

Workers' Power

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UAW Ducks Phase II

On November 13, delegates from United Auto Workers (UAW) locals across the country converged on Cobo Hall in Detroit for a special one-day convention. As they arrived, they were greeted by a demonstration put on by the United National Caucus (UNC) of the UAW.

About 50 pickets paraded in front of the convention shouting such slogans as: "Woodcock Off the Pay Board," "Hands Off the Strike Fund - Hands Off the Local Treasuries," "Put the Pork-choppers back to work."

Inside, there was more opposition to the leadership of the UAW than has been seen at several previous conventions. Unfortunately, this opposition did not center on the crucial issue facing the UAW today - the wage freeze and Phase 2 - but on secondary issues.

The convention had originally been called for September with a one-item agenda - the UAW's financial problems. When the freeze was announced, UAW President Leonard Woodcock postponed the convention to November 13 and announced that besides the financial problems it would also take up questions relating to the freeze.

Prior to the convention, the UAW leadership published neither an agenda, nor the exact motions that they planned to introduce. Even though the vast majority of convention delegates for the past 20 years or more have always been solid supporters of the UAW administration, letting the delegates know in advance exactly what to expect might give those who disagree with the proposals

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Members of the United National Caucus picket the United Auto Workers Special Convention

EDITORIAL

Phase 2 Blues

One month after Nixon's announcement of his Phase 2 program for wage controls and economic protectionism, its prospects are clouded. The upper circles of American capitalism lack confidence in Nixon's ability to carry out the "necessary" measures against the working class and organized labor. At the same time, the very first decisions of the Pay Board have led to demands within the AFL-CIO itself for a mass mobilization of labor against the results of the wage freeze.

The major developments in the first two weeks of November were:

(1) The Pay Board appointed by Nixon voted 10-5 for holding new wage increases below 5.5 percent, including all fringe benefits. Exemptions, or in some cases more stringent limits, are to be ne-

gotiated on a "case by case" basis. (For example, an employer who wishes to withhold a scheduled increase may apply to the Board for permission to do so.) At the same time, by the same 10-5 margin, the Board voted a general ban on "retroactivity" - meaning that scheduled wage increases lost during the freeze itself will not be paid at all.

Although retroactivity is the most emotional issue for many workers, the 5.5 percent guideline is more significant. Since price rises of 2-3 percent will be allowed, while fringe benefits will make up part of the 5.5 percent wage total, the Pay Board is asking workers to accept little or no new money on a permanent basis, as long as the program lasts.

The Pay Board vote went strictly along "partisan" lines, with business

and "public" representatives voting against the labor bureaucrats. This vote should indicate the bankruptcy of the bureaucrats in agreeing to serve on the Pay Board in the first place, and makes it even more urgent for union militants to demand their immediate resignation from the Board.

The complete agreement of the business and "public" representatives - who are in fact nothing but "public" spokesmen for the corporations - will encourage the corporations themselves to crack down even harder on wage demands with the promise of the Pay Board's full support.

(2) In response to the Pay Board's decision, the cracks in the AFL-CIO officialdom opened a little wider. The

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Workers' Power

WE STAND FOR SOCIALISM: the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy and the state by the working class. We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and bureaucratic "Communist," and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people.

America is faced with a growing crisis: war, racial strife, pollution, urban decay, and the deterioration of our standard of living and working conditions. This crisis is built into capitalism, an outlived system of private profit, exploitation, and oppression. The capitalist ruling class, a tiny minority that controls the economy and politics alike, perpetuates its rule by dividing the working people against each other — white against black, male against female, skilled against unskilled, etc. The result is ever greater social chaos.

Workers' power is the only alternative to this crisis. Neither the liberal

nor the conservative wings of the ruling class have any answers but greater exploitation. The struggle for workers' power is already being waged on the economic level, and the International Socialists stand in solidarity with these struggles over wages and working conditions. To further this struggle, we call for independent rank and file workers' committees to fight when and where the unions refuse to fight. But the struggles of the workers will remain defensive and open to defeat so long as they are restricted to economic or industrial action.

The struggle must become political. Because of its economic power, the ruling class also has a monopoly on political power. It controls the government and the political parties that administer the state. More and more, the problems we face, such as inflation and unemployment, are the result of political decisions made by that class. The struggle of the working people will be deadlocked until the ranks of labor build a workers' party, and carry the struggle into the political arena.

The struggle for workers' power cannot be won until the working class, as a whole, controls the government and the economy democratically. This requires a revolutionary socialist, working class party, at the head of a unified

working class. No elite can accomplish this for the workers.

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. US corporations plunder the world's riches and drive the world's people nearer to starvation, while military intervention by the US government, serving these corporations, awaits

those who dare to rebel. The "Communist" revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out US imperialism, have not brought workers' power, but a new form of class society, ruled by a bureaucratic elite.

Whether capitalist or bureaucratic-collectivist ("Communist") in nature, the ruling classes of the world fight desperately to maintain their power, often against each other, always against the working class and the people. Through both domestic repression and imperialist intervention (the US in Vietnam, the USSR in Czechoslovakia), they perpetuate misery and poverty in a world of potential peace and plenty. Socialism — the direct rule of the working class itself — exists nowhere in the world today.

We fight for the withdrawal of US troops from all foreign countries, and support all struggles for national self-determination. In Vietnam, we support the victory of the NLF over the US and its puppets; at the same time, we stand for revolutionary opposition by the working class to the incipient bureaucratic ruling class. Only socialism, established through world-wide revolution, can free humanity from exploitation and oppression; and the only force capable of building socialism is WORKERS' POWER.

IRISH ACTIONS

Irish support groups in New York have reached a new peak of activity. A forum sponsored by the New York International Socialists was held at the New School on October 28. John Keane of the Belfast unit of the Official Irish Republican Army, and Joan McKiernan from the IS discussed the revolutionary potential of the present struggle in Ireland.

Members of the audience made contributions to the IRA Political Prisoners Fund and plans were made to begin an IRA support group in the New School.

1,000 Irish activists gathered October 30 for a march up Fifth Avenue to a rally in Central Park. The rally, sponsored by the National Association for Irish Freedom, demanded an end to internment without trial in Northern Ireland, and the release of all political prisoners in Britain and Ireland.

Speakers from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Demokratia (an anti-Fascist Greek organization), and the Farm Workers Organizing Committee pledged their support for the Irish civil rights struggle. Sean Kenny, secretary of Sinn Fein (political arm of the IRA), told the enthusiastic crowd that the movement in Ireland was one of the Irish workers struggling to gain control of the resources of Ireland from the rich — both Irish and foreign.

Upcoming events include the arrival of Tomas MacGiolla, President of Sinn Fein, for a nationwide tour. He will address a meeting on November 13 at 6 PM at the New School, 5th Ave. and 14th St. John Keane and Joan McKiernan will speak at an Irish rally at City College on November 18, 12-2 PM.

[Further details are available from the New York International Socialists, 874 Broadway, Rm. 1005, phone 254-7960.]

CAMP MCCOY THREE



On October 26, the Chicago International Socialists sponsored Tom Chase of the Camp McCoy Three and Joyce Bestries of the Camp McCoy Three Defense Committee at the Industrial Workers of the World Hall in Chicago. Tom and his co-defendants, Steve Gaden and Dannie Kreps, are accused of bombing a power station, water works, and telephone exchange at Camp McCoy in Wisconsin.

To date there is no real evidence against them. In fact, the army turned the case over to a Federal court and was forced to grant all three honorable discharges. No cause for a less than honorable discharge could be shown.

Behind the trumped-up charges lie the efforts of the three to organize the American Servicemen's Union (ASU) at Camp McCoy. They were sent to Camp McCoy to assist in the training of Nation-

al Guardsmen, but used their position to organize for the ASU and against the war in Vietnam.

As the Camp McCoy chapter of the ASU grew, the brass became more fearful and decided to frame the three organizers as an example to other GI's. The government hopes to stem the tide of disintegration and revolt in the army through blatant attempts at intimidation.

But it is the nature of the army itself, and the war in Vietnam — not a few "agitators" — that lie behind the growing discontent. It is unlikely that government frame-ups will be any more effective in keeping soldiers "in line" than has the totalitarian discipline of the army.

[Right now the Camp McCoy Three's greatest need is for more funds for their defense. If you can contribute, send to: Camp McCoy Three Defense Committee, 306 N. Brooks St., Madison, WI 53715.]

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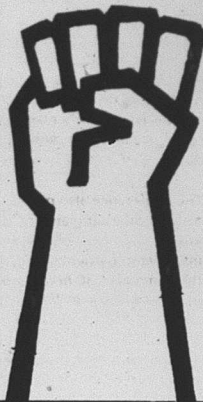
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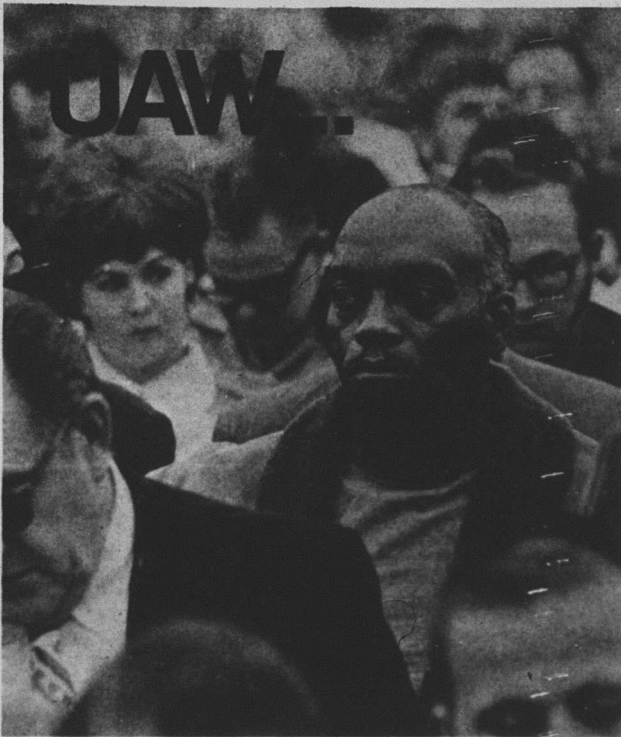
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UAW Special Convention delegates

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of the administration the opportunity to prepare their opposition. And this is something that the UAW leadership will do all in its power to prevent.

A preacher opened the convention proceedings with a benediction. He took as his theme the idea that work is joyous and wonderful — providing only that the worker approaches it with a positive and creative attitude and not a negative and grumbling one. These remarks were an insult to anyone who has to put up with the intolerable pressures of the assembly line, but few of the delegates seemed to notice.

The next item was adoption of the

rules. A delegate proposed an amendment to assure that delegates from small locals would get some chance to speak. Chairman Woodcock informed him that he would not accept amendments, and the rules were adopted as proposed.

Next came a long speech by Woodcock on the state of the UAW. It was only during this speech that delegates were given copies of a 9-page resolution on "Economic Policy" that the UAW Executive Board was presenting.

Without time to study the long resolution, discussion was opened. And during the discussion, in violation of all democratic procedures, the chairman felt free to comment on or cut down the

remarks of any speaker before calling on the next one.

Only two speakers who actually opposed the resolution were called on, and it passed easily. The resolution would have passed easily even if democratic procedures had been followed. Most of the UAW secondary leadership agrees with the economic policies of the administration, or at least is unwilling to buck the administration on such matters.

But the resolution itself, in spite of its length, left much to be desired. The first six pages are the strongest. They constitute an introduction which gives an analysis of the New Economic Policy:

"The new game plan is as misguided as the one it replaced. It is grossly discriminatory against workers. It will do little or nothing to reduce the present intolerably high unemployment and may, in fact, increase it...."

"It reflects a perverse order of priorities that puts enrichment of corporations and their stockholders ahead of the needs of low and middle income families and the desperate need for federal spending to reverse the accelerating deterioration of the quality of life in America...."

"The revenue reductions and spending cuts in combination represent a transfer from the poor to the rich, 'Robin Hood in reverse.'"

