becomes its brutal opposite. For example, one of the prisoners periodically groans, "Give me a woman!" Is this *The First Circle*, we ask, or are we overhearing a voice from the X-rated spectacular next door?

The movie's treatment of Volodin is a particularly annoying distortion. Volodin is a well-off bureaucrat who gets fed up with his life of back-stabbing and betrayal. His descent into the first circle is unwittingly abetted by one of the Mavrino prisoners.

In the movie this ironic relationship is lost. Volodin becomes the film's narrator, so that he can obediently explain everything the visual images and action fail to relay.

Several reviewers have excused Ford for this hodge-podge of a film by pointing to the difficulty of putting a 600-page novel on the screen. But *Anna Karenina*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, and *Catch-22* are three examples of books of great scope that were successfully transformed into films. (Casper Wrede's adaptation of Solzhenitsyn's *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* shows that even the most difficult works can be brought to life on the screen.)

Solzhenitsyn's *First Circle* brings home the demoralizing impact of bureaucratic rule and the bewildering paradox of reaction in the land of the first socialist revolution.

It is unlikely that Ford's failure to convey this in the film is the result of conscious distortion. But what this demonstrates is that movies lacking aesthetic judgment and political insight can often be as misleading as those with an obviously exploitative intention.

If you're already tired of superficial attempts to interpret the works of rebels like Solzhenitsyn, you'll want to miss this one.

—DAVID SALNER

'Revolution' in New York City

Project for a Revolution in New York by Alain Robbe-Grillet. Grove Press, Inc. New York, 1972. 183 pp. Paper \$1.65.

Alain Robbe-Grillet, a leading French novelist and an internationally known filmmaker, has spliced together in this new novel a nightmare vision of New York City in its death throes. But the "project for revolution" he explores bears no resemblance to the political realities or to the actual aspirations of those living amid the decaying flesh of "Fun City."

Bringing to his fiction the techniques of cinema, Robbe-Grillet's scenes shift and merge with each other, clash and rebound, producing a rich montage of fear and uncertainty.

Books

His nebulous characters trade identities like masks; perspectives alternate as he switches from one camera to the next; the future becomes the past becomes the present; wishes and dreams, nightmares and hallucinations take on a hard solidity as apparent reality dissolves into dust and shadow. He focuses in on objects and surfaces, and brings out their shapes and textures with a clarity and precision few other writers attain.

But Robbe-Grillet's camera-eye becomes so fascinated with the colors of breaking glass or with the lines etched in a person's face that it sees little else. It has no curiosity, asks no questions, seeks no causes.

Thus, rather than pointing accusing fingers at the social ills he describes, Robbe-Grillet's scenes of torture, murder, arson, and rape resemble nothing more than a pastiche of clippings and headlines taken from the New York *Daily News*.

His conspiracies, plots, and counterplots—all under the banner of "revolution"—smack of the kind of sensationalism stirred up around the Charles Manson affair. His pages reek with the stench of sacrificial executions as his protagonists burn, bomb, rape, and pillage under the guise of "liberation."

One character declares, "Crime is indispensable to the revolution. Rape, murder, arson are the three metaphoric acts which will free the blacks, the impoverished proletariat, and the intellectual workers from their slavery."

Robbe-Grillet may have simply been experimenting with his style, creating "art for art's sake"—for stylistically this novel is sophisticated and consistent. But whether he intended it or not, his "project for revolution" slanders those who are sincerely interested in making a revolution, those who would like to build a new society free of the conditions that foster murder and rape.

