

THE MILITANT

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

Against high prices, wage controls

N. Cal. unions call April 28 protest

— See page 5



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Unions and antiwar forces joined April 4 anti-cutback march of 3,000 in Chicago

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ANTIWAR ACTIVISTS REHIRED BY FBI: Christine Hoomes and Linda Janca, two FBI file clerks fired two years ago because they did volunteer work for the National Peace Action Coalition, won a favorable court ruling granting them reinstatement with full back pay of \$15,000 each.

The two women were illegally asked "to resign" or "face the consequences" when the FBI learned of their off-the-job activities organizing the April 24, 1971, march on Washington. Asked whether she would return to her jobs, Janca said she would go back for one week as a symbolic gesture "to prove I have the right." Their attorney is Philip Hirschkop, who handled the case for the ACLU. The FBI said it was considering an appeal.

Wounded Knee: gov't threatens confrontation

APRIL 19—As the siege of Wounded Knee enters its fifty-second day government spokesmen are raising threats that marshals may storm the village.

On April 17 one of the Wounded Knee occupiers was shot in the head and critically wounded. Others were also wounded, although the exact number is not known. Assistant Attorney General Stanley Pottinger, the chief Justice Department official on the scene, claimed the government knew two Indians were wounded, but admitted that as many as six others may have been hit.

Dr. Michael Silverstein, who accompanied the man shot in the head out of Wounded Knee, said the fighting stemmed from a clear case of "unwarranted aggression" by the government.



Federal marshals block roads to Wounded Knee.

The government's response to this latest incident has been to step up its provocative behavior. When 14 Indian women and children ran a government roadblock into Wounded Knee yesterday, refusing to stop when ordered to by federal marshals and Bureau of Indian Affairs agents, marshals arrested 20 other Indians who were simply watching.

Pottinger, in the meantime, called the government attack on Wounded Knee a "significant and dangerous turn of events." *New York Times* reporter Martin Waldron writes that Pottinger "warned that the patience of United States marshals, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and border patrolmen guarding Wounded Knee 'is not inexhaustible.'"

"The marshals, he said, would no longer take rifle fire from Wounded Knee without returning it." In another thinly veiled threat, Pottinger warned that "the possibility remains that a forceful taking" may be necessary.

While the government sounds out the possibility of launching a bloodbath at Wounded Knee, it has also victimized Indian activists on another front. On April 16 American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Russell Means and Clyde Bellecourt pleaded not guilty to federal indictments resulting from the Wounded Knee occupation. The two were charged with 11 offenses, including the wounding of two FBI agents during the occupation.

NEW YORK TEACH-IN TO DETAIL REPRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA: On Saturday, May 12, a city-wide teach-in at New York University will explore "Repression in Latin America and the Defense of Political Prisoners." The teach-in will conclude with an evening rally featuring former Maryknoll nun Mary Elizabeth Harding, recently released from a Bolivian prison, and James Petras, associate professor of political science at Pennsylvania State University.

Afternoon workshops on the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and a special workshop on the

U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, initiator of the teach-in, will be held starting at 1 p.m.

Endorsers of the teach-in include Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), Derechos Humanos (Human Rights), Casa Betances, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and other groups.

The workshops will be held in Loeb Student Center (West 4th Street and La Guardia Place). The evening rally will take place at 7:30 p.m. in the basement lounge of NYU's Catholic Center (West 4th and Sullivan Streets), next to Loeb.

PUERTO RICAN ACTIVISTS FOUND GUILTY: Two Puerto Rican activists, Pepe Torres and Ruben Vega, were found guilty of "unregistered possession of molotov cocktails" by an all-white jury March 29. *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, reports that despite shaky and contradictory evidence, the conviction was handed down after only 10 minutes of deliberation.

Torres and Vega were charged with throwing molotov cocktails during the summer of 1970 disturbances in Hartford, Conn. They face possible 10-year sentences. Their conviction will be appealed.

LAMB AND WEISS AWARDED GUGGENHEIM FELLOWSHIPS: Among the scholars, scientists, and artists to be awarded fellowships by the Guggenheim Foundation this year are playwright Myrna Lamb and film producer David Loeb Weiss. Lamb is the author of a collection of feminist plays published by Pathfinder Press under the title *The Mod Donna and Scyklon Z* (Pathfinder Press, \$5.95, paper \$2.95).

Weiss is known for his two award-winning antiwar films, *Profile of a Peace Parade*, dealing with the August 1966 Hiroshima Day demonstration, and *No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger*. He also produced *To Make a Revolution*, a documentary on the Young Socialist Alliance. He is currently working on a feature-length film on Leon Trotsky under the working title "I Stake My Life."

KENTUCKY COURT UPHOLDS CONVICTION OF DAN TAYLOR: The Kentucky Court of Appeals has upheld the contempt sentence of attorney Daniel Taylor. The contempt charges stem from the lawyer's defense of Narvel Tinsley, who was charged with the murder of two Louisville policemen—a case that received such sensational press coverage that a fair trial could not be conducted.

Taylor has been harassed in the past for his willingness to handle the defense of Blacks, civil rights workers, and poor people. In 1968 he successfully fought the efforts of the Kentucky Bar Association to disbar him. The sentence Taylor now faces has been reduced to six months from the original four and a half years. But even so, if the charges are upheld, he will lose his license to practice.

"To jail one movement lawyer," states a press release issued by the Committee to Free Dan Taylor, "is the same as jailing hundreds of political prisoners, poor people, and blacks." For further information, contact the Committee to Free Dan Taylor, P.O. Box 5162, Louisville, Ky. 40205.

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into The Militant business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

VICTORY FOR CAMPUS PRESS: The Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that funds for operating a campus newspaper cannot be cut off solely because college officials disagree with the newspaper's editorial opinions. A college administration, the court said, "may not restrict speech simply because it finds the views expressed by one group to be abhorrent."

The decision came in the case of *The Campus Echo*, student newspaper at North Carolina Central University. The school president, Albert Whiting, cut off state funds to the paper when it published an editorial opposing the increasing flow of white students into the predominantly Black campus. The outraged Whiting said the editorial was racist and failed "to represent fairly the full spectrum of views," adding that North Carolina Central "is not a black university and does not intend to become one."

—MIRTA VIDAL

Saigon troops enter Cambodia; toll from U.S. bombing mounts

From Intercontinental Press

By ALLEN MYERS

Saigon army troops invaded border areas of Cambodia along the Mekong River April 13. An April 16 Associated Press dispatch reported that fighting was continuing in the area and that hundreds of civilian refugees were fleeing the scene.

"Reports from the field," the dispatch said, "indicated that the South Vietnamese had pushed a half-mile into Cambodia in a defensive [sic] operation aimed at driving North Vietnamese and Cambodian Communists back from the frontier."

"At least 25 armored vehicles manned by Rangers reportedly moved across the border on a line about half a mile deep in an operation that began Friday [April 13]."

The invasion was said to have been launched from Tinh Bien, a border town 125 miles southwest of Saigon.

It seemed likely that the goal of the operation was to open a supply route along the Mekong to relieve Phnompenh, which was virtually surrounded by rebel forces. The operation, events in the week before the

Amnesty International, the London-based organization that works to free political prisoners, has expressed its alarm over reports of mass arrests of dissidents by the Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh. It called for an inquiry into the disappearance of five student leaders following the grenade attack on a student-teacher strike mass meeting last month.

A *Chicago Daily News* dispatch printed in the April 10 *New York Post* stated, "Between 200 and 300 students, teachers and politicians, all opponents of Cambodian President Lon Nol, have mysteriously disappeared in recent weeks in what diplomatic sources here are calling 'a reign of terror.'"

invasion made clear, was planned in Washington to supplement the massive U.S. bombing raids, which have so far been unable to stop the advance of the liberation forces.

Bombing destruction

Nixon's problem is that even massive bombing has not been sufficient to get Lon Nol's dwindling forces to take the offensive. Usually, it has served only to protect their retreat and to terrorize the population in liberated areas. In a dispatch from Phnompenh to the April 16 *New York Times*, Joseph B. Treaster described the extent of these air raids:

"Informed Western sources say . . . that American fighter-bomber pilots based in Thailand are flying an average of 250 strikes a day—almost as many as in South Vietnam, which is much larger, during the heavy fighting there last year.

"In addition, the sources say, Cambodia is being pounded by an average of 60 B-52's a day, each carrying up to 30 tons of bombs. One day recently, they say, the United States mounted an attack by 120 of the huge bombers."

The high number of civilian casualties, Treaster explains, is also due to "imprecise targeting." This means bombs are often dropped on populated villages. The Phnompenh military officials, says Treaster, "have often shown little concern for the civilian population in cases in which Cambodian ground troops badly need air support." And the U.S. bombers show



Bombing destruction in South Vietnam. U.S. bombing of Cambodia is now at even greater intensity than during last year's heavy bombing of Vietnam.

just as little concern.

On April 14 Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) announced that according to a recent Senate study three million Cambodians have been made refugees since the 1970 U.S. invasion of Cambodia. That is nearly half the population of the country.

The dire situation of these refugees was described by Wells Klein, executive director of the American Council for Nationalities Service, before a congressional subcommittee April 16. "Neither [the U.S.] nor the Cambodian Government have any organized refugee program," he said. "Adequate housing, sanitation, and medical service are either nonexistent, or in short supply. Increasing numbers of refugees are being generated by an accelerated level of military activity and intensified American bombing."

Klein said a million refugees, half of them children, were "receiving virtually no assistance and face malnutrition, serious food shortages and, in some areas, the real specter of starvation."

Compared with the situation of refugees in Cambodia, he said, the situation in South Vietnam was like Miami Beach.

'Vietnamization' in Cambodia

Faced with the need to escalate the war in Indochina, Nixon decided on the "Vietnamization" of Cambodia. General Alexander M. Haig Jr. was dispatched on a whirlwind tour of Southeast Asia to deliver instructions to the puppets. Between April 7 and 11, Haig visited Laos, Thailand, Phnompenh (twice), and Saigon. Two days after his second departure from Phnompenh, Thieu's troops crossed into Cambodia.

It is not yet clear how far the Saigon puppet army will attempt to push its invasion. It is probable that Nixon has ordered Thieu to proceed cautiously at first, in order to test the response of the liberation forces. But it is abundantly evident that further "contingency" escalations are already planned.

Nixon's public statements and information "leaked" to the U.S. capitalist press have made clear Nixon's commitment to a puppet regime in Phnompenh. Such comments are usually expressed in terms of "restraining" Hanoi, but they apply equally to any advance of the liberation forces in Cambodia. In the April 14 *New York Times*, Bernard Gwertzman wrote of Nixon's intentions:

"Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger would clearly prefer a course of action that preserved their 'peace with honor' without provoking accusations

that the United States was tearing to shreds the already-ripped Vietnam accord.

"But officials close to Mr. Nixon assert that he would rather risk alienating his critics further than allow Hanoi to make a fool of him and a farce of the agreement. This would happen, he is said to believe, if the Communists increased their holdings in Indochina by force."

Since the Lon Nol dictatorship lacks any popular support or an army willing to fight in its defense, Nixon has little choice but to send in troops from neighboring client regimes. The next step after Saigon troops may well be the use of the Thai army.

There are already perhaps as many as 30,000 Thai troops in Laos, and it would hardly be impossible that Haig raised the question of sending them southward during his visit to Vientiane. Presumably not even Nixon would claim that Haig's stop in Bang-



kok was designed to check the extent of "North Vietnamese infiltration" of the Thai capital.

It appears, moreover, that rumors of plans to send in Thai troops are already circulating in the U.S. Congress. On April 12, for example, Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield was quoted as saying that "there is talk about using South Vietnamese troops on one flank and Thai troops on the other to stabilize the tenuous position of the present Cambodian government."

Twenty-four hours later, at least half of this "talk" had become fact, an indication that the Congressional rumors are based on reliable sources.

Step by step, Nixon escalates war

By CAROLINE LUND

APRIL 17—On April 16 "several dozen" American B-52s and fighter-bombers struck at rebel positions inside Laos, the Pentagon reported. This is the first U.S. bombing of Laos since the day after the cease-fire accord was signed there in February.

Officials in the Nixon administration said they were not sure whether the bombing raids in Laos would be repeated. "It depends, in part, on what the other side does," said an official.

Thus, step by step, Nixon is again escalating the Indochina war, testing how far he can carry U.S. aggression without provoking a reaction from either Moscow or Peking, and keeping a close eye on the attitude of the American people and the worldwide anti-war movement.

The South Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia April 13 and the renewed U.S. bombing of Laos have been accompanied by ominous threats from Nixon directed at Hanoi. William Beecher writes from Washington in the April 17 *New York Times* that "one of the options being actively studied has been a resumption of bombing in the North."

He continues: "Other options reportedly include renewed mining of the ports of North Vietnam; American air strikes against missile installations and concentrations of tanks, artillery and troops in South Vietnam; and encouragement [of] the Saigon Government to send forces into Cambodia to relieve some of the pressure there."

Unfortunately Nixon's criminal threats and his actual renewal of bombing of Laos have met with no campaign of vehement protest from Moscow or Peking. The betrayal of the Indochinese revolution by both of these bureaucratic regimes has become so blatant that Charlotte Salkowsky could write from Washington in the April 16 *Christian Science Monitor*: "It is also speculated that Moscow and Peking, too, neither of which wishes to see North Vietnam dominate all of Indo-China, perhaps have given their tacit agreement to a South Vietnamese and Thai involvement in Cambodia."

Testifying before the House Armed Services Committee about the role of Soviet and Chinese military aid in Cambodia, Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson said, "I think that the key to the situation may very well lie there." He said that Moscow and Peking "could unquestionably exercise influence" over the amount of weapons that reach the Cambodian and Vietnamese freedom fighters. This is obviously one of the routes through which Nixon is attempting to crush the liberation struggle in Vietnam and Cambodia.

Nixon's murderous actions and aggressive threats should be met with heightened protests from antiwar forces demanding a complete end to U.S. intervention in all of Southeast Asia.

High food prices: who's to blame?



By DICK ROBERTS

The capitalist press is perpetrating a vicious hoax on the people of this country. Out of one side of its mouth it blames farmers for spiraling food prices. "The farmer . . . has been enjoying considerable prosperity," *Time* magazine tells its millions of readers April 9.

Last year, says *Time*, "farmers . . . received a whopping 17% more for the products they sold."

Out of the other side of its mouth the press blames consumers and unionists. The same issue of *Time* asserts, "Americans are . . . making increasingly costly demands on the food industry. They buy more and more frozen foods and TV dinners. . . . Restrictive labor union practices contribute to boosting costs."

And of course corporations aren't to blame at all. *Time* continues, to "prove" the harm done by workers, "Iowa Beef Processors, Inc. would like to ship all of its meat butchered and boxed; since heavy fat and bones have already been removed, transportation costs are dramatically reduced. In some major urban centers, however, butchers refuse to handle pre-cut meat. They insist on keeping the jobs for themselves, despite higher costs for consumers."

Thus *Time* pits worker against con-

sumer, and both against the small farmers. Only business gets any credit because Iowa Beef Processors, at least, is trying to cut costs. This is a monumental twisting of the facts at a time when tens of millions of Americans urgently need to know the truth.

The price cyclone hitting the supermarkets is the blame of neither farmers nor consumers. Neither farmers nor consumers are profiting from it.

The price spiral is the product of a complex series of events largely being concealed from the public. High food prices are producing billions in windfall profits for the food processing monopolies. The Nixon administration is up to its ears in the profit-gouging policies of these food business interests.

Food shortage

A severe food shortage causing prices to skyrocket developed in the United States towards the end of last year. Investigation conducted by the Subcommittee on Consumer Economics of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee revealed these main factors:

- The massive purchases of wheat and feed grain by the Soviet Union. This shrank the U.S. supply and drove prices up the world over. In this country port and rail-transportation breakdowns raised wheat and feed-grain prices even more.

These results could have been anticipated and prevented by the Nixon administration. But Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz deliberately concealed the Soviet trade deal precisely in order to drive prices up.

Two of his deputies, secretly colluding with giant grain exporting firms, left the government to join these monopolies after the deal was announced. The Agriculture Department also misled wheat and feed-grain growers into cutting back their crops, driving prices up still further. (*Congressional Record*, April 13, 1973, pp. S 7404ff.)

- Two devaluations of the dollar. These caused giant increases in U.S. exports of agricultural products because these products became cheaper in foreign markets. ". . . meat exports from the U.S. to other countries during January and February of 1973, principally to Japan and Canada, were up 301% over year ago levels," William Helming, general manager and chief economist for Livestock

Business Advisory Services in Kansas City, told the Senate subcommittee.

At the same time, imported meat, which constitutes 8 to 10 percent of the U.S. market, is made *more expensive* by the dollar devaluation. This not only directly raises the prices of imported meat in this country but indirectly raises the prices of all other meats. That is because U.S. meat sellers are under less competition and can raise their own prices along with the prices of the imported meat.

- There was a cyclical decline in production of significant food commodities in 1972. Meat was down 2 percent from 1971, dairy products up only 2 percent, poultry and eggs up only 3 percent, food grains down 5 percent, and fruits and nuts down 10 percent.

Monopoly conditions of production in the United States make one suspect any "natural" explanations of such production drops. Mark Silbergeld of Consumers Union stressed the role of monopoly. "Last spring," Silbergeld told the committee, "Senator McGovern unofficially released the summary data from a Federal Trade Commission Bureau of Economics study of costs imposed on the economy by lack of effective price competition in 100 selected industries. On the FTC's lists are seventeen food and food-related industries which, for lack of effective price competition, add an estimated \$2.6332 billion annually to the nation's food bill."

At the top of the list is the meat packing industry (see box on this page), which according to the FTC itself reaped \$489.3-million in monopoly superprofits. These profits are derived from artificial control of both prices and production.

Iowa Beef Processors

The fact is that the very firm singled out for praise by *Time* magazine heads the list of meat monopolies in this country. Iowa Beef Processors of Dakota City, Neb., is presently discussing merger with Missouri Beef Packers of Amarillo, Tex. Details were provided by James Rowen in *The Nation*. "IBP, only twelve years old, has



Capitalists try to pit trade unionists against consumers, and both against small farmers, to divert attention from real causes of inflation.

Iowa Beef Processors racked up a whopping 95 percent profit increase from the fourth quarter of 1971 to the fourth quarter of 1972.

The other meat packing giants didn't do too badly either. Missouri Beef Packers up 22 percent. Swift up 42 percent.

To fit still another piece into the meat-price swindle, Iowa Beef has hired the law firm of Nixon's former Treasury Secretary John Connally to manage the merger with Missouri Beef.

The vast majority of the country's ranchers and farmers get nowhere near these hundreds of millions in profits. The food processors share the take with a tiny layer of giant agribusiness farms and the retail monopolies.

"Despite the arguments made about the small farmer," Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) stated April 2, "the figures are to the contrary. Nineteen percent of the U.S. farmers raise over 75 percent of all our agricultural products, and 7 percent of the Nation's ranchers raise 80 percent of the Nation's beef."

"What we have in our country today is large agribusinesses which dominate the industry. These are the people who are benefiting from fantastic profits such as agriculture never has had before, and the rest of our economy is suffering."

Consumer demand

Seth King, head of the *New York Times* Chicago bureau, carries the capitalist lie about blaming consumers for high prices to its logical conclusion. In the Sunday, April 15, *Times Magazine* King talks about "the unprecedented craving for beef that swept through America at a time when consumers had the cash to pay for it."

One is supposed to get the image of gigantic pay raises and T-bone steaks. But even *Time* magazine admitted we are talking about TV dinners and not T-bone steaks. The truth is that real wages are declining in this country right now under the impact of bar-reling inflation.

Apologists for monopoly search for dozens of reasons—natural disasters,



Monopoly superprofits

SIC	Industry	Value of shipments (billions)	Monopoly overcharge (millions)
2011	Meat packing plants...	\$15.6	\$489.3
2026	Fluid milk	7.8	256.7
3022	Farm machinery	4.3	251.1
2036	Soft drinks, bottled and canned	3.2	247.8
2042	Prepared animal and fowl feed	4.8	201.5
2082	Malt liquors	2.9	198.0
2051	Bread, cake, and related products	5.1	191.9
2033	Canned fruits and vegetables	3.5	143.6
2071	Confectionery products	1.9	94.4
2041	Flour and other grain mill products	2.5	88.5
2085	Distilled liquor, except brandy	1.4	88.3
2037	Frozen fruits and vegetables	2.1	84.9
2062	Cane sugar refining	1.4	71.5
2032	Canned specialties	1.4	71.2
2654	Sanitary food containers	1.1	64.1
2052	Crackers and cookies	1.4	57.3
3551	Food products machinery	.8	38.5

Chart shows millions of dollars consumers are overcharged by food giants, according to study by Federal Trade Commission.

expanded so quickly that it now produces fully 12.5 percent of the federally inspected cattle slaughter, in an industry comprised of thousands of corporate units. IBP slaughters 50 percent more beef than does Swift and nearly twice as much as the other old giant, Armour. Missouri Beef handles more than 6 percent of the national slaughter, so the new company would control nearly 20 percent of the national market, and up to 32 percent of the market in a seven-state territory (Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri, Texas and Idaho.)"

Twenty percent of the national market! If there are still any doubts about the significant influence such a monopoly can have on production and prices, the figures for corporate profits in the last quarter of 1972 should clear them up. According to the March 10, 1973, issue of *Business Week*,

housewives' purchases, farmers' profits, workers' wages, etc., etc.—for the source of spiraling food prices. But the real source is in monopoly capitalism itself and its anarchic production for profits.

Factors like the Soviet wheat trade deal, devaluation of the dollar, and monopoly curtailment of production have nothing whatsoever to do with decisions by individual consumers or farmers. But they are the source of the restricted supply that has driven up food prices.

Instead of explaining this situation and exerting controls to prevent it, Washington has taken the lead in blaming the people and in concealing the superprofits of the corporations. It underlines the need for a government based on the interests of working people rather than monopoly.

Against high prices, wage controls

N. Calif. unions organize April 28 protest

By NAT WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO, April 18—The United Labor Action Committee, a formation representing the labor movement of the San Francisco Bay Area, is organizing a mass rally here Saturday, April 28.

The rally has been called to "protest the highest price rises in history! Wage controls! Five million unemployed! Unequal taxes that favor the rich! \$8 billion cutback in health and social service programs!"

The demonstration will take place at noon, at the Civic Center Plaza in San Francisco.

The AFL-CIO Central Labor Councils in San Francisco, Alameda, Santa Clara, Contra Costa and San Mateo counties have endorsed the action, as have leaders of the Central Labor Councils of Marin and Sonoma counties. In addition, the rally is being endorsed by representatives of locals of the building trades unions, Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the United Automobile Workers.

The unions have issued a very broad appeal for participation in this action. A meeting has been scheduled for 8 p.m. April 24, where community, consumer, women's, student, anti-war, Black, Chicano, socialist, and other groups will plan their participation in the action. This meeting will take place at Ship Clerks Local 34 in Longshore Hall, 4 Berry St. at Embarcadero in San Francisco. Many consumer groups backing the May 5 national protest against soaring inflation are supporting the April 28 demonstration here.

At the University of California in Berkeley, 14 campus groups and unions—including the American Federation of Teachers and other union locals, two child-care centers, Students for a Democratic Society, the Student Mobilization Committee, Young So-

cialist Alliance and other student groups—have met to plan campus participation in the rally itself and in helping to build support for it off campus. Similar organizing meetings are planned at the other Bay Area campuses.

The Northern California Peace Action Coalition has announced its intention to build the rally, pointing to the continued war in Indochina and war spending as the most immediate cause of soaring inflation.

A meeting of groups opposed to Nixon's cutbacks in social service programs was held here April 14. Representatives of the Communist Party and other groups at this meeting endorsed the May 5 national protest against soaring prices and the April 28 action here, in addition to other plans.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance branches in the Bay Area have thrown themselves into actively organizing support for the demonstration.

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets are being printed announcing the demonstration, and thousands of posters will be off the presses soon. Union locals are distributing the leaflets to their members, and volunteers working out of the union halls and offices of other organizations supporting the action are distributing them at work places and downtown.

At a planning meeting April 14, officials and rank-and-file members of the unions calling the demonstration discussed and organized implementation of it. Declaring that it is time for labor to once again become the social conscience of the nation, Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, which hosted the meeting, hit on the theme that accurately expressed the potential of this rally. This

rally points toward American labor hitting back at the mounting assault by the capitalist class on the living standards of the American people.

The leaflet calling the protest action was approved at this meeting. The leaflet calls for action to "smash these chains" of the "highest price rises in history."