Tough Talk, No Action

Beginning with an introduction which points out the extent to which the new policies help the rich and are an attack on working people, one would think that the Executive Board would conclude that it is necessary to effectively challenge these policies. But no. When the resolution comes to specific proposals on what to do, it falls flat on its face.

The resolution contains 23 points. 20 of them are directed toward urging Congress to take one or another form of action. Many of the points are good ones.

But Woodcock himself has remarked that it was the Democratic Congress which gave Nixon the power to impose the freeze, even before Nixon requested it. Even in the introductory section of the resolution, that theme is brought up:

"Unfortunately the Democratic-controlled Congress is well on its way to

giving the Republican President most of what he has asked for in the way of inequitable tax changes and damaging cuts in government spending."

In short, the program of the UAW leadership to protect its membership from the present attacks is to ask for relief from the same Congress that is responsible for those attacks. So long as the UAW remains politically tied to the Democratic Party, it will remain powerless in the political arena. The Democrats, just as much as the Republicans, are a party whose primary loyalties are to big businesses and their profits.

The biggest problem with the resolution is what it lacks. While it goes on at length about what it urges Congress to do, it puts forward almost nothing about what the UAW should do.

Of the three points which refer to UAW action, the first states support for the actions (unspecified) already taken by the union officers and Executive Board, and the second authorizes the officers and Executive Board to "take whatever actions they consider advisable" (unspecified).

But the action of the UAW Executive Board and officers has been to cooperate with the freeze and the New Economic Policy, has been to give what amounts to a public endorsement by having UAW President Woodcock serve on the pay board.

Only one point in the entire resolution has any substance. It states:

"Declare it to be the policy of the UAW hereafter to sign no contract that runs for a term of more than one year unless it includes provision for reopening, with the right to strike, in the event any clause benefitting or protecting the workers is nullified, whether by government action or otherwise."

While this position would affect only future contracts, it could make a small but real contribution if implemented. However, the UAW has always held that it had the right to strike if a section of the contract were set aside. Woodcock, in fact, made threats along this line when the freeze was first announced. Thus it is possible that this point of the resolution was included as a backhanded way

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United National Caucus Meets In Detroit

On the evening of November 12, the night before the UAW Special Convention, the United National Caucus (UNC) of the UAW held its fifth national conference, with about 100 UAW members in attendance. The conference agenda began with the discussion of the questions which were expected to come up at the UAW convention the next day.

The first of these was the UAW financial crisis. The UNC voted to reject all proposals which increased membership dues, or which increased the proportion of dues money turned over to the International union's general fund, at the expense of either the local unions or the strike fund.

There was unanimous sentiment that the financial difficulties of the UAW were due to mismanagement and unnecessary expenditures: the building of plush and unneeded regional offices around the country, the high-living pay rate and expense accounts of International staff, large numbers of staff mem-

bers who provided little or no service to the membership, and the expenses incurred by the UAW Family Education Center at Black Lake, Michigan.

The UNC took the position that the UAW leadership should revise its spending so that it could properly service its members while staying within the present budget. It was argued that the leadership would spend as much money as they could get their hands on and still ask for more.

Black Lake was singled out as one of the central causes of the financial crisis. It cost \$23 million to build and has extremely high operating expenses. Several UNC members expressed the sentiment that Black Lake is run like a fancy resort.

It is used by the UAW administration to influence and impress potential UAW leadership while giving them a taste of the plush life of an International staffer. Sell Black Lake was one proposed solution to the UAW financial difficulties.

On the topic of the wage-price freeze

and Phase 2, the UNC voted to push for Woodcock getting off the Pay Board. The position of the UNC is that the UAW should not cooperate with the government-business attack on working people.

The conference voted: for defending the contract by strike, if necessary; for defending the right to strike and to bargain collectively without interference; for the UAW to offer labor solidarity with other unions or workers threatened by sanctions; and for a one-day work stoppage, leading to a general strike if necessary, to break the wage controls.

The conference also proposed that the UAW lead a campaign to end unemployment. It was voted that the fight against unemployment should be focused on the demands: 30 hours' work at full 40 hours' pay; no overtime when workers are on lay-off; no forced overtime.

The conference also resolved that the UNC must take a more aggressive stand in combatting racist practices of

the union, of the corporations, and in society as a whole. It voted that it would work for preferential hiring into the skilled trades for minorities, women, and others who have in the past been excluded.

The UNC took the position that racist practices must be considered both grievable and strikable, and that racist foremen should be fired. It was resolved that UNC papers and literature should give more prominent coverage to racial problems and the struggle to overcome them.

Finally, the conference voted to set up, in the future, a special conference to focus on the issue of racism. It was proposed that the various black organizations and caucuses in the UAW be invited to participate in organizing the conference.

When the UNC conference adjourned, everyone was reminded to get down to the UAW convention site early the next morning to join the UNC picket line. ■

FEW OUT ON NOVEMBER 6



New York

The peace march in New York City was small this year. Not more than 25,000 people marched, as compared with previous years when as many as 200,000 have been in the streets. The marchers were quiet, and there were few chants.

Everyone knew, marchers and by-

standers alike, that what we want is PEACE and that we want it NOW. But what we need is a way to get it, and once again the demonstration did not show the way.

As in past years, the march was organized into contingents; contingents of women, Blacks, Puerto Ricans; a gay contingent, an Asian contingent, and a labor contingent. Following a trend in the last few years, the labor contingent seemed to be the only one which had actually grown. There were delegations

from Districts 65 and 1199; a group of striking New York Telephone workers (Communications Workers of America); small showings from the International Longshoremen's Association and the United Auto Workers.

The central demands of the demonstration were U.S. Out of South East Asia Now and Stop the Bombings. There had been much discussion in meetings prior to the march on the advisability of sticking to just these demands in the face of the newly-created wage freeze. In joint committee meetings called to plan the march, many had advocated making the central demand *End the Freeze, End the War*.

Among those supporting this approach were Al Evanoff, a vice president of District 65; members of the Militant Action Caucus of the National Peace Action Coalition; and members of the International Socialists. It was clear to us that if the peace movement was to be a movement clearly in the interest of the vast majority of the American people, if it were to be a current movement and not a "has-been," it must oppose the freezes.

Members of the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) opposed this orientation. They argued that the only basis on which the peace movement could be held together was opposition to the war. They said that opposition to the freeze was

important too, but that the labor contingent could champion that cause.

In their view, *End the Freeze* was another narrow demand of another special interest group in the march. It was on the same order as the demand *Ban Bombs Not Books*, which library workers might press.

An anti-war movement which fudges on the key issues confronting the vast majority of the American people cannot grow, nor even live for very long. The SWP, which is a strong force within the peace movement, did the movement a grave disservice, by insisting that it not link itself with the struggle against wage controls.

The Militant Action Caucus, a newly formed, national group within the anti-war movement, worked to involve working people, as working people, in the actions and demands of the peace movement. In New York City, MAC advocated that local labor leaders be contacted to speak at and organize for anti-war rallies. MAC members proposed that demonstrations be held in areas and at times when working people could join them, and they insisted that the demands of the movement speak directly to the needs of working people. ■

[For more information about MAC in New York City, write: MAC, 43-05 215th Place, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.]



Detroit

On November 6, a sparse turnout of some 1,200 demonstrators marched down Woodward Avenue in a freezing rain to the traditional, semi-annual anti-war rally in Kennedy Square. The march was initially called by the Detroit Coalition to End the War, as part of a 12-city nationwide demonstration against the war on that day.

There was little new about the rally or march themselves; they contained essentially the same bill of fare that the Coalition and its predecessors have been serving up for some five years now. The only new element was the turnout; the march was dismally small, the weakest turnout for such a march in years.

The terrible weather might be blamed for the failure were it not for the fact that the returns from other cities were equally poor. In New York City, where a turnout of 100,000 for a peace march is considered normal, only 20,000 attended.

This poor showing occurred in spite of the fact that Nixon, in his arrogance, had scheduled the nuclear test blast at Amchitka Island for the very day of the marches. If anything might have fed new energy into November 6, it was this blatant assertion of the primacy of militarism in government policy.

In Detroit in particular, the vigorous protests of the Canadian peace movement against the blast earlier in the week had received wide publicity and focused attention on November 6. Yet, even this was not enough to swell the march to a respectable level.

The crisis within the anti-war movement which the poor turnout on November 6 revealed is very real; it goes beyond factors like weather and parade permits. The failure of the movement — and in particular of the leadership of the Coalition — is a political one.

The leadership has insisted that the anti-war movement must remain essentially a movement raising demands only around the war, and has fought vigorously any attempts to broaden the political content of the demonstrations. This time around, they raised the issue of inflation in their publicity for the march; but in the eyes of the Coalition leadership, the demonstration clearly retained a single-issue character.

This political approach is simply incapable of keeping the movement alive at this time, to say nothing of moving it to a higher level. The strategy was of doubtful value even when the war was the burning issue in American political life; today the press of events has made it completely bankrupt.

Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy — and the timid acquiescence of most liberal politicians, in word or in deed, to this cynical shuck — has defused the war issue to the point where only a hard-core of activists are willing to turn out for such a demonstration.

America is in the midst of a deep social crisis which is throwing more and more people into opposition every day, and which begs for a response from the radical movement.

The prison revolts, the crisis in the school system, the struggle of women toward equality and liberation; these and many other issues must be addressed. Most important, the deteriorating condition of the country's capitalist economy has forced the Nixon administration to take extraordinary measures, and has

produced deep anger within the ranks of the organized labor movement.

It is not enough to simply oppose inflation or speak against the wage freeze without offering a real program for action, as the Coalition leadership has unfortunately done. A series of demands must be raised which point out the cause-and-effect relationship between the war and the economic crisis, and which take the politics of the movement directly to the working people of the country.

An attempt to begin this was made this fall with the organization of the Labor Action Coalition.

Organized by people around the newspaper *Fifth Estate*, the International Socialists, and other sympathetic independent people in Detroit, this coalition organized for the march by raising five demands: *an immediate withdrawal of all forces from Vietnam; an end to the attack on wages; an end to racism; the creation of jobs for all workers; and the need for an independent political party to fight for the needs and aims of the labor movement.*

A campaign of leafletting and publicity was aimed at auto plants and other factories in the city.

The results were not overwhelming. But many sympathetic working people were contacted, and a beginning was made for this kind of activity in the future.

The failure of November 6 must become a lesson for people active in and concerned about the radical movement in Detroit and the nation. The direction that the movement must take in the coming period has been shown by groups like the Labor Action Coalition. ■

[Excerpted from an article by Ken Fireman in *The Fifth Estate*, November 11-24, 1971.]

[Carlos Feliciano, militant Puerto Rican Nationalist, was charged with several bombings of public buildings in New York over a year ago. He spent 16 months in jail without trial on \$175,000 bail.

His case is of central importance to the fight for Puerto Rican independence. In a vicious frameup, the government has attempted to link Carlos and the entire Puerto Rican liberation movement to terrorism and the Cuban government.

The following is an interview with Carlos Feliciano, who is presently free on \$55,000 bail, conducted by members of the New York International Socialists.]

Workers' Power: What lies behind your arrest?

Carlos Feliciano: They have arrested me because I am one of the youngest men who was in jail with Don Pedro Albizu Campos [leader of the Nationalist Party and renowned Puerto Rican patriot] in Puerto Rico. I was a witness to how the imperialists killed him there, in prison, how they threatened him and burned his body with X-rays until his death.

They are afraid that I will speak with the people and tell them what is going on—about the ending of his life and the independence of Puerto Rico.

Workers' Power: How did you get involved in the independence movement?

Carlos Feliciano: I started very young. The first thing that made me try to find out the truth about what is going on in Puerto Rico was the massacre of Poncé in 1937. I was nine or ten when that happened, when the police killed my brothers and sisters right in the street.

It was during a march to a church on March 21, a holiday. The police shot them, killed all day, because they were all for independence; because they fought for the right to have and become a free country; a place where they can see their kids growing up; have their own land; make their own rules.

When I was 15 years old, I joined the Nationalist Party. I started in the Cadets of the Republic of Puerto Rico. I was very active at that time with Don Pedro and all the brothers. We walked up and down our roads trying to tell our country, our people, about the truth; about our history, our culture.