The atmosphere of crime, fear, and confusion that he depicts exists as part of the decay of urban life under capitalism, not as part of the revolution—the socialist revolution—that will eventually sweep away such conditions. —ERNEST HARSCH

ARIZ. SUPPORTERS CELEBRATE PROF. STARSKY RIGHTS VICTORY

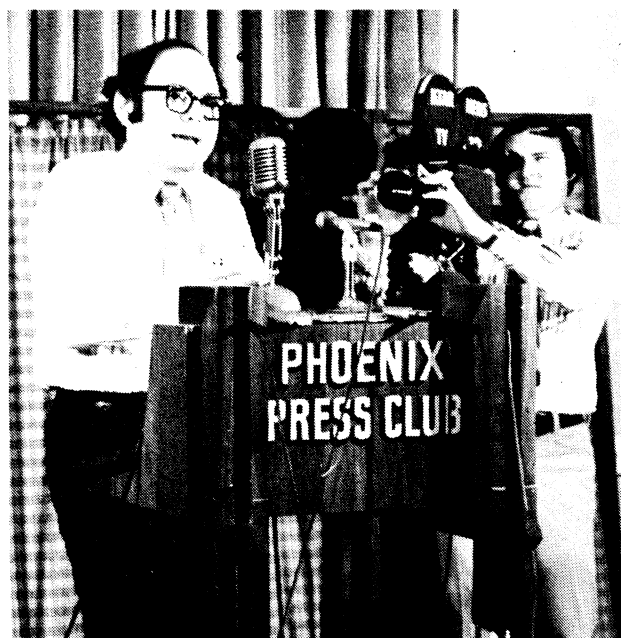
By HARRY RING

PHOENIX—"Arizona." The word invariably evokes an image of hard-bitten political reaction.

In many ways, the image is distorted. There have always been liberal and radical forces in Arizona, and the state has not been immune to the radicalism that has been spreading in this country since the 1960s.

Yet it is undeniable that support for radical ideas—or simply for the principles enunciated in the Bill of Rights—requires a greater degree of commitment in a place like Arizona than in many other parts of the country.

In areas where reactionary forces exert a strong pressure you invariably find a group of individuals who are firmly committed to radical or civil libertarian ideas. They often tend to band together into a kind of community where like-minded individuals can sustain one another, exchange ideas, and try



Morris Starsky

Militant/Harry Ring

to determine what they can do in behalf of those ideas. Usually social ties develop that help to sustain such groupings.

On the evening of Jan. 24, I attended a dinner party at a Phoenix restaurant with this kind of a group.

Among those present were Alan and Joyce Kyman. An attorney, Alan Kyman is considered an expert in cases involving the draft. He is also on the legal board of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union.

Also present were John and Chris Hoult. John Hoult is the author of the recently published book *March to the Right: A Case Study in Political Repression*. It's the story of Dr. Morris Starsky and his fight for reinstatement after being ousted from the philosophy department of Arizona State University for his radical views and activities.

Hoult is a professor of sociology at ASU. He was chairman of the department until he protested Starsky's ouster and the board of regents forced him to resign the chairmanship.

Another of the group was Jean Wiffen. A physical therapist, she is nationally known in her field for her work in relation to respiratory diseases.

She's also a controversial figure in Arizona because of her strongly expressed views on the need for socialized medicine.

Her husband, Marcus Wiffen, teaches architectural history at ASU. He was out of town that night or he too would have been at the dinner party.

Then there was John Hudson. Also an ASU sociology professor, he's blind and comments, "If they would fire Morris for his political beliefs, they could fire me because I'm blind."

The guest of honor was Morris Starsky.

The party was to celebrate the ruling by a federal judge this past December 26 that Starsky has been illegally ousted for his socialist beliefs and activities and must be reinstated.

The people present had good reason to celebrate. Three years previous, they and a few others had gathered at the home of John Hudson to discuss how they should respond to Starsky's termination from the faculty. Though not agreeing with all of Starsky's ideas, they decided it was necessary to fight for his right to teach. They began the work of initiating a defense committee.

In the face of a furious barrage of red-baiting

by right-wing politicians and editors, an effective fight was mounted in Starsky's behalf. It focused clearly and sharply on the issues of civil liberties and academic freedom.