It says, "Nixon and his supporters ran for reelection with the promise of something for everybody. Here's what he had in mind for you—and the American people:

"1) Unbridled price increases in food, clothing, rent, transportation, medical care, etc. Profits before people."

"2) Phase Three: While prices and profits rise, your wage increases are curtailed, rolled back, restricted.

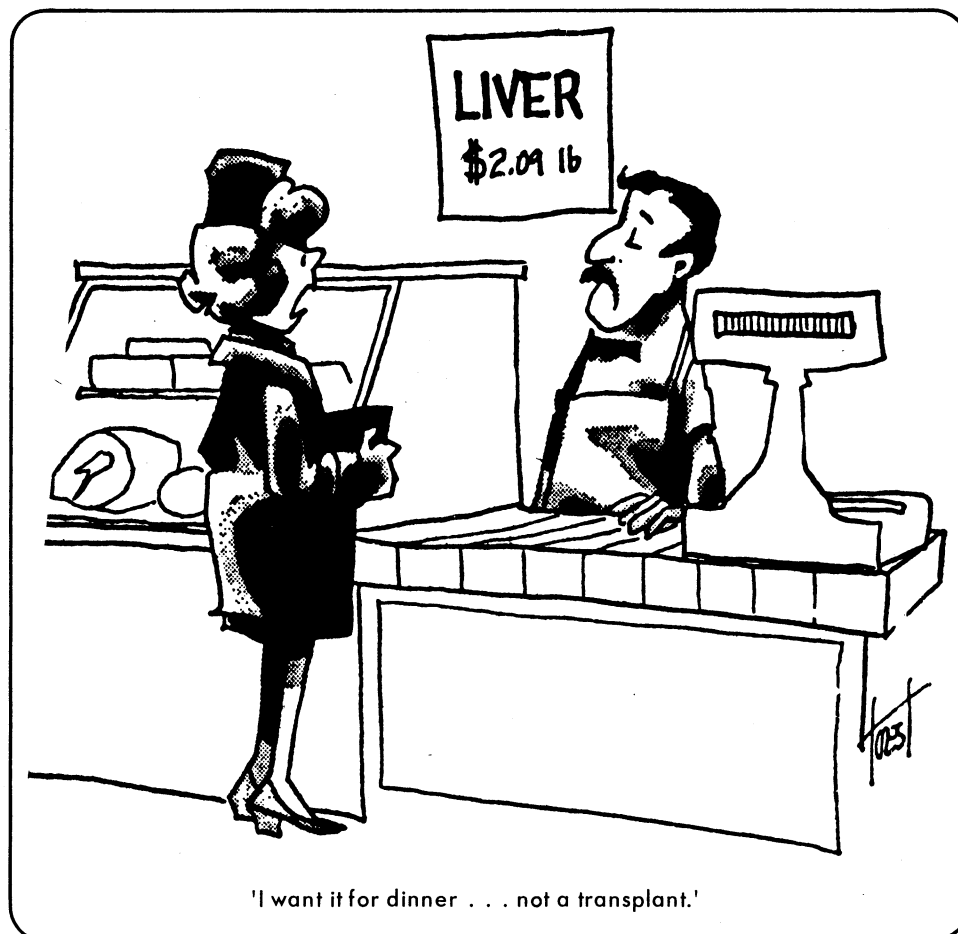
"3) Cut back needed social programs already voted by Congress—dictatorship by Executive Order!

"You are invited to join the protest.

"Our answer to Nixon's program of profits before people must be heard from coast to coast. We must turn the country around.

"Let Congress and the White House hear your voice! Join the protest! Turn out on Saturday, April 28!

"Bring this message to your local union, clubs, pensioners, young people, neighbors. Bring your family and friends."



"I want it for dinner . . . not a transplant."

May 5 price protests win broad support

By CINDY JAQUITH

APRIL 17—The failure of Congress to pass even a minimal price rollback this week has increased momentum around the actions called for May 5, the National Day of Protests Against High Food Prices.

Consumer activists called for the protests at an April 11 meeting of the National Consumers Congress in Washington, D. C. A resolution passed at the meeting urged local actions on May 5 to focus "national pressure and

attention" on "the government's failure to do anything about high food prices."

Consumer groups, trade unionists, Black organizations, antiwar groups, and students in cities across the country are organizing meetings this week to plan demonstrations and other activities on May 5.

Representatives from a broad range of organizations are expected to attend an April 19 planning meeting in Cleveland at the headquarters of Local 1746 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Among the unions sending representatives are the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE); United Auto Workers Local 420; Communications Workers Local 4309; United Farm Workers; International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) Local 707; International Typographical Union (ITU); Newspaper Guild; and AFSCME locals 100, 1206, and 1746.

Organizers of the Cleveland meeting also expect representatives from the Black Unity Community Center, the Consumer Protection League, the Hough Area Development Corporation, Martin Luther King House, Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition, and the National Organization for Women. Two city councilmen, Basil Russo and Bill Franklin, have agreed to attend.

In Houston, the women's auxiliary of Local 4-367 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW)

has arranged to get an OCAW hall for a planning meeting for May 5 this week. Local 4-367 is currently on strike against Shell Oil, and the women's auxiliary has played an important role in building strike support.

Housewives Against Inflation chapters in Washougal and Vancouver, Wash., are helping publicize a meeting in Portland, Ore., to organize the May 5 actions. Others who have endorsed the Portland meeting are the Coalition for Child Care; the Portland State University student government; Jetie Wilds, chairman of the Oregon Black Caucus; and the Student Mobilization Committee.

Fight Inflation Together (FIT) in Seattle is one of the groups planning a May 5 building meeting on April 19.

The April 13 *Denver Post* reported on local support for May 5, quoting consumer activist Roseann Washington. "That kind of thing serves its purpose," she said. I hope to organize that kind of protest here. . . . Washington and other May 5 supporters in Denver will hold a news conference April 19 and a planning meeting April 21.

Students at the University of Illinois in Chicago are organizing a May 3 teach-in on tuition hikes and budget cuts as a buildup to the May 5 protests. Sponsors include the student government, Black Student Community Alliance, and Young Socialist Alliance. Plans for May 5 activities will be discussed at an open meeting of the

Chicago National Consumers Union April 19.

Endorsers of the May 5 action in Detroit include Alan Goldstein, president of the Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, and the union's second vice-president, Paula Reimers. In New York, May 5 supporters will hold a meeting at the hall of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union.

In the meantime, the House of Representatives has defeated a series of amendments to the Economic Stabilization Act, which gives Nixon the right to set wage and price controls. While extending the act, the House easily voted down proposals to roll back interest rates, rents, and prices to earlier levels. This unwillingness of Congress to act against inflation has intensified the anger of consumers.

Rumors are spreading that Nixon will make another announcement on prices soon. An April 16 Associated Press dispatch reported that "President Nixon is considering tightening wage-price controls, including a new freeze, administration officials said today. They said a decision was expected 'very quickly,' possibly this week."

An attempt to clamp down harder on wages at this time can only deepen union participation in the May 5 protests. As for attempts to convince consumers that he is going to control prices, the massive support for the April 1-7 meat boycott demonstrated how little faith consumers place in Nixon's price "ceilings."

\$ 25 / £ 10

Inflation

WHAT CAUSES IT HOW TO FIGHT IT

by Linda Jenness
and Dick Roberts

Just published. 25 cents.

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Repudiate NCLC gangsterism

The gangster-like tactics the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) used in its attack on members of the Young Workers Liberation League (see story on page 9) constitute a threat to the entire radical movement. Attacking with pipes and clubs, the NCLC thugs sent six YWLL members to the hospital.

The NCLC openly states that it intends to continue such attacks, publicly proclaiming their intention to "bury" and "pulverize" the Communist Party and YWLL. In an April 16 supplement to their newspaper, *New Solidarity*, the NCLC threatens to "treat similarly" any other socialist organizations that "join the CP's alliance with Nixon and the fascists in the name of 'workers democracy.'"

These methods must be condemned. The use of violence within the radical movement aids no one but the ruling class. If attacks such as the one against the YWLL are allowed to continue, they will be used against other organizations, as the Labor Committee itself has already threatened.

Violent attacks within the movement threaten the very right to organize, to present ideas, and to win others to those ideas. Movement groups face enough limitations on these rights from the rulers of this country without having to also face such assaults from within the radical movement.

The NCLC attempts to justify its hoodlum attacks by labelling the CP and YWLL as "fascist" organizations. Such use of the word "fascist" to excuse physical attacks on groups within the socialist movement should be repudiated by every organization committed to democratic rights for working-class organizations.

The NCLC's goon attacks are antithetical to the aims and principles of the socialist movement. Socialists support the practice of workers democracy—that is, the concept that the way to solve differences within the working-class movement is through free and open debate and testing of ideas.

The use of violence within the movement, on the other hand, makes it possible for the ruling class to discredit the left as antisocial sects fighting amongst themselves.

In addition, these methods create a perfect atmosphere for police agents whose aims are to destroy the entire movement. Agents-provocateurs would like nothing better than to see radical groups resort to armed attacks on each other. The work of government agents goes much easier in such an environment.

The Militant calls on all groups and individuals who support basic democratic rights to join in a campaign to repudiate the National Caucus of Labor Committees and their use of violence against organizations they disagree with.

We call on all groups to reject and condemn the use of physical attacks to settle disagreements within the movement. And we urge all supporters of democratic rights to come to the defense of the CP, YWLL, and any other group whose meetings, members, or offices are attacked by NCLC hooligans.

Cuban exiles attack

The attack by anti-Castro Cuban exiles on a conference at Queens College in New York last weekend (see story on page 11) is one in a series of escalating terrorist attacks by these forces. Wielding blackjacks, throwing acid, and shattering glass windows, they assaulted participants in a conference on social struggles in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean.

One year ago counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles disrupted the showing of Cuban films at the New York Film Festival. And only last month the Center for Cuban Studies, a New York library devoted to revolutionary struggles in Latin America, was destroyed by a bomb. The same night an operator of a parcel service to Cuba was shot three times after being threatened by anti-Castro Cubans.

Yet the New York City police have failed to make a single arrest of those who committed these crimes. Emboldened by their apparent immunity from arrest, these counterrevolutionary terrorists continue their assaults. New York's "finest" seem far more concerned with jailing Black and Puerto Rican militants such as Rap Brown and Carlos Feliciano than with moving against the Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

All supporters of civil liberties should demand that New York Mayor Lindsay act to ensure the arrest and prosecution of those responsible for these attacks.

Inflation

In the April 6 *Militant* Linda Jenness gives a clearcut socialist viewpoint in the article entitled "A program to combat soaring prices." This is a rational approach to inflation and would make a good leaflet to distribute in my neighborhood.

R. F.

New York, N. Y.

Wounded Knee

I would like to commend you on your eyewitness report on Wounded Knee in your March 16 issue. I have just returned from there and can now fully realize how much closer to the truth your story was than any other published at that time.

J. W.

Oxford, Ohio

Meat prices

Meat prices are really ridiculous. All food prices are. Nixon put a ceiling on meat prices, freezing them at what they were in March. But as you pointed out, the big meat producers had already announced and put into effect much higher prices.

Prices here have jumped at least 10 cents a pound on all types of beef in the last week. It's enough to make you think Nixon's price freeze was just words to make the people think he's concerned. It's getting so that you can't trust capitalism, the American way of life, to care for the needs of the American people.

Come to think of it, isn't that what you've been saying all along?

R. R.

Roxbury, Mass.

Chicana prisoners

In the March 23 *Militant*, the "Raza en Accion" column mentioned a newsletter put out by Chicana prisoners in California. I would like to know where to write for this newsletter.

N. V.

Cambridge, Mass.

In reply—Write to *La Voz de MARA*, Mexican American Research Association, California Institute for Women, Frontera, Calif. 91720.

ERA

The March 30 article "Connecticut passes ERA" seemed to say that *The Militant* also supported the Equal Rights Amendment. I don't know about the women in Connecticut, but many women like myself are against the ERA because it's not really freeing women. Under the Equal Rights Amendment protective legislation formerly given to women workers will now be taken away altogether instead of being extended to men.

R. O.

San Diego, Calif.

In reply—*The Militant* is also for extending those protective laws that benefit women to men. We see this as part of the struggle for equal rights on the job, not in contradiction to our support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

For a more detailed discussion of this issue, we suggest you order a copy of the new pamphlet on the ERA being published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014.

Informative

Being not only a prisoner but in solitary confinement as well, access to reading material as informative, constructive, and truthful as *The Militant* is very limited. *The Militant* is not always allowed to enter the prison. But for the last couple of months, due to a number of complaints, the paper has periodically managed to find its way into the cages within solitary confinement.

Last December, for example, we received a copy of an article in the Dec. 1 *Militant* ("Marion prisoners sue gov't. for \$7-million") by Peter Seidman. The article was very much appreciated by all of us presently confined in the concrete-steel cages of the two segregation units here.

A prisoner

Marion, Ill.

New subscriber

I am a prisoner serving a life sentence for a crime of murder I did not commit. I have served nearly 17 years already. I am now 33 years old (will be 34 this month). However, I am not writing this letter concerning my imprisonment. I am writing concerning *The Militant*, which I read whenever I can find an issue. Please enter a subscription for me for *The Militant* as well as the *International Socialist Review*.

A prisoner

Michigan

Impressed

Although I've only read two issues, I'm very impressed with your news coverage. I would like to see an article or an editorial on the repression in mental institutions of gays, women, and people practicing alternative lifestyles.

Alan Bodenhorn

Columbus, Ohio

Mideast

Because of your general parochialism as regards the Middle East in particular, I can't support *The Militant*. While I don't agree with your general orientation, your paper is the most constructive leftist paper dealing in radical politics.

This is indeed a sad commentary.

D. L.

Washington, D. C.

The 'steel deal'

You state in your editorial "The steel deal" (April 13), "The new agreement between the United Steelworkers Union and the country's major steel companies represents a giant step backward for steelworkers." That's putting it mildly!

The contract is a yellow-dog sell-out pure and simple. The rotten Abel leadership must be replaced with a fighting revolutionary one that will call for a labor party based on the trade unions, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, and international working-class solidarity—for example, higher wages for Japanese and German and indeed all foreign steelworkers so as to protect both them and American workers.

Robert Canter

Boston, Mass.



LBJ & Raza Unida

Your competitor, the *New York Times*, regularly lectures the oppressed to stay with the parties of the oppressors, the Democrats and Republicans. Sometimes they slip though, and show what the ruling class really thinks about the power of independent political action. This happened, for example, early in February, when the *Times* was mourning the death of LBJ.

Times reporter Martin Waldron wrote that Johnson had been getting tired of "sitting on the sidelines and was planning to take an active interest in politics again."

His plan: "to try to strengthen the badly disorganized Texas Democratic Party." Why was his intervention necessary? Johnson was "disappointed by the lack of enthusiasm shown in last year's election by Negroes and Mexican-Americans for the Democratic candidates."

"Mexican-Americans had become so disenchanted that they formed a separate party, La Raza Unida, and their disaffection almost cost the Democrats the Governor's chair."

Quite an admission for this mouthpiece of a section of the capitalist class. The *Times* didn't say so, but Ramsey Muniz, the Raza Unida candidate for governor, polled more than 200,000 votes—some 6 percent of the total—in the young Chicano party's first statewide effort. If Muniz had gotten only 2 percent more he would have thrown the election to the Republican.

Joe Grant
New York, N. Y.

POWs

Here's a thought. Recently I heard a newscaster make the following sarcastic comment about the returning POWs: "It's a real shame when there's a war which is so unpopular that the only soldiers who are treated like heroes are the ones who got caught."

K. K.
Boston, Mass.

Anne Draper

Some *Militant* readers may have known of Anne Draper, a one-time member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International). Anne split from the SWP in 1940 with Max Shachtman, and more recently was a prominent member of the International Socialists and West Coast union-label director for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL-CIO. Anne died recently of cancer at the age of 56 in Oakland, Calif.

A. C.
San Francisco, Calif.

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.

The education of Peter Brennan

It was inaccurate and unkind of AFL-CIO President George Meany to say the things he did about his old friend and protégé Peter Brennan, the Secretary of Labor. Brennan must deeply resent the charge that he has "completely abandoned the trade-union principles he espoused for all his life before coming to Washington."

It is beyond his limited comprehension that he did anything wrong, certainly nothing different from what he has always done, when he appeared before the House Labor Subcommittee on April 10 and recommended for the Nixon administration a \$1.90 minimum wage and even lower pay for youths 19 and younger.

When Brennan served as president of the New York Building and Construction Trades Council, he worked for the union bureaucrats and did what they demanded of him. He could not have kept that job otherwise. They thought it was a clever stunt to have him cozy up to Governor Rockefeller, and to parade him around as "Labor for Nixon" in 1968 and again in 1972.

They used to denounce the idea that Black workers should be given preferential hiring privileges in order to break down the discriminatory building-trades' barriers that have reserved skilled jobs for whites only. They praised Brennan when he provided a union cover in 1970 for the gang of off-duty cops, detectives, and Birch Society thugs who attacked and beat student antiwar demonstrators in Wall Street.

George Meany was in on all this, was one of the first to recognize Brennan's talents, and highly recommended Brennan for his present job. The truth is Brennan got his education from Meany and the likes of Meany.

The job assigned to Brennan in New York was to keep open all channels to the Republican Party. The union bureaucrats in the building trades have an old habit of scavenging on both sides of the river in the capitalist political jungle.

George Meany, himself a product of building-trades politics, is an old hand at this game. Brennan could never learn anything from this source about union principles, and that is part of the reason he never had any.

The union movement was originally founded on solid principles. But that was a long time ago. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, which became the American Federation of Labor in 1886, laid down the founding principle in the preamble to its original constitution, as follows:

"A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit."

This principle of class struggle and international labor solidarity was betrayed by the Gompers leadership of the AFL long before Meany appeared on the scene.

The "principle" Meany refers to is that laid down by him and the late Walter Reuther at the 1955 AFL-CIO merger convention, which said nothing about combating oppression of the ruling class but instead professed "to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and any and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism. . . ."

The proper name for this is class collaboration, a hand-in-glove working relationship between employers and union officials. It is the source of corruption and the negation of democratic unionism.

Both Brennan and Meany, each in his own way, are guided by this class collaborationist policy.

Meany is more useful to the capitalist government than Brennan—to the Democratic legislative branch as well as the Republican executive—when it comes to holding down wages. He serves on Nixon's National Commission on Productivity, on the Phase 3 labor-management advisory committee, and on the newly established National Commission for Industrial Peace. When Meany walks out of the AFL-CIO building to creep through the back door of the White House he has three hats to choose from and wears the one most appropriate to the meeting of the day.

The reason Meany is scolding Labor Secretary Brennan in public for his unseemly behavior at his first appearance as Labor Secretary before a congressional hearing has nothing to do with betrayal of principles. Meany was betrayed. And that makes him sore.

Brennan was supposed to represent the union bureaucracy inside the Nixon administration, winning a few modest concessions the bureaucrats think they are entitled to in exchange for the services they render the employing class. But that is not the way the game is played under the rules of class collaboration because the employers make up the rules as they go along. And as Peter Brennan says, "You get on the team, you got to play with the team."

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



How the gov't framed 'Los Tres'

The book *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* by Alfred W. McCoy (Harper and Row, New York, 1972) has exposed the complicity by U.S. government agencies like the CIA in protecting and maintaining the international heroin trade. And the recent disappearance of the largest haul of heroin ever made (known as the "French Connection") from a police station in New York is a sign that cops here are also up to their necks in the trade.

Among the victims of this drug traffic are young Chicanos who turn to heroin rather than face the racist, alienating school system that is forced on them in capitalist society. Many who are hooked on narcotics turn to small-time dealing and other petty crimes to support their habit. These are the people who get arrested and jailed for being involved with drugs. Big-time dealers are rarely touched by the cops. In fact, many of them are cops.

Three young men from the barrio of Boyle Heights in East Los Angeles tried to do something about the drug epidemic that is sweeping their community. Rodolfo "Rudy" Sanchez, Alberto "Beto" Ortiz, and Juan Fernandez saw that the authorities had forfeited their responsibility in curbing the uses of harmful drugs and became involved in a campaign to rid the community of pushers.

Two of Los Tres had been hooked themselves and

wanted to spare other Chicanos the grief of going through the same experience. They wanted to make the Chicano community politically aware of the real meaning of the "drug problem."

Because of these activities, Los Tres del Barrio, as they are known now, are behind bars as a result of entrapment by federal agents and local police.

A federal agent, posing as a dealer, set them up by saying he wanted to buy a large quantity of heroin from them. Believing the agent was a dealer, they agreed to meet him to teach him a lesson. They told him they did not deal and never to return to the community for that purpose. He pulled a gun on them and they shot him. They were convicted of shooting and robbing a federal agent.

The Committee to Free Los Tres has been appealing the conviction and the exorbitant bail of \$50,000 each through the courts as well as mobilizing the Chicano community to try to get justice for the three.

Two spokesmen for the Committee, Ray Rolón and Los Tres attorney Antonio Rodríguez, addressed the March 23 Militant Labor Forum in Los Angeles. They explained why Los Tres felt it was necessary to get involved in the anti-drug campaign, why the police framed them, and what a farce their "trial" was. More about that next week.



Fat City—Washington, D. C., inspectors found "excessive" fat in ground beef sold at 14 of 71 stores checked. Among those ignoring the 30 percent limit on "regular" ground beef was Safeway, which explained the problem is "technological." They said, "We feel we have been very successful in living up to the spirit of the law." Almost as successful as the law enforcers who enforce it. An official said more samples would be taken in coming weeks and if there are second and third violation, they'll ask that something be done.

Self-determination—British researchers established that nonsmokers confined in a poorly ventilated room with smokers absorb some of the carbon monoxide into their blood. The researchers said, "This is an order of risk that smokers are prepared to take many times a day but . . . it is a risk that many nonsmokers may wish

to avoid. They should at least have a choice."

Grand larceny?—A man shivering violently on a balmy day led a London cop to investigate. The man—a butcher—had three pounds of frozen meat in his pants. He was fined \$130 and lost his job.

Morality dep't—A bill before the California legislature would require that applicants for jobs as prison screws be investigated for good moral character. And if it looks like they might have any, they're automatically disqualified, right?

Good at doctoring—Army and Air Force doctors seem prone to a peculiar, profitable malady. According to the *Armed Forces Journal*, doctors constituted 43 percent of those in the two services who retired with tax-free disability pay. Among generals who

are doctors, it's 68 percent. "Army and Air Force doctors are almost twice as sick as the people they treat, if disability retirements are any indication," the *Journal* observed.

Note to skinheads—An Australian building worker was saved when a fellow worker grabbed his long hair as he disappeared through a hole in scaffolding 60 feet above the ground.



"This stuff is barely fit for dogmeat! By the way, where IS . . . the . . . dog . . . ?"

Women In Revolt

Feminism & the meat boycott

It's been called the "homespun war," the "housewives' revolt," and the "women's war on prices." But no matter what it was called, everyone recognizes that the meat boycott April 1-7 was organized and led by women.

It's been a real pleasure to pick up almost any newspaper and find women in the spotlight. The *New York Post* carried a feature called "Behind the Boycott" that was all about women. The *New York Times* had several stories about the "women leaders." Even the pages of the *Wall Street Journal* were full of the names of women who are the leaders and organizers of Fight Inflation Together, Women's War on Prices, Interested Consumers, and other groups. As Ethel Rosen, leader of Women's War on Prices, put it, "It's going to be the housewives against Nixon, I guess."

Even Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz gave women backhanded credit. "The American housewife . . . has been effective in the past couple of weeks." "But," he hastened to add, "having given her credit for that, I immediately ask who it was that drove the prices up two months before. It was identically the same forces in the marketplace. . . ." Butz is trying to play the old trick of blaming the people

who yell fire when they see a house burning down with having set the fire themselves!

Women became leaders of the boycott in large numbers. Thousands and thousands of women were out of the house doing things they had never done before. "I wouldn't categorize myself as a radical in the sense the word seems to mean now," said Maureen Altman, a housewife in Virginia. "I never demonstrated before, never passed out leaflets, I never tried to organize anything before. But now people think I'm at the front of the whole consumer movement and I'm some kind of hero."

The fact that women took this action shows a change in the way that American women view themselves. Rose West, for instance, who describes herself as just an "everyday housewife," organized the boycott in Denver, Colo. She told a reporter that since she began organizing, her phones haven't stopped ringing and "my housework isn't getting done."

Women learned that they were capable of organizing effective action, and the rest of society learned it too. The chauvinist myth, that women are passive, inactive, and totally incapable of or-

ganizing was given a good shake. "Some people assume we're a bunch of housewives and we don't know what we're talking about," said Sharon Levi, who "was never an organizer" before. I bet that "some people" thought differently after the boycott!