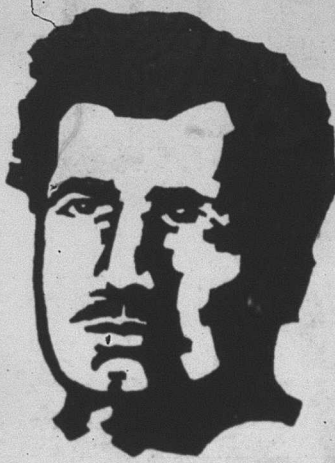
W.P.: It's just past the 21st anniversary of the 1950 Nationalist uprising. Can you tell us a little about that?

C.F.: In 1950, around October 30, the revolution started in Puerto Rico. On October 26, some of our brothers went to the east side of Puerto Rico, to Fajardo.

Don Pedro was in his car and all of our friends followed him. When they came back, the police claim that one of our brothers went through a red light, and they arrested five of them there. They found some guns in the trunk of the car.

On October 30, in Pinuela, in Poncé the police broke into our apartments, arrested our people, putting them in jail. We had to move to put a stop to this.

Interview With Carlos Feliciano



Carlos Feliciano

Around 10:00 in the morning on Monday, the uprising began—in that town in the south—in Poncé. Then it spread to Jayuya. Our people broke into the headquarters of the Mayor and formed the Republic in Jayuya. After that, fighting broke out in Arecibo, Mayaguez, and San Juan.

Five men went to attack the big house where the governor lives in San Juan. Four died there. Two days after that, in November, the police surrounded Albizu's house, and for two days they were fighting there.

Albizu fought back, with his brothers, against the police. But in the end they were overpowered and arrested.

It took the U.S. two weeks to suppress the uprising. They used around 5,000 U.S. army men plus 4 airplanes. They shot the people? they used bazookas and mortars, bombed the town, burned it, took it over again. There were over 2,000 officers involved.

The revolution, though, didn't stop there. We are still in the revolution. We have our men in the street, speaking about the independence of Puerto Rico, telling people the truth. I hope soon we'll become free, as we were before the United States invaded in 1898.

W.P.: There's talk of Puerto Rican independence by 1980. When you consider things like the mass march of 80,000 in San Juan last month, and the growth of the Puerto Rican independence movement—both on the island and here in New York—do you think that the prospects are good?

C.F.: Yes, I think so. They believe that simply by putting thousands of our people in jail, they can stop our movement. But we have more people fighting for independence in Puerto Rico and in the United States than ever before.

W.P.: In the 1950's, you spent years in the prisons of the American colonial empire. You also spent the last 16 months in prison in New York. What do you think about the prison conditions, and about the growing militancy among the prisoners, as shown, for example, by Attica?

C.F.: They cannot stop what's happening in prison—because they create it. They force the prisoners to protect themselves. The prisons in Puerto Rico and the prisons here are really concentration camps. These people live there in terrible conditions. They are suffering; the police are killing our brothers.

They run their concentration camps in the same way as they run a factory. A man has to work for 40c an hour and sometimes less. Sometimes they have to wait five years, ten years, 15 years in prison. Their homes are broken.

They decide from the beginning that they'll try to break up our minds in there. Prisoners have no chance. When they are arrested, they put high bail on them; they are poor, most of them; they are black and Puerto Rican. They don't have money to pay a good lawyer to defend them.

The first thing they ask our brothers is, "Do you want to cop out? You see, you're going to lose." Six months, two years in jail, they have to go. The lawyer makes him take this cop-out. That's why we have so many brothers and sisters in jail.

As soon as they protest something, they are put in solitary confinement. They beat them. There is no medicine and no doctor—nothing. No right to see your family, no letters, no commissary—and sometimes, no bath for one month. They make their own rules in the jail.

The food is bad. Most of the time, they serve white beans with bread. Sometimes coffee or tea—but not real tea—it's something that looks like tea. The people are sick in there. It's a terrible life—worse than a stray dog's.

They asked me to talk to the people outside to try to do something for them. This is the truth about the life of these people. What happened in Attica was a crime. They can't live in there, and they have no weapons. They were fighting just for the right to survive, and be treated like human beings, not like animals.

W.P.: They always try to make the victims look like the criminals and the criminals look like the victims. That's the basic policy; they portray you as a bomber, or Angela Davis as a

murderer. Why do you think they do this?

C.F.: When they see somebody who knows the truth about the system, and this brother or sister speaks about the truth in the street, in public, or starts to move, they've got to take them out of circulation, they've got to stop them—no matter how. They rig a frame-up and put them in jail.

With me in jail, they believe they're going to frighten our political movement in the streets, our people who fight for our rights, in Puerto Rico and in the USA. I don't just mean Spanish-speaking people—I mean the black, the Chicano, those who work from 6 in the morning till 6 in the afternoon, to make others rich while they become poorer.

They have to stop us, because we know the truth. And they don't like the truth.

W.P.: What are your hopes for a free and independent Puerto Rico?

C.F.: My hope? I wish to go back one day to live in my own country where my kids can go to a school house with a real education—have a real life like a human being; make my kids, my wife and myself free like a free person, growing up in a free country. It's a big thing to be free.

We don't need someone from the outside to come in and rule us. But in my country, the TV, the radio and the newspapers all belong to the Americans. They make their own rules. They control the minimum wage from Washington.

In my country, the power is in the hands of a little group of North American millionaires and a little group of Puerto Rican millionaires. The basic rules and laws are made in the United States, in the Congress. They impose their laws.

There are 101 US bases in Puerto Rico, all over our island; they have one of the biggest atomic reactors in the world there, endangering our lives. They impose their military system on us; we have to fight in their wars all around the world.

In Korea, we lost 55 thousand men. People came home without arms or legs. In Vietnam, there are 50 or 55 thousand of us who are fighting for nothing. They train our people to kill for their own purpose.

So we have to become independent. It's the only way to survive, the only way to win what we need. There are 185,000 of our families without houses 40 percent of our people have no jobs.

We have to become independent. We have to find the way. If we have to fight, we fight, because that is the only thing that this country understands.

They claim that we are violent. But we don't have the power that they have that they use on us. Arresting us in the street, breaking into our houses—this is violence. Taking away our things, our lives, this is violence.

They can't say anything about this because they'll choke on the words. This is what I think. To be free is our right. And we will never beg somebody for this right—we will take it.

[On November 9, the International Socialists, Lucha, and the New York University chapter of New University Conference co-sponsored a forum on the bomb plot frame-up of Carlos Feliciano. Carlos Feliciano and his lawyers William Kunstler and Conrad Lynn spoke. Over 150 attended.]

For more information please write: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal St. Station, New York, N.Y. 10013.]



the female eunuch a review

Marie Pielka

The Female Eunuch, by Germaine Greer (McGraw-Hill, \$6.95).

Germaine Greer criticizes psychiatry because it persuades the oppressed woman to seek the cause of her unhappiness in herself, not in her society. "Psychologists cannot fix the world," Greer comments, "so they fix women." Here she gives us the most telling criticism of her own book.

With all the brilliant insights she has into women's burdens, her personal viewpoint prevents her from seeing either the causes or the cure in society. She too tries to "fix women." Her advice to a woman wishing to be liberated is to "begin not by changing the world, but by reassessing herself."

Insights she has. A sampling: "A wife's only worthwhile achievement is to make her husband happy — it is understood that he may have other more important things to do than make her happy."

On nurses: "That nurses can be victimized by the essentialness of their work into accepting a shameful remuneration is an indictment of our society which is daring them to abandon the sick and dying, knowing that they will not do it. Must they wait until the sick and dying strike for them?"

On the feminine stereotype: "Seeing that the world despoils itself for this creature's benefit, she must be happy; the entire structure would topple if she were not. So the image of women appears plastered on every surface, imaginable, smiling interminably.... The occupational hazard of being a Playboy Bunny is the aching facial muscles brought on by the obligatory smiles." (The last quote is mocked — and confirmed — by Greer's publicity photo on the back of the Kleenex Boutique book jacket.)

Greer understands how women are treated. But often she fails to really understand women.

You've heard that women aren't liberated because they're not capable of it? That they're servile, dishonest, irrational, bereft of ideals? That most female intellectuals are aggressive and compulsive? Greer accepts all these stereotypes at face value. In fact, she thinks the main thing women need to be liberated from is their icky personalities.

Then, in the chapter on "Womanpower," she makes a stab at showing that these alleged faults are really virtues. Agreeing that women are irrational, for instance, she tells us that there is a need for people to be governed by emotion.

True, you can't think straight, honey, but to everything there is a season, you know. A time to be smart, and a time to be irrational. A time to be idealistic, and a time to be immoral.

I doubt that any woman would be consoled by this argument. Who wants a doctor who diagnoses by intuition?

Greer despises the female personality as she sees it, but she doesn't want to write it off as a hopeless case. So she constructs a dubious theory of personality to explain how women got that way, and then offers a solution for personal (not social) change.

Her theory may be briefly summarized as follows. All the undesirable characteristics of femininity — servility, dishonesty, passivity, etc. — result from the lack of something called "energy of the personality." Women lack this energy because they are sexually repressed.

Since the family is the main instrument of sexual repression, married women pass their burden on to their children. The consequent passivity of the female "eunuch" is the basic cause, not only of her incapacity for love, but of her inability to perform intellectually or creatively as well.

Greer does not offer a shred of clear evidence to support this theory, or even try to prove that "energy of the personality" is a viable concept. (Many psychologists have held the equally dubious contrary theory, that creativity stems from sexual repression rather than sexual satisfaction; Greer does not even mention their arguments.)

She makes women's oppression entirely a function of a personality disorder (sexual repression). Sexism, then, could conceivably exist independently of social values, social structure, or the attitudes of men.

Suppose we take sex out of the hayloft and install it in the salon (as we have been doing for the past fifty years). Does the low status of women then disappear? I doubt it. It has not disappeared because in our society people are commodities. The more available they are, the lower their market value.

Greer accepts the marketplace and directs her energies to improving the product. Her prescriptions for women's liberation are mainly personal, do-it-yourself changes — advice on how to increase your market value.

She is not unaware of this grotesque analogy. Women should refuse to marry because "no worker can be required to sign on for life: if he did, his employer could disregard all his attempts to gain better pay and conditions." A woman who is already married "can still retain

a degree of bargaining power, on condition that she resolves not to be afraid of the threat of abandonment."

Greer does not state what the wife is bargaining over, but the implication is clear. Women, like workers, must bargain over themselves, their lives, because they have a price just like a bunch of bananas.

The alternative, which Greer does not consider, is a society where people are not commodities, where they do not perish if they are not bought, and are not discarded when there is no demand for their function.

Greer has other criticisms of the family, however, besides its price-lowering function. A large part of her book is given to vivid descriptions of the "intense introverted anguish of the single eye-to-eye confrontation of the isolated spouses."

Her criticisms are quite valid and well worth reading. But Greer seems to think that family life is something you can reject any time you want to, if only you have a little self-confidence and independence. For a few upper-middle class women this may be true. But if Greer is speaking to the working-class she should know better.

In her chapter "Work," she describes all the dreary facts of female employ-

ment. The boredom, the inadequate wages, the dead-end quality of it all. She knows — but she doesn't understand.

For most women workers, who empty bed-pans or type figures eight hours a day, giving up their "career" for marriage is the best they can hope for. And it always will be, barring a complete change in women's work.

Greer's failure to apply her lessons is evident from the "success stories" at the end of "Work." Miss Ishbel Webster invented an aerosol hair-remover and made a fortune. Now that'll give you something to dream about. Her conclusion is that women must outstrip men to get better work (rather than organize to change the nature of work).

The truth, of course, is that Greer is not speaking to working-class women at all. Her idea of women's liberation is a villa in Italy where a local family will work the grounds and take care of her children.

No wonder she speaks of women's liberation as "replacing of compulsiveness and compulsion by the pleasure principle." Withdraw your labor, she tells us, stop your consumer spending, and employ your energy in self-chosen enterprise. This must sound like a bitter joke to the lines of women at employment agencies. ■





Abortion and women's lib

We have used quinine, mountain laurel, walnut shells, coathangers, scalding baths, lye, catheter tubes, and slippery elm sticks. For at least five thousand years, women have tried almost every imaginable method to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. Just the variety of methods tried — ranging from the ineffective to the suicidal — stands as testimony to the determination of women to gain some control over reproduction.