Significant support was won locally and nationally, and three years later, the effort was crowned by U.S. District Judge Carl Muecke's forthright affirmation that Starsky's constitutional rights had indeed been trampled on.

Starsky was back in Phoenix for the first time since the judge's decision, and the dinner party was the end of a busy, rewarding day.

Arriving at the Phoenix airport from Los Angeles, where he's been living, Starsky was met by a reporter for the *Phoenix Gazette*. The next day's issue featured a long political interview with him.

Starsky was invited back to give a guest lecture at the Phoenix Press Club. The invitation is a prestigious one. Every president of the United States since the club was founded 24 years ago has spoken there, along with many other notables.

The invitation to Starsky reflected the difference between those who control the media and those who work in it. Throughout the fight against his ouster, a big majority of the Arizona working press had reported the case honestly and fairly. Their objective news accounts often stood in sharp contrast to editorial tirades appearing in the same issue of a paper.

Starsky's appearance was treated as a combined lecture and news conference. All three local affiliates of the national networks televised his talk and the questions that followed. Radio and press coverage was also extensive. Starsky's appraisal of the major significance of his civil liberties victory was widely quoted.

Following the press club meeting, Starsky was invited to tape an appearance on the widely viewed local program "Face the State." The moderator of the show and the station's news editor interviewed him for half an hour.

The previous day, the ASU campus daily, the *State Press*, devoted its front-page lead to Starsky. An editorial in the same issue called on the administration to accept the court decision, declaring, "We hope assistant professor Starsky returns to ASU as soon as possible."

At the dinner party, there were reminiscences of the fight. All, of course, were delighted with the outcome. Alan Kyman, who bore the legal brunt from the outset, was confident that even if the board of regents should decide to appeal the reinstatement order, the prospects are good that it will not be reversed.

As we talked, I asked if any of them had thought at the beginning that they would win the fight. No one answered in the affirmative. One of them responded:

"The issue wasn't if we would win. The issue was that one of our colleagues was under attack for unjust reasons."

They may not have known if they could win, but they fought to win. That is, they fought intelligently and effectively, rallying broad support on a clear-cut basis of the civil liberties issue at stake.

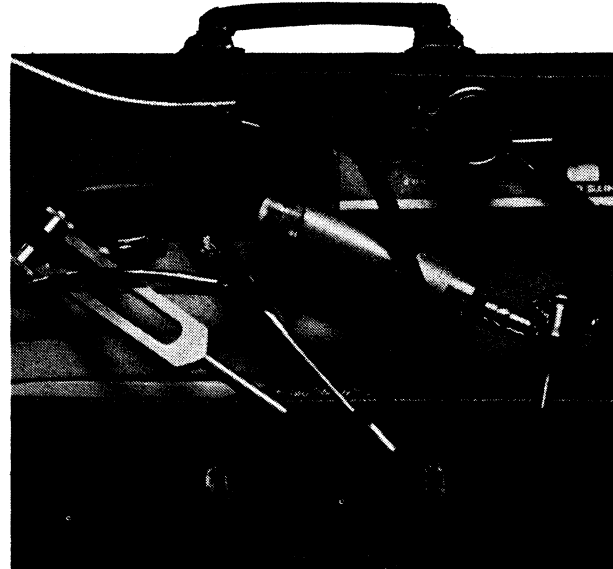
Their example, and the results obtained, will surely hearten those who face similar attacks.

JUDGE ORDERS ASU TO REINSTATE STARSKY

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Federal Judge Carl Muecke issued an order Feb. 2 directing Arizona State University to reinstate faculty member Morris Starsky. The university board of regents then announced it would appeal the decision to the Ninth District Court in San Francisco.

Meanwhile, the judge ordered the regents to post a \$30,000 appeal bond to cover possible damages to Starsky. He said that despite the appeal he would now schedule hearings on Starsky's claim for damages for his illegal termination. The court ruled Dec. 26 that Starsky had been ousted for his political views in violation of his constitutional rights.