While leading the boycott, some women also began to wonder about the inequities between men and women. "Men, when they want to organize something, don't have to worry about chicken pox," complained one woman who had to find new picketers to fill in for women whose children became ill.

The role that women played in the boycott should be an inspiration to all feminists. It shows that feminist ideas have had an impact; it has given thousands of women a new confidence in themselves; and it has challenged many of the stereotyped notions about women.

When so many women are willing to step out of the "housewife" role and engage in militant action against the government, that, in my opinion, is an expression of feminism. Feminism is where women are out fighting for things that are in their interest. Feminism is wherever women are challenging the traditional roles assigned to them.

Linda Jenness



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



W. Indian farm workers victimized in Fla.

Early this month, Labor Secretary Peter Brennan ordered two Florida sugar cane camps closed. He cited "serious deficiencies in housing conditions," among other reasons.

Brennan made his decision based on results uncovered by a Labor Department investigating team. In all, the team visited 25 Florida sugar cane camps. Some were found to be "acceptable," others had deficiencies that "could be corrected."

Brennan was pressured to order the investigation as a result of a *New York Times* exposé of the wretched conditions that Florida cane cutters face.

One of the two camps closed was the site of the *Times* study. Both camps employed about 500 workers—most of whom are Black West Indians, mainly from Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Lucia.

Brennan said, "conditions reported to me . . . by my investigative team were deplorable and disgusting. . . ."

"Human beings should not have to live and work under such conditions."

Brennan's reaction to these conditions was to take action not against the growers, but against the workers. No penalties will be imposed on the growers for allowing the conditions to exist. Instead, the Immigration and Naturalization Service will "remove" all workers from the camps. They will be sent back to the West Indies or placed in other camps "if work is available." But, since the sugar cane harvesting is virtually completed, most workers will be deported.

The March 12 *New York Times* story—which prompted Brennan to act—showed the depth of exploitation of these Black workers.

The Florida sugar growers control a \$200-million a year industry, yet most cutters are paid a measly \$2 an hour. Some of the more than 8,500 West Indian cutters are paid less than this. But from their pay, \$2.55 a day is deducted for food, which consists of rice, occasional pork, and a couple of eggs.

The *Times* disclosed the treatment they get: "The cane cutters in this labor camp are packed into bare wooden structures that have no toilets or running water. The communal toilet is more than

100 yards away. . . .

"The planters surround these camps with wire fences and discourage visitors by setting up no-trespassing signs and watchful supervisors. . . .

"The climate of the labor camp is almost tangibly prisonlike, not physically so much as psychologically."

The United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has faced a ticklish situation in the past with the Florida cane cutters. At one point, the union was at odds with the West Indians, who are more skilled at cutting cane and tend to be faster than their U. S. counterparts. Consequently, the growers have tended to hire them exclusively.

Since the bulk of the work force is not unionized, the growers get away with paying the West Indians less. "'I need this work, mon,' said a cutter from Jamaica at the Saunders camp. 'There are no jobs, no money at home and I have six children.'"

Fortunately, the UFW recently reversed its attitude of opposition to farm workers who come to this country seeking employment. This will help in organizing these West Indian cutters.

YSA condemns gangster-like assault

'Labor Committee' goons attack YWLL

PHILADELPHIA, April 14 — On Wednesday, April 11, a group of 12 to 15 people, organized by and including several members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), attacked members of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) at Temple University here.

Eyewitnesses report that the attackers used lead pipes and other weapons. Six of the injured required hospital treatment. According to the Communist Party's *Daily World* of April 13, both Steve Rasmussen and Ed Aguilar suffered broken noses; Robin Goldberg suffered a broken rib; Waldo Woods had an eye injury; Robert Rustin suffered facial wounds and possibly a fractured jaw; and Bill Meyer-son had facial injuries.

This attack follows a series of threats by the NCLC to physically destroy the Communist Party and the YWLL.

The course on which the NCLC has embarked poses a threat to the entire radical movement. The absurdity of this small sect's pretensions to "destroy" the CP and the YWLL in no

beyond the limits of political discussion and debate. NCLC began to physically threaten the CP and the YWLL. An editorial appeared in the April 9-13 *New Solidarity*, the newspaper of the NCLC, under the heading "Death of the CPUSA."

The editorial announced that the CP was politically "dead" and that the NCLC had "the unique right and obligation to destroy the last vestige of left-hegemony of the Communist Party in the U.S.A. today. And that is precisely what we are about to do." The editorial states that the NCLC has the "awful responsibility" to organize a mass force within five years that would be capable of instituting "workers' governments throughout North America and Western Europe."

Seeing the Communist Party as an obstacle in carrying out their "awful responsibility," the *New Solidarity* editorial states, "Immediately, readers will obtain a taste of our ruthlessness in the way we proceed to finish off the Communist Party."

In the following issue of *New Solidarity* an article called "Operation Mop-Up: The Class Struggle Is For Keeps" explained more clearly the plans of NCLC. "To implement our editorial policy of last week, we will enter CP-YWLL meetings, conferences, rallies, classes, etc. to confront the participants with the CP's alliance with Philadelphia fascists to help Nixon destroy the March 31 Philadelphia convention of the National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization. These meetings or other events will not take place unless their participants first condemn the class treachery of the CP leadership."

It was in the context of these serious threats of physical violence that the attack on April 11 took place. The Third World Solidarity Coalition of Temple University held a rally on April 11, attended by about 100 people. An NCLC member approached Tony Monteiro, a leader of the CP, and tried to sell him a copy of *New Solidarity*. Monteiro tore up the paper, slapped the NCLC member, and pushed her down.

Another NCLC member approached the scuffle and was knocked into a nearby bush. Members of the NCLC then left the rally. The *Philadelphia Tribune* quoted Monteiro as saying, "It's true that I pushed the girl down, but she kept pushing her paper in my face and threatening me, saying that I had five days to go."

The NCLC has sought to utilize this action by Monteiro to justify its attack on the YWLL, but their public boasting about their attack as part of "Operation Mop-Up" demonstrates the spuriousness of this assertion.

After the rally, a group of people, including several members of the YWLL, went to the YWLL office in the Student Activities Center. Shortly



YWLL member Ed Aguilar, who was wounded in attack.

Urge united defense of YWLL

The following statement was made by the Temple University Young Socialist Alliance.

The Young Socialist Alliance condemns the recent physical attacks by members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees against members of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League.

The entire movement must come to the defense of the CP and the YWLL against such hooligan attacks. We must stand in solid support of the rights of all within the movement to carry out their political activities without fear of intimidation or violence from other groups.

Such violent attacks have no place within the student and radical movement and must be rejected as a means of settling political disputes. We must be able to consider and discuss all ideas in an atmosphere of free debate and discussion. It is only through this open exchange of ideas that the

issues and differences facing the movement can be clarified.

The use of violence as a means of "resolving" debates plays into the hands of the administration and cops by lending credence to their slander that the movement is basically violent and destructive. The atmosphere created by such tactics can also create fertile ground for police agents and provocateurs in their attempts to destroy radical organizations.

The administration at Temple University has already begun to use NCLC's attacks as a handle to place restrictions on civil liberties on campus. On April 12, for example, NCLC's actions were used as a pretext for excluding non-student members of the Black Panther Party from campus. We must oppose all such restrictions by the administration.

The Young Socialist Alliance calls on all radical and student organizations to condemn NCLC's attacks and to repudiate the use of such tactics.

after 1 p.m. the NCLC brutally attacked the YWLL members.

NCLC claims that they went to the Student Activities Center to talk to the YWLL and that a member of the YWLL "shoved a knife down the throat of a Labor Committee member — ripping his tongue."

Harvey McArthur, a member of the Temple Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party candidate for

Professor Zelnick of the English Department testified in agreement with the YWLL's version of the events.

The Disciplinary Committee, backed up by the administration, then voted to prohibit the NCLC from further political activity on campus.

The campus community has reacted very strongly against the NCLC actions. An editorial in the *Temple News* said that "if the National Caucus can-



YWLL office at Temple University following brutal attack by National Caucus of Labor Committees.

city controller of the city of Philadelphia, witnessed the attack and says he saw no knife.

He states that "the NCLC rushed into the offices, started beating people up, and then rushed out—the whole thing took about five minutes. If they came 'to talk' as they claim, they wouldn't have come armed with clubs and pipes." McArthur also says that Jose Torres, a leading NCLC member, was seen directing the attack on the YWLL.

According to the April 13 *Daily World*, "The injured individuals and the Temple chapter of the YWLL intend to press criminal charges against the perpetrators of this vicious attack." A warrant has been issued for the arrest of Jose Torres, and one NCLC member has been arrested.

The Disciplinary Committee of the Student Affairs Committee held hearings on Friday April 13 to gather testimony and make a recommendation to the administration. Several members of the Third World Solidarity Coalition, the Attica Brigade, and

not tolerate the free exchange of ideas among students, then the University should not tolerate the National Caucus on campus." The editorial called for revoking the charter of NCLC at Temple.

Most students on campus feel that the NCLC bears responsibility for this vicious attack. Many radical students are concerned that the administration will use the attack to try to limit political organizing and other civil liberties on campus. The administration has already begun that process by restricting the rights of nonstudents to come on campus. On Thursday, April 12, for example, members of the Black Panther Party were kicked off campus when they tried to solicit funds for their Breakfast for Children Fund.

The National Caucus of Labor Committees has distributed a leaflet on campus about the attack. The leaflet admits and tries to justify the attack, and promises more of the same. It states: "We have warned the CP: the Communist Party has crossed class lines for the last time. Within

Continued on page 22

SWP threatened

APRIL 18—The National Caucus of Labor Committees has escalated its campaign of intimidation against those who disagree with them. Copies of the April 16 supplement to the NCLC newspaper *New Solidarity* were posted at the entrances to the offices of the Socialist Workers Party in Philadelphia and Lower Manhattan last night. The supplement contains a clear threat to all who defend the right of radical groups to hold and defend their views: "If other socialist organizations cross the line and actively join the CP's alliance with Nixon and the fascists in the name of 'workers democracy,' they will be treated similarly."

way lessens the grave danger posed by the introduction of the tactics of violence into the movement.

The capitalist press in Philadelphia has already seized on the incident, devoting extensive coverage to it in an attempt to discredit all radicals as goons and thugs. There is also a danger that the NCLC's gangster-like tactics can be used by the university administration and the cops to justify measures directed at other groups on the left, and to restrict civil liberties and political activity on campus. NCLC's violent acts create an atmosphere that facilitates the work of police agents, whose aim is to weaken and destroy all radical groups.

The NCLC has been in a faction fight with the CP and the YWLL within the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). Recently a segment of the NWRO including the NCLC broke away and held a convention to form a new organization called the National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (NU-WRO). The Coalition to Defend the NWRO, which includes the CP and YWLL, denounced the split as an attempt "to divide and destroy NWRO" and as a "racist movement operating under the pretext of advocating changes for the have-nots."

Following the NU-WRO founding convention, held at Temple, the NCLC escalated their factional warfare far

SWP tours urge antiwar protest

Speakers generate debate on Viet accords

By CAROLINE LUND

Extensive speaking tours by three representatives of the Socialist Workers Party have succeeded in generating discussion and debate over the meaning of the Vietnam cease-fire accords. The three—Syd Stapleton, Wendy Reissner, and Derrick Morrison—have spoken throughout the country at universities, high schools, debates, and radio programs.

More than 140 attended a Militant Forum held at the University of California at Berkeley March 22 to hear a debate on the accords by Stapleton, Robert Scheer, and Dan Siegel.

Stapleton, a longtime SWP antiwar activist, was a coordinator of the Jan. 20 march of 100,000 at Nixon's inauguration. Scheer, former editor of *Ramparts* magazine, is currently lecturing at UC Berkeley. Dan Siegel has been active in the April Coalition campaigns for Berkeley city council.

Both Siegel and Scheer felt the task of the antiwar movement is to support the Vietnam agreement and press for its enforcement. Stapleton explained that the accords contain concessions wrenched from the Vietnamese by U.S. military might and by betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by Moscow and Peking.

He said the antiwar movement must continue to oppose violations of the Vietnamese right to self-determination, including those contained in the treaty, such as the right of the U.S. to continue arming the Thieu dictatorship.

Despite the disagreements all three supported the demonstrations called to protest Thieu's visit to the U.S. the first week of April. However, Scheer's position was only that "as long as there are demonstrations we must support them," while Stapleton was emphatic in urging continued antiwar mobilizations.

Stapleton participated in another symposium-debate during his stop in Portland, Ore. The other participants

were Paul Ottenstein of the New American Movement, Art Perlo of the Communist Party, and Elaine Druckman, a local journalist who agrees with I. F. Stone's analysis of the Indochina accords.

Militant correspondent John Studer reports that "Perlo seemed unable to defend the Communist Party position that the accords are a tremendous victory for the Vietnamese and that Moscow played a revolutionary role



Syd Stapleton

in defending the Vietnamese revolution. He was simply unable to answer the facts marshaled by both Stapleton and Druckman."

Stapleton also spoke to a meeting of 35 Vietnam veterans who are part of a special veteran program at Portland State's extension school.

John Studer writes that "the reaction to Stapleton's speech was remarkable; all the vets agreed on the pernicious role of the U.S. in Vietnam and the need for continued antiwar actions."

The veterans issued an open invitation for representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party to return and continue the

discussion.

A highlight of the tour by Wendy Reissner, coordinator of antiwar activities for the SWP, was a three-day conference on the colonial revolution held at Indiana University in Bloomington, Ind. Organized by members of the Arab-American Association of University Graduates, the Black Student Union at Indianapolis, Organization of African Students, Organization of Arab Students, Student Mobilization Committee, and the Young Socialist Alliance, the conference dealt with revolutionary struggles going on in Latin America, Africa, Indochina, and the Middle East.

Nearly 200 students attended the session on Indochina to hear Reissner and a Vietnamese student speak on the meaning of the accords. One of the main topics of interest throughout her tour, as well as at the Bloomington conference, Reissner told *The Militant*, was why Moscow and Peking had not backed up the Vietnamese and were instead cooperating with Nixon.

She said she found intense interest in the part of her talk where she gave facts and figures showing the inadequate amount of aid from Moscow and Peking to the Vietnamese, and in her account of the history of the war, including the breakdown of the past two accords, the March 1946 accords and the Geneva Accords of 1954.

Derrick Morrison, a staff writer for *The Militant* and coordinator of Black liberation activities for the SWP, commented that he also found interest and questions around the need for international solidarity and specifically the need for an international socialist movement that could play the role Moscow and Peking have abdicated.

Morrison had a discussion with Black student leaders at the University of Maryland in College Park. They were interested in the history of the antiwar movement as an example of what could be done in re-

lation to fighting U.S. complicity in racist oppression in southern Africa. On April 6 Morrison spoke on a panel discussing Pan-Africanism at George Washington University attended by 125 students.

"Even at the smaller meetings," said Reissner, "there were always people who were very interested in the general ideas of the SWP and YSA about how to change U.S. society." Morrison cited the example of a meeting for him at Towson State College in Baltimore, which was sponsored by the local chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. After hearing Morrison and viewing the YSA film "How to Make a Revolution," the SDS members were interested in pursuing the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

The tours of Reissner, Morrison, and Stapleton were organized by VIEWPOINT, Speakers for Radical Change. To arrange for these or other speakers to appear in your area, contact VIEWPOINT, P. O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.



Wendy Reissner

Ellsberg, Russo describe gov't deception

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES, April 13—A high point in the Pentagon papers trial came this week when the defendants, Anthony Russo and Daniel Ellsberg, took the witness stand to tell why they had risked imprisonment to tell the truth about the Vietnam war.

Russo testified first and explained how his experience in Vietnam in 1965 shook his faith in the administration's war policy. As an employee of the Rand Corporation, he said, his task was to interview rebel prisoners to determine the factors behind their motivation and morale.

A two-day interview with one particular prisoner, he testified, convinced him that crude indoctrination would never give the NLF fighters the profound belief in their cause that they displayed.

As he described how the prisoner recited a poem and sang a song to convince the interviewer of his point of view, Russo broke into tears on the witness stand. The incident had moved him so much he could not recall it without emotion, he apologized to the court.

Later he said he asked to be taken off the study project because the results were being altered and the truth about the Vietnamese people was not being told.

Russo said he first met Ellsberg in Saigon in 1965 when Ellsberg was a member of a civilian pacification team. However, it was not until 1969 that the two men discussed their mutual conclusion that there was "a pattern of lying and deception" running through the entire American intervention in Vietnam, Russo testified.

It was at this point, Russo said, they decided the truth must be brought to the attention of Congress and the public.

In October 1969 Ellsberg was an employee of Rand, while Russo had recently resigned from the corporation. Ellsberg had access to the Pentagon study on which he had worked. Together they xeroxed sections of the papers after working hours, returning the originals to the Rand safe each night.

Asked by prosecuting attorney David Nissen whether he had asked permission to copy the papers, Russo retorted, "It was my duty as an American citizen." Admitting to helping copy nine volumes, he declared he could have copied nine more. "I certainly would not deny it," he said, "It's an honor."

Ellsberg opened his testimony with some personal history. In 1961 he was employed by Rand as a consultant on nuclear war strategy. In the

Cuban missile crisis of 1962 he was called to Washington as a specialist on presidential control of nuclear forces.

Doubts about the Vietnam war began to assail him, Ellsberg testified, while serving as a State Department employee in Vietnam in 1966. He ob-



Pentagon papers tell how LBJ's bombing pauses were designed to prepare way for new escalation.

served that reports falsified reality to a greater and greater degree as they moved up the chain of command. Atrocities against Vietnamese appalled him.

He described how the pilot of his observation plane would swoop down and shoot unarmed peasants "like herding cattle in a pickup truck in Wyoming."

Earlier, activist Tom Hayden had continued testimony on behalf of the defendants. Quoting from still secret volumes of the Pentagon papers, he asserted that the bombing pause ordered by President Johnson was not designed as a peace gesture; it was considered part of a plan for expanding the war. Hayden cited a historian quoted in the volume: "If the conflict was going to have to be expanded . . . it would be easier and politically more palatable to do so after a pause."

Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and active in the antiwar movement, also appeared for the defense.

Ellsberg was still on the witness stand when his attorney Leonard Boudin became ill. Court sessions for April 12 and 13 were canceled. However, Judge Matt Byrne said the trial would have to resume on Monday April 16 even if Boudin could not participate.

N.Y. conference on Caribbean repels terrorist attack by anti-Castro Cubans

By DICK GARZA

NEW YORK—A conference on "Puerto Rico and the Caribbean: Political Alternatives" was held at Queens College April 13-15. The conference, involving scholars from throughout the Caribbean, was sponsored by La Unión Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos (UEPAC—Pedro Albizu Campos Student Union). The student group obtained the support of the college in organizing the event.

On its final day, the gathering was disrupted by a vicious attack on the part of Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles, but after ejecting the attackers

Guyana, Suzy Castor of Haiti, and Gérard Pierre-Charles, also of Haiti, visas to participate in the discussions.

In addition to presentations and discussion by panelists, workshops were held on Literature and National Liberation in the Caribbean, Uses and Abuses of Social Sciences in the Study of Colonial Peoples, The Caribbean Migrant in the United States, Imperialism and the Caribbean Political Prisoners, Health and Genocide Among the Caribbean People in the U.S., Alternatives to Education in an Urban Society, and Drugs and Capitalism.

The audience, which at times over-

United Nations. He outlined the historical solidarity between Cuba and Puerto Rico and pledged Cuban support to Puerto Rico's revolutionary struggle.

His remarks were interrupted by a loud shout from the audience. When ushers approached the provocateur, a well-organized band of about 25 thugs, male and female, began attacking the audience with clubs and black-jacks. They also hurled acid and exploded a tear gas bomb.

Ruth García and four other students from Temple University in Philadelphia were among those hit by the acid. Although rushed to the hospital, García's left eye was seriously injured. The ushers organized by UEPAC and conference participants defended themselves and drove the thugs out.

The apparent aim of the attackers, who shouted anti-Castro epithets, was to force the audience out into the glass-enclosed corridor, which faces the street. From the street, others proceeded to hurl stones at the windows, breaking the glass over those in the corridor.

The quick response of the ushers, and the clear instructions to the audience by Professor Maldonado-Denis, chairman of the conference, kept panic from spreading throughout the hall. After fierce fighting the thugs were ejected from the hall and the college.

The campus security guards were conspicuous by their absence, and city police did not arrive until after the goons had shattered much of the theater's glass.

One of the most seriously injured was Marcia Valcarcel, wife of Antonio Valcarcel Cervera, vice-chairman of the conference. She suffered acid burns over a large portion of her body.

Despite the terrorist attack, the

audience returned to their seats and guards were posted outside the hall to make sure the meeting could continue. Many of the victims of the attack returned from the hospital to the conference, among them Ruth García.

After the gas had cleared, Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada resumed his speech amid cheers of solidarity from the audience. His speech was followed by a panel discussion on "The Case of Puerto Rico at the United Nations." Resolutions from various delegations from Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, Panama, and Santo Domingo were accepted by acclamation by the audience.

Rubén Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and Juan Mari-Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, both proclaimed solidarity with Cuba and condemned the attack on the conference.

After instructions by Raymond Serrano-Vega, coordinator of the conference, to leave by doors not easily accessible to attack, the meeting ended on a high note of Caribbean solidarity.

The day following the conference two candidates of the Socialist Workers Party issued a statement condemning the attack and expressing their support for the conference aims. The candidates—James Mendieta, who is running for Brooklyn district attorney, and Richard Ariza, candidate for Manhattan council-at-large—are both Cuban-Americans.

Their statement noted that the attack at Queens College "is one more in a series of violent attacks over the years on the part of anti-Castro Cubans," such as the bombing of the Cuban Information Center last month. Mendieta and Ariza condemned the police indifference to the attacks and demanded that the attackers be arrested and prosecuted.



Claridad/Sonia Marrero

Aftermath of attack on Caribbean conference by Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

the conference was able to continue with its business.

Keynote speaker at the conference was C. L. R. James, author of *The Black Jacobins*.

Queens College President Joseph Murphy addressed the opening session to welcome participants and to protest the refusal of the U.S. State Department to grant Cheddi Jagan of

flowed the 536 seats of the Queens College theater, came from as far as California to hear the speakers. Delegations from Puerto Rico, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, Venezuela, and foreign students from Queens College added to the event.

On Sunday the closing address was delivered by Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada, Cuban ambassador to the

Capitalist press applauds murders

Israeli raid sparks upsurge in Lebanon

APRIL 18—Israeli commandos killed at least 40 people and wounded at least twice that many during their April 10 raid into Lebanon. "It was very marvelous," rhapsodized Golda Meir, "because we killed the murderers who were planning to murder again. Shining pages will be written about this."

The American press was quick to oblige. The next day the *New York Times* hailed the raid as "a stunningly effective blow in the 'war against terror' that was proclaimed by Premier Golda Meir after last fall's Munich massacre."

The *Times* was so pleased with the "daring and brilliance" of the slaughter that it didn't even try to hide its glee. The *Washington Post* was more subtle, although it too hailed the "operational brilliance" of the raid.

"It is easy to deplore violence in the Mideast. But it is only realistic to expect it. Separate episodes must be separately appraised," the *Post* philosophized April 12. "The 'worst' kind of violence strikes at third parties, such as American diplomats," continued the *Post*, which then proceeded to explain that "the Israeli raids into Lebanon were close to the best. . . ."

The Israeli commandos landed by boat on the outskirts of Beirut and split into three groups. Transportation was provided by cars rented a week in advance by Israeli agents posing as Western European tourists.

One group attacked the headquar-

ters of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, demolishing most of the building with explosives. At least 30 people were killed and 60 were wounded there.

In the Ouza'ii Palestinian refugee camp outside Beirut, at least three buildings were blown up. The authoritative Beirut daily *an-Nahar* reported that at least three Palestinians were killed in the blast and 10 others seriously wounded. A number of buildings were also demolished in Saida, a town about 25 miles south of Beirut. The number of casualties there is not clear.

The main targets of the assault were the homes of Mohammed Yussef el-Najjar, Kemal Nasser, and Kemal Adwan, three top leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement. In addition to killing the three Palestinian leaders, the Israelis gunned down three of their guards, Mohammed Yussef's wife, and a 70-year-old Italian woman who lived in the apartment above Kemal Nasser. In addition, Mohammed Yussef's 16-year-old son was kidnapped.