In the United States, until a few short years ago, the very mention of abortion was often shocking. This fact was a monument to the hypocrisy of our society. One of the most knowledgeable doctors in the field, Christopher Tietze, has estimated that about 8,000 legal ("therapeutic") abortions were performed each year in safe, clean hospitals. But everyone turned their backs on the millions of "other" abortions.

It's almost impossible to determine exactly how many illegal abortions have taken place, and are still taking place. The best estimate is that somewhere between one million and one million, five hundred thousand women fell in the "other" category every year. This means, roughly, that one in every four women has had, or will have, an abortion.

Every year, 8,000 or so fortunate women got hospital abortions, and another million took their chances in back streets.

The 8,000 who were able to obtain therapeutic abortions had money, had connections with doctors in voluntary ("private") hospitals, and knew how to handle the ropes. They didn't have to worry much about restrictive laws. As Clarence Darrow once said in a speech to the prisoners of Cook County Jail, "The rich don't have to break the laws; they make the laws."

And what happened — and still happens — to the million? Again, we must rely on estimates, but somewhere between 2,000 and 10,000 die, and up to 50,000 more have serious complications. An overwhelming proportion of these are non-white.

Some sections of the black movement have opposed abortion on the grounds that it would mean genocide to blacks. But it would seem from these figures that restrictive abortion laws, not abortions, are the real means of mass murder.

These figures are important — but they are impersonal, as numbers are. Moving accounts have been written of the experiences of women in lonely, desperate circumstances. Careful accounts have been published of the arbitrary, outrageous methods of the hospital boards which are entrusted with doling out legal abortions.

But each individual injustice, each criminal act of each hospital board, is part of a pattern. It is certainly not common knowledge that hospital abortions, until

the latest reform wave, were becoming fewer, not more numerous.

Twenty-five years ago, at least 30,000 hospital abortions were performed annually, not 8,000! But hospitals set up their quotas, their committees, their red tape. And the recent reforms have not swept all that away.

What must be emphasized is the fact that all of the deaths and misery caused by illegal abortions could have been avoided. Properly performed, an abortion is a minor operation.

For early abortions, there is little need for overnight care. In fact, abortions performed before a woman is 12 weeks preg-

nant are safer than pregnancy and delivery!

With advanced equipment, an abortion need take only a matter of minutes. All that is needed is careful follow-up care and provision for emergencies.

For early pregnancies there are two major methods: the traditional dilation and curettage, or "d and c," which involves scraping out the uterus with an instrument designed for that purpose; and the vacuum aspirator, which uses suction to remove the contents of the womb.

While both are safe in competent hands, there is no doubt that suction is less painful, safer, and quicker. But it is only now beginning to be used in this "advanced" country. Late abortions require more complicated procedures.

Deadly Hypocrisy

The fact that thousands of women have died needlessly each year underlines the reactionary and hypocritical nature of the "moral" opposition to abortion. Most opposition to abortion is not a matter of saving life, but of keeping women in their place.

It is barely 100 years since the Catholic Church declared abortion to be murder. Before that, with the exception of three years, the Church had generally accepted the view going back to Aristotle that abortions were permissible until the soul became "animated" (which, they estimated, took forty days for a male — and eighty for a female!).

Those three infamous years, 1588-1591, were a remarkably puritanical era under Pope Sixtus V, who also made adultery in Rome a hanging offense.

The link between puritanical sexual attitudes and anti-abortion crusades has been constant throughout the ages.

"You've had your fun, now pay for it," is the cliché.

The case of Shirley Wheeler, the young woman recently convicted of manslaughter in Florida for having an illegal abortion, is a reflection of such attitudes. She faced up to twenty years in jail. With the help of petitions and telegrams from all over the country, she received a two year suspended sentence. But the condi-

[Continued on page 9]

for further information...

Unfortunately, your local library will probably not be much help. Mine shelved its few books on the subject between such books as *The White Slave Trade and Narcotics Trafficking in the Americas on one side, and The Murderer's Companion on the other.*

But if you can find them, three worthwhile books are: Florynce Kennedy and Diane Schuler, *Abortion Rap* [personal accounts, gathered in preparation for a New York court suit], \$3.95.

Lawrence Lader, *Abortion* [best overall survey to date, though a little weak on the women's rights angle]; available now in paperback, \$1.95.

Lena Clarke Phelan and Patricia T. Maginnis, *The Abortion Handbook for Responsible Women* [moving and useful], \$3.00.

For a truly amazing selection of free articles and medical reprints, write the Association for the Study of Abortion, 120 W. 57 Street, New York, N.Y. 10019. They'll send you a list of what's available — ranging from studies of worldwide laws to New York City's first nine months under the new law, from the "Semantics of Abortion" (for arguing with doubters) to Judith Blake's article on changing opinions in the last decade.

Another organization with information is NARAL, National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, 250 W. 57 Street, New York City.

WONAAC, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, will send you their newsletter and information about their campaigns; 917 15th St. NW, Suite 502, Washington, D.C.

An early women's liberation pamphlet which is still useful and informative is 1 in 4, *An Abortion Primer*, put out by Women's Liberation Seattle; it can be gotten from 3117 E. Thomas, Seattle. It was printed in 1969 and used in the Washington State abortion referendum last year, in which women were victorious.

With the new laws and decisions, many firms are capitalizing on women's need for information. Don't waste your money. If you want practical advice, the best thing to do in most parts of the country is to contact your local Planned Parenthood first. At worst they will refer you elsewhere. In some cities there are better referral services, but you are unlikely to be hurt by PP. They are in your phone book.

Abortion

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

tions? That she either marry the man she had been living with for three years, or go back to her parents.

Hospital abortion committees have often demonstrated the same attitudes. Lawrence Lader cites a case in which a woman was accepted for a therapeutic abortion until it was discovered that she was unmarried.

The question of when life begins has been debated for centuries — the answer has varied from religion to religion, from era to era. Increasingly, people are coming to accept the view that the embryo is basically a blueprint, not a human being. Abortion may be a serious decision, but it is not murder. On the other hand, condemning countless women to death through botched illegal abortions clearly is murder, on a staggering scale.

Public opinion has shown a startling shift in the past few years. Just two years ago, 85 percent of the population was opposed to abortion on demand. Yet in a widely publicized survey taken re-

in the past few years?

First, only those states which essentially leave the decision to the woman and her physician have really improved conditions for the majority of women. The California law, which did not, has left a legal maze. Numbers of illegal abortions continue to take place.

Second, unless abortions can be performed outside the hospitals — in clinics — the cost of abortions will still be too high for most of us. The reform will be a reform for the relatively privileged. Hawaii reported a minimum cost of about \$300; in California, the cost initially averaged \$600-\$700.

New York State's experience — its abortion law is now over a year old — has much to teach us. The most positive lessons are the decisive drop in illegal abortions, maternal death rates, and illegitimacy rates. There is also the encouraging news that the medical profession has found it very easy to accommodate the increased demand for abortion facilities.

Most of the progress has been in New York City, not so much in upstate New York. This progress has been made, however, not because of the altruism of the medical profession, but because the city's municipal hospitals calculated that it would be more economical in the end to provide abortions than to refuse them.

is usually no need for an overnight stay. But one important area still to be opened up is the training of para-professionals who could provide highly competent, specialized care under the guidance of doctors.

Also, no one is sure how many women are pressured into sterilizations while being "helped." For all poor women, and especially black and brown women, the problem of coerced sterilization is very real.

The fact is that every law to date is clearly faulty. Almost every proponent of abortion reform has come to one simple conclusion: *the only good abortion law is NO abortion law.*

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) is currently waging a campaign to repeal all abortion laws. The focus of the campaign is two demonstrations on November 20, in Washington, D.C., and in San Francisco, around the demand "Repeal All Abortion Laws."

For Free Abortion

But even this will not be enough. Quality abortions must be made free on demand, so that they are available to all women, not merely those who can afford them.

The fight for the right to abortion is part of the fight for women's liberation: to free women from sole responsibility for housework and childcare and to give them equal opportunities in education and employment. To achieve this, the women's liberation movement must win *free abortion and contraception; free, quality 24-hour childcare; equal pay for equal work; and other demands such as paid maternity and paternity leave from work.*

Unless contraception, abortion, and childcare are free, many women won't be able to afford them and will remain chained to the home or doubly burdened with low-paying jobs plus the responsibility for all the work at home.

The movement for these demands must be led by working women. Only working women have the social weight necessary to win these demands. In addition, the necessity of winning them is clearest to a woman who must pay for childcare out of her small wages and must face the housework after putting in a day on the job.

But the women's liberation movement has so far failed to make its demands relevant to working women. In an attempt to broaden the WONAAC abortion campaign, the demand that was axed was *free abortion* — the very demand that is most crucial to making this campaign relevant to working, poor, and third world women.

The campaign was "broadened" to include groups such as Zero Population Growth, which support abortion reform not because they believe women should have the right to control their own bodies, but because they think there are too many people (if they ever decided there were too few people, they'd be for stricter abortion laws again).

We must see to it that the fight for abortion is led by a strong women's liberation movement, in the interests of working and poor women, so that our victory cannot be snatched from us later on.

[The International Socialists Women's Caucus supports the campaign to repeal all abortion laws and believes its success will be a victory for all women. Within the campaign, we raise the demand for free abortion, and urge women in the campaign to join or start a Free Abortion Caucus and to march with the Free Abortion Contingents on November 20.]

Abortion In Washington State

Celia Emerson

Last November, the voters of Washington State overwhelmingly approved a modified abortion reform bill. The law now states that any woman can have an abortion performed if she is no more than 16 weeks pregnant and if the operation is performed in an accredited hospital or clinic (although if she is married she must have her husband's consent, or if unmarried and under 18, her parents').

Abortion reform was a major issue in Washington State politics during the year preceding the election. The two major women's liberation groups, Women's Liberation-Seattle and Radical Women, had been involved in calling major demonstrations in front of the State Capitol. Out of this agitation came the Washington Committee for Abortion Reform which spearheaded the referendum drive.

The campaign was bitterly fought. The Voice of the Unborn, a coalition of Mormons, Catholics, fundamentalists and other right-wingers, led the attack against abortion reform. They had large sums of money and plastered the cities

Abortion Referendum

Anne Gardner

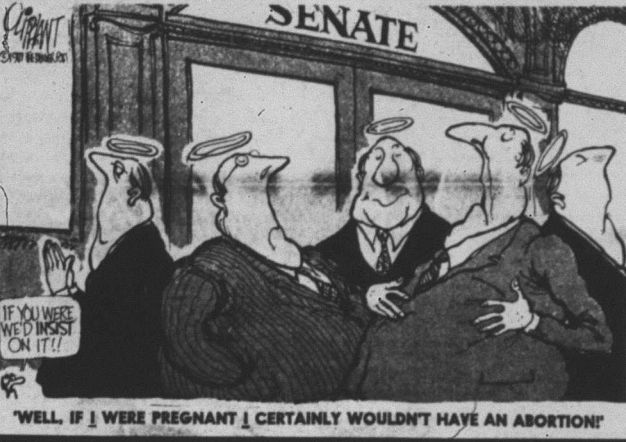
"Need help? Consultation on problem pregnancies. Just call this number for \$1 from anywhere in the country."

These ads, appearing all across the country in newspapers, are soliciting business for doctors, clinics, and hospitals that are now giving abortions in the 16 "on request" states and in the 12 so-called "health states" where abortions are performed to protect the mental or physical health of a woman.

When the telephone call is made, a receptionist asks the caller her age, how far advanced her pregnancy is, and whether she is sure she's pregnant — and then explains that the caller must mail in a deposit of \$100 for the agency to arrange the time and place for the abortion.

The operator gives a short description of the procedures available and begins quoting prices: \$235 up to 12 weeks; \$325 from 12 to 14 weeks; and \$500 between 14 and 24 weeks. The caller is then urged to mail in her deposit quickly — the sooner the better.