How doctors swindle Medicaid



Dr. Mortimer Greenberg of Brooklyn has never been heard to complain about "socialized medicine." He sees, and claims he treats, an average of 30 Medicaid patients an hour. For this he bills the city \$70,000 a year.

Medicaid is supposed to provide decent medical care for people with low incomes. But the biggest benefits seem to be going to doctors like Greenberg.

American Way of Life

A few years ago doctors, dentists, and chiropractors discovered that for them Medicaid meant a new way to rake in higher fees than usual. All they had to do was set up rip-off clinics in Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods and ram patients through the examining room at assembly-line speeds. A high percentage of the residents qualify for Medicaid, and there is little competition from other doctors.

Medicaid pays \$5.20 for each patient's first visit, \$4.16 for each visit after that. This is a good deal less than private physicians charge. But enterprising medics found they could make \$500 a day and more by examining patients at the rate of one or two every five minutes. Kickbacks from referring patients to other "specialists" in the same clinic bring in even more.

To find out firsthand what kind of treatment New York City Medicaid patients get, a *Daily News* reporter borrowed a Medicaid card, visited a clinic in Queens, and pretended he had a cold.

"He was directed immediately to a foot doctor," the *News* reports, "then sent twice to an internist with directions for a third visit, and then to a psychiatrist. He sat through chest X-rays, a cardiogram, gave two urine specimens, gave blood samples, and was given prescriptions for six different medicines."

If he'd actually taken the combination of cough syrup, sleeping pills, and tranquilizers the various doctors prescribed, he'd have really been sick.

Consider what happened to Health Department attorney Stuart Laurence when he borrowed a Medicaid card and put on a pair of blue jeans. He went to a clinic in a Puerto Rican neighborhood and asked to see a foot doctor.

"They took my Medicaid card and told me to join a line for chest X-rays," he reports. "I refused and went to see the podiatrist." He told the podiatrist he "walked around a lot and sometimes my feet get tired." The podiatrist X-rayed his feet and wrapped them in bandages.

He hobbled to another clinic and asked to see an eye doctor. "... a chiropractor came out and offered to take care of me," he recalls. She "gave me a short lecture on what chiropractors do and then made adjustments in my spine for the next 10 minutes."

He went back to the reception desk and asked again to see the eye doctor.

"This time, the receptionist told me I had to have my teeth X-rayed because I was a new patient." He protested that his teeth had been X-rayed only three months ago, but the receptionist insisted on a full set of X-rays anyway.

Still asking to see the eye doctor, he was led to a dental chair, where he had three teeth filled. He never did get his eyes examined.

—MICHAEL BAUMANN

...S. Viet

Continued from page 9

York, 1972) Alfred McCoy describes how, "While only the slightest hint of the pro-Thieu faction's massive smuggling operation has leaked out of the security-conscious military, the opéra bouffe antics of bumbling lower house representatives have rated incredulous headlines around the world.

"Between September 1970 and March 1971 no less than seven representatives returning from foreign study tours were caught trying to smuggle everything from gold and heroin to *Playboy* calendars and brasieres into South Vietnam."

"... a peace with honor. I know it gags some of you. . . ."

To fight its war against the Vietnamese people, the imperialists assembled a huge puppet army. All those who died fighting to preserve the Thieu regime were surely as much victims of Washington's war as the fighters for North Vietnam and the NLF who were killed by U.S. bombs and the military forces of Washington and Saigon. Official Saigon estimates of military deaths in Vietnam for the 12 years before the cease-fire are:

- South Vietnam—183,528 killed and 499,026 wounded.

- North Vietnam and NLF—924,048 killed, no figures available on wounded.

This tally of destruction is not complete. We can expect that the Vietnamese people will supply far more precise accounts of what the imperialists have done to their country.