Israeli spokesmen reported that two of their men had been killed and two wounded in the attack. Lieutenant-General David Elazar, chief of staff of the Israeli armed forces, insisted "this operation has to be regarded as only one step in our concept of combining offensive and defensive tactics against the terrorists. There is no possibility of honoring the sov-

ereignty of Lebanon as long as it is serving as a complete haven for the terrorists."

But the truth is that aggressive raids were being carried out by Israel against the Arab countries long before the Palestinian guerrilla movement developed. The Israeli state was founded on the expulsion of the native Palestinian inhabitants from their land. Its continued existence is based on the Palestinians' continued demoralization and atomization. Such raids will continue as long as the Zionist state exists.

The latest raid was meant to demonstrate the ability of the Israeli armed forces to assassinate any Palestinian who becomes prominent in the resistance movement. However, the immediate effect of the Israeli raid

has not been to terrorize the Arab masses. Instead, a new upsurge of militancy has been sparked.

On April 11, thousands of Beirut students took to the streets to protest the Lebanese government's failure to react to the raids. The next day between 100,000 and 300,000 people turned out for the funeral of the murdered Palestinians, which soon became the largest anti-government demonstration in recent Lebanese history. One result of the week's events has been the resignation of Lebanese Prime Minister Saeb Salam.

Charges of U.S. complicity in the Israeli raid have been widely circulated, and two American-owned oil tanks were set ablaze by a group known as the Lebanese Revolutionary Guard on April 14.



Beirut students take to the streets on April 11 to protest regime's failure to defend country against Israeli terror attacks.

Momentum for demonstrations grows

May 26 protests to hit U.S. role in Africa

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK, April 16—A full-page ad in yesterday's *New York Times* was entitled "Who is Discriminating Now?" The ad was placed by the Committee for Fairness in Sport, a South African group. It accused the Amateur Athletic Union of "discrimination" for prohibiting U.S. athletes from participating in the recently held South African Games. It also attempted to show that the South African government was easing apartheid strictures.

The ad didn't mention one interesting side item. The government, in its campaign to impress the world of its "humanity," even went so far as to remove the signs over the seats in the athletic stadium that read "whites only" and "nonwhites only."

But such a token gesture can do little to ease the brutal aspects of apartheid—racial segregation in all aspects of life—which is official government policy.

On May 26, the truth will be heard about South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portuguese rule in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. For May 26 is African Liberation Day, and in more than 20 cities across the U.S. demonstrations will be held demanding an end to U.S. complicity with Portugal and the white settler states in southern Africa.

The demonstrations are being organized by the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC).

In New York, several prominent endorsers have added their support to the broad-based May 26 African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee organized by the New York ALSC. These include Brooklyn Democratic Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and Democratic State Assemblymen Sydney Von Luther and Jesse Gray.

Endorsement has also come from H. Carl McCall, president of the Black-owned WLIB radio station; Muriel Tillinghast, Executive Council of the Episcopal Churches; Hulbert James, director of the Office of Economic Con-

cern of the National Council of Churches of Christ; and the Reverend Wyatt Walker of Canaan Baptist Church of Christ.

There are five ALSCs in Connecticut, which are building toward the May 26 demonstration in New Haven. These ALSCs include members of Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOB), the Young Socialist Alliance, and several Black student unions.

Owusu Sadaukai, national chairman of the ALSC, plans to tour the Connecticut area to help build the action. The ALSC is also planning several fund-raising activities and a statewide conference in Waterbury April 21.

Speakers for the New Haven demonstration have been invited from All African Peoples Party, Congress of African Peoples, YOB, National Welfare Rights Organization, and the YSA.

In the Northern California area, three ALSCs are making preparations for a May 26 demonstration in Oakland. Sadaukai is in the Bay Area this week on a speaking tour to publicize the protest, which will be held in Arroyo Park, Bancroft Avenue at 83rd Road.

The Philadelphia ALSC will hold a news conference April 18 formally announcing the May 26 demonstration to be held there. Democratic State Assemblyman David Richardson will speak.

To raise funds for the action, the ALSC is planning a fund-raising benefit at Philadelphia Community College April 27. Nelson Johnson, national chairman of YOB, and a member of the Angolan Student Union will be the main speakers.

Plans are under way in Chicago to hold a May 26 march and rally in Chicago's South Side.

On April 7, a teach-in and planning meeting of more than 50 people was held at Northwestern University. An ad hoc committee was formed to involve students from the Chicago area in the building preparations for May 26.

During the week of April 30 various activities will be held at Northwestern University. They will include a symposium May 5 to discuss the Black struggle and the African liberation movement. Speakers will include Robert Van Lierop of the Africa Information Service; Walter Chesser of

the Black Masses Party in Milwaukee, Wis.; Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance; the ambassador from Ghana; and representatives of FRELIMO and PAIGC.

Another teach-in and rally at Northwestern will be held May 25.

In Detroit on April 10, the ALSC of Wayne State University held its first meeting. Forty attended representing every Black organization on campus. Speakers included Maceo Dixon of the Young Socialist Alliance and Modibo Kadalie, state coordinator of the Michigan ALSC.

Several activities were planned for Wayne State. On April 26 a rally will be held with speakers and films. A statewide conference of ALSC's has been called for May 11. Other ALSCs are functioning at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and Highland Park Community College in Detroit.

Further information about the African Liberation Support Committee can be obtained from the ALSC national office. The address is P. O. Box 21304, Greensboro, N. C. 27420. Telephone: (919) 275-0930.



Part of crowd at African Liberation Day, in Washington, D.C., May 27, 1972.

Militant/B. R. Washington

April 28 anti-STRESS action gains support

Detroit cops kill Black attorney in courtroom

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, April 13—Support continues to build here for the April 28 Anti-STRESS ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") demonstration. In a series of well-attended meetings in Detroit area colleges and high schools local chapters of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS (CAS) mapped out final plans for the mass march and demonstration.

Demonstrators will assemble at 12 noon at Putnam and Cass, near Wayne State University. At 12:30 p.m. protesters will step off and they will march down Woodward Avenue, through the Brewster projects, and downtown to Kennedy Square for a rally at 1:30 p.m.

CAS grew out of the hearings held by the Black Commission of Inquiry Into Police Terror in February. The Commission found that a campaign of widespread and systematic terror against Detroit's Black community was being waged by Detroit police, spearheaded by the STRESS unit.

New committees were formed this week at the University of Detroit, Highland Park Community College, and Murray Wright High School.

High school administrators have sought to block the formation of anti-STRESS committees at a number of

area schools. The Mumford committee filed suit in federal court this week to force the administration there to recognize the group's right to exist in the school. Mumford students have defied the school ban on three occasions to meet and map out activity.

At Central High the student government has backed the right of activists to form an anti-STRESS committee against the wishes of the administration.

More than 36,000 leaflets have been passed out to date. They expect to pass out more than 100,000 by April 28.

In a bizarre courtroom slaying last week, three STRESS officers gunned down Gerald Kenneth Dent, 36, a Black attorney defending a man the three had arrested. The three were in the courtroom of Records Court Judge James Del Rio to testify against Dent's client.

Police claim Dent drew a pistol while one of the officers was on the witness stand and began firing at them. All three drew their guns and shot Dent.

Judge Del Rio's first story was that he assumed Dent was drawing the gun out to introduce it as an exhibit in the case. He claimed Dent then pointed the gun at his own head and then at Del Rio and the policemen on the

stand. Del Rio later said Dent began firing it. Several days later he said Dent began firing it, not at anyone, but into the air.

In an interview with the *Michigan Chronicle*, the area's Black newspaper, Del Rio gave an even different story. He claimed that Dent had pulled a gun but that it was clear that he didn't want to kill anyone and that he could have been disarmed by the police, rather than being shot dead.

Dent was widely respected in the Black community. His funeral was attended by prominent Black leaders, including Eliot Hall, president of the NAACP, and Samuel Simpson, president of the Wolverine Bar Association.

Meanwhile, patrolman Raymond A. Peterson, another STRESS officer, is scheduled to come to trial for the March 9 murder of Robert Hoyt. Peterson's story of self-defense in killing Hoyt has been exposed as a lie. Police were forced to admit Peterson had falsified evidence and fabricated the story. Police lab tests proved that the knife Peterson claimed was Hoyt's was actually his own.

Peterson's attorney has now said he will probably ask for a change of venue because of "public prejudices against STRESS officers" in Detroit. Peterson has participated in half of the killings of Blacks in Detroit by

the STRESS unit.

Further evidence of police brutality was exposed this week as an ex-cop exposed a police cover-up of a vicious case of brutality last summer. The white ex-patrolman's story was confirmed by the Black Concerned Police Officers for Equality and Justice and a lie-detector test.

Jeffrey Patzer witnessed more than 20 white cops beating two Black officers who were attempting to stop the beating of a Black prisoner. All three Blacks received serious injuries. Patzer protested to his superiors. He was threatened with a "lone midnight patrol of Mack (avenue)" for rocking the boat, and quit the department the next day.

Even the *Detroit Free Press* demanded the police move fast on their investigation of this beating and suggested they were dragging their heels because the evidence was overwhelmingly against them. The *Free Press* is worried lest the authority and "respect" for Detroit's "finest" be eroded any more than it has in the last months.

Those wishing to help the Coalition to Abolish STRESS should call (313) 577-3489 or come to the Associated Black Students office in the University Center Building at Wayne State University.

World Outlook

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

APRIL 27, 1973

U.S. 'advisers' fighting in Mindanao

Growing anger at Marcos dictatorship

By Antero Nanhaya

Manila

Six months after the announcement of martial law last September 23, the Marcos dictatorship has begun its inevitable decline. The deterioration is so evident that even a hack journalist such as Kerima Polotan admits that "already there are disturbing symptoms of backsliding" (*Focus Philippines*, March 24).

If the regime is "backsliding," what were its previous successes? These can only be the crushing of all mass organizations—worker, peasant, and student—regardless of how reformist their leaderships may have been, the elimination of all rights of expression and assembly, a wage freeze, large-scale arrests and searches, and similar apparently not "disturbing" measures.

U.S. 'Advisers' Fight Guerrillas

The Muslims of the southern Philippines are extending their rebellion against the government. The old leadership has long since capitulated to Marcos, and the rebellion represents a repudiation of the traditional feudal structures that have until recently strangled any mass struggle. Unity of the several distinct Muslim cultural groups was also impossible under the old hereditary nobility.

In an attempt to discredit the movement of the more than 3,000,000 Muslims, the government has alternately accused them of being Maoist and being directed by Libya. Marcos spokesman Primitivo Mijares blusters: "Khadafi's so-called 'secessionist movement' in Mindanao is doomed" (*Daily Express*, March 28). The Muslims form the most heavily oppressed sector of Philippine society and in addition are now being dispossessed because they inhabit regions in which oil deposits abound.

Muslim rebels fighting well-coordinated guerrilla actions control large portions of the islands of Basilan, Jolo, and Sulu, and the provinces of Cotabato, Lanao del Sur, and Zamboanga del Sur in Mindanao. U.S. Peace Corps volunteers were evacuated and replaced by "advisers" fresh from Vietnam.

The Philippine air force is bombing heavily and indiscriminately and has lost at least one plane to ground fire. Several government strongholds have been decimated and casualties, especially among young government officers, have been considerable, although unannounced. The army has issued weapons to 23,000 civilian "volunteers" in strategic hamlets.

In Luzon, the Maoist New People's

Army has been most active in Isabela and Sorsogon provinces, and the regime has resorted to the use of paramilitary assassination squads and helicopter gunships to supplement ground forces. U.S. "advisers" in fatigues without name patches have been operating in at least one province, Nueva Ecija. Peasants have been forcibly herded into strategic hamlets in all three of these provinces.

The army is spread very thin by the need to patrol the cities, towns, and highways. Marcos has launched a crash program to increase manpower by calling up reserves, drafting all 20-year-olds, using civil guards, and raising army salaries so as to induce enlistment.

Backed up by U.S. bases and ad-

Imperialism's plundering of Philippine human and natural resources is made easier by the abstention or concurrence of the workers-state bureaucracies. Kremlin apologist William Pomeroy parroted the official position of the Soviet Union in the *Daily World* [newspaper of the U.S. Communist party] last October 3 when he attributed martial law in the Philippines to "capitalist rivalry" rather than the class struggle. Pomeroy noted approvingly that Marcos has taken "the first serious Philippine steps toward trade and diplomatic relations with socialist countries" and asserted that the dictator is now "freer . . . to resist U.S. pressures."

Constitutional Dictatorship

One of the by-products of martial law was the opportunity to model the new constitution to fit Marcos's needs for a legalistic facade. The Constitutional Convention, which in May had voted to ban Marcos from staying in power, on November 30 approved a charter that gave him dictatorial prerogatives. The construction was to be subject to a plebiscite on January 15—one week before the automatic reconvening of Congress under the old constitution.

On December 1, Marcos magnanimously decreed that the people would be free to discuss the proposed constitution. But it soon became apparent that the regime could not defend itself from even the rudiments of free discussion and that the plebiscite would result in such an overwhelming rejection of the new constitution that not even massive cheating would be able to conceal it.

Accordingly, on December 23 the plebiscite was indefinitely postponed and "citizens' assemblies" substituted for it.

The assemblies were wholly fictitious, except for a few held in Greater Manila for the benefit of foreign reporters. These were scheduled during working hours on weekdays to exclude workers. Troops rounded up housewives and idlers to attend and then stood brandishing their arms during the proceedings. There was no freedom of speech and voting was by a show of hands.

On January 17, Marcos announced that 95 percent of 16,000,000 voters had approved all his wishes and thereby declared the constitution ratified, the national assembly suspended for at least seven years, and martial law to continue indefinitely.

News censorship is so strict that even conservative foreign publications

like *Time* and *Newsweek* are often confiscated. Mimeograph and other copying machines not registered with the government are subject to seizure.

The mood on the campuses was shown by the thousands of students and faculty who braved harassment to attend the funeral of radical lawyer Enrique Voltaire Garcia, who died of leukemia March 2. As a student leader in 1966, Voltaire organized the first mammoth anti-imperialist demonstrations at the time of the Manila summit conference. Elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, he was detained after martial law was declared.

Destitution and Prostitution

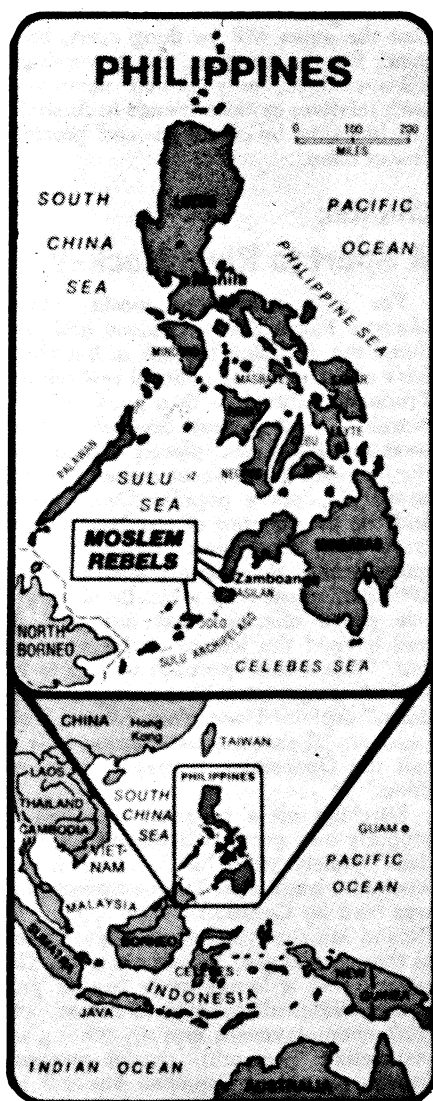
Because of inflation, the wage freeze is a wage decrease. Also, since the peso is tied to the dollar, the recent 10% devaluation meant about that much loss in the buying power of wages. Postal rates were increased by 50% on March 1, and food prices creep upwards daily. A second 10% increase in the price of oil is awaiting the pleasure of the dictator's fountain pen.

Almost without exception, each day's headline of the Marcos-owned *Daily Express* boasts of new concessions to foreign investors. But relatively little new capital is entering the country because of the political instability and weakness of the regime, the morass of red tape and corrupt bureaucrats, and the fact that the most lucrative investment fields—mining, oil, and light manufacture for export—have long ago been monopolized by U.S. imperialism. Production for export is carefully limited to perpetuate the present monopolies.

The Philippine bourgeoisie has hastened to develop its own sector of the economy, the prostitution industry. "Massage clinics" and "sauna baths" have proliferated throughout the Manila area since martial law, as is evident from the advertisements in the *Daily Express*. Night clubs, cabarets, and saunas entice customers to stay over during the nightly 12:00 to 4:00 curfew. Hotels and motels receive loans for expansion only if they cater to foreign tourists, and government programs for encouraging tourism are given high priority.

Want ads for women are limited to such "vocations" as sauna attendants, receptionists, promo girls, hostesses, and waitresses. Necessary qualifications are always "attractiveness" and a "pleasing personality." No experience is ever required.

While the entrepreneurs of tourism are stuffing their safe-deposit boxes with foreign dollars, the workers are forced to pay for the requisite tourist and travel facilities with their taxes. These well-chosen development priorities no doubt will be greeted with approval by the homeless urban squatters, the landless peasants, the destitute flood victims, the war refugees, and the forced evacuees. □



visers, supplied with U.S. military hardware, financed by U.S.-Japan-controlled international banks, and administered by U.S.-trained technocrats, the Marcos regime, like those of Indonesia and Brazil, is nothing but an imperialist front organization.

Interview with Angolan revolutionist

The struggle against Portuguese colonialism

[The Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Liberation Movement of Angola) was founded in 1956. In 1961 it opened an armed-struggle front in the Luanda region in the northwest of the country. In 1964 it opened up a front in Cabinda Province in the far north. Since 1966, it has also conducted guerrilla operations in the southeast. The MPLA now controls wide sections of the Portuguese colony.]

[The following interview with Antonio Neto, representative of the MPLA in Sweden, appeared in the January 31 issue of *La Brèche*, semimonthly organ of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League), the Swiss Trotskyist organization. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. Could you explain the various problems confronting the Angolan movement?

Answer. In the course of our armed liberation struggle we have created a liberated state with an area of about half a million square kilometers, more than a third of the total national territory.

In these liberated areas, we must first of all create cooperative structures and people's stores, ensure the production of basic agricultural goods, and provide for their distribution. For us, the problem of production is not a simple one. The peasants expressed some resistance when they were urged to organize themselves into cooperatives. Furthermore, on May 1, 1970, the Portuguese government launched chemical warfare against us (the second use of this tactic after Vietnam) and naturally this made for some serious problems in reorganizing the system of production and in supplying the population with food.

How did we deal with these problems? By unifying them, by breaking down the old system of individual production and intensifying efforts toward cooperation. We did it by preventing exploitation of man by man in the liberated zones; we made this a basic principle of our struggle, a goal to reach by any means necessary. There's no doubt that from the viewpoint of armed struggle our experience is of a special type—it's not just a military and political struggle, but an economic and educational one as well.

Q. Could you explain exactly what this means?

A. Certainly. In the liberated areas we have tried to set up small factories that would not only allow for the partial transformation of the system of production, but would also represent a new experience for the people: the transformation of small farmers into workers. These people must become conscious of the problems of the industrial proletariat, even when the slogan of the day is still "land to

those who till it" and other slogans against exploitation of man by man. Liberation evolves in such a way that we must pose questions in a long-term sense.

In this sense a tendency must preach the necessity of a long transitional period after political liberation. It is the petty bourgeoisie in particular that envisages the creation of new state structures lasting for the longest time possible—structures that would allow the growth of the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie and which would thus prevent the proletariat from claiming power.

On the other hand, the left, the MPLA, insists on speeding up the armed liberation struggle and on building within it structures that prevent the petty bourgeoisie from emerging out of such a process. Finally, there is the problem of breaking with the imperialist economic system; and this is not possible without building the necessary instrument—the party.

Q. What will be the dynamic of this twofold military and political struggle?

A. The political struggle is not posed in terms of months or years. Political settling of accounts necessarily lasts for a rather long period. Our twelve years of military and political struggle have taught us this. As I said, building a party is a basic task. This project is now being discussed, and the MPLA Congress will have to make a clear decision on it.

Besides the party, we need a well-defined structure, the people's army, a military vanguard that must be tightly linked to the party and must be under the party's control. In the military struggle, it is not so much a matter of developing a war with "fronts," but rather a war of liberation generalized over the whole country.

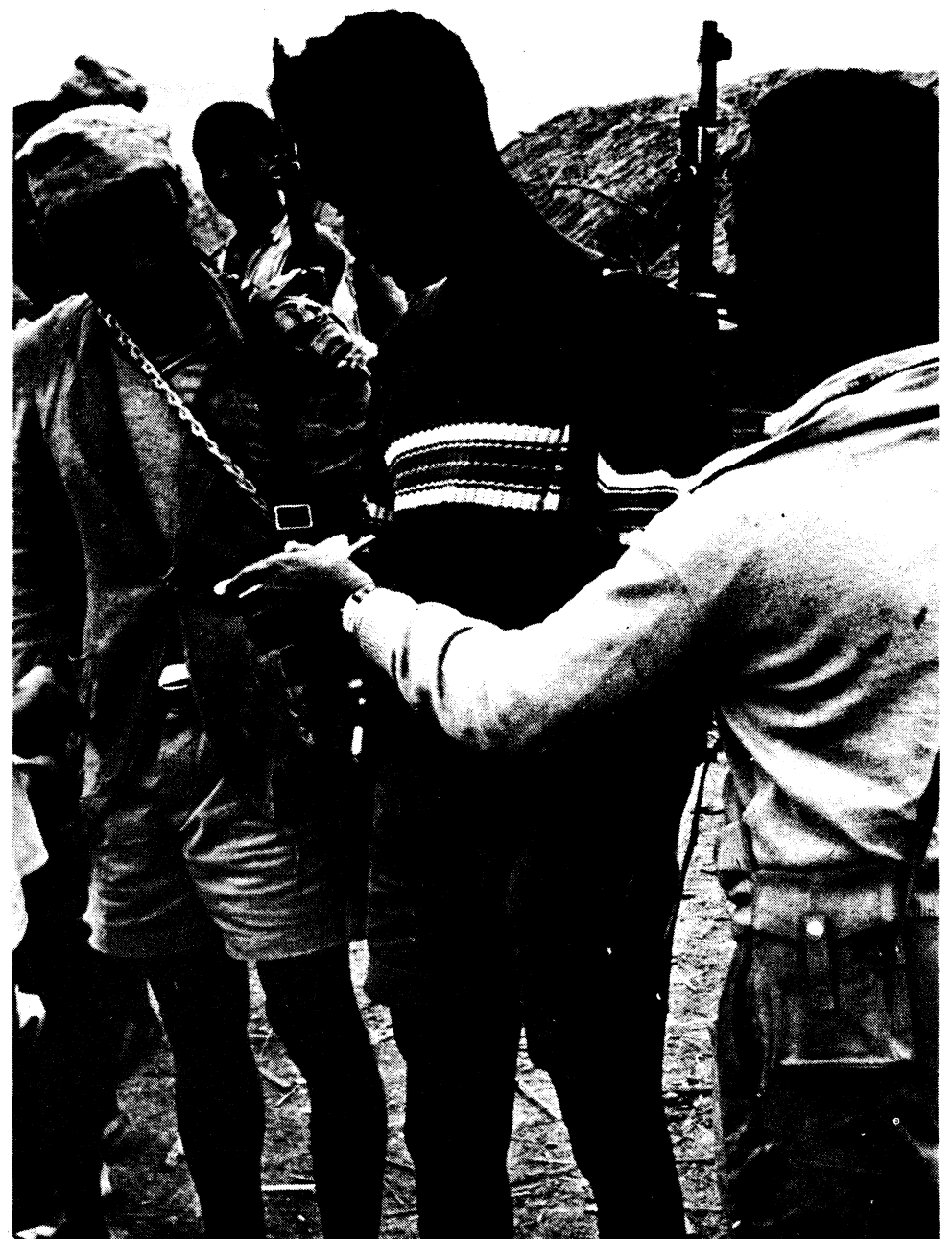
I should also say that even on the military level, the reformist perspective rejects the concept of class struggle (the creation of political structures and a party) and seeks instead to set up a liberation army able to play the same role as the Algerian Liberation Army, for example. Naturally, we must fight against this perspective at the Congress.

Q. But don't you think it would be a contradiction for the movement itself to decide on forming a party? Doesn't this run the risk of amounting to a simple change of names and of creating a party that calls itself revolutionary but that in fact still includes all the present components of the movement?