So, for a deposit of \$100 — which of



cently by the Opinion Research Corp., 49 percent said they believed the abortion decision should be left up to the woman and her doctor. A much greater percentage approved abortion under various other restrictions.

A few years ago, a number of states finally began to change their abortion laws. Most of these laws, about a century old, were highly restrictive. To date, 17 states have reformed their laws; of these, only four — New York, Alaska, Hawaii, and Washington State — leave the choice more or less up to the woman and her doctor (with certain restrictions).

Twelve other states have basically adopted the American Legal Institute (ALI) code, which allows abortions if pregnancy would "gravely impair the physical or mental health of the mother or if the child would be born with grave physical or mental defect, or if the pregnancy resulted from rape by force or its equivalent, or from incest." The ALI code also has restrictions which require that more than one physician certify the necessity of the abortion.

Every state has different regulations on residency requirements, time limits, and places where abortions may be legally performed.

What lessons can we learn from the patchwork of laws which have grown up

Every woman who cannot obtain an abortion must be given pre-natal and delivery care in a matter of months — and that is much more expensive than an abortion. Also, treating the complications of seriously botched illegal abortions was costing about \$4 million a year.

Thus, even when Governor Rockefeller threatened to end medical aid for abortions, the city was determined to carry on. (Rockefeller was thwarted, but it taught New York women that no victory is irreversible.)

The private clinics have found abortions to be a real gold mine. About one half of New York City's abortions have been performed on non-residents. (Most other states refuse non-residents.) The private clinics advertise in major cities in other states and will make all the arrangements for a woman to come to New York for an abortion. Since the major motivation of these clinics and referral services is profit, rather than concern for women's right to abortion, they often prove to be quite expensive.

While New York's reform has resulted in positive gains for women, no one should be deluded into thinking all is paradise. The city hospitals still have cumbersome procedures, and obtaining financial aid involves humiliating interviews.

Costs have been brought down; there

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with billboards which depicted a male fetus crouched in a hand; the sign read, "Let Him Live" (my emphasis).

But in spite of the well funded and organized opposition, sentiment for abortion reform grew.

The women's liberation movement, centered in Seattle, built the abortion reform campaign as a part of the fight for women's liberation. Our leaflets emphasized that abortion was, above all, a woman's right; we called for free and legal abortions on request — no forced sterilization. We found we had to counter not only the Voice for the Unborn, but also liberals who saw abortion reform as part of a eugenics movement.

Since the law was passed, at least 6,000 women in Washington State have had a legal abortion performed. Abortions remain expensive, but not as expensive as in other reform states. They cost from \$300 to \$600 in the hospitals; from \$75 to \$175 in the clinics.

But the low cost of abortion in the clinics does not mean that abortions are all that accessible. North and South of Seattle and Tacoma (Washington's two

major cities) there are no clinics, and few hospitals. East of the Cascade mountains, there is only one hospital and one clinic.

In Washington state, especially in the winter months, it is quite difficult to get across the mountain passes into Seattle. Public transportation is totally inadequate, unless you can afford to fly.

Even in the metropolitan area of Seattle-Tacoma, abortions are not too easily accessible. For example, there is only one clinic within the Seattle city limits. Women who live in the central city, poor and Black women, women on welfare, etc., have a difficult time taking the almost non-existent public transportation to the suburban clinics.

Not all hospitals perform abortions either. There was a "conscience clause" in the law, which allowed hospital boards to decide whether or not their doctors would perform abortions.

In one area, Washington State women are luckier than most. The abortion referral service, which emerged from the women's movement for abortion reform, is free and provides excellent and sympathetic advice and counselling. We do not have the large rip-off abortion referral services that have sprung up in so many other states.

The struggle for better laws continues slowly in Washington State. Some liberals feel the present law is adequate for women's needs. Many conservatives are trying to circumvent the law.

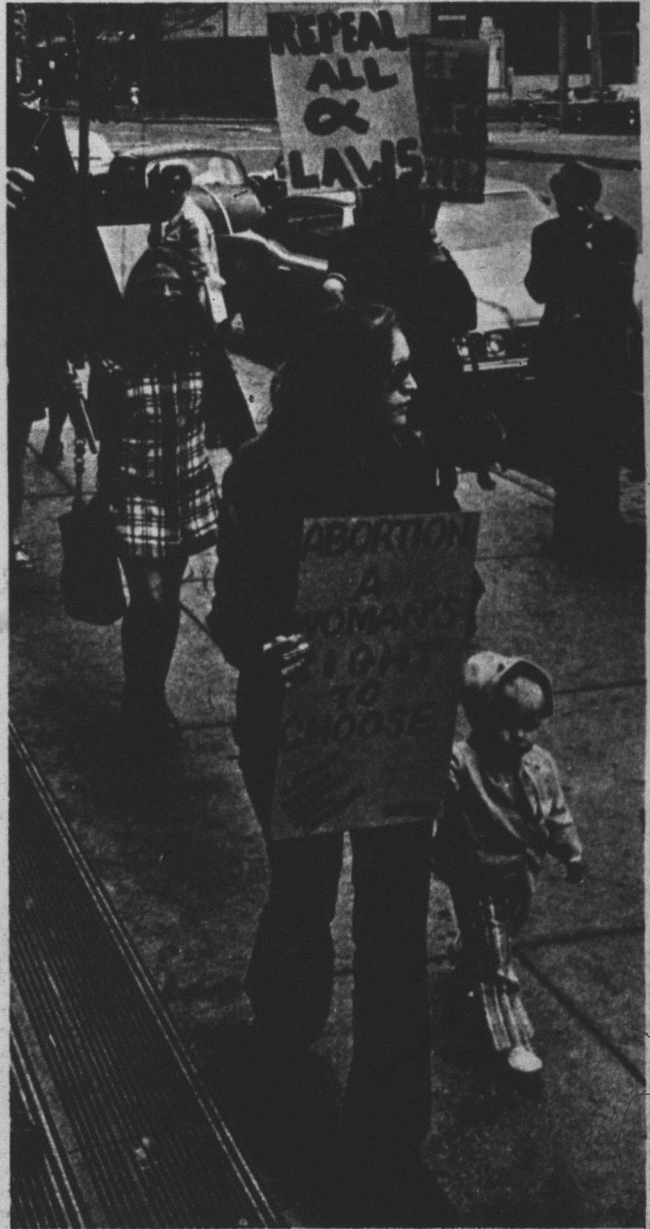
One legislator proposed that all aborted fetuses be sent to the state capitol for examination! Another legislator introduced a law requiring that all women who had had abortions have their names listed in the vital statistics column of the newspapers. Fortunately, neither of these reactionary suggestions passed.

Most feminists are dissatisfied with the present bill — with its paternalistic provisions, discrimination against poor women, and inadequate medical procedures.

One important struggle is for the right of paramedics — people who are not doctors, but are qualified to perform certain medical or surgical procedures — to be licensed to perform abortions. This would increase the number of qualified abortionists.

Many paramedics are women who have had abortions in the past; patients appear to like them better than male doctors (at this time there are no female doctors performing abortions).

In short, the women of Washington State won an important but limited victory in our struggle to control our bodies. Until abortions are free, and legal for all women regardless of age and marital status, until they are available to all women, abortion reform in Washington State remains a victory for a small group ■



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ten pays no part of the abortion itself but instead goes directly into the pocket of the referral agency — a time and place is secured for a woman who desperately needs an abortion. Not until after the woman has paid the \$100 does she find out such important information as where and who will perform the abortion, what kind of operation will be involved, and whether she will have to be "put to sleep" (a high fee), or will just have local anesthesia.

The cost for the abortion itself is never really known to the women who go the route of the commercial referral agencies, and there are many who do. (One agency claims it refers from 25 to 200 women a week.) Moreover, since these commercial referral agencies do not insist on a doctor's confirmation of pregnancy, many non-pregnant women end up paying for — and getting — abortions.

If all women in all states had the right to terminate unwanted pregnancies, these commercial agencies would quickly lose the business that they enjoy today. In

New York State, these agencies have recently been outlawed, but the new law changed last spring has really changed nothing. The agency simply moves its operations to a neighboring state and continues soliciting business for New York doctors, hospitals, and clinics.

The reasons given by the New York Legislature for prohibiting commercial referral agencies were that the profits made by the agencies represented unethical fee-splitting, and that the Legislature was supposedly concerned that the high referral fees discriminated against women who could not afford to pay the fee.

But the New York Legislature has not recognized that the cost for the abortion itself discriminates against the majority of women. If abortion reform groups are angered at the thought of profiteers cashing in on the laws for which they fought for so long, they should also take a look at the profits being made off the abortion itself. Doctors, hospitals, and clinics are now cashing in on laws that they never put their support behind.

The cost for an abortion can range from \$150 in an abortion clinic to \$600 in a hospital. The American Medical Association has condemned the commercial referral agencies as a "breach of medical ethics," but the AMA has had nothing to say about the questionable medical ethics involved in excluding people from medical care because of inability to pay (in this case, from access to abortions).

A doctor in New York City can make \$150,000 on abortions in one year, by performing 30 to 40 abortions a week. In the months from July to December, 1970, 80,000 abortions were performed in New York City. 80,000 women were forced to pay the high prices for abor-

tions and thousands of other women were denied their right to control over their own bodies because they were not able to "buy" this right.

Many women are not familiar with the non-profit referral agencies available to them in almost every city. Since the commercial agencies use commercial techniques, such as ads in newspapers, billboards — and even planes towing banners along the New Jersey and Florida beaches — they are able to reach their

audience of confused, uninformed, or just plain desperate women.

Those sections of the abortion movement which support the demand for free abortions on demand are outraged at both the costs of abortion and the commercial referral agency profiteering. Disguised as interested in helping women obtain safe abortions, the commercial referral agencies are really only in existence for one thing: to gain as much profit off our bodies as they possibly can. ■



Bread & Roses

Pension

Social Security pension benefits for housewives are being considered by Senate Finance Chairman Russell Long, according to a report in the Jack Anderson syndicated column.

Under the present system, a wife shares her husband's social security and collects survivor's benefits in case of his death. But she is not eligible for old-age pensions in her own right for a lifetime of housework. Only salaried servants can claim social security benefits for housework.

\$2 Bill

Representative Seymour Halpern of New York has introduced legislation into Congress to issue a \$2 bill with a portrait of Susan B. Anthony on its face. Anthony was an early suffragist leader, arrested for voting in the 1872 Presiden-

tial elections.

Mr. Halpern claims the support of more than 30 members of the House, 17 Governors, and 25 national groups representing 50 million women. One source of opposition came from California Governor Ronald Reagan; one of his aides stated, "As the Governor opposes social change through illegal acts, he must decline his support of [the] proposal...."

Another opponent is Julia Butler Hansen, the only woman on the 55 member House Appropriations Committee, who said, "I'm not for all these empty honors. I want some practical, down-to-earth actions."



Business Expense

A working mother in New York City, Elizabeth Barrett, is fighting the Internal Revenue Service over how to declare child care expenses.

Realizing that she was netting only about \$10 a week after paying her babysitter, Barrett ignored a 1954 tax code provision that restricts married women's child care deductions to \$600 a year for one child (\$12 a week)

of \$900 for two (\$18 a week), and claimed the total expended.

Barrett considers child care a business expense, since without a baby-sitter she could not have worked. This is the case for most working mothers.

Barrett filed this claim in 1965; the IRS disallowed her deduction and demanded an additional payment of taxes. The *Detroit Free Press* (Nov. 7, 1971) reported that

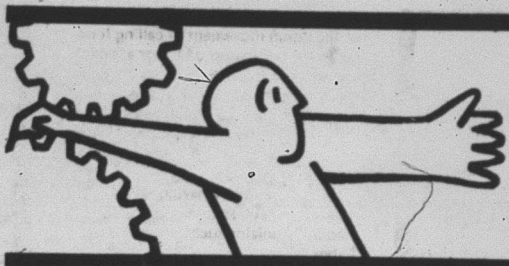
"Tax Court Judge Roehm found Barrett's claimed expenses reasonable and her argument of inequity compelling. But he ruled that her case did not create a Constitutional question and that the proper forum for her grievance was Congress."