The vastness of this destruction—in bombs alone South Vietnam has been hit with two and a half times the worldwide total dropped from U.S. planes during all of World War II—was the necessary course for the imperialists to follow if they were to impose their power on the masses of Southeast Asia.

"... a peace with honor. I know it gags some of you. . . ."

Nixon's idea of honor reveals the arrogance and moral depravity of U.S. imperialism. Nixon has even been nominated by one of his supporters for the Nobel Peace Prize! The judgment that he deserves should come not from the Nobel Prize committee, but from a war crimes tribunal.

...Thieu

Continued from page 11

for some time, will be performing what informed sources described as 'logistical, supply, and training functions' for the South Vietnamese, intended primarily to assist in the maintenance of sophisticated U.S.-supplied aircraft and equipment.

"U.S. officials say that the funding of civilian technicians to work with South Vietnam's armed forces does not violate the provisions in the cease-fire agreement prohibiting 'military advisers . . . including technical military personnel.'"

FEB. 13—The National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry both issued statements yesterday charging that Saigon troops were launching attacks against zones controlled by the rebel forces in South Vietnam.

The NLF spokesman, Ly Van Sau, also charged that the United States had refused to dismantle all its military bases in South Vietnam, and that North Vietnamese and NLF delegates on the joint cease-fire commission were being subjected to bad treatment and "indecent" housing.

"We will not go on tolerating these violations because it would encourage the Saigon administration and lead to the complete sabotage of the Paris cease-fire and peace accord," said Sau.

...cease-fire

Continued from page 12

France, Great Britain, and the four countries that make up the International Commission of Control and Supervision—Poland, Hungary, Canada, and Indonesia. It has been reported that United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim will be asked to chair the meeting.

"The unstated purpose of the conference, and its real importance," Flora Lewis wrote on January 30, "will be to de-Americanize the peace, involving the major powers and the United Nations in responsibility for considering what to do if the cease-fire breaks down."

A more exact term would be to "tripartize" the peace; that is, for the United States, China, and the Soviet Union to arrive at an agreement that

will provide for Thieu's right to consolidate his rule through terror and the liberation forces' lack of right to resist with arms. Nixon and Kissinger have already made this clear in their appeals (and threats) to the workers' states to exercise "restraint."

There is unfortunately every indication that the Moscow and Peking Stalinists will go along with Washington. In his speech at the Le Duc Tho banquet, Brezhnev seemed to warn the North Vietnamese leaders that the Kremlin does not consider military aid to Hanoi on the agenda: "The Democratic Republic of Vietnam resumes the constructive work. It now has an opportunity to concentrate its efforts on socialist construction, and new prospects implementing the behests of President Ho Chi Minh—for creating a peaceful, united, democratic Vietnam—have opened.

"A road for peaceful democratic development, for upholding true independence and for conducting the policy of national concord and unification opens before South Vietnam."

The fact that a peaceful road of democratic development has opened in South Vietnam may be news to the people of the South—the refugees behind Thieu's barbed wire, the political oppositionists facing torture and death in Saigon's jails, the peasants and workers exploited under the guns of Thieu's army. All this is part of Brezhnev's and Chou's "victory." Their message to Hanoi—and to Washington—will surely not be misunderstood.

...France

Continued from page 13

sections of the French capitalist class (for their own reactionary reasons) have at times been unhappy with.

The Communists are in a particularly awkward position on this question since they follow the political lead of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which is the target of this anti-Communist alliance. In fact, previous to the Union of the Left campaign, the Communists had opposed French participation in the Atlantic Alliance.

The Communist Party's reversal of its position on the Atlantic Alliance, along with similar shifts the Communist Party and the Socialist Party have made on other questions, underlines the real character of the Union of the Left and its program.

It is not an attempt to present a principled program to defend the interests of the French working class or to fundamentally transform French society. Instead it is an opportunistic vote-catching operation based on subordinating the struggles and demands of the French working class to the Communist and Socialist strategy of collaboration with capitalism in France.