A. I think that the dynamic of the struggle itself will exclude all those who are for a solution that is in the final analysis a neocolonial one. It must be realized that if the reformist plan is adopted by the Congress, that would represent a serious defeat for the MPLA left, for the revolutionaries. This is directly tied to the concep-

tion one has of the army. We say No to the frontier army and we insist on the generalization of the armed struggle throughout the country, and thus on the formation of large combat units; we insist on the acceleration of the process of socialized production in the liberated zones. The reformist plan does not foresee mobility of the armed groups within the social bodies; on the one hand it fore-

A. We start from the fact that the MPLA in Angola, the FRELIMO [Frente de Libertação de Mocambique—National Liberation Front of Mozambique], and the PAIGC [Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde—African party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands] have been linked since the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies



Angolan freedom fighters

sees the occupation of the Portuguese barracks, and on the other hand it views the army as uninvolved in building up the country.

The army would thus be cut off from the masses, and power would be concentrated in the hands of the reformists. We must avoid that. It is exactly on this point that the debate between the two tendencies will revolve, and the debate will be decisive for creating the party. But also, the danger of a mere change of names that wouldn't basically change anything, as you brought up, does exist.

Q. Earlier you stressed the necessity of the future free Angola being released from imperialist control. Could you explain this more exactly?

in 1962.

In fact, we very quickly understood the necessity of creating solid unity in action for the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. We were faced with a colonialism that refused to set up a decolonization program (launched by other metropolises like France, Great Britain, and Italy), and we therefore had to initiate a protracted and international armed struggle.

Furthermore, we believe that the struggle against Portuguese imperialism is not only the task of our three countries, but more generally is the task of the international anticolonial movement. Other sectors of international colonialism act in collusion with Portuguese imperialism in the framework of their projects aimed at all

southern Africa.

Q. Returning to the general problem of anti-imperialism, how does the anti-imperialist struggle in the Portuguese colonies fit into the framework of the African continent, which as a whole is still subjected to imperialist exploitation?

A. As a whole, Africa has not yet taken part in the world revolutionary upsurge. There are countries that are independent in name, but not in fact, neither politically nor economically; imperialism has found other ways of maintaining its domination.

The problem of overthrowing capitalism is posed: In a whole series of countries, the imperialists remain allied to the puppet cliques in power, and struggle against imperialism means struggle against these cliques. In an initial phase, that will be the task of the revolutionary groups, and later of real organizations that will have the historic task of waging the struggle in terms much more clear than the organizations that led the struggle for independence at one time.

Especially in southern Africa we envisage unifying the revolutionary forces of the region, but this can only happen through an intense political debate, through characterizing in the course of this debate the various internal components of the struggle organizations, and through defeating the reformist forces that put the brakes on the revolutionary process.

Q. But do you think that it would be purely a matter of a division between revolutionaries on one side and reformists on the other?

A. Naturally, no. There is also the problem of Stalinism. This is a discussion that is going on in the international workers' movement. Today this movement is in a crisis that reflects itself not only in the Sino-Soviet conflict, and the crisis in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, but also in the question of peaceful coexistence and its various forms. Then there is the drama of Bangladesh, the problem of Palestine; that is, the question of a certain *modus vivendi* that has been reached between certain workers' leaderships and American imperialism (look at Nixon's Peking and Moscow trips).

Faced with this, we think that the MPLA must remain independent of these leaderships. When the revolutionary party is formed, it must also stay independent. This does not mean having a nationalist outlook. On the contrary, we have an internationalist outlook, and we think that by opening a front in Angola, by working with the PAIGC and FRELIMO, by linking up with comrades who are waging a struggle in Portugal itself, we are also linking up with the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese peoples.

And we are also counting on international support, not only from the revolutionary organizations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also from the working class of the capitalist countries, which today understands the necessity of raising its own struggle to a higher level by becoming conscious of the fact that reformism absolutely cannot offer the workers a better future.

For our part, we lend our complete support to the organizations that are waging the battle for socialism on the field of class struggle. □

...Solzhenitsyn

Continued from page WO4

letter she explained that she had volunteered a statement to Novosti, but that the statement published over her name differed both in tone and in substance from the one she had provided.

"Thus after a thorough acquaintance with the statement, along with the changes made by employers of Novosti, I have concluded that it doesn't correspond either to the relations I had with A. Solzhenitsyn or with my high estimation of his creative abilities as a whole," she wrote. "I cate-

gorically object to your passing on for publication . . . the text of the statement, which was amended and added to by employees of Novosti despite the fact that it was signed by me. . . .

Her statement also explained that she was withdrawing her objections to the divorce "out of sympathy" with Solzhenitsyn's second wife, an explanation omitted from the printed version. Since that time the divorce has been granted, apparently as part of an attempt to placate Western public opinion, which has followed the case closely.

The Soviet bureaucracy's rapprochement with the Nixon administration has been responsible for several such token acts of "loosening up" for the benefit of Western observers. These include a moratorium on exit fees for emigres, which had been used chiefly against Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel.

The actions of the government-con-

trolled press are in keeping with the rich Stalinist tradition of treachery and deception. Not only do they use the methods of character assassination against opponents; not only do they prevent their opponents from answering their charges and defending themselves; but they attribute the slander and lies to a third party.

The methods of the post-Stalin bureaucrats have not changed at all. What has changed is their ability to get away with their routine falsifications. Reshetovskaya's charge that the government press agency falsified her statement took great courage; Medvedev's defense of the famous writer in official disfavor was also a courageous act. Both reflect the growing trend of dissident intellectuals in the Soviet Union. Instead of remaining silent, they are speaking out against the arbitrary injustices of the bureaucracy. □

...copyright

Continued from page WO4

choice between those deals and a samizdat. They obviously leaned toward the state deals," Astrachan reported.

Straus can perhaps afford to be noble, since Solzhenitsyn's writings mean profits for Farrar, Straus, Anderson & Giroux. Works by other Soviet dissidents, like Vladimir Maximov

and Aleksandr Galich—who have as yet won no Nobel Prize and whose books published in the West have not become best-sellers—may not evoke such a "principled" stand from Western publishers.

The extent to which the Kremlin can succeed in exporting censorship may come to depend on the support for the publishing of samizdat shown by small, independent publishers, authors' groups, and civil liberties organizations. The left-wing publishers will have a more important role than ever to play.

Within the Soviet Union, the Kremlin's new "copyright" regulations mean a still greater intensification of the drive against samizdat, which has been under way since December 1971, with the Central Committee decree to suppress the *Chronicle of Current Events* and *Ukrainsky Visnyk*. If the democratic opposition movement is to survive the attempt to silence it by silencing samizdat, it must find a way to mobilize broad sections of the population—workers, students, intellectuals—in a mass struggle for the most elementary rights of free speech and freedom of the press. □

New Zealand

Racist tour canceled

On April 10, New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk acted to stop the proposed tour of the South African Springbok rugby team. The Labour government headed by Kirk had tried its best to avoid taking a strong position on the tour, attempting to get the Rugby Union to call it off instead.

However, the threat of massive demonstrations finally forced Kirk to act. Public opinion polls a year ago showed 75 percent of the population in favor of the tour, but the percentage dropped six months ago to 60 and three months ago to 50.

The latest demonstrations demanding the government act to prevent the tour took place in New Zealand's ma-

jor cities on March 21, the thirteenth anniversary of the murder of scores of Black protesters by police in Sharpeville, South Africa.

The largest protest occurred in Dunedin, where 250 persons marched to Burns Hall to hear John Gaetsewe, an exiled Black South African trade unionist.

About 150 persons in Auckland marched in a heavy rain, carrying banners reading, "Stop the Tour" and "Don't Join the Apartheid Club." The Seamen's Union voted to hold a twenty-four-hour work stoppage as a protest against South Africa's racist regime, and a number of union members joined the antitour demonstra-

tion. Marches of 150 and 65 persons took place in Christchurch and Wellington, respectively.

The demonstrations were initiated by the Young Socialists and their supporters after it became clear that the best-known antitour organizations, HART (Halt All Racist Tours) and CARE (Citizens Association for Racial Equality), were determined to organize civil disobedience and "disruption," rather than street demonstrations capable of appealing to the majority of New Zealanders.

HART, which had begun to deemphasize the Springbok tour as an issue, went on a vicious campaign to cut down the impact of the Sharpeville Day Actions. HART's activities included physically assaulting organizers of the marches, disrupting planning meetings, pulling down posters, waging a red-baiting campaign aimed at persuading sponsors to withdraw their support, and appealing to protesters at the assembly points to withdraw from the march. □



The Coming Confrontation

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A weapon to be used against dissenters

Kremlin joins the copyright agreement

By Marilyn Vogt

The Kremlin bureaucrats have undertaken to suppress the flow of samizdat writings to the West by resorting to the legal institutions of international capitalism.

On February 27 the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) headquarters announced that the Soviet Union intends to adhere to the Universal Copyright Agreement (UCA). The announcement resulted from a letter from Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to Director General René Maheu of UNESCO. Soviet membership in the Agreement becomes effective May 27, 1973.

The Universal Copyright Agreement, which emerged from the 1952 Geneva Copyright Convention, established mechanisms for the protection and compensation of writers and artists in the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union and most of the other workers states have not previously been among the sixty-three members of the Agreement.

The only motive initially offered by the Kremlin for this decision to adhere to the UCA was that the move was "in keeping with the current trend toward international relaxation of ten-

sions." But any illusions that the decision represented a loosening up in the Kremlin disappeared when the amendments to the Soviet copyright laws adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on February 21 and published in the February 28 *Vedomosti* (the Presidium's bulletin) became available.

The new amendments—Decree 133—to the 1961 Soviet copyright laws in combination with Soviet membership in the UCA provide a two-pronged mechanism with which the Soviet bureaucrats hope to curb publication in the West of literature by Soviet dissidents and prosecute Soviet dissident writers whose works are published abroad.

One provision states that "copyrights apply to unpublished as well as published works." A second provides for the "compulsory purchase" by the Soviet state of a copyright from an author or an author's heirs. Thus, the bureaucracy can declare itself the copyright holder of any published or unpublished manuscript by a Soviet writer, and it can also determine when and if this manuscript can be published anywhere.

Since the bureaucracy can declare itself the legal owner of a manuscript, if a work is smuggled to the West for

publication with a Soviet author's name on it, officials will hold that the author has violated Soviet copyright laws; the author can then be prosecuted. If the author claims he or she did not authorize publication of the manuscript abroad, the Soviet authorities will take action against the foreign publisher under the terms of the Universal Copyright Agreement in an effort to block the manuscript's publication.

This recent move is a direct threat to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. His only book to be officially published and circulated in the Soviet Union is *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Like *First Circle* and *Cancer Ward*, which won him a Nobel Prize for Literature, his most recent work, *August 1914*, was refused publication in the Soviet Union on the grounds that it was "anti-Soviet," and was published in the United States by Farrar, Straus, Anderson & Giroux. A sequel to *August 1914* has been expected sometime this year.

Solzhenitsyn has been slandered in the Soviet press and considerably harassed by the authorities. However, while most of the dissident writers whose works have been published in the West have been arrested and prosecuted under Articles 70 or 190 of

the Russian Criminal Code or its equivalent in the non-Russian republics ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" or "defamation of the Soviet Union"), Solzhenitsyn's international reputation has so far prevented the Kremlin from prosecuting him.

Some possible long-term effects of Decree 133 and Soviet membership in the Universal Copyright Convention are already being suggested.

Alan Schwartz, a lawyer and a contributing editor to *Publishers Weekly* (a U.S. publishing-industry trade journal) wrote in the *New York Times* March 10: "The Soviets will attempt to appeal to the profit motive of the [foreign] publishers . . . to persuade certain publishers . . . to forgo the publication of banned Soviet works in exchange for preferential publishing arrangements with Soviet publishers, thereby punishing economically those [foreign] publishers who continue to supply Western readers with works of banned Soviet writers. Of course the [Kremlin rulers] believe in, and in fact depend upon, our frequent inability to allow matters of principle to obstruct the path of commercial enterprise. Will they be right?"

Anthony Astrachan, writing in the March 23 *Washington Post*, provided an answer to Schwartz's question. While Roger Straus Jr., Solzhenitsyn's U.S. publisher, stated that "he would continue to publish the Nobel prize-winner's works no matter what Soviet law might say—unless it put Solzhenitsyn's life, liberty or family in danger," other U.S. publishers that Astrachan contacted took a somewhat different position. "Publishers who have made deals with Soviet state publishing houses said they would be in a real dilemma if confronted with a

Continued on page WO3

A setback for the Kremlin's anti-Solzhenitsyn campaign

By Naomi Allen

The former wife of Nobel Prize winner Alexander Solzhenitsyn has disclaimed a statement attributed to her and published on the Op-Ed page of the March 9 *New York Times*, attacking the novelist. In the retraction, Natalya Reshetovskaya accused the official Soviet news agency Novosti of "distorting the gist" of her actual statement. The spurious statement was issued as part of a government slander campaign against Solzhenitsyn coinciding with the publication of his contraband novel *August 1914* in the West and with his 18-month-long divorce suit.

The process that culminated in Reshetovskaya's retraction began when an official Novosti agency attack on Solzhenitsyn, signed by one Semyon Vladimirov and printed in the *Times* on Jan. 8, suggested the novelist lived an affluent and somewhat debauched existence. This in turn was a response to offers by several Western writers to furnish Solzhenitsyn financial aid, after he described his financial situation as "desperate." (Solzhenitsyn is not permitted to publish or teach in

the Soviet Union. He is also unable to collect his Nobel Prize award money or the sizable royalties due him for publication of his books in the West.)

Vladimirov's attack snidely asserted, "At a closer look, Solzhenitsyn's 'housing problem' disappears like a soap bubble. If the writer gets bored with his white birch idyll he may . . . go to the city of Ryazan, located near Moscow. There his first wife . . . is waiting for him in his two-bedroom flat which he received from the state. But if he doesn't feel like staying far from Moscow he may get there in three hours and join his second wife . . . in the comfortable four-bedroom flat in Gorky Street. . . ."

"However, Solzhenitsyn prefers to live in other people's homes and continue to persuade the world that he has 'neither house nor home.'"

The Jan. 8 attack prompted a response from geneticist Zhores Medvedev, a leading Soviet dissident currently in England. In an article in the Feb. 26 *Times*, Medvedev described Solzhenitsyn's actual plight and sarcastically refuted the accusations in the Novosti article:

"This really looks like luxury, even



Solzhenitsyn with his wife Natalya Svetlova and their son.

for official Soviet writers. . . .

"The answer is simple enough. . . . 'Everybody knows that Solzhenitsyn has not received a 'Moscow resident permit'. . . and Vladimirov certainly understands that if the writer came to live with his 'real' wife . . . in her four-room flat (but not four-bedroom flat—where she lives with her three sons and her father and mother) for a period of more than two-three days, he would be fined for the first offense and sentenced in the case of repeated violation of this police rule.' Medvedev also pointed out that the 'white

birch idyll' is an unheated one-room shack.

In answer, Novosti gave the *Times* an article alleged to be by Reshetovskaya. The article reiterated Vladimirov's charges, accused Solzhenitsyn of "parading his adultery" at the divorce trial, and threatened ominously to publish part of her memoirs to tell "the truth about Solzhenitsyn" and to answer "fabrications" in the Western press.

After she saw the printed version, Reshetovskaya wrote to the Novosti agency to retract the statement. In her

Continued on page WO3

Union officials negotiate behind closed doors

Why secret contract talks hurt workers

By FRANK LOVELL

Secrecy is the common feature of the series of closed-door negotiations now under way in several major industries. Wage settlements that are expected to fix the incomes of about five million workers during the next two or three years are under discussion. These settlements are all pattern-setters and will therefore also affect millions of workers not directly covered by the contracts in this present round of union-management negotiations.

In most cases government mediators insist on the secrecy, arguing that strikes are more easily avoided if the course of negotiations and the issues in dispute are not known or debated by the workers whose future is being decided.

railroads running.

The widely hailed "rail settlement" is nothing more than a holding operation to keep wages in check, preclude a strike this year, and prevent future action by rail workers in defense of lost jobs and working conditions.

● **Steel.** On March 29 Steelworkers President I. W. Abel and Vice-chairman of U. S. Steel R. Heath Larry, revealed the details of a deal that had been two years in the making: an agreement to eliminate strikes. The union does not give up the right to strike and it does not submit to compulsory arbitration. It only agrees in advance not to exercise the right to strike and to "voluntarily" submit all disputes to binding arbitration.

There is a fine distinction here but

Electric Corporation and a Coordinated Bargaining Committee of 13 unions headed by the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers. Since then there have been no reports from either side. Both say a strike is unlikely.

The unions have agreed to extend the current contracts beyond the May 26 deadline if no settlement is reached.

● **Auto.** Here negotiations are continuous, but the formal stage of precontract talks opens in August. By that time most of the details of the new contract will already have been agreed to, based partly upon settlements in the rubber and electrical industries.

The auto union is demanding a revision and strengthening of its cost-of-living clause. But UAW officials have undertaken no joint effort with unions in the rubber and electrical industries to make this the central economic issue at this time of rapidly rising prices.

● **Utilities.** On April 2 officials of Utility Workers Union of America Local 1-2, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3 accepted a contract covering 17,800 workers at the Consolidated Edison Company in New York City. The present average hourly wage at Con Edison is \$5.28 an hour. The new two-year contract calls for an increase of 7.1 percent for the first 12 months and 7.3 percent for the following 13 months. There is no cost-of-living clause.

Part of the deal is a request to the New York Public Service Commission from Con Edison for a rate boost of \$212-million a year. Charles Luce, Con Edison chairman, says the company will need rate increases of 8 to 10 percent annually to keep up with the current rate on inflation.

● **Printing.** Nine printing-trades unions are currently negotiating with newspaper publishers in New York City. Union contracts expired at the end of March, but union officials agreed to "suspend the clock," thus avoiding strike action. The Mailers union reached a settlement before the strike deadline for slightly more than 5.5 percent annual increases in a three-year contract.

The issue at stake in the printing industry is automated equipment that will eliminate thousands of jobs. Bertram Powers, president of New York Typographical Union No. 6, has indicated that the unions are willing to accept the new printing processes but want some measures of job protection.

There is little effort by the printing-trades unions to organize the non-union sector of the industry and reduce the workday to create more jobs. Instead they continue to seek private deals with a constantly shrinking

number of publishers, giving ground from one contract to the next.

In every industry the union officialdom is on the defensive, trying to continue the old relations they once enjoyed with the employers. The complacent attitudes of the union bureaucrats are conditioned by their entire experience of the past 20 years. They know hard times are upon them, but they harbor the hope that if they can hang on for a while the political climate will change and unemployment and inflation will go away.

Record profits and sky-high inflation

The employers are now enjoying greater profits than ever before, and workers see no reason why their wages should be held in check while prices go sky high.



UAW's Leonard Woodcock (right) enjoying the company of Earl Bramlett, General Motors' vice-president of personnel management.



Militant/Joel Aber

Section of Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar march on Washington. Secret negotiations facilitate 'easy settlements' that offer workers no protection against soaring cost of living.

The industries where secret deals have already been made or are in the making include railroad, steel, trucking, rubber, electrical, auto, utilities, and printing.

The secret deals that have been worked out in the first stage under these circumstances and then sprung on union members, hoping to catch them unaware, are damaging to wages and working conditions, and to the entire union movement. They are clearly the work not only of clever company and government operators but also of collusive union officials.

Some details have been revealed, and in some instances union members are told to take package settlements that contain little more than a no-strike pledge. Membership ratification is out of style. Treasury Secretary George Shultz said a few years ago when he was head of the Labor Department that it is undemocratic to let union members vote on wage settlements. He thinks now it would be bad for the economy.

The workers are given no choice on some settlements and are kept in the dark on others.

Only 4 percent

● **The railroad industry.** On March 13 the major railroads and representatives of 14 rail unions announced that a settlement of sorts had been reached on wages and pensions. It turned out that the wage settlement provides for a 4 percent annual increase through 1974. The future of railroad pensions will be determined by Congress sometime next year, maybe. Meanwhile rail lines are being abandoned while Congress debates whether—and if so, how—to keep the

no difference. Either way it means no strike, which is what the steel companies are demanding.

● **Trucking.** Secret deals between officials of the Teamsters union and trucking firms are no innovation. What is new is an agreement between the Chicago Local 705 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the 15,000-member independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union to accept the terms of the IBT master contract when it is negotiated in July.

Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons depends on his political alliance with the Nixon administration and expects that the services he renders to the government will pay off in acceptable wage concessions to truck drivers.

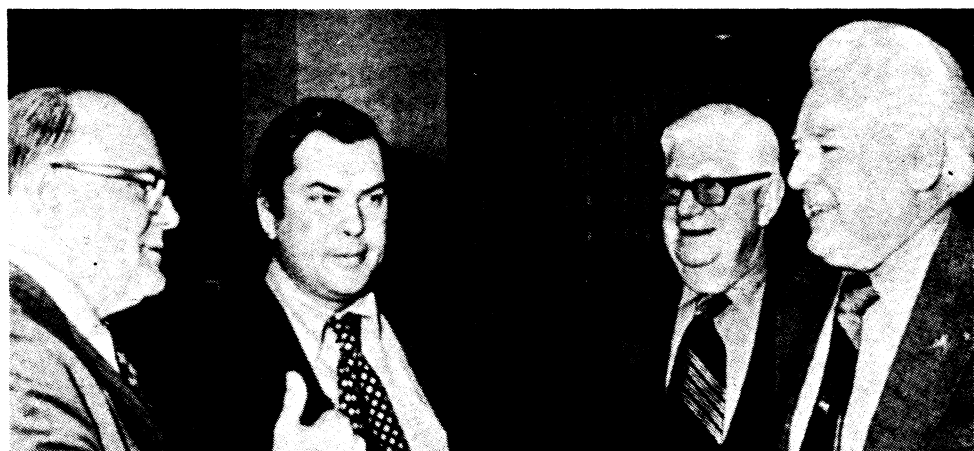
Members of the IBT will not learn what form this will take until Fitzsimmons announces the terms of their new contract.

● **Rubber.** The contract expires April 20 and the only information available to members of the United Rubber Workers is leaked by the employers. The *Wall Street Journal* reported April 10 that "both union and management bargainers are aware that there are political as well as economic realities this year, which is one reason for the optimistic outlook for a quick settlement."

One of the URW demands is a cost-of-living clause that will keep wages abreast of rising prices. But this is not widely publicized, nor has URW sought support from other unions to win this crucial demand.

Contracts extended

● **Electrical.** Negotiations began March 22 between the giant General



Labor

C.L. Dennis (left), president of Railway and Airline Clerks, chats with Labor Secretary Peter Brennan (right), while company representative William Dempsey (second from left) looks on. All three have hailed new rail settlement, which is nothing more than holding operation to keep down wages and avoid strikes.

A Militant Interview

Luis Fuentes & the fight for community-controlled schools in New York Dist. 1

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK—On May 1, voters will elect nine-member boards in the 32 community school districts throughout the city. It is in the Lower East Side's District 1 that the election campaign is most intensive, and it is in that district that the most is at stake.

Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese activists in District 1 are struggling to reelect a slate of eight community-control supporters—against a well-funded campaign on the part of the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers to regain control of that district.

A central debate within this race is whether the controversial superintendent in that district—Luis Fuentes, a longtime advocate of community control—should be retained. As reported in *The Militant* last week, Fuentes was cleared by the Broderick commission (a commission appointed by the New York City schools chancellor) of charges of racism.

Recently I interviewed Fuentes in his office in Junior High School 71 at Avenue B and 6th Street. (Fuentes is the first District 1 superintendent to have an office centrally located in the Lower East Side.) His office defies the unapproachability one would expect from an administrator, and a steady stream of parents, paraprofessionals, and students came in while we were talking.

As we started the interview, an aide handed Fuentes a copy of *New York Teacher*, a UFT newspaper. Fuentes grabbed it. "I bet I've got a page in here," he said. Leafing rapidly through the pages, he found what he was looking for—a lengthy article headed "UFT Charges District 1's Fuentes with Improper Acts on School Vote."

The article accused Fuentes of "intimidating" District 1 paraprofessionals into buying tickets to a fund-raising dinner for the current board, and "forcing" them to participate in parent registration drives.

Putting it down, Fuentes picked up an article clipped from that day's *New York Times*, citing a lack of interest city-wide in registering to vote for the May 1 election. "It's up to us to inject enthusiasm into this," he said impatiently. A community worker, involved in campaigning for the pro-community-control candidates, stopped at Fuentes's desk to remind him that he was to go on a "walking tour" of the Lower East side that night, urging parents to register to vote.