Barrett appealed Judge Roehm's decision and her case is now before the U.S. Tax Court in New York City.

Vote

Women in Switzerland voted in a federal election for the first time recently. Since 1959, Swiss women have gradually won the right to vote in various local elections.

Although women represent a 55 percent majority of voters in Switzerland, observers say their vote did not alter the outcome of the election; a four-party coalition, in office since World War II, retained its overwhelming majority in Parliament. Incomplete results showed that eight of the 260 women candidates were elected, although women's suffrage leaders predicted the number would rise to nine or ten when all returns were in.



Life and Limb

Dr. Alice Watts'

That Womanly Smell

The *Wall Street Journal*, on its back page November 1, exposed feminine hygiene deodorants. Or rather, following the tradition of bourgeois journalism, it almost exposed them.

As the *Journal* equivocated, maybe the sprays are dangerous, maybe they're safe. Needless to say, the companies which make them, like Alberto-Culver and Johnson & Johnson, are "very sure of the safety" of their products. Even the American Medical Association, however, warns against use before sex, although it stamps its general approval.

Some gynecologists, on the other hand, have reported numerous cases of skin rashes related to the deodorants. Alberto-Culver easily relegates these complaints to an "acceptable number" — but nobody has attempted to explain away the possible effects of hexachlorophene.

This unlabelled ingredient of all the sprays has been shown by previous laboratory tests to pass through mucous membranes, one of which lines the va-

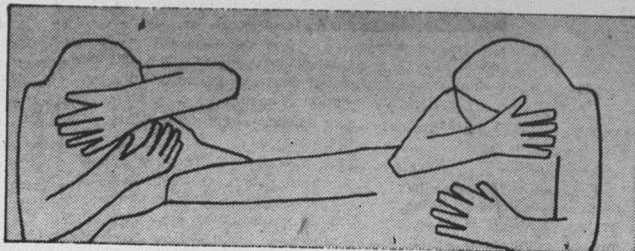
gina, and cause brain damage in human babies. Also, the asbestos-containing talc used has been linked with cervical cancer. But proof positive of the deodorants' dangers is still lacking....

Moreover, there is an implication that women dumb enough to spray inside themselves (which, indeed, is the logical area to spray if you really want to get rid of odors) deserve the subsequent tissue burns. However, don't worry — for as a Vice-President of Alberto-Culver as-

[This week's column is by Susan Amuth, a women's liberation activist in New York.]

serts, "As near as we can determine, most women have a pretty good idea where to use it." Too bad his condescension doesn't explain his methods of so determining.

The final debate revolves around the effectiveness of the sprays. Some advocates claim to have "objective proof" that the deodorants are more effective than soap and water. But the crucial question is never answered: Effective in what? In making women merely cleaner,



in rendering us germproof, or in making us Really Women?

The odors of menstruation, of sexual excitement, even of newly-washed pubic hair — are clearly Unfeminine. They're Unfeminine the way that hair, under our arms or on our calves is, but with that special extra twist, that "secret that every married woman knows" — they are Offensive. That is to say, a woman's natural odors are offensive. Unadorned, we stink.

It's true that men have also been recently subjected to a similar, if lower-keyed, advertising barrage to smell sterile or perfumed. But women remain the prime victims of such fear-exploitation.

Twenty-four million women this year are spending \$53 million on feminine hygiene deodorants. The risks of dermatitis and more dangerous possible effects aside — why do 24 million women feel they have to deodorize their crotches?

The answer is testimony to that image of Woman pushed by magazines, high school guidance counselors, and TV: Woman is that part of "mankind" whose main goal, challenge, and destiny resides in catching-and-keeping-a-man. Along with the image go various devices useful for such success.

We've learned to dress fashionably, to laugh softly, to make demands indirectly, to make-up artfully, to fake orgasms when necessary. Smelling unlike our natural selves is another aspect of a lifetime of acting, often for an audience of one. Not liking our natural odors is another aspect of not liking, not trusting, our selves.

The Alberto-Culvers are happy to provide us with products that further alienate us from our own bodies, that further deepen our fears — with built-in health hazards at no extra cost. ■



feedback

Bussing

The issue of bussing has aroused a fair share of attention and analysis. There seems to be little agreement, and even less understanding of what is taking place, and what the response of the Left should be.

Of particular concern is the amnesia that is suffered when bussing comes into a political discussion. An excellent understanding of the New Economic Policy, how labor should respond to it, and what is the motivation behind liberals' calls for controls and "equality of sacrifice," for example, appears to be no guarantee that an individual will see what's up the sleeve of the liberal "Establishment" when the question of blacks and education is brought in.

This letter is intended to put the bussing question in the context of the ruling class offensive and the liberals' approach to the economic crisis.

The bussing dispute cannot be viewed



apart from the national crisis in education, which in turn is part of the general economic crisis. Not only does the recession entail deteriorating living standards for the working class, but, in addition, the entire ruling class is committed to forcing the working class to bear the brunt of the efforts to solve the crisis in the

interests of capital. Hence, the NEP, etc.

As we know, blacks and other oppressed groups have felt the effects of the social crisis earlier and more directly than have other sectors of the working class. They have moved against these effects in militant ways and have fully demonstrated their ability to shake up the

society and force the ruling class to deal, at least in words, with their just demands.

In response, the ruling class has moved to keep the Black Movement in safe channels by smashing the left-wing and co-opting the "moderates." This approach is not purely Machiavellian, but is part of a strategy advanced by the liberals as a means of moderating the urban crisis.

Put simply, the liberals would like to eliminate the grosser deficiencies of ghetto conditions by financing various poverty programs and minimal improvements in housing and education, primarily by taxing the better-off sectors of the working class, mainly white. This, of necessity, means a political strategy of pitting white against black; hence, the liberals' support for and financing of black construction coalitions, community control schemes, etc.

Bussing is one facet of this strategy. This is the only way to explain why the government "gave in" to a movement which was applying almost zero pressure, and why the Black Movement appears to have shifted so suddenly from Black Power back to integration.

That the liberals have foisted the bussing scheme on a dispersed and divided Black Movement through their allies within the Movement does not by itself determine our attitude toward the program. What in this case is crucial, is our ability to intervene and put forward a socialist approach.

We would be willing, for example, to support a demand on the part of blacks for preferential hiring; our approach being to raise in conjunction the demand, "Jobs for ALL." In this situation, we would be able to put forward a demand

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editorial

[Continued from page 11]

Meatcutters' Union Executive Board denounced labor's participation on the Pay Board and called for a discussion of measures to oppose it, including the possibility of a general work stoppage by the whole union movement. On the other hand, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock indicated that he was fully satisfied with the Pay Board's decision, under which raises won by the UAW in last year's GM strike are expected to be honored.

This realignment in the labor bureaucracy, which finds the "progressive" Woodcock supporting the Phase 2 program along with the "conservative" Teamster President Fitzsimmons, should indicate that the myth of a forward-looking, independent section of the labor bureaucracy is precisely that — a myth. In fact, it is the most "liberal" bureaucrats who have been most enthusiastic in supporting the idea of wage-price controls.

If Nixon's offensive is to be stopped, the rank and file must take the initiative in forcing labor to a tougher stand. In every local union meeting, resolutions demanding *Labor Off the Pay Board and A National Work Stoppage Against the*



5.5 Percent Limit should be introduced. Letters on these two points should be written to every union newspaper. Rank and file groups should fight for these points.

So far, the *only* imaginative response of the labor leadership to the blatantly pro-corporation bias of the wage control program has been to call for "price watch/dog" committees. These could be valu-

able, but they will become a reality only if militant unionists, along with other workers, unemployed, and housewives, take independent initiative in organizing them.

For such committees to be successful in exposing the price increases and why they happen, they must take a position of opposition to *all* price increases and to the entire New Economic Policy.

They must also join the militant wing of the union movement in calling for a democratic *Congress of Labor* at which the ranks of the working class could speak for themselves — for or against the wage controls and the New Economic Policy, and for or against the independent struggle of labor in defense of its most basic interests.

The Meatcutters, having raised the demand for opposition, should take the lead in organizing such a Congress of Labor.

(3) Meanwhile, the threat of a disintegration of Nixon's strategy and a worldwide economic slump became greater. The Senate, going beyond the present boundaries of Nixon's own policies, rejected the Administration's "foreign aid" bill and threw the structure of US military and economic assistance into chaos. Simultaneously, a Congressional subcommittee began discussions of possible increases in the import surcharge, such as raising it from 10 to 15 percent.

While a series of separate bills are being passed so that American defense of "democracy" in Southeast Asia and elsewhere can continue, the amount of aid will be cut and many "economic development" and "social stabilization" programs eliminated.

In these actions, the Senate was responding both to calls for protection for weak US industries and to war-weariness among the people. These measures undermined Nixon's program (which is to continue foreign domination through "development aid," and to use the import surcharge, not as a long-range protection measure, but as blackmail to force Europe and Japan to adjust their monetary policies).

Thus, behind the agreement of all

[Continued on page 14]

Self-Determination And The NLF

James Coleman

[This two-part article examines the International Socialists' position on a critical political question of the anti-war movement, that of support for the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. In our last issue, we explained why the PRG-NLF's claims to be a democratic multi-party movement were false — and why their real program, to set up a class dictatorship ruled by a Communist bureaucracy, must be opposed. In this issue, we explain why "the PRG-NLF still deserves to win against the US, though not to consolidate its rule over the people of South Vietnam."]

In a recent Louis Harris poll on the Vietnam war, majorities voted "no" on every one of a series of partial "withdrawal" measures, such as leaving a "residual" US force in Vietnam or continuing military aid. The majority demanded total withdrawal.

In doing so, since the PRG-NLF is today the only force fighting against the US in Vietnam, opponents of the war necessarily support a PRG-NLF victory, or at least reconcile themselves to this probability. But they do so for many different reasons.

Three Positions

(1) Some are ready to accept a coalition government with PRG participation simply because they accept the fact that the US has lost the war. The liberal "dove" Senators who take this view, such as McGovern and McCarthy, all supported the US war as recently as 1966, 1967, or 1968. In reversing themselves, they still hope for a settlement which would leave the US with some influence. Realistic enough to compromise, they still aim to limit Vietnamese self-determination. These are the imperialist opponents of the war.

(2) Others give political support to the PRG-NLF and its program. For some, this support is based simply on the fact that the NLF is fighting heroically against US domination of South Vietnam. Many accept the PRG-NLF's promises of coalition rule, or believe the reports of travellers who speak confidently about democracy in North Vietnam after talking to a few government officials and to ordinary citizens through a government translator.

On the other hand, the ranks of political supporters also include those who are well aware that the PRG-NLF will set up a bureaucratic dictatorship after victory, but who believe that socialism in fact consists of a benevolent dictatorship. By and large, these people do not defend this belief openly; instead, they retail the NLF's claims about coalition government. These are the Stalinist opponents of the war.

(3) The revolutionary socialist approach is completely different from either of these. We reject North Vietnam's

and the PRG-NLF's claims to represent any kind of socialism; it is our conception that the actual state power of the working people is a necessary prerequisite to socialism, that there can be no socialism without democracy. But at the same time, we support a military victory by the PRG-NLF on the basis of the right to self-determination.

National Independence

Self-determination, the right of any national population to an independent state, free of foreign domination, is a key question in a world divided among competing Great Powers, each with its string of satellite states which it either controls directly or dominates economically. For people in the subject coun-

workers both in its homeland and in other countries.

No such movement can be built unless the revolutionaries in imperialist countries recognize the right of the subject countries to settle their affairs in their own way. Equally, no such movement is possible if revolutionaries blindly endorse whatever is done by those fighting against imperialist rule.

In Vietnam and elsewhere in the backward countries today, self-determination is not only a right, but also a necessity. The political and economic domination of the United States (and of the USSR in Eastern Europe) must be thrown off as a prerequisite to any political freedom or economic development, let alone to a so-

cialist society in which the working people

ist countries before, during, and briefly after World War II. In 1945, Ho Chi Minh went so far as to order the killing of the Vietnamese Trotskyists who were calling for preparation for armed resistance to France.