Future articles in *The Militant* will describe the election campaign the Communist League is running against the reformist strategies of the Union of the Left.

...Malcolm

Continued from page 17

"That new politics [which Malcolm was trying to create in his last months] remained a composite rather than a system—a loosely strung series of positions held together more by Malcolm's militant bearing than by any single coherent philosophy."

"He was not a saint, really; neither was he a strategist or a seminal thinker or even a major leader. . . . Malcolm X was something more important than any of these things. He was a prophet."

"He made substantial contributions to what is now orthodox Black Thought—the stresses on land, power, community control, national identity, Pan-Africanism, the right to self-defense. . . . But his more important legacy was his example, his bearing, his affirmation of blackness. . . ."

Goldman thinks Malcolm was a great man, but not because of his ideas during his last year. Malcolm, by contrast, thought those ideas important enough to risk his life for.

Fortunately, the major speeches and statements of Malcolm's last year are in print, and the reader can consult them to make independent judgments about the issues discussed above. Unfortunately, there are two other issues discussed in Goldman's book that cannot be tested in this way—the internal life and problems of the organizations Malcolm created after he left the Black Muslims, and the assassination of Malcolm. I say unfortunately because in my opinion Goldman is not only wrong in the way he handles them, but irresponsible as well. These questions will be discussed in coming issues.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
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Calendar

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BOSTON

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK: The case of Babak and Siamak Zahraie. Panel: Siamak Zahraie, Iranian graduate student at U Mass, Amherst, who the Immigration and Naturalization Service is attempting to deport; Mark Severs, coordinator of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie; and others. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR MALCOLM X—Speakers from the Socialist Workers Party and Black Masses Party of Milwaukee. Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

CLEVELAND

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SRI LANKA (CEYLON). Speaker: Vijaya Wickrama from the London-based Ceylon Solidarity Committee. Thurs., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. Thwing Hall, Case Western Reserve University. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

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SOCIALIST SCHOOL BOARD CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 1203 California St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

DETROIT

MALCOLM X AND AFRICAN LIBERATION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY—In commemoration of the assassination of Malcolm X. Speakers: Laura Moorhead, African Liberation Support Committee and Young Socialist Alliance '73 Campaign; Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Plus a taped speech by Malcolm X that was given at the Militant Labor Forum. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY-WIDE KICK-OFF RALLY FOR NEW YORK SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN. Speakers: Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor; Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate. Fri., March 2, 8 p.m. Tishman Auditorium, New York University, 40 Washington Square South. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

CRISIS IN THE NEW YORK SCHOOLS: Community leaders speak out. Speakers: Luis Fuentes, superintendent, District 1; Margarita Gonzales, head of parent association of P.S. 81 in East Harlem; Reverend Wilbur Miller, leader of Canarsie struggle. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. Loeb Student Center, New York University. Ausp: Militant Forum and LUCHA. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Speakers: Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party 1964 presidential candidate; Ken Milner, SWP candidate for Berkeley city council. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. Tan Oak Room, Fourth Floor, Student Union, UC Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 654-9728.

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA TEACHERS' STRIKE. Panel with Nancy Strebe, Socialist Workers Party candidate for district attorney; teachers; students. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. University of Pennsylvania, Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce St., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (215) 925-4316.

SAN FRANCISCO

MALCOLM X: The Man and His Ideas. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 626-9958.

SEATTLE

MEMORIAL TO MALCOLM X: film: (Struggle for Freedom) and tape (Ballot or the Bullet). Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way, N.E. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

FOREIGN STUDENTS AND THE RIGHT TO DISSENT: The case of Babak Zahraie. Speaker: Babak Zahraie. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

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Umbrellas, sleeping bags, credit cards, cars—these are some of the items that have been pledged to help put 12 young socialist teams on the road from March through May.

One additional thing is needed, however. About \$10,000.