'I grew up in El Barrio'

I asked Fuentes about his background and what he had done before coming to District 1. He grew up on East Harlem's ("El Barrio") 117th Street. His parents were from Puerto Rico, and he spoke only Spanish until he entered school. His family later moved to Brooklyn, where Fuentes attended Harren High School (and was a classmate of New York Congressman Herman Badillo).

Although he had done well until then, Fuentes was an "underachiever" in high school and dropped out. "I just wasn't that interested," he explained. "It was the beginning of World War II, and there were plenty of job opportunities. My mind was turning towards the world of work and economic independence."

After working for a while, Fuentes entered the Marine Corps and received a war diploma. Two years later, he was discharged—in the state of Georgia. On the GI Bill, he entered

the University of Georgia. When he received his two-year certificate, he took a teaching job in Savannah.

He moved on to become the principal of a rural school outside Savannah. In addition to his duties as principal, Fuentes taught grades four through seven, drove the school bus, taught night classes to veterans, and continued to study for his B.S. degree.

Since this was before the 1954 school desegregation decision, the school excluded Blacks. I asked Fuentes whether, as a Puerto Rican, he was the victim of racism. "None whatsoever," he replied emphatically. "Most people there had never heard of what a Puerto Rican was."

After receiving his degree in elemen-

and moved to New York City, where he was sure he could get a job as a bilingual educator.

Ocean Hill-Brownsville

This did not turn out to be the case, however. The board of education refused to regard his experience as "credible," and he ended up spending the next seven years as a reading specialist on Long Island. Then newspaper accounts of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental demonstration district drew him to apply for a job there, and in 1967 he was hired by Rhody McCoy as principal of PS 155.

Fuentes once again plunged into developing a bilingual program. De-

Spanish. For the first time, children were proud of being Puerto Rican."

Fuentes was also in the center of the struggle with the UFT bureaucracy, which called a teachers strike in 1968 in an attempt to close down the experimental district. According to Fuentes, the major issues in that dispute were "who the schools were responsible to" and whether "the UFT should control the community or the community control the schools."

Meanwhile, parents in District 1 had carried out a successful struggle to remove the superintendent there, and demanded that the board appoint Fuentes to take the position. The chairwoman of the school board had rhetorically stated that the district needed a Puerto Rican as its head administrator, believing no qualified person existed.

Despite the fact that "the people of District 1 were determined not to rest until they had a superintendent they could relate to, a superintendent of their own choosing," the board refused to hire Fuentes.

In August of 1971, Fuentes was removed from his position at PS 155 under the pretense that he was being "promoted" to the district office. Fuentes claims this maneuver was part of a purge carried out of leading figures in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle when the schools in that district were absorbed into District 23 under the decentralization plan.

Refusing to accept the "promotion," Fuentes left the school system and went to work for RCA, managing one of its Job Corps Centers. There he worked with other victims of the New York City educational system—Black and Puerto Rican high school dropouts—helping them get jobs.

Meanwhile, a majority of the school board in District 1, through a number of resignation, co-optations, and position changes, had become supporters of community control. In July 1972, they hired Fuentes as superintendent. In District 1, 84 percent of the children read below their grade level. Although 73 percent of the children are Puerto Rican, there were only six Puerto Rican teachers out of a staff of 1,000.

Fuentes immediately moved to begin to bridge the language and cultural gap by hiring bilingual teachers, administrators, and paraprofessionals. His strategy was to make the teaching staff accountable to the community's parents.

The changes he brought about in the district's schools rapidly caused Fuentes to become one of the most besieged figures in New York politics. All three major papers in New York City ran editorials attacking him. The Anti-Defamation League and the Italian American Civil Rights League demanded his removal on the grounds that he was a "racist."

Shanker's attacks

The most scurrilous attacks have come from the UFT leadership. On several occasions, UFT President Albert Shanker has singled Fuentes out for attack in his weekly "Where We Stand" column (a paid advertisement) in the *New York Times*. Shanker has accused Fuentes of hiring his staff under an "ethnic quota system" and of using patronage.

I asked Fuentes what he thinks of this charge. "It's nonsense," he said. "I have a commitment to hire community people who will be responsi-

Continued on page 22



Bertram Beck Lyle Brown Pedro Cordero Georgina Hoggard



Henry Ramos Eric Snyder Frank Suarez Jane Tam

DEFEND FUENTES
VOTE FOR THE
COMMUNITY CONTROL CANDIDATES ON MAY 1

APOYA A FUENTES
VOTA POR LOS CANDIDATOS QUE APOYAN EL CONTROL
DE LAS ESCUELAS POR LA COMUNIDAD
MAYO 1

擁護富安達先生
五月一號請投支持地方分權者一票

Part of campaign poster of District 1 community-control slate

tary education, Fuentes moved to Florida. It was there, not in New York, that he first became involved in bilingual education. In addition to working with Cubans there, Fuentes was an itinerant teacher, traveling with Spanish-speaking migrant workers from Florida to Texas.

He helped develop bilingual teaching aides using television and radio. Florida legislation required teachers to expose Spanish-speaking pupils to two such special lessons per week. "No other school system in the country was so involved," Fuentes claims.

His pioneering work in bilingual education led the Rotary Club to offer Fuentes a scholarship to the University of Havana, but the Cuban revolution took place that year. Instead, the Rotarians sent Fuentes to Isla Vista, Calif., to set up a bilingual program there.

A family illness forced Fuentes to move back to Georgia where he again became a principal. When he attempted to implement bilingual programs there, however, he was "severely criticized." He finished his Masters degree at Mercer University in Macon, Ga.,

scribing the fantastic success of the program, he told me: "For the first time, parents were given a chance to participate in what was going on in the schools. For the first time, the community had teachers who spoke their languages."

"For the first time, parents could be involved in their kids' education since most of the homework came home in



Luis Fuentes

Unionists back NY Dist. 1 community slate

By REBECCA FINCH

NEW YORK, April 17 — Two important developments marked the campaign to win Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of schools in District 1 this week.

The executive board of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees endorsed seven of the eight pro-community-control members of the school board in District 1 who are candidates for the May 1 elections. (One candidate was unable to appear before them.)

The community-control slate also received the endorsement of the Teacher's Action Caucus of the United Federation of Teachers in District 1. These two endorsements help counter UFT President Albert Shanker's charges of anti-unionism against District 1 Superintendent Luis Fuentes and the District 1 school board.

The Board of Elections has certified all eight pro-community-control candidates for ballot status. Attorneys for the UFT-endorsed slate are now challenging the petitions in the New York State Supreme Court. A ruling on the challenge may not come until shortly before the May 1 elections. Lawyers for the community-control slate have filed counter challenges, which they will withdraw if the UFT slate drops its case.

The Coalition for Education in District 1, one of the groups supporting the community-control slate, has put out posters, stickers, and brochures in three languages, and is now organizing campaign blitzes to distribute them. On April 15, a motorcade drove through the community distributing the literature and flags that read, "Vote May 1! Por los Ninos! Por Control Comunal!" (For the Children! For Community Control!)

The UFT-endorsed slate has also been distributing its literature. Its demagogic theme is "Stop racism — return our schools to our community." Eight of their nine candidates are white; one is Black, none are Puerto Rican.

All but two of the pro-community-control slate are Black, Puerto Rican, or Chinese. Seventy-three percent of the students in District 1 are Puerto Rican. Fifteen percent are Black. Eight percent are Chinese.

The UFT-endorsed slate has intervened in the law suit for a bilingual ballot that was initiated by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws and the District 1 school board. UFT attorneys are arguing that translators are not needed at the polls and that if they are placed at the polls, they should not be allowed to approach any person unless they are specifically asked for translation assistance. Arguments on the case will be heard next week.

Statewide child care protest set in Oregon

PORTLAND, Ore. — Parents and other day-care activists here are organizing protests against the federal government's attempts to cut back day-care funds.

Some 70 percent of the Oregon families currently using public day-care will be dropped if Nixon's proposed cutbacks go into effect. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) is scheduled to reveal its final day-care eligibility rules by May 1.

The Coalition for Child Care here has called a statewide rally on April 26 at Portland State University. Speakers will include Fred Stickney of Community-Coordinated Child Care; Judy Stranahan from the PSU Committee for Child Care; and a representative of the Indian-Migrant Coalition.

The rally will begin at 8 p.m. in

the ballroom at the Smith Memorial Center.

The coalition is organizing an 11 a.m. picket line at the state capitol building in Salem the next day, April 27. The state legislature is currently debating a child development bill, and parents are demanding state funds to keep the day-care centers open.

For more information, contact the PSU Committee for Child Care, Room 422, SMC Building, Portland State University. Telephone: (503) 229-4474.



Militant/Howard Petrick

WONAAC hits attacks on abortion right in NY

APRIL 5 — In response to new anti-abortion bills in the New York State legislature, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) testified at hearings in Albany today.

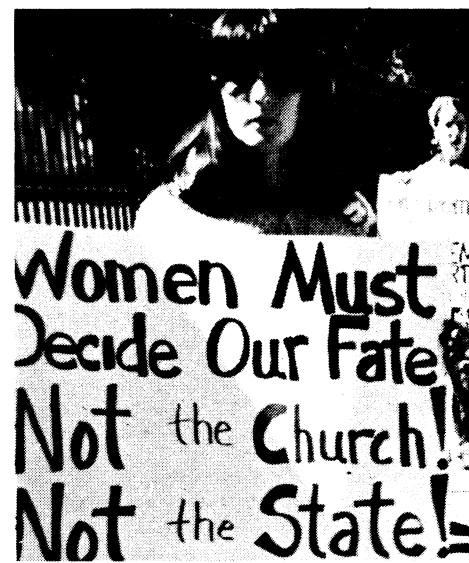
The hearings centered on a package of bills submitted by State Senator James Donovan, who cosponsored a bill last year to repeal the state's liberalized abortion law. Donovan's new bills call for funding of counseling cen-

ters for pregnant women, aid to victims of birth defects, and grants to those who adopt children, as well as other measures. The intent of the bills, as the April 6 *New York Times* put it, is to "discourage elective abortions" through bills that "encourage women to carry their pregnancies to full term."

Speaking for WONAAC, Karen Stamm explained, "Because we do not advocate abortion for women, but rather advocate choice, we fully support all efforts to inform and aid women in making and carrying out whichever course each individual woman chooses."

However, Stamm noted that "of all the choices open to women, that of an abortion is still the most shrouded in prejudice and most restricted. . . ." The most pressing task of the state legislature at this time, she said, is to enforce the Supreme Court abortion ruling, provide more funds for abortion clinics, and oppose cutbacks for abortion facilities. She also called on the legislature to pass Bill 842, which would remove age restrictions on the use of contraceptives.

In her closing remarks, Stamm expressed WONAAC's opposition to a bill that would give the state health commissioner further duties in regard to the "protection of the yet unborn and living young." WONAAC feels the bill cuts across the Supreme Court decision that the fetus cannot be considered a "person." Stamm warned that passage of this bill "would be regarded as a precedent for again restricting the rights of the woman in the guise of 'protecting the yet unborn and living young citizens.'"



Militant/Betsy Whittaker

Firsthand report on repression in Israel

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK — In 1965 Denis Collet spent three months in Israel, where he considered going to school. He spent time with his cousin Rami. They worked together on a kibbutz, hiked together, and traveled around the country.

On March 12 of this year, Collet, who is now 24 and an air-conditioning mechanic here in New York, visited his cousin again. This time however, it was not on a kibbutz but in Ramleh prison. Rami Livneh is charged with having met with Ahmad Haldi, an alleged agent of Fateh, in 1970, and with not having denounced Haldi to the Israeli authorities.

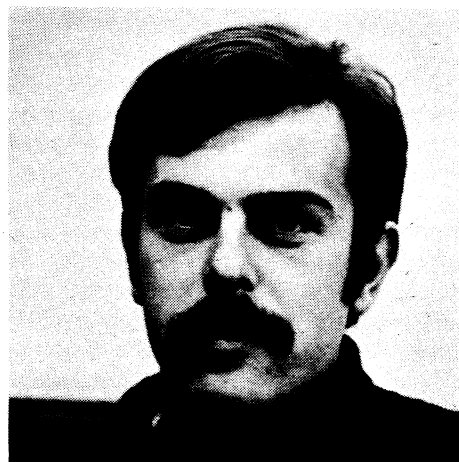
I asked Collet if Rami had made any statement on the charges against him. "First of all," Collet answered, "he was forced to sign a confession admitting to these charges. He retracted the statement when he came in front of the judge, and claimed that the confession was extracted through the use of torture. His trial is set for May 25."

Collet says that when he saw Livneh in prison his cousin "confirmed, although he wasn't able to speak freely, that he had been tortured, and that since the publicity in Israel concern-

ing his case he has been treated better."

Livneh is in a more fortunate position than the more than 50 others who have been arrested since December in the so-called Israeli spy trial. His father, Avraham Levenbraun, is one of the two members of the Knesset (parliament) of the pro-Moscow Communist Party. As a result, his case has been better publicized than may have otherwise been the case.

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights placed two advertisements in *Ha'aretz*, the major Israeli newspaper, denouncing the torture used



Denis Collet

Militant/Flax Hermes

against the defendants in the "spy trial." One of these advertisements was signed by more than 100 lawyers, professors, political activists, students, writers, and others. The other refuted police claims that not only had they not tortured any of the defendants, but that they never used such methods. In fact, the minister of police, Shlomo Hillel, even claimed that "the suspects did not complain to their lawyers" about the beatings and tortures.

A statement opposed to the torture circulated in France has been signed by figures such as Charles Bettelheim, Jean-Paul Sartre, Maxime Rodinson, Laurent Schwartz, Ernest Mandel, and others. A similar statement, which was sent to the Israeli press but not published, was signed by a number of Israeli citizens living in the U.S., and Noam Chomsky, among others.

I asked Collet why he said that his cousin had been unable to speak freely. He explained that "there were guards on either side of Rami, within less than three feet. During prior visits he had been taken away when he began to speak of details about his treatment."

Collet pointed out that his cousin was a socialist and an anti-Zionist,

and that he supported none of the regimes in the Middle East. The accusation against Livneh is based only on his failure to inform on an alleged agent. "It's designed to intimidate people, to discourage contact between Jews and Arabs in Israel, and to prevent their participation in common organizations," Collet charged.

"Any time somebody gets together with an Arab the government can claim he's been working with a Fateh agent. The Israeli regime claims that refugee camps are really guerrilla bases—it's not far from that to the claim that any Arab who opposes Zionism is an agent. So the safe thing is just not to discuss anything with an Arab."

"The real question posed by the case is whether Rami has the right to speak with individuals about the problems of the Palestinian Arabs without being considered a spy," Collet concluded. "He's being tried for his political activity and ideas, not for any secret spying or underground activity."

Collet hopes to get the American press to cover some of these issues now that he is back from Israel, and he plans to speak on his cousin's case wherever he can.

Scherr hits Ohio bill on forced sterilization

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, April 14—"This bill is aimed at poor Black women on welfare, who are now placed at the mercy of the state for the 'crimes' of being poor and having children. The government has absolutely no right to pass any legislation restricting the right of women to control their own bodies and lives."

These were the words of Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, in a statement denouncing a proposal introduced into the Ohio House of Representatives that would force women on welfare to be sterilized if they had more than two illegitimate children.

In calling for the defeat of the Bill, Scherr explained, "The recent Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion has made it clear that the state has no right to interfere with the reproductive lives of women. This has been the position of the women's liberation

movement all along. Now, however, the so-called right-to-life groups are still trying to introduce restrictive abortion laws and to perpetuate the oppression of women. This bill is a part of this campaign."

Scherr called for "no forced sterilization" and said the city should establish free birth control and abortion clinics open to all women. In addition, she called on the city to construct day-care centers to be controlled by those who use them.

In other campaign developments this week, Scherr testified in support of the Equal Rights Amendment before an Ohio State Senate hearing in Columbus on April 10. She also spoke on a panel on "Women and Politics" at Cleveland State University, to two classes at Roxboro Junior High School, and at hearings on the federal budget of the Northeastern Ohio Congressional Conference.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Cleveland SWP mayoral candidate Roberta Scherr files 6,900 signatures to secure ballot status. Scherr was the first to file in the mayoral race.

Court suits seek Calif., Texas ballot rights

APRIL 18—The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) has petitioned the U. S. Supreme Court for permission to argue against the excessive signature requirement for placing independent candidates on the California ballot. If its petition is approved, CoDEL will file a "friend of the court" brief in support of a suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Gus Hall, 1972 presidential candidate of the Communist Party, and two independent candidates.

The suit now before the high court argues against the short (23 day) period for collecting more than 300,000 signatures and certain restrictions on who may sign nominating petitions, but not against the high number of signatures itself. On Sept. 8, 1972, a three-judge federal court

upheld the requirements as necessary "to discourage the confusion of a proliferation of candidates and a laundry list ballot."

Ron Reosti, CoDEL legal director, said CoDEL will argue that the requirement for more than 300,000 signatures is itself unconstitutional, since it effectively closes the ballot to independent candidates.

The Supreme Court has also agreed to review a lower court decision upholding the Texas ballot requirements for smaller parties. The Socialist Workers Party, the Texas Raza Unida Party, the Texas New Party, and the American Party of Texas had all challenged the Texas election code in 1972. An appeal from the lower court ruling on these challenges is being brought by the Texas Civil Liberties Union.

Texas law places many restrictions in the way of ballot access, including requirements that signature collectors be notary publics and that county and state conventions be held to nominate candidates.

"The Supreme Court decision," Reosti told *The Militant*, "to agree to review the constitutionality of both the California and Texas laws is very significant. The court's ruling on these cases may well establish the framework for rulings on independent and smaller party ballot rights for some time to come."

CoDEL needs contributions to cover the costs of this and other election law cases. Donations can be sent to CoDEL, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness tells reporters about her CoDEL-supported fight to get on Ohio ballot in 1972.

Campaigning for Socialism

'SPECTRE OF A SOCIALIST' STILL HAUNTING AUSTIN DEMOCRAT

Remember Dick Nichols, Austin Democrat and city council member? Nichols told the press that the "spectre of a self-proclaimed socialist" (SWP candidate for city council Jim Burfeind) winning his seat was a major factor causing him to run for reelection. Well, although Nichols came in first with 49.74 percent of the votes in Austin's April 7 election, he was forced into a May 5 runoff with his liberal Democratic Party opponent Bob Binder. The reason? Jim Burfeind's 1,073 votes (1.76 percent of the total) prevented either Democratic Party candidate from winning a required majority in the first round.

Nichols told the April 10 *Austin American* that he was "not surprised" at the votes garnered by his socialist opponent.

'IF YOU SUPPORT THE STRIKE, WE'LL TAKE AWAY YOUR MIKE'

Atlanta SWP mayoral candidate Debby Bustin has made support for the striking workers at Rich's department stores an important part of her campaign. Bustin and her supporters have played an important role in mobilizing students and others to support the Rich's picket line.



Debby Bustin supports Black strikers in Atlanta.

On Saturday, April 14, Bustin and Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, appeared on a TV talk show to speak about Bustin's mayoral race. They were told that they could not mention the Rich's strike, and the moderator threatened to take away their microphones if they continued to discuss the strike.

The television stations, like Atlanta's two major daily newspapers, are heavily dependent upon Rich's for advertising and are trying to limit news of the strike.

Despite these threats, Bustin, as she has in all her TV and radio appearances, insisted on discussing the strike and called for support for the just demands of the striking Rich's workers.

PHILADELPHIA SWP, CP CANDIDATES PROTEST LOYALTY OATH

Candidates for public office in Philadelphia are required by city officials to sign a loyalty oath in order to have their nominating petitions accepted for ballot status. When SWP candidates Bruce Kaufman for district attorney and Harvey McArthur for city controller filed their 14,276 signatures for ballot status, they signed the oath under protest. The April 3 *Philadelphia Tribune* reported that McArthur and Kaufman explained, "We are signing this oath under pro-

test. . . . It violates our constitutional beliefs . . . and it violates the rights of the people of Philadelphia by restricting the range of political positions presented in the election."

Communist Party candidate for city controller in Philadelphia, Bill Crawford, also filed nominating petitions that day. The *Philadelphia Tribune*, explaining that "in the past, candidates of the two major political parties have often charged that Communist candidates could not in good conscience sign a loyalty oath to the U. S. Constitution," asked Crawford why he had signed the oath.

"I can sign this oath in all honesty," Crawford explained to the *Tribune*. "The Communist Party has no desire or intention to overthrow the Constitution through violence or any other means."

"On the contrary, our party campaigns and works to extend the democratic processes set forth in the Constitution and Bill of Rights in their broadest application."

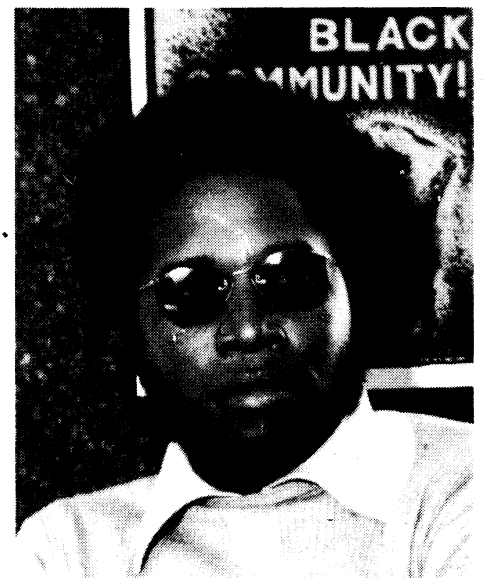
"Long experience has shown, however, that loyalty oaths have been used in our country and elsewhere to limit freedom of speech and access to the ballot. We Communists therefore oppose all such loyalty oaths, and I have signed this particular one under strong protest."

SOCIALIST RALLY IN PHILADELPHIA

Seventy-five supporters of Philadelphia SWP candidates Bruce Kaufman and Harvey McArthur attended a banquet and rally on Friday, April 13. Speakers included: Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; Len Lear, a staff writer for the *Philadelphia Tribune*; and Jack McKinney, an Irish activist and columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News*. More than \$1360 was donated to help the campaign.

RAZA STUDENT UNION ENDORSES LEWIS FOR OAKLAND SCHOOL BOARD

On April 10, James Lewis, SWP candidate for Oakland school board, spoke to a membership meeting of the Raza Student Union at Merritt College in Oakland. Lewis explained why he thinks the attempts of mayoral candidate and Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale to run as a Democrat represent



James Lewis wins support of Raza students.

a dead end for the Black and Chicano community in Oakland. Lewis contrasted the program of the SWP for independent political action with the Seale campaign. Following his talk, the Raza Student Union unanimously endorsed his campaign.

—PETER SEIDMAN

Oliver tours N.Y. vets center

Vietnam vets hit by unemployment, racism

By GINNY HILDEBRAND

NEW YORK, April 13—Mayor John Lindsay and other Democratic and Republican party politicians recently did their part to echo President Nixon's claim that Vietnam veterans have come home with "honor." March 31 was officially declared "Home with Honor Day" in New York City and was highlighted by a Fifth Avenue parade.

In contrast to the pomp and circumstance of his Democratic and Republican opponents, Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, visited the Vietnam Veterans Assistance Center today to talk with young men who feel the parade has passed them by.

Oliver distributed a special leaflet, "End the Plight of Vietnam Veterans," which explained that the U.S. objectives in Vietnam were not honorable. The socialist mayoral candidate also stated that there is no honor in the high unemployment, racial discrimination, and cutbacks in meager veterans' educational and disability payments confronting thousands of veterans who were forced to fight in Vietnam.

Oliver visited the Vietnam Veterans Assistance Center in downtown Brooklyn, which was set up when the unemployed Vietnam era vets became

too much for the general Veterans Administration offices to handle. Forty-five thousand of New York's 300,000 Vietnam era veterans are unemployed.

Of these, 4,500 collect welfare payments from this special center, which processes only those with honorable discharges. Those with less than honorable discharges, three-quarters of whom are Black and Puerto Rican, must join the ranks of the nearly 1.5 million New Yorkers enrolled in the city's welfare system.

John Hickman, a young Black former Air Force buck sergeant, typified the frustrations of unemployment and the feeling that military training counts for nothing in a shrinking job market.

"I was a jet mechanic," he told Oliver, "so I figured that as soon as I got out I could get a job. The first thing they cracked was 'do you have any outside experience?' But you can't get outside experience unless someone hires you, right? With this POW stuff, they're trying to show they're really interested in veterans . . . that's good to show on TV. But come on down to the facts and do something for them," he demanded.

All the vets Oliver spoke to decried the racism they encountered both in the service and out. One Puerto Rican

vet told of officers who demanded Puerto Rican soldiers speak "only English in the Army" when they conversed informally.