In 1954 (at the end of the war which nevertheless broke out shortly after this blood sacrifice) Ho accepted the division of Vietnam. At present, North Vietnam uses the resistance movement in Cambodia mainly as a pawn in its larger strategy. The Vietnamese Communists have never fought for workers' democracy, but have destroyed workers' organizations and herded peasants into "collective farms."

But these betrayals — and the possibility of other betrayals in the future — do not lessen the need to support Vietnam's self-determination, today when the PRG-NLF is the only force in the field fighting for it.

Democratic Demand

Often, the forces fighting for self-determination are also fighting for more democracy — for instance, in East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) today. But not always — for example, when fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia before World War II, the absolute monarch Haile Selassie was in no way fighting for democracy. But every socialist and democrat supported Ethiopia against this imperialist attack.

Similarly, self-determination for Vietnam, under the leadership of the PRG-NLF, will lead to a reactionary regime, one which denies elementary democratic rights to all its citizens and elementary rights of independent organization to its workers. But the PRG-NLF still deserves to win against the US, though not to consolidate its rule over the people of South Vietnam.

South Vietnam's people have chosen to fight for self-determination, and in the process they have followed the NLF, which has emerged in the leadership of this fight for various reasons. (The reasons include the role of the United States and the other Western powers, who worked to wipe out every non-Stalinist opposition group that might have become an alternative leadership for the liberation struggle; the NLF, too, has been hostile to opposition elements it could not control.)

To oppose a PRG-NLF victory supposedly on the grounds of allowing South Vietnamese "a chance to decide their fate," as do Nixon and some other US politicians, is really to deny democracy. For although the PRG too is anti-democratic, the road to democracy lies only through the choices (and mistakes) of Vietnamese themselves, not through any excuses for continued US domination.

There is also a more general importance to the question of self-determination under Stalinist leadership, as in Vietnam. Since World War II, the old European colonial empires have broken up, and powerful movements have arisen against the United States's economic form of imperialism, both in the US



ties, self-determination means the right to break the imperial relationship; it is part of the struggle for democracy, it is also a prerequisite for escaping from economic strangulation.

In turn, in a world in which many of the struggles for freedom take the form of fights for national independence, the commitment to the right of self-determination by people in the imperialist countries is a critical test of solidarity with those fighting for freedom.

In both cases, the question of the right to self-determination is one of the keys to building an international movement against imperialism and class oppression — against the capitalist and Stalinist systems, each of which oppresses

cialist society in which the working people rule.

This does not mean political support for the PRG-NLF. The people of Vietnam would be a thousand times better off today, and tomorrow, if they did not have to rely on these forces. The PRG's predecessor organizations have proved treacherous both to the struggle for democracy and to the fight for independence many times before.

History of Betrayals

For a whole decade, from 1935 until 1946, the Vietnamese Communists, following the "line" of Stalin, dropped their agitation for independence, so that the world Communist movement could maintain an alliance with the Western colonial-

back yard in Latin America, and in Africa and Asia where the US has tried to take the place of the old empires.

But the small, weak working classes of most third-world countries have not taken the lead in these movements, and the lead has fallen to groups with authoritarian or Stalinist politics, groups springing mainly from the small educated layers, basing their support mainly on the poor farmers, but aiming at moderation through a dictatorship over the working class and peasantry.

In such circumstances, to deny the right to self-determination when Stalinist leadership is involved means to support, or at least accept, the continuation of US domination. (In the same way, to deny self-determination to workers in Eastern Europe because the end of Russian domination might strengthen the Western bloc means to accept continued Russian control.) To mean anything, self-determination must mean the right to throw off imperial control no matter who is leading the fight.

Future Struggle

But to support this right, to support the victory of the PRG-NLF over the US when the Vietnamese have not built an alternative leadership, is not the same as justifying or accepting the PRG-NLF's intention of building a tyranny in South Vietnam.

Any movement which can offer a revolutionary alternative to the PRG-NLF is to be encouraged. If, tomorrow, a mass workers' movement were to emerge in South Vietnam, perhaps out of strikes against the effects of the war, it should be encouraged to demand immediate US withdrawal while preparing for a fight to the death against the PRG-NLF. And today, it would be the job of anyone in Vietnam who shares our analysis of the PRG-NLF and its intentions to begin preparation for such a fight, and for building the leadership for it.

Today, these are remote possibilities, because the attempt of the United States to destroy Vietnam rather than allow self-determination tends to place every question except the end of the war in the background. As the war does end, and a coalition of some kind is formed, the tendency will be for Vietnamese to believe that they have won not only the right for self-determination, but also the right for democracy.

It may be months, or years, before the elimination of political independents, the creation of government-controlled trade unions, the demands for the workers to "sacrifice" more and more to increase production, and the continuation of poverty will dispel these illusions. When this happens, the struggle for freedom will resume.

India, Pakistan, and Bangla Dash

John Ashdown

The struggle for an independent Bangla Dash is a threat, not just to West Pakistan, but also to India. The last few months have shown that it is less and less possible to see a way out of the situation in terms of East Bengal in isolation. A settlement in Bengal is locked into the situation both in West Pakistan and in India.

The dangers for the government of India have been uppermost in the minds of the leadership of the Congress Party, India's governing party. If the liberation movement in East Bengal succeeds in winning independence from Pakistan, it is quite likely that a parallel movement will arise in the Indian province of West Bengal — a movement for secession from India and union with the new state of Bangla Dash.

This is why the Indian leaders have been pursuing an aggressive policy of trying to convert the internal struggle in East Bengal (which they do not control) into an international issue, an Indo-Pakistan conflict.

Yahya Khan, military president in West Pakistan, has argued that the revolt of the Bengalis is a Hindu conspiracy directed from Delhi. If Delhi has its way, that will come true.

Both Pakistan and India have used the issue of the disputed province of Kashmir, the heart of the continuing conflict between the two nations, as a convenient way of stabilizing their respective regimes; in each, domestic opposition has again and again been cowed by the "threat from abroad." They will swamp the struggle for an independent Bangla Dash in the same way if they can. Only the guerrillas fighting inside East Bengal hold out any hope of preventing this outcome.

The appalling outflow of refugees into India continues, yet the Indian government does not permit them to be redistributed throughout the country. It keeps them crowded on the border — nine or ten million of them, in terrifying conditions of poverty — since



they are a useful lever to use against Yahya Khan and a means to extract aid and sympathy from the Western powers.

The government claims to support the Bangla Dash struggle, yet it has thrust five divisions of troops between the Bengal guerrillas supposedly training in India and the fighting in East Bengal. It has removed the heavy weapons of the guerrillas lest these fall into the hands of Indian guerrillas. Indian troops more and more frequently cross the border into East Bengal to take reprisals against the Pakistan army.

In diplomatic terms, India has also been hard at work. In 1965, the Indo-Pakistan war was effectively stopped by the intervention of China on Pakistan's side; China concentrated troops on the northern border of India in order to divide the Indian army. This time India has signed a military agreement with the Soviet Union precisely to prevent this happening again.

Now if China were to intervene, it would face not just the Indian army but Soviet missiles on the north China border. In Delhi, this stroke has provoked high hopes that Bangla Dash provides the ideal pretext to settle with Pakistan once and for all.

For the West Pakistan military, its only posture internationally has had to be defensive. The army's staggering brutality in East Bengal has in no sense destroyed the guerrillas. Now that the monsoon season is over, the guerrilla attack is becoming much fiercer.

The war makes the administration and control of the province, and the resumption of exports, impossible; and the cost of supplying the troops is escalating. As a result, the economic crisis in West Pakistan grows worse, once again creating a radical opposition to the generals at home.

To help quiet this opposition, Yahya Khan has made efforts to buy off the main opposition leader, Ali Bhutto. Apart from countless cosy talks between the general and Bhutto, Yahya Khan has

just despatched Bhutto to Peking to try to extract promises that China will intervene in the event of an Indo-Pakistan war.

But Peking is not prepared to face Russian missiles in order to pull Yahya Khan's chestnuts out of the Bengal fire. It is not sympathy with the Bengali guerrillas which has prompted China to dilute its promises to the generals, but rather the threat of Russian intervention on India's side.

The great powers are all maneuvering to get a stake in the situation. Initially, the US tried to offset Chinese influence over the West Pakistan generals by continuing to supply arms (and using Yahya Khan as an intermediary between Mao and Nixon).

But the intervention of Russia on the side of India and the steady decline in the prospects of the Pakistan military are pushing all the great powers to hedge their bets. Nixon, without promising anything substantial to India, has at long last agreed to suspend military aid to Pakistan. It is not clear whether US counter-insurgency advice has also been denied to the generals.

The immediate military threat for the guerrillas is still quite clearly the West Pakistan army. But the longer term political threat is now posed by Delhi.

Delhi will seek by all means available to both destroy Pakistan and neutralize the struggle for an independent Bangla Dash. Unless the Bangla Dash forces break with the Indian government, they will inevitably be used as agents of Indian foreign policy (as the Provisional Government of Bangla Dash appears already to have become).

The guerrillas will then be unable to create anything in East Bengal except a colonial satellite of India, exchanging the domination of Karachi capitalism for Calcutta capitalism. The clock will return to 1947, before the partition of India.

The only way to prevent this is the development of a movement which challenges the Government of India in India, and the Government of West Pakistan in West Pakistan. Then the freedom of each government to pursue what policy it likes is checked at the source. The only people who can organize such a movement are the organized workers of Karachi, Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong and the rest.

The willingness of the Pakistan Punjab and the West Bengalis to accept the behavior of their respective governments made the present situation inevitable. Unless their attitude is changed, guerrilla warfare on its own cannot break the impasse.

[John Ashdown is a member of the British International Socialists.]

Workers' Power has just received copies of a petition being circulated by Turkish citizens living in the United States on behalf of political prisoners facing execution in Turkey. Titled, "Death Sentence for Youth Extreme and Unfair," the petition states:

"At this moment, 30 youths have been sentenced to death. The charge? 'Attempting to change the constitution' of Turkey. Many other young people are awaiting trial on the same charge. These death sentences handed down by the Military Court are now being appealed.

"We, the Concerned Citizens of Turkey living in the greater Boston area, want to see the death sentences commuted. We ask you to sign our petition

to support our request. Please join us in our crusade to save the lives of these youths."

Copies of this petition and further information may be obtained from Concerned Citizens of Turkey, 50 Memorial Drive, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

Future issues of Workers' Power will carry further information and background on this case and the political situation in Turkey. At this moment, Turkey is ruled by an authoritarian regime with a weak parliamentary facade. Real power is controlled by the military, which beginning in March instituted a savage round of repression against students and oppositionists.

The present death sentences, expected to rise to 40 after future trials, are

part of this development. An emergency campaign to save these prisoners is an essential act of solidarity with the Turkish movement. We ask our readers to send statements of support to the address above.

The struggle against repression is worldwide, from Attica to Istanbul. The fight to save the Turkish prisoners joins the struggle to free Angela Davis, Carlos Feliciano, and others in the US; the victims of "internment" in Northern Ireland; the Basque prisoners in Spain; the Revolutionary Socialists imprisoned in Czechoslovakia; the thousands of prisoners in Greece, Iran, Indonesia, Vietnam, and South Africa; and all other victims of repression and class war in every country in the world.

Save The Turkish Prisoners!

UAW

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for the leadership to say that without without such a clause, the union has no right to strike even if portions of the contract are nullified.

This point, however, was so well buried in the resolution that there was never a word of discussion on it at the convention, pro or con. Most convention delegates were probably unaware that it even existed until they read about it in the newspapers that evening.

On the whole, the entire morning session of the convention was uneventful. Few of the delegates seemed very concerned with the important economic and political issues under consideration — issues which will have a profound effect on the lives of the entire UAW membership.

The afternoon session, however, was just the opposite. It came closer to breaking through the control of the leadership than has any UAW convention in the past 10 years. The issue under consideration was UAW finances.

Prior to the convention, there were numerous rumors about the proposal on finances to be put forward by the leadership. But everyone knew that the main element would be a proposal to reduce the proportion of dues going to the local union.