The \$10,000 will help provide the teams with more than 40,000 copies of **The Militant** and **Young Socialist**, 24,000 brochures and other literature, and an ample supply of books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press, all to distribute to thousands of young people from coast to coast. The money is also needed to help pay for gas and minimal living expenses for the team volunteers.

The Young Socialist Teams Fund has been launched to raise this \$10,000. A total of \$132 was received in the last week, bringing the amount raised to \$4,402. The remaining amount must be raised by March 31 to ensure that all 12 teams can be out on the road for the projected eight-week period.

You can help. Clip out the coupon below and send your contribution to the Young Socialist Teams Fund.



Young socialist team spreads socialist ideas during 1972 election campaign



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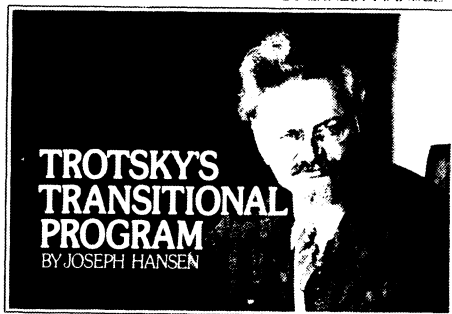
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THE MILITANT

Detroit hearings on 'STRESS'

Black inquiry exposes cops' racist terror

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, Feb. 11 — Black residents continued to protest the reign of terror police unleashed here in the wake of a shoot-out last December in which one policeman was killed and several wounded. In a series of hearings and rallies, a broad spectrum of the Black community spoke out against the police harassment and called for an end to the special unit of the Detroit police most responsible for it, the STRESS ("Stop the Robberies — Enjoy Safe Streets") unit.

The broad-based Independent Black Commission of Inquiry into Police Terror has held three of five scheduled hearings. Press and TV coverage of the first hearing (see *The Militant*, Feb. 16) was extensive. Both major dailies, the *News* and the *Free Press*, had detailed stories on the hearing. The *Michigan Chronicle*, Michigan's Black newsweekly, covered the commission's activities on the front page of its Feb. 10 issue.

In addition, TV channels 7 (ABC) and 4 (NBC) provided filmed coverage. Reports of the hearings have been broadcast daily on the area's Black stations, especially WCHB. Channel 56, UHF-TV station, filmed the entire first hearing for airing at a later date. The commission coordinators also gave extensive interviews to *Muhammad Speaks* and *The Black Panther*.

Blacks from all walks of life have testified about the daily insults, harassment, and brutal treatment they receive at the hands of the racist police force. Typical of the witnesses stepping forward was Ray Jenkins, who testified at the hearing held Feb. 11 at St. Cecilia's Catholic Church on Detroit's West Side.

Jenkins is a middle-aged real estate broker. He was detained Dec. 7 by two white policemen who objected to his waiting in his car for a client who was inspecting a nearby house. He was searched and insulted by the police. Complaints he made to Police Commissioner John Nichols, the Civil Rights Commission, and the Citizens Complaint Bureau brought no response. He stated, to the applause of the audience, that the "police are as racist as any you can find in Mississippi" and that "police investigating police is the biggest joke in the world."

James Morris, 50, became a victim of harassment for the first time two weeks ago. He was stopped by police while driving in his car. Po-

lice swerved in front of him and forced him over to the side of the road. They demanded to see his license and registration but offered no explanation when he asked why. They then began asking him a series of questions totally unrelated to his car or driving. This stopping, searching, and harassing of Blacks the police deem "suspicious" has been a common complaint voiced in the hearings.

Morris said that he understood why some younger Blacks might get fed up with this behavior and defend themselves, especially when the police brandish their weapons in such cases, which is frequent. He also said, "I hope something can be done before some of the old men like me give up the few years we have left" in defending themselves against the police.

The commission announced in a Feb. 9 news release that Kenneth Cockrel was joining the commission and would be seated for the fourth and fifth hearings. Cockrel, a prominent Black attorney, is defending Hayward Brown, who is charged with murder in the death of one of the STRESS policemen.