Not one of the veterans queried felt the Vietnam war had an "honorable purpose." Raymond Nieves, a former infantryman, told Oliver, "As far as the war in Vietnam, I really didn't see any sense in it."

Referring to the SWP campaign leaflet, Nieves agreed with the plank demanding the U.S. get totally out of Southeast Asia. "We're still there," he said. "The way it's going now I guess we're going to have another war in Cambodia . . . whether it's really going to help us or not."

Oliver's campaign was well received. During his discussions with the veterans he emphasized the planks in the SWP program calling for an end to military spending and turning the \$82-billion in the U.S. military budget to meet human needs; the launching of a public works program and the reduction of the workweek to provide jobs; preferential hiring for members of oppressed national minorities; priority funds to the Black and Puerto Rican communities under the control of those communities; and open admissions at the City University with free education for all.

Interest in Oliver's campaign is not confined to New York City alone. He spoke to close to 100 people at Cornell University on April 11. The meeting was cosponsored by the Ithaca Young Socialist Alliance and Ujamaa Residential College, the Black student group at Cornell. On April 13, Oliver was the keynote speaker at the opening session of Black Emphasis Weekend, organized by Hyera, the Black student organization at Drew University in Madison, N.J.



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Norman Oliver: vets told him that Lindsay's parade had passed them by.

'Home with honor?'

A socialist program for Vietnam-era vets

The following statement by Norman Oliver, addressed to Vietnam veterans, is being distributed in New York by the Socialist Workers Party campaign committee.

President Nixon has said that Vietnam veterans have come home "with honor."

Where is the "honor" for Vietnam veterans when the U.S. role in Vietnam itself was not honorable? The Vietnam war was fought to try to prevent the Vietnamese people from controlling their country and their lives. Millions suffered death or mutilation to protect the dictatorial regime of President Thieu.

And the U.S. is not "out" of Vietnam yet; the government continues to support the repressive Thieu regime financially and militarily to secure Vietnam for exploitation by large U.S. corporations and banks at the expense of the rights of the Vietnamese.

The Socialist Workers Party Demands:

- Total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces and equipment from Southeast Asia.

- End all financial and military support to the Thieu regime.

Where is the "honor" in a "peace time" military budget of \$82-billion in the face of drastic cutbacks in money for education, health care, and other social services? Military spending represents more than 40 percent of Nixon's budget; this war spending is the prime cause of inflation. The maintenance of military might threatens to plunge us into a renewed war in Southeast Asia or another war against our will.

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- Dismantle the war machine and use the \$82-billion to meet human needs.

- Launch a crash program to rebuild our cities and provide jobs.

- Turn these billions into adequate low-income housing, modern transportation systems, adequate education and health care.



Where is the "honor" for the 300,000 Vietnam era veterans in New York City when:

- 45,000 are unemployed, an unemployment rate three times higher than the national average, and even higher for Black and Puerto Rican vets.

- 3,000 are collecting unemployment compensation, which has been cut from 52 to 26 weeks.

- 4,500 are on welfare collected through the NYC Veterans Assistance Center, which processes only those with honorable discharges. Thousands more must get welfare through the degrading NYC welfare system.

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- Jobs for all. Reduce the work week with no reduction in weekly pay to spread the work around.

- Immediately launch a crash program of public works to provide jobs.

- Unemployment compensation for all at union wage scale.

Where is the "honor" for Vietnam vets trying to go to school? The GI Bill allots \$220 per month. In this period of rising costs, this must cover tuition, books, and living expenses.

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- Full open admissions and no tuition at CUNY and SUNY.

- Free education for all.

- Living cost stipends for all who seek a college education.

Where is the "honor" for Vietnam vets seeking medical care? In 1971, the Veterans Administration was forced to reject more than 40 percent of the applications for hospitalization. Only two percent of its patients are Vietnam vets. In 1972, Nixon spent more money for one month of fighting in Vietnam than the total VA budget.

Meanwhile, cutbacks of up to 50

percent of the present disability compensation are being contemplated. A disabled vet whose wife makes more than \$5,000 would no longer be eligible for compensation at all.

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- No cutbacks in veterans disability payments. Adequate payments for all disabled.

- Free quality medical and dental care for everyone.

Where is the "honor" for Black and Puerto Rican Vietnam vets? Blacks and Puerto Ricans served in disproportionate numbers in the infantry and on the front lines. They received the highest percentage of less than honorable discharges and are disproportionately the highest unemployed and on welfare, while fewer attend school.

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- Preferential hiring for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women.

- End racist oppression. Priority city, state, and federal funds to rebuild the ghettos and barrios with funds under control of the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

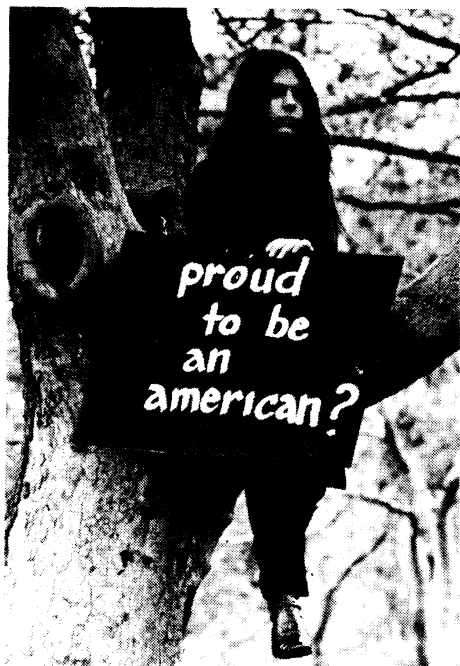
Democratic and Republican party politicians alike sent young men to die in Vietnam. Both parties are responsible for the war and the continued U.S. presence in Southeast Asia. Both parties are responsible for the crisis of life facing working people in the U.S.

This is the richest country in the world with the capacity to provide a good life for all. But the Democratic and Republican parties protect the profit-making of the bankers and corporation owners at the expense of the needs of the working people. These parties are owned and controlled by a tiny handful of the rich, and they run this government in the interests of the rich.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IS RUNNING ON A PROGRAM THAT MEETS THE NEEDS OF THE MAJORITY.

Vote Socialist Workers Party!

Impact of Viet war: protest and struggle at home



Militant/Sue Swope



Militant/John Gray

By CAROLINE LUND

Delia Alvarez, sister of a returned American prisoner of the Vietnam war, told a reporter a few months ago that "in 1964, when my brother was shot down, there was complete faith in the government, the government knew best. The military and the uniform were looked upon with a tremendous amount of respect. All that has changed considerably."

And that's not all that has changed. The POWs captured in the early stages of the war are returning to see for the first time the accumulated, deep-going effects of the Vietnam war on American society. These changes range from the emergence of the women's liberation movement; to the spread of Black, Chicano, and Indian nationalism; to the consciousness of the environment; to long hair and beards; to the changes in sexual morality.

War is a major social convulsion; it always produces many changes. But in the past the American people have been persuaded to support or at least accept the wars its government has waged.

The Vietnam war, on the other hand, came to be opposed by a majority of the American people. It became in a sense a war between the American people and their government in the course of which many basic values and assumptions of U. S. capitalist society were challenged.

'Undermining of authority'

As *New York Times* editor James Reston put it in an article last January, "There has been a sharp decline in respect for authority in the United States as a result of the war—a decline in respect not only for the civil authority of government but also for the moral authority of the schools, the universities, the press, the church and even the family." Later he speaks of a "whole new revolutionary climate in America" produced by the war.

Even before the Vietnam war the process of radicalization in this country had begun with the emergence of the Black struggle in the South in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

When students first began organizing against the war in 1965, many had already absorbed some lessons from the Black movement. But the war—whose effects reached into every sector and aspect of U. S. society—gave a new dimension to the radicalization. For the first time in U. S. history a massive organized antiwar movement grew up right in the midst of a shooting war.

A bartender in Wathena, Kan., was quoted in a *New York Times* article following the signing of the Paris accords on Vietnam as saying: "When I was their age [draft age] everyone was willing to fight for the country. Hell, now everyone has to look at each war and figure out if it's really worth it."

And the more the American people looked at the Vietnam war, the more they found it not worth the lives of their sons, the billions in war spending, and the carnage in Indochina.

Hypocrisy

They saw the hypocrisy of the U. S. government—of both Democratic and Republican administrations—in its attempts to justify the war. While the war was supposed to be assuring freedom and self-determination to the Vietnamese, people saw on TV news the Buddhist monks immolating themselves in 1963 as a protest against the repressive Diem regime. They saw American GIs setting fire to straw huts, and heard the story that Air Force pilots had to "destroy some villages in order to save them." They learned about the antipersonnel weapons, chemical and biological warfare, employed by the U. S.

They read about how American troops had lined up old men, women, and children at Mylai and massacred them.

They learned from the Pentagon papers about how the government has lied all along about its conduct of the war and wants to keep people from knowing the truth about its war policies.

People have to a large extent stopped believing the government, a phenomenon politely termed the "credibility gap." They came to believe the Pentagon was lying about the inflated "enemy" body counts, just as they knew the government was lying when it denied bombing Hanoi's Bach Mai hospital during last December's bombing raids.

Antiwar sentiment became so great that most Americans didn't care if the U. S. "lost" this war. Patriotism was not a popular sentiment. Young



New York nurses in antiwar demonstration May 1970

Militant/Howard Petrick

people began to wear American flags on the seat of their pants and to challenge the need to recite the Pledge of Allegiance in school.

Rooting for the 'enemy'

A *New York Times* survey of views on the war in San Jose, Calif., cited a computer programmer who said he was glad to see American B-52s shot down during the December raids on Hanoi and Haiphong. "It was a funny mixed-up feeling," he said. "You get to rooting for the other side, in a way. You almost feel like you're the bad guy."

But it was not only the government's authority and legitimacy that came to be questioned; another victim of the credibility gap was Congress. "The executive branch is dishonest and the legislative branch is in great measure impotent," a college vice-president told the *Times* reporter. Despite the flurry of verbal protests by the doves at each critical juncture of the war, Congress never exerted its power to cut off funds for the war.

The war has also helped expose the phoniness of "democracy" in this country. A newspaper editor told the *New York Times*, "Ten years ago I could write in an editorial and believe it that citizen participation was important and your vote counted and all that. I don't believe it anymore. It has too hollow a ring, and I can see my teen-agers laughing up their sleeves if they read something like that."

A whole layer of antiwar activists has learned that you cannot bring about social change by simply waiting until the next election to elect someone who reflects your views, or by writing your representative in Congress. What was most effective in forcing U. S. troops out of Vietnam was massive protest action.

The repeated antiwar demonstrations brought out 20,000 in April 1965, 350,000 in two cities in April 1967, 650,000 in two cities in November 1969, hundreds of thousands throughout the country in May 1970, 800,000 in two cities in April 1971, 100,000 in April 1972, and 100,000 in January 1973. They legitimized street demonstrations and set an example that has been copied by other movements that grew up in the 1960s—for example, women's liberation,

gay liberation, the Chicano movement.

The increased legitimacy of protest action was demonstrated in the recent meat boycott. Women who had never participated in a demonstration in their lives picketed their neighborhood supermarket, shouted slogans, and passed out leaflets urging others to join the boycott.

The demonstrations and other activities of the antiwar movement had such an impact on the people of this country that antiwar sentiment came to be openly expressed by U. S. armed forces in Vietnam, who wore peace symbols on their gear and even held demonstrations against the war.

Antiwar soldiers

GI opposition to the war reached such a point that a Marine Corps historian wrote in the June 7, 1971, issue of the *Armed Forces Journal*: "By

every conceivable indicator, our Army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and non-commissioned officers, drug-ridden, and dissipated where not near mutinous."

Black GIs were among the first to question how the U. S. Army could be fighting a war for democracy and self-determination in Vietnam when these principles were so flagrantly denied Black people at home and in the armed services.

Nor were Black people back at home ready to rally to the support of "their country's" war effort. Instead, hostility to the capitalist status quo has deepened among Blacks, as was dramatically expressed in the ghetto revolts that swept the country between 1964 and 1968.

Opposition to the war infected much wider layers than those who participated in the organized demonstrations. While some trade unions actually endorsed and participated in peace marches, many more trade unionists showed their opposition to the war indirectly by refusing to sacrifice for the war. They refused to accept an erosion of their real wages from the war-induced inflation; they went on strike for higher wages all during the war.

Still another casualty of the radicalization produced by the war is the effectiveness of anticommunism and red-baiting as a method of intimidating protest movements. The antiwar movement was built from the beginning on the basis that anyone who opposed the war was welcome to participate fully.

For antiwar Americans the "enemy" came to be their own government, not the "communists" in Vietnam. In fact the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese rebels won a certain respect from broad layers of the American people. Saigon's soldiers, on the other hand, were seen desperately dangling from the skids of U. S. helicopters trying to escape from a war they did not believe in.

Now that all American troops have formally been withdrawn from Vietnam, the White House tells us that "together with healing the wounds of Indochina, we can begin to heal the

Continued on page 22

The New Deal & the victims of fascism

By PETER SEIDMAN

In November 1972 the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith issued a "fact sheet" entitled "Danger on the Left." This slanderous document attacked the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and other organizations that oppose Zionism, as being "anti-Semitic."

The ADL document has been reprinted in the *Congressional Record*. Articles reporting on its contents have appeared twice in the *New York Times* and also in the "Race Relations Reporter," a newsletter published by the Race Relations Information Center in Nashville, Tenn.

Recently, the ideas contained in "Danger on the Left" have served as the basis for a new attack on the SWP and YSA by the "Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East" entitled "The YSA, Anti-Semitism & Israel . . ."

Albert Shanker and some other Teachers union leaders have, in addition, made use of the "anti-Semitism" charge to slander Black and Puerto Rican militants struggling to place the schools in their communities under the control of their Black and Puerto Rican inhabitants.

What motivates the publication of the ADL's document and the wide circulation of its charges against the left at this time is certainly not a sharp rise in anti-Semitism here in the U. S. Nor is it any encouragement of anti-Semitism by the SWP or YSA, or other radicals, as is claimed in "Danger on the Left."

Rather, what underlies the circulation of this "fact sheet" at this time is a desire on the part of the ADL, and those who agree with its views, to slander all opponents of the racist and militarist state of Israel as "anti-Semites." This is an attempt to intimidate the growing numbers of people willing to listen to the ideas of radical opponents of Zionism.

The ADL, the Young People's Socialist League, and other pro-Zionist organizations are committed to the continued existence of the state of Israel. But Israel was founded and can only continue to exist at the expense of the Palestinian people, who were violently expelled from their land by the Zionists.

The continued oppression of the Palestinians by Israel is only made possible by the support Israel receives from U. S. imperialism. And so, defenders of the Zionist state must also be defenders of the capitalist system upon which it depends.

ADL defends capitalism

As defenders of the capitalist system, it is not surprising that the ADL opposes revolutionaries and other participants in movements for social change whose ideas and actions challenge the capitalist system. The ADL believes that Jews should depend on this system for protection from anti-Semitism, both in Israel and here in the U. S. However, instead of arguing out these differences in a rational way, ADL instead resorts to *slander* and accuses anti-Zionist radicals of being "anti-Semitic."

They say in "Danger on the Left": "Their [anti-Zionist radicals] fundamental struggle is against the democratic system and those liberal values that have afforded safety and opportunity to an historically beleaguered minority people. The creation of social ferment, including the condoning, the advocacy and even the use of violence, is the tactic of their 'revolution,' and it is in revolutionary violence and assaults against the democratic process that Jewish security has been



Inmates at Buchenwald, a Nazi concentration camp

endangered and in which overt anti-Semitism easily breeds."

This portrayal of revolutionists as the source of violence and assaults against the democratic process is false from top to bottom, as is the idea that revolutionary activity and radicalization in society in general are the breeding grounds for overt anti-Semitism.

The policies of the ADL, which urge reliance on the "democratic system" and "liberal values" of capitalism, in fact fatally weaken the ability of Jews to defend themselves from anti-Semitism.

In a series of articles, we will take up as a case study of this terrible weakness of the ADL's analysis the history of the most horrible anti-Semitic outrages of human history — the barbaric Nazi campaign of genocide against the Jews during the 1930s and 1940s.

Capitalism and anti-Semitism

Following World War I German capitalism faced unparalleled economic crisis. Lacking investment funds and squeezed out of foreign markets, the economy reeled from bouts of intensive inflation to prolonged recession and massive unemployment.

This produced a tremendous radicalization of the powerful and well-organized working class. Ultimately, in order to maintain its profits, a section of the ruling class chose a collision course with the workers aimed at breaking the backs of their unions and political parties.

The mass movement of small shopkeepers, professionals, and other middle class and lumpen elements crazed by the effects of the economic crisis and welded together by Hitler behind his fascist National Socialist Party became a weapon of big capital against the workers movement.

Anti-Semitism, along with anti-Communism, was part of the ideological glue used to hold the Nazi movement together and to direct its fury against the Jews and the workers. In this way, and given the failure of the Communist and Socialist parties of Germany to provide effective leadership in the struggle against it, fascism served to turn the middle class victims of the capitalist crisis against the workers, and the Jews, who were also victims, instead of against the real criminals — the capitalist ruling class.

When Hitler became chancellor of the German government in 1933, he transformed the anti-Semitic actions of the Nazi goon squads into official state policy against the 350,000 Jews of Germany. In April 1933, the Nazi regime imposed an official boycott on all Jewish businesses. In that year, Jews began to be excluded from all the professions and many of the cities and towns of Germany.

By September 1935, the Nuremberg Laws were passed, which de-

prived all German Jews of their citizenship. German Jews were excluded from the 1936 Olympic games in Munich.

The Nazis unleashed a campaign of physical terror against Jews, making public announcements that their police chiefs could not be "responsible for the safety of enemies of the Reich." By 1933, the *New York Times* had carried descriptions of the prison camp at Dachau. That year, there was one estimate made that there were 80,000 prisoners in 65 camps throughout Germany.

Following the execution of a Nazi ambassador in Paris by Herschel Grynszpan, the son of a Polish Jew expelled from Germany by the Nazis, the Nazis unleashed a pogrom against German Jews on Nov. 10, 1938 — the infamous "*Krystallnacht*," the "Night of Broken Glass." This orgy of revenge for the death of the German diplomat included the burning of some 195 synagogues, the destruction of more than 800 Jewish-owned shops, and the looting of some 7,500 others.

Twenty thousand Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps. And on Nov. 12, 1938, the German government imposed a collective fine of approximately \$400,000,000 (one billion marks) upon German Jews as "money atonement" for the death of Vom Rath, Grynszpan's victim.

During this time, anti-Semitic regimes were also bearing down on the 725,000 Jews in Hungary, the 900,000 Jews in Rumania, and the 3.3 million Jews in Poland. With the conquest by German imperialism of Austria (with 200,000 Jews) and Czechoslovakia (with 350,000 Jews), the anti-Jewish terror threatened to engulf all of Europe.

A matter of life and death

In the wake of this mounting Nazi repression, refuge in other countries became a matter of life and death for hundreds of thousands of Jews and other fighters against fascism as well. By May 1939, for example, there were enough applications for U. S. entry visas on file in the U. S. consular offices in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia to fill the existing U. S. im-

migration quotas for the next five years!

The Roosevelt administration, the upholder of the "liberal democratic values" so beloved by the B'nai B'rith, followed a consistent policy of barring entry to this country for these refugees, thereby condemning many of them to death. This policy of the U. S. government showed that any serious effort to save the victims of European anti-Semitism would require a fight *against* Roosevelt's administration, and not reliance on it.

The Socialist Appeal, a predecessor of *The Militant*, in an editorial that appeared on July 9, 1938, explained the reason why: "Capitalism in its death agony can no more solve the refugee problem than any of the other social problems clamoring for solution. The existence of these refugee hordes is in itself a symptom of its social decay and political reaction. . . ."

"Revolutionary socialists must everywhere fight for unrestricted immigration into their countries, and especially for the right of asylum for all victims of reaction."

New Deal & refugees

Following Hitler's march into Austria in March 1938, FDR announced plans for an international conference to aid refugees from Germany and Austria to be held at Evian, France. Roosevelt launched this conference with a statement about how the U. S. has always been a haven for the oppressed and a land of the free.

But in motivating the conference, he explained that no country that attended would be expected to raise its immigration quotas to solve the refugee crisis, that the U. S. would not raise its quota, and that all funds for projects of the conference would be raised from private agencies.

This general approach of the New Deal to the refugee crisis was first conceived of in the State Department, where Cordell Hull, then secretary of state, circulated a memorandum in response to growing public outcries over the events in Europe. Hull said it would be better for the State Department to "get out in front and attempt to guide the pressure, *primarily with a view toward forestalling attempts to have the immigration laws liberalized.*" (Emphasis added.)

With this kind of purpose discreetly buried behind a lot of government hoopla about "America's concern for the refugees" it is not at all surprising that the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees that finally emerged from the Evian Conference was a farce. By August 1939, this committee, which was supposed to represent the relief efforts of 32 nations, had a bank balance of \$9,672!

Many other examples can be given of the callous way in which U. S. immigration quotas, visa procedures, and consular regulations were used

Continued on page 22



Franklin Roosevelt: any serious effort to save the victims of European anti-Semitism would have required a fight against his administration, not reliance on it.



TROTSKY

Trotsky: a documentary by Francis Wyndham and David King. Praeger Publishers. New York, 1972. 204 pp. Cloth \$12.50, paper 44.95.

Splendid Victory. A play by Milton Genecin. Available from The Militant Bookstore, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. \$5.25.

Here are two unique and welcome contributions to the growing body of literature about Leon Trotsky. At age 21 Trotsky wrote from Siberian exile: "As long as I breathe, I shall fight for that radiant future in which man will become master of the drifting stream of his history. . . ."

How well Francis Wyndham and David King portray him in their photoessay. Wyndham pays special tribute to Isaac Deutscher's monumental biography of Trotsky, and like Deutscher, makes ample use of Trotsky's own writings.

Trotsky's entire life is surveyed: his childhood on the Russian steppes; his early organizing in the provincial town of Nikolayev; his relationship with Lenin; his role in the 1905 revolution; his organization of the October 1917 revolution and leadership of the Red Army; his formation of the Left Opposition and launching of the Fourth International; his assassination by an agent of Stalin.

King is art editor of the *Sunday Times Magazine* in London. He has chosen a large format book to present a magnificent collection of more than 250 photographs, documents, posters, and illustrations, some in color. They are interspersed throughout the book, synchronized with Wyndham's text.

The end of the book quotes Trotsky's Testament written from his fortress-house on the outskirts of Mexico City shortly before his assassination. "Natasha has just come up to the window from the courtyard and opened it wider so that the air may enter more freely into my room. I can see the bright green strip of grass beneath the wall, and the clear blue sky above the wall, and sunlight everywhere. Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full."

On the facing page is a color picture of the courtyard, seen over Trotsky's work desk. Turning the page one finds a second picture, taken from the courtyard, showing the open window and the guard tower on the roof. Next is a picture of Trotsky's tombstone, simply inscribed with his name and a hammer and sickle.

This gem of a book belongs in the library of every revolutionary, no matter how long she or he has been in the movement.

Paradoxically, Milton Genecin's play on Trotsky, *Splendid Victory*, is well worth reading because Genecin is *not* a professional playwright.

Two dramatic presentations on Trotsky have been presented recently. Peter Weiss's admirable piece of theater, *Trotsky in Exile*, and Joseph Losey's wretched movie, *The Assassination of Trotsky*. While Weiss is a consummate artist, his lack of intimacy with the subject matter unfortunately led to several inaccuracies in his play.

It is with a discerning political eye that Genecin sets forth, in a play of three acts and 13 scenes, many of the dramatic moments in Trotsky's political life.

He chooses the device of portraying the many trials in which Trotsky was chief defendant. Genecin does not take poetic license; instead he sticks to the actual record.

He quotes Trotsky on important political questions: the Marxist view of terrorism; the use of violence by the Soviets; the question of the armed uprising; the theory of permanent revolution; his fight against the bureaucracy led by Stalin; the organizational concepts of a revolutionary party.

One quote is illustrative. It concerns Trotsky's post-1933 activity. "We decided to form a new international communist movement, a Fourth International, and new parties in all countries. From that time on I have had this task as my most important work." It is on this question that both Weiss and Deutscher, to say nothing of Losey, are at best inadequate.

—MICHAEL SMITH

STATE OF SIEGE

State of Siege. Directed By Costa-Gavras. Written by Franco Solinas. Starring Yves Montand. A Cinema Five Release, 1973. English subtitles.

"From the director of *Z*. From the writer of *Battle of Algiers*," declare the promotional posters of the new film by Costa-Gavras and Franco Solinas. The synthesis of these two talents, as could be expected, is a politically powerful and a fast-paced film. *State of Siege* is based on the kidnapping and execution of an American official, Daniel Mitrione (Santore

in 1964 and who aided the American invasion of Santo Domingo in 1965.

What emerges is that Santore helped train the heads of numerous Latin American police forces at the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C., as well as Brazil's 100,000-member police force, in the techniques of counterinsurgency, "crowd control," political surveillance, interrogation, and torture.

Costa-Gavras's panorama of repression extends to the assassination of revolutionaries by right-wing bands in alliance with the Uruguayan military and the police; the quelling of student demonstrations; the breaking of strikes by armed force; and the activities of the notorious Death Squads, who dispense their own reactionary "justice" against rebels when the courts show too much "leniency."

When the Tupamaros declare they will execute Santore if all political prisoners are not released within 24 hours, the government gains the upper hand. Not really concerned about Santore's fate—indeed, he would be more useful to their propaganda purposes dead—they decide to do nothing, posing the Tupamaros with a dilemma.

Film

in the film), by the Tupamaro guerrillas in Uruguay in 1970.

Before the premiere of *State of Siege* here in Washington, it had already stirred up quite a bit of controversy.

The director of the American Film Institute in Washington decided to cancel the American premiere of the film at the AFI because of its politically explosive contents—and, indeed, the



accurate and detailed depiction of the U.S.'s imperialist penetration into Latin America might have proved embarrassing to the social circles that frequent the prestigious AFI.

State of Siege, however, despite the slanders hurled against it, in no way romanticizes terrorism as a method of revolutionary struggle. It simply approaches it in a journalistic manner, exploring the tactics and methods used by the Tupamaros, while at the same time posing questions about their political effectiveness.

The film undercuts the hysteria whipped up by the U.S. government around such actions by depicting the mass terrorism practiced by the U.S. advisers, military elites, and corporate officials against radicals, students, and trade-union activists in Latin America every day.

During the interrogation of Santore by the Tupamaros, his role in Latin America—and by implication those of thousands of other American officials—becomes quite clear. Santore, an official of the Agency of International Development (AID), had paraded under the guise of a "communications expert."

But as the guerrillas gradually trip him up over his own lies, he sheds his outer skin to reveal the police adviser underneath, who had been involved in the military coup in Brazil

If the guerrillas don't execute Santore, they believe the government will win a political victory; if they do kill him, the government will simply have more fuel to justify its mass repression. Feeling they have no alternative, the guerrillas decide to execute Santore.

Throughout the movie, questions are raised about the effectiveness of terrorism as a method of political struggle. At the end there is a final question mark: after Santore's death, another American police adviser simply steps off a plane to take his place.

—ERNEST HARSCH



Yves Montand plays U.S. police adviser in Latin America.

Militant sales build May 5 demos

By NANCY COLE

APRIL 18—Sales last week totaled 6,170, down from the previous week's 6,688. Areas report that sales are picking up again this week, however, as supporters use *The Militant* to publicize the May 5 protests against high prices. Special emphasis will be on sales at grocery stores, work places, and in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, where people are most affected by rising prices.

Several areas sold to striking workers last week. Atlanta supporters sold 13 at a rally of striking department store workers; and salespeople from the Oakland/Berkeley area sold 16 to Shell strikers in Martinez.

At a rally of the American Federation of Teachers in Washington, D.C., 13 *Militants* were sold in 20 minutes. And members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in Cleveland began morning sales at two steel plants last week.

Supermarkets continued to be a good source of *Militant* sales for most areas. Cleveland supporters sold 175 last week in front of grocery stores. San Diego sold 100 at supermarkets, and Portland sold 109 downtown on Saturday and Sunday at bus stops and at shopping centers.

Twin Cities' sales were added to the postal system's casualties list last week when their *Militant* bundle arrived late in the week. But they then sold 260 in only three days. One hundred of these were sold downtown, mostly on Thursday night, when the stores are open late.

Houston dropped to 275 last week, considerably lower than their usual 500 sold. But according to SWP sales director Debbie Vernier, this was because of a constant rain that lasted all week. Several times they drove through the city looking for grocery stores that provided enough shelter to sell in front of. Although they didn't find much shelter, they did sell to striking meat cutters who were picketing stores in Houston.

Sales directors in Washington, D.C., and Upper West Side, N.Y., have a suggestion that they guarantee will result in sales. At a new movie on Latin America that's attracting large radical audiences—*State of Siege*—42 *Militants* were sold in Washington, D.C. And since the film's opening this week in New York, Upper West Side supporters have sold 70 there.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD WEEKLY		SOLD	
	LAST WEEK	GOAL	PREVIOUS %	WEEK
Cincinnati	92	70	131	(*)
San Diego	281	225	125	(275)
Columbus	25	20	125	(*)
Amherst	30	25	120	(25)
Atlanta	299	250	120	(282)
Cleveland	285	250	114	(322)
Upper West Side	352	325	108	(372)
Lower Manhattan	366	350	105	(360)
Portland	207	200	104	(206)
Elyria	10	10	100	(*)
Hershey	10	10	100	(10)
Huntington	40	40	100	(40)
Nashville	25	25	100	(25)
Worcester	20	20	100	(*)
Storrs	29	30	97	(27)
Oakland-Berkeley	468	500	94	(511)
Washington, D.C.	234	250	94	(242)
Detroit	322	350	92	(361)
Chicago	440	500	88	(511)
Philadelphia	235	275	85	(202)
Seattle	207	250	83	(236)
Boston	383	500	77	(422)
Hartford	34	45	76	(24)
Brooklyn	244	325	75	(298)
Mt. Pleasant	15	20	75	(25)
Twin Cities	300	425	71	(290)
Los Angeles	347	550	63	(300)
St. Louis	20	35	57	(20)
College Park	28	50	56	(30)
Houston	275	500	55	(500)
Providence	21	40	53	(*)
San Francisco	267	500	53	(314)
Austin	100	200	50	(209)
Bloomington	68	148	46	(*)
Denver	80	225	36	(135)
E. Lansing	5	25	20	(15)
Long Island	6	45	13	(45)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK 6,170				
GOAL 7,000				
(* no report)				

New swindle on Wall St.: selling insurance to tombstones

If the robber barons of nineteenth century capitalism were to ascend from hell to present a Magnificent Swindle Award, there can be no doubt that it would go to the officers of Equity Funding Corporation of America. No sentimentality here, nothing like giving John Wayne an Academy Award he didn't earn. Equity Funding is sincerely deserving, twice, three times over.

Listed on the New York Stock Exchange, Equity Funding is one of the country's largest financial conglomerates. Its stock once traded as high as \$80. Its value is now dubious. Equity plummeted, but as the robber barons would surely note in their presentation, with a thud perhaps unequaled since the crashes of the 1930s.

One of Equity's major enterprises was selling life insurance. That in itself is a racket, but with

American Way of Life

imagination and boldness Equity turned it into a real-boondoggle—a \$100-million one in fact.

How? Equity created fake insurance policies and then turned around and sold them to other large financial institutions. At its peak, Equity reported 93,000 life insurance policies in force, with a total face value of \$3.24-billion. Investigators have now found that 56,000 of these, with a face value of \$2.17-billion, are fake.

As one informed person put it, "They were writing life insurance policies on everything from tombstones to lampposts." They then fed the data on the nonexistent policyholders into a computer—a nice twentieth-century touch, Jay Gould might have observed.

Indeed, they had the computers spouting whole biographies on the policyholders. Some paid on time; others let their coverage lapse. Some phantoms even did the decent thing—they died natural actuarial deaths.

The *New York Times*, ever solicitous of the ruling class, editorially opined that the Equity swindle is not going to help bolster public confidence in Wall Street. After all, the insurance business is supposed to be one of the most closely monitored in the country.

You wonder how the executives at Equity thought they could get away with it all in the long run. The answer is, they didn't. But they probably thought they could skip the country ahead of those they bilked. Like the group of retiring teachers in Cleveland who hold what used to be \$10.8-million in Equity stock—the modern equivalent of czarist bonds or Confederate money.

If perchance the robber barons in their graves are beyond calling upon for the presentation, I'd like to say to the Equity officers on their behalf, "Good shuck, boys. With luck and more time, you might have made the Penn Central board of directors look honest."

—MICHAEL SMITH

Teams recruit ten more to YSA

By DELFINE WELCH

Last fall the Young Socialist Teams campaigning for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley confronted Democratic presidential nominee George McGovern on dozens of campuses across the country. This spring the Atlanta team had the opportunity to confront him again when he spoke to a crowd at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. The team sold 100 *Young Socialists* and *Militants* as well as dozens of buttons calling for "Vietnam for the Vietnamese."

More than 4,000 *Young Socialists* and *Militants* were sold this week by the 12 teams, and 10 more people joined the YSA through their work. This makes a total of 50 new members signed up by the teams since they started out in March.

Seven people joined the YSA at the Southeast socialist conference held in Atlanta, including three who had been brought there by the traveling team. A Puerto Rican student at Tulane University in New Orleans who had read *The Militant* for several months joined the YSA after meeting up with the Austin-Houston team.

Five people the Denver team met while on tour attended the Rocky Mountain socialist conference in Denver, including the coordinator of the Lawrence Gay Liberation Front, which is currently fighting for campus recognition at the University of Kansas.

Members of the Denver team spoke on the YSA and socialism to four sociology classes totaling 400 students at the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley. They also passed out the new "Join the YSA" brochure. Altogether the 12 teams are distributing 24,000 copies of the new brochure.

\$3,320 is still needed to complete the drive for the \$10,000 needed to keep the teams on the road.

Please send in as large a contribution as you can today.

Young Socialist teams

TEAM	MILITANT		YOUNG SOCIALIST	
	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL
Philadelphia-D.C.	246	200	253	200
Denver	258	200	225	200
Atlanta	224	200	241	200
Boston	232	200	225	200
Cleveland-Detroit	200	200	209	200
Chicago	193	150	156	150
Austin-Houston	70	150	60	150
Berkeley-San Francisco	170	175	191	175
Los Angeles-San Diego	174	150	123	150
New York	150	150	35	150
Seattle-Portland	118	150	91	150
Twin Cities	180	150	60	150
TOTAL SOLD	2,215	2,075	1,869	2,075



\$0 \$6,680 \$10,000

() I can contribute \$_____ to the \$10,000 YS Teams Fund.

() I can provide food and housing, set up a speaking engagement or interview, or otherwise help a team visiting my area.

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YS Teams Fund, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



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Calendar

AUSTIN

IRELAND IN REBELLION. Speaker: Steven Fuchs. Fri., April 27, 8 p.m. Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

BOSTON

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE NEW LEFT? Panel discussion with Carl Oglesby, past president of SDS and coauthor of *Containment and Change*; and others. Fri., April 27, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

STOP THE WAR ON THE POOR. Panel discussion with: Pat Grogan, SWP 1972 candidate for governor of Illinois; Kathy Lofhus, Parents for Kids; speaker from postal union; and others. Fri., April 27, 8 p.m. 18Q N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

LOS ANGELES

THE ARGENTINE ELECTIONS. Speaker: Virginia Garza, recently returned from Argentina, where she helped cover the national election for *The Militant*. Fri., April 27, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK, PUERTO RICAN, AND CHINESE CONTROL OF DISTRICT 1 SCHOOLS: The fight for bilingual education. Speakers: Dora Levy, director of bilingual program, District 1; Dora Fuentes, acting bilingual coordinator, P.S. 75; Eva Chertov, bilingual educator and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Council District 3; a representative of Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund. Fri., April 27, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA

CRISIS IN THE ENVIRONMENT. Speakers: Steve Beck, Socialist Workers Party; Mike Accott, Philadelphia Ecology Action Group; Dr. David Rosenfeld, Zero Population Growth; Richard Henderson, Environmental Coalition on Nuclear Power. Fri., April 27, 8 p.m. Houston Hall, Second Floor, U. of Pa., 3417 Spruce St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Philadelphia Socialist Forums. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

SAN FRANCISCO

PHASE 3 AND HOW TO FIGHT IT. Speaker: Derrell Myers, member of Painters Local 4, socialist. Sun., April 29, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. (between Van Ness and 11th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

POLICE SURVEILLANCE IN AMERICA. Speaker: Ed Jurenas, subject of congressional hearings in 1971 as an antiwar GI. Fri., April 27, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...goons

Continued from page 9

two months, we will destroy the Communist Party as a political organization. That is the reason for the 'melee' on Wednesday."

The NCLC has escalated its epithets to a hysterical pitch: "The Communist Party, allied with the poverty pimps who 'speak for the community' but organize against it, with the fascist Ed Schwartz and the Nixon judenrat agency Philadelphia WRO. . . ."

The policy of the NCLC to physically attack the Communist Party and the YWLL is being carried out elsewhere as well. In New York City, for example, the *Daily World* reports that in the past two weeks the NCLC has attempted to disrupt a May Day planning conference and has harassed and threatened Communist Party members at the Jefferson Bookshop and the W. E. B. Du Bois Community Center in Harlem.

...impact

Continued from page 18

wounds in America."

But most Americans don't believe the government even now. They know peace has not come to Indochina. They know B-52s are raining death and destruction on Cambodia and that Nixon is keeping open the option of renewing the terror bombing of North Vietnam.

The wounds of Indochina will not be healed as long as the U.S. continues to prop up proimperialist dictators in Southeast Asia. And the "wounds" of this country will not be healed until the capitalist system is replaced with a socialist system based on human rights and needs rather than profits.

Following the massive antiwar upsurge on hundreds of campuses in response to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the killing of the Kent students, former Chief Justice Earl Warren stated on May 15, 1970: "We are, indeed, in a crisis. We have . . . a divisiveness in our society to a degree

of intensity that has not been equaled in the past hundred years."

Many Americans remember what they were fighting for in May 1970, and the impact that those protest actions had on the U.S. government. Antiwar sentiment and the broader radicalization that arose with it have not disappeared, but will be expressed again and again in new forms in response to the wars, racism, sexism, and exploitation of the U.S. capitalist system.

...Fuentes

Continued from page 14

ble to that community and respect its problems. Shanker would like me to only hire members of his union. That's patronage!"

I asked Fuentes how he evaluates the decentralization plan, noting that other educators such as Kenneth Clark have recently issued harsh criticisms of it. "It's too early to say," he told me. "To reject it now would be like criticizing a baby at six months for not being able to run. But with the right encouragement, and enough time, the baby will mature."

In the long run, Fuentes thinks it is the involvement of parents in the schools that will determine the future of education in New York.

Fuentes views the current struggle in District 1 for community control of the schools as part of a process that will give the Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese in that area greater control over all aspects of their lives. "Once they've had the satisfaction of selecting a school board that represents them, they won't stop there."

Finally, I asked Fuentes what he felt he had been able to accomplish. "Very little," he replied, "but we're moving in the right direction." This is why he is so determined that the present school board be reelected May 1 — "so it can have enough time to do what it is trying to do. To change it now would mean a return to the old way of running things, which we already know doesn't work."

Fuentes has been encouraged by the enthusiastic support the campaign to maintain the current board has re-

ceived from parents and students, as well as many teachers—something that has convinced him that there is a distinction between those who control the UFT and many teachers. "We will be victorious," he insisted.

...victims

Continued from page 19

to impede the entry of Jewish refugees and others seeking to flee from Hitler's advancing armies. These are well documented in at least three books that students of this subject may wish to read: *While Six Million Died* by Arthur D. Morse (New York, 1967); *Paper Walls, America and the Refugee Crisis* by David S. Wyman, (New York, 1968); and *The Politics of Rescue, The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945* by Henry L. Feingold (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970).

The outcome of all this was that between 1933 and 1943, more than 400,000 more people could have legally entered the U.S. from countries under Nazi domination than were actually permitted. Between 1938, the year of "*Krystallnacht*," and 1941, when the involvement of the U.S. in the second world war made transportation from Europe almost totally unavailable to refugees—a period of time when the acute plight of the refugees was at the height of public attention—there were still some 60,000 unfilled places in the U.S. immigration quota.

More revealing that this, of course, is the fact that quotas existed at all. At a time when so many lives were threatened, the U.S. insisted on maintaining an immigration quota system based on restrictive legislation aimed at cutting off the flow of immigrants into the country.

In 1944, John Pehle, at the request of U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, issued a study of State Department refugee policy since 1938, which he entitled: "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of This Government in the Murder of the Jews." Any honest estimate of the Roosevelt administration's policies would confirm these findings.

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untangling Nixon's economics

"In short, 1972 was a very good year for the American economy. I expect 1973 and 1974 to be even better."—Richard Nixon, 1/11/73

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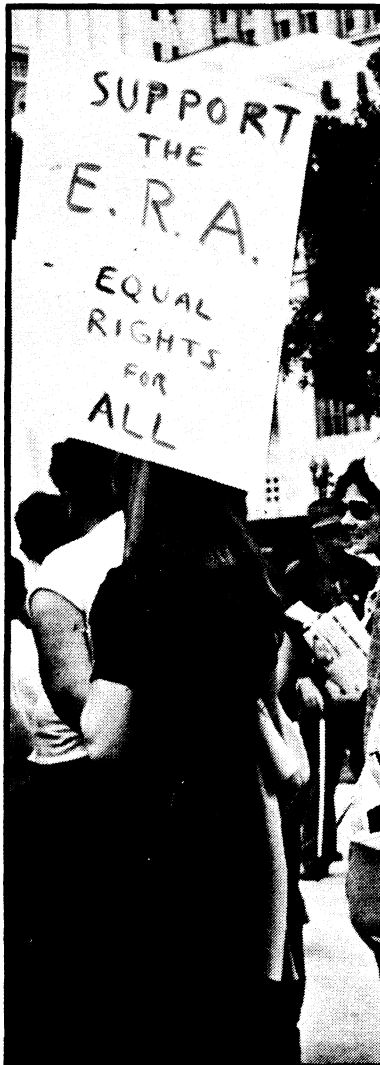
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THE MILITANT

Demand wage increase, end to racist practices

Black strikers in Atlanta determined to win

By TONY DUTROW

ATLANTA, April 15—In a unanimous standing vote today, a mass meeting of more than 300 Black strikers vowed to continue their strike and boycott against Rich's department stores. The workers at Rich's, the largest retail chain in the Southeast, have been on strike since April 2.

The strikers are demanding wage increases and an end to racist hiring, firing, and promotion practices.

Rich's boasts of the highest return per retail purchase in the country. This is based primarily on the criminally low wages it pays its employees. In this strike Black workers are serving notice that they are no longer willing to let Rich's maintain this record at the expense of their standard of living.

The strike is now going into its third week, with about 1,500 workers, mostly Blacks, now participating in the walkout. The strike is one of a series by Black workers in Atlanta. The strikes began a year ago and have included workers at Sears, Roebuck and Company, Mead Container Corporation, Holy Family Hospital, Greyhound Bus, and a number of smaller companies.

All of these strikes have had a number of important characteristics in common. They all have been initiated and organized by Black workers. In addition to wage demands, an important part of all these strikes has been demands to end racial discrimination

in hiring, firing, and promotion practices. Finally, all these strikes have been marked by a strong element of Black solidarity, seeking and receiving significant support from the Black community as a whole.

Daily picket lines of hundreds of Black workers and supporters have turned the huge downtown store complex into a deserted island in the midst of Easter shopping. By Saturday morning, April 14, only one entrance on each side of the store was kept open for the few shoppers who are crossing the picket lines.

On April 11 Rich's management met with a negotiating committee that included eight employees and the Reverend Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Management quickly agreed to 31 of the 37 demands presented to them. These were primarily the demands dealing with racial discrimination.

It is Rich's contention that it is their established policy to forbid racial discrimination, and Rich's so-called constitution "guarantees" that there will be no racial discrimination in hiring, firing, and promotions.

The demands that Rich's refused to concede on were wage demands, which would cost Rich's some of their extremely high profits.

In reality, hundreds of Black workers have experienced racism in many forms at Rich's and one of the most



Militant/ Vickie Griffith
Pickets at Rich's department store

important manifestations of racism is the criminally low wages paid to Rich's employees.

Rich's obviously hopes to settle the strike without meeting any of the money demands, then once the workers are back on the job ignore its pledges against racial discrimination as it did before the strike.

The \$1-an-hour pay increase is a key demand of the strike, not only to raise the ridiculously low wages

of Rich's employees, but to make it clear that the workers have the power to enforce Rich's formal pledges to end racial discrimination.

On April 13 workers staged a sit-in in the executive offices of the firm, located on the fifth floor of the downtown store. The Atlanta police were summoned to disperse the strikers, which led to the voluntary arrest of the entire picket line.

That evening, 200 workers and supporters marched from the Wheat Street Baptist Church, their temporary headquarters and the home of the Atlanta chapter of SCLC, to greet strikers as they were to be bailed out. Strikers and fellow inmates waved and sang through the bars as the march approached the city jail.

A contingent of about 40 supporters of Debby Bustin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, met the marchers and joined in the chants to release the strikers and for Rich's to meet their demands.

The key to winning the strike is the mass picket lines, which have cut deeply into Rich's sales. Voluntary mass arrests of the entire picket line endanger the strike by dismantling the strikers' most important weapon, the picket line.

One example of this was the effect of voluntary mass arrests during the strike last fall at Mead Container Corporation. The tactic crippled the strike and eventually led to its defeat.

3,000 demand student control

Students in Puerto Rico fight repression

By MIRTA VIDAL

RIO PIEDRAS, Puerto Rico—Chanting "Estudiantes unidos, jamás serán vencidos" ("Students united, will never be defeated") and "25 suspendidos, ahora estamos más unidos" ("25 suspended, now we are more united"), more than 3,000 students marched from the University of Puerto Rico here to the Plaza de Armas in old San Juan on Wednesday, April 11.

The action was held to oppose a wave of repressive measures taken by the university administration against the students and to demand student participation in running the university. It was jointly sponsored and organized by the two university student organizations in Puerto Rico—Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI) and Juventud Independentista Universitaria (JIU); the two high school student organizations—Federación Estudiantil Pro Independencia (FEPI) and Juventud Independentista Estudiantil (JIE); and the Consejo General de Estudiantes (General Student Council) at UPR.

The students assembled on the campus, where they symbolically inaugurated a new building set aside for the campus guards. The students vow the building will be used by the students instead.

They then proceeded, to the rhythm of music played by a group of student musicians, to march through the campus urging students to join in. "Unete!", "Unete!" and "Participación, cero represión!" ("Join in" and "Participation, zero repression"), along with the sound of drums and horns echoed



University of Puerto Rico students marching to San Juan.

Militant/Mirta Vidal

through the buildings.

Outside in the street, groups of high school students waited to join in. As the march passed several high schools and grammar schools along the route, students came running to the sidewalks, fists clenched, to express their solidarity and clap their hands to the rhythm of the chants and music. Throughout the march, people came out of stores and houses to watch, at times expressing their sympathy with the students.

During the last few weeks, a series of incidents has taken place to enrage the students at UPR. Among these was the destruction by explosives of a monument erected by students in memory of Antonia Martínez, a student killed by police during the 1970 student uprising, and the bombing of the

School of Social Sciences, which symbolizes student radicalism on the campus.

The administration has attempted to blame these right-wing acts on the student movement. As part of this campaign of harassment against students, the press has recently claimed to uncover links between the students and the mafia, drug traffic, and violent crimes.

The demonstration also focused on the suspension of 24 students, including the president and vice-president of FUPI, Franklyn Rivera and Héctor Meléndez Lugo, who have been barred from the campus.

The students were suspended as a result of a picket that led to a confrontation with Dean of Students Aureo Andino. At a previous meet-

ing more than 3,000 students demanded that Andino resign, but the administration has ignored this decision.

The march also expressed solidarity with the 80 students of the Graduate School of Social Planning at UPR who, with the support of the entire faculty, have been on strike for more than a month, demanding the resignation of that school's dean. This was particularly timely since the administration had threatened to close the school of Social Planning down on that same day unless the strike was ended. No action, however, has been taken so far by the administration.

When the march finally reached San Juan, a short rally was held in the Plaza de Armas. Speakers included Franklyn Rivera, JIE President Pablo Torres Otero, FEPI President Luis Fernando Coss, and JIU General Secretary Luis Angel Torres.

All the speakers dealt with the new university law being proposed by the student movement. This law would replace the current outmoded and repressive law that has been in effect since the beginning of the century. The central demand of the students proposal for a new university law is student participation.

All of them also pointed to the fact that this demonstration reflected the continued combativity of the Puerto Rican student movement.

"We can't wait for whoever runs the university to grant us some reforms," said Torres. "We have to fight for them."