In the same release the commission also announced that Louella Buck had been unanimously chosen as honorary chairwoman. Her 15-year-old son Ricardo was a victim of the STRESS squad Sept. 15, 1971.

The Black Commission has two more hearings scheduled. The fourth one will take place Feb. 13 at Presentation Catholic High School at 7:30 p.m. The fifth and last hearing, to take up courses of action to deal with the police terror, will be held at Wayne State University on Feb. 17 at 10:00 a.m.

On Feb. 11 a protest rally was called by the Labor Defense Coalition, a group headed by Kenneth Cockrel. More than 600 attended the predominantly Black event. Prominent leaders of the Black community denounced the police terror and called for the dissolution of STRESS. Speakers included Councilwoman Erma Henderson, State Representative Jackie Vaughn III, the Reverend Charles Butler of the New Calvary Baptist Church, Harold Wilson of UAW Local 600, and others.

In the meantime, Detroit's common council has continued its do-nothing policy. The whitewash of STRESS the Black Commission has warned about came to pass last week. The council announced that it had agreed to a



Trigger-happy plainclothes cops in Detroit, like this STRESS officer, are harassing and brutalizing Blacks who 'look suspicious.'

request by Police Commissioner Nichols to hear behind closed doors his reports on charges of police brutality.

The reports will be on only six of the 20 complaints heard at a Jan. 11 common council meeting. No explanation was given for dropping the other 14. Nichols said public disclosure of the reports "would serve no purpose but to fan the flames already licking at our city."

The common council and police department are trying to defuse the developing protest movement in the city. The police department announced it had appointed a Black codirector of the STRESS unit, George Jackson. Jackson, a 25-year veteran of the department, defended the actions of the STRESS unit.

The other codirector, James Bannon, in commenting on the appointment, radical-baited the opposition to STRESS when he charged that he did not believe Jackson's race would make

any difference to "anti-STRESS radicals." "They wouldn't believe us if Malcolm X were the commander of STRESS," Bannon said.

He made the real purpose of the new director clear when he admitted that many Blacks who are now predisposed to opposing STRESS might be swayed in their attitude toward the unit after Jackson's appointment.

What the reaction of the community will be remains to be seen. It is unlikely that opposition to STRESS will decrease simply because a Black co-signs the squad's "death warrants."

The common council, obviously stung by criticisms of its functioning and the formation of the Independent Black Commission, has announced the formation of a nine-member committee to "study relations between citizens and the police." Council President Mel Ravitz admitted it was in response to a "number of complaints regarding the police department."

Cities will suffer from budget cutbacks

The following statement was made Feb. 14 by Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

President Nixon's 1974 budget reveals the real priorities of the capitalist politicians who run this country. Nixon wants an increase of \$4.2-billion for the war budget. At the same time he wants to slash spending on social services.

The working people will be the ones to suffer while the war contractors continue to get rich at our expense.

The cutbacks are going to hit hardest at Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chica-

nos, and other oppressed nationalities concentrated in the central cities. Massive social programs are urgently needed to begin to alleviate the pressing problems facing the American people. Yet even the minimal, inadequate social welfare programs are being taken away.

Millions face exorbitant rents in dilapidated, rat- and roach-infested apartments. Our right to a decent education is being denied because of the lack of funds for schools. And now Nixon proposes even to cut off funds for milk for school children!

Although there has been a massive outcry against Nixon's budget, the

Democrats and Republicans will both go along with his plan to enrich the few at the expense of the many. They can't solve the problems because they are on the side of the capitalist system, which puts private profits ahead of human needs.

We must oppose these cutbacks. We must demand: Shorten the work week so there can be jobs for all! Union wages for all workers and for those unable to work! Preferential hiring and promotion for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities! A crash program of public works! Put the needs of the people ahead of the profits of the rich!



Norman Oliver