Each UAW member pays dues equal

to two hours' wages each month. Until the convention, 40 percent of this went to the local, the strike fund received 30 percent, and the International received 30 percent. Strong opposition developed among a broad group of secondary union leadership against taking any money out of the locals' 40 percent.

A group of East Coast local presidents from Region 9A organized opposition around the proposal that the money come not from the locals, but from the strike fund. The United National Caucus was the only group at the convention proposing that the leadership be required to operate without increasing its share of the dues.

When the final leadership proposal was put forward, it had two main parts: (1) The local share was to be reduced from 40 percent to 37 percent, with the 3 percent being used to finance the Family Education Center at Black Lake, Michigan; and (2) the more than \$12 million owed to the strike fund by the general fund was to be written off. The effect of the second part was to cut the net resources in the strike fund from \$21 million to \$9 million.

The debate that followed was a hot one, full of cheers, boos, catcalls, flying tempers, points of order, and challenges to the chair. Most of the delegates seemed divided between the leadership proposal and the Region 9A proposal.

The delegate strength of the UNC position seemed much weaker. The sanctity of the local unions' treasuries was the one issue capable of getting a great number of delegates hopping mad.

But the Region 9A proposal had very serious faults. The UAW needs a strong strike fund in the period to come, as the government-business attack on wages

and working conditions can be expected to get worse. Also, the strike fund is the only part of each member's dues that goes back directly to the members themselves.

The 9A supporters argued that if the strike fund were depleted again — as happened during the GM strike last fall — then the UAW would only have to start its special assessment of working members one month earlier than would have been necessary if the strike fund had been left alone. But that means that the 9A proposal to take the money out of the strike fund is nothing other than an indirect way of increasing membership dues.

The membership will eventually have to make up what is taken from the fund through special assessments. But of course, neither the 9A presidents nor anyone else in the UAW would come out openly for another dues increase at this time because they know how strong the membership reaction would be.

Since the leadership proposal includes writing off the \$12 million loan from the strike fund, it also amounts to an increase of membership dues. The next time that the fund goes down, the \$12 million to replenish the fund will come out of special assessments that wouldn't have been necessary if the loan had been repaid.

The leadership proposal passed by what appeared to be a narrow majority. An attempt was made to obtain a roll call vote, but was defeated. Even though Woodcock and his administration won, however, they have more trouble doing it than a UAW leadership has had in many years.

Overall, the opposition at this convention did not come from firm supporters

of the rank and file and its interests. A major portion of it came from local pork-choppers who didn't want to see money taken from their local pork barrel for the International's pork barrel.

The attack on the local treasuries will probably mean, not a cutback in trips and salaries, but a cutback in local services. The International would like nothing better than to weaken still further whatever independent strength exists on the local level.

But whatever their motivation, the fact that so many of the UAW secondary leadership was willing to stand up to and fight the administration is significant. It is but one more expression of the very much greater discontent that exists among the rank and file. It is to be hoped that future conventions will see struggle over the real issues facing the UAW and its leadership. ■



United National Caucus leader Art Fox

Editorial

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sections of government and business on the necessity of the New Economic Policy itself, there are splits on which sections of business should receive the most benefit. This makes Nixon's program somewhat unstable.

At the same time, the American economic recession and Nixon's monetary offensive have accelerated the slump in the European economy — which in turn "could drag the US into a downward

spiral" (*Wall Street Journal*, November 11). The attack on American workers may well be insufficient to simultaneously stabilize the international capitalist system and preserve the domination of the US within that system.

It is the difficulty of doing both of these at once, complicated by the lack of confidence in Nixon's policies even among the capitalists themselves, which makes it possible that the Phase 2 program will collapse and open up prospects of much sharper attacks on the unions.

The ranks of labor must begin to organize now, both to preclude this possibility, and to regain the wage increases stolen from them by the freeze and the Pay Board.

(4) Finally, the corporations scored a major success in their fight for a "price offensive" — the right to increase profits

by raising prices while wages remain tightly controlled. The items on which no price controls whatever will exist include all used products (including cars); "custom-made" goods; international shipping rates; rents on new or "rehabilitated" buildings; raw unprocessed agricultural products and seafood; imported goods (for the first sale); and, last but hardly least, financial securities.

Taking into account that food prices have risen in clear violation of the price freeze (as reported by *The New York Times* and other big-city papers), it's pretty clear that price controls are intended to be almost a dead letter.

As the fight over Phase 2 threatens to expand into a showdown that will shape economic policies for a considerable period of time, the possibility as well as the need for rank and file action

becomes greater. The Phase 2 program itself will teeter dangerously with every turn in the international situation, and with every lurch in the start-again, stop-again domestic economy.

The growing opposition to wage controls can be translated into a program for smashing those controls, and going beyond them to a different program for inflation control and economic recovery. Central to this program must be:

(1) A freeze on prices and profits, not wages; (2) Production for use, not weapons and waste; (3) nationalization of major industries under workers' control; (4) independent political action to build a political party of the working class.

The building of a militant class leadership to fight for this program must begin now. ■

Bussing

CONTINUED FROM
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that speaks explicitly to the needs of all workers, while incorporating a legitimate demand of the blacks. We can do this because the preferential hiring demand is not directed explicitly against whites (although it will, in conditions of unemployment, imply the loss of some jobs by whites) and there will be a potential

receptivity to a class-wide demand.

But if a demand is raised explicitly against whites, as for example, a demand that these whites should give up these specific jobs and give them to blacks, there will be no basis for the reception of a class-wide demand, and we must counterpose the demand "Jobs for ALL" as the only way to win jobs for anybody.

What makes the bussing question so confusing is that the liberal response to the democratic demand for integration (which we support) has been to couple it with an attack on the not-so-privileged position of white workers. Bussing, it should be noted, involves sending some Black students to better schools, and also sending some white students (mostly

working class) to worse schools; this in the context of an overall decline in the level of education, which the crisis involves.

While all this may seem fair (at least to the liberals), are we really in favor of calling on the bourgeois state to force white working class students to attend rotten schools? And if so, how does this fit in with our support for the right of everyone to go to the school of his or her choice?

Some have contended that the issue is not primarily one of quality education, but one of racism. The question that stares us in the face is how to fight racism, and I must admit that I can't see how cramming the liberals' "solution" down

the throats of white workers actually fights racism. What it will do is to force whites into the clutches of the right-wing groups that are exploiting the quality education issue to build support for a racist campaign.

What we must do is seek to break from the hard-core racists, those whites who are not (yet) primarily opposed to bussing on racist grounds. Such an intervention must involve encouraging the struggle against racism at all levels; building a movement around a program to improve education for everyone; and arguing clearly that the bussing schemes are frauds — that they will not significantly improve the educational level of blacks, and may actually further intra-working class conflict. ■

Roger Cid

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich., 48203.

ANN ARBOR: 2503 Student Activities Building, Ann Arbor, Mich., 41101.

BALTIMORE: P.O. Box 644, Baltimore, Md. 21203.

BAY AREA: P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, Ca., 94701.

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PETER GRAHAM MURDERED

Political repression, so evident in Northern Ireland, has now been blatantly felt in the South as well. Peter Graham, founding member of the Young Socialists, was brutally murdered in Dublin, capital of the Irish Republic.

Graham was close to Irish revolutionary groups, particularly Saor Eire (Free Ireland), a breakaway group from the Irish Republican Army. Saor Eire, known for its daring bank raids, has blamed the Special Branch (political police) of the Irish Republic for the murder.

Bernadette Devlin and Tariq Ali attended Graham's funeral in Dublin. Tariq Ali stated, "At this point we do not know what brutal assassin shot and beat Peter Graham to death, but we will find out and when we do we have our own methods of dealing with such people."

Fund Drive Bulletin

The International Socialists Fund Drive is nearing its close. The drive was launched on September 15, and was scheduled to run ten weeks and to raise \$10,000. At press time we are in our ninth week, with 84 percent of our goal collected.

The purpose of the drive is to expand the resources of the IS to better enable us to build a revolutionary-democratic socialist movement in the US, a movement to place control of the economy and the state in the hands of the working class. We stand in solidarity with such movements all over the world, in revolutionary opposition to both capitalism and to the bureaucratic classes which rule the so-called Communist countries.

To this end we are active participants here in the liberation struggles of oppressed groups, and in the anti-war movement. Our main activity is fighting for an independent, militant working-class program and movement. We are helping

to build militant rank and file groups in the factories and unions — among auto, telephone, and office workers, Teamsters, teachers, and taxi drivers.

Our fund drive began in the early days of Nixon's wage freeze. The freeze is the prelude to a long-term offensive against the working class, which is now unfolding in the form of Phase 2. This offensive will intensify the struggle between workers and the capitalists and their government.

The New Economic Policy places new opportunities and new responsibilities before socialist militants. We must help provide leadership for workers in these struggles against the anti-working class offensive. The struggle must be fought on every level from the shop floor to the electoral arena, where an independent political party of labor must be formed to counter the Democratic and Republican parties of the ruling class.

But to meet the new responsibilities required of revolutionary working class socialists is beyond our very limited resources. We need to expand our national organization and our publication, *Workers Power*, to increase our program of speaking tours and field organizing, and to begin publication of a series of pamphlets and of a theoretical journal.

It is for these purposes that we launched our fund drive, which has been running successfully for the last eight weeks. Our members have worked hard and have made many sacrifices to make the drive successful. Already our Champaign, Chapel Hill, Cleveland, Detroit, Eureka, Lansing, Madison, New York, Portland, and Rochester comrades have fulfilled their pledges. Portland, Madison, Detroit and Champaign deserve special recognition for far exceeding their quotas.

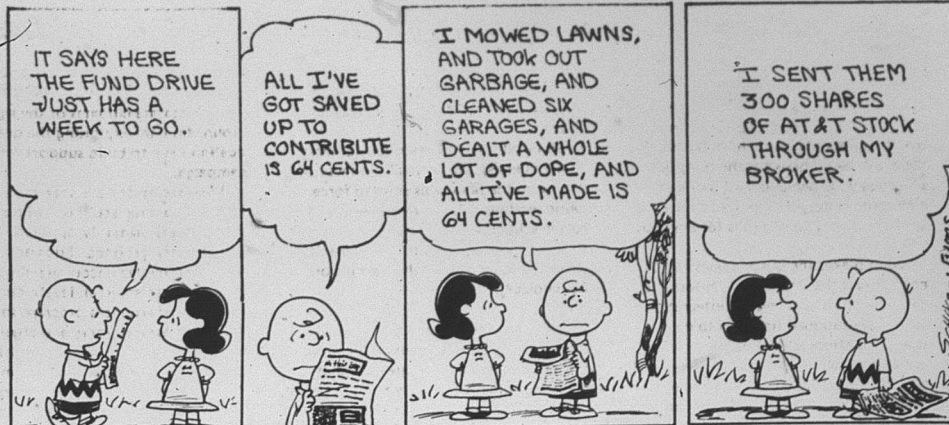
Throughout the drive we have relied

primarily on our own members. But we have asked, and we ask again, that every reader of *Workers Power* and every friend of the IS make a contribution to the drive if you have not done so already. In the course of the drive, readers and friends have contributed over \$1,200 to help the National Office fulfill its quota, and more to the branches for their local drives.

This is one way in which those of you who share our views and goals can take a step to build a movement that can create a socialist society.

\$\$\$

BRANCH	Quota	Amount Raised	% of Quota
Berkeley	\$2,400	1,437	60
Champaign	75	125	167
Chapel Hill	60	65	108
Chicago	600	304	51
Cincinnati	30	10	33
Cleveland	30	30	100
Davis	60	0	0
Detroit	1,000	1,855	186
Eureka	75	75	100
Lansing	30	30	100
Los Angeles	1,000	578	58
Madison	100	150	150
New Jersey	400	160	40
New York	1,500	1,500	100
Pittsburgh	45	0	0
Riverside	30	20	67
Portland	30	100	333
Rochester	30	30	100
San Diego	45	0	0
San Francisco	400	167	42
Seattle	600	459	77
Nat'l Office	1,120	1,207	107
M.A.L.'s	185	58	32
TOTAL	10,000	8,358	84



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Workers' Power

international socialist biweekly 46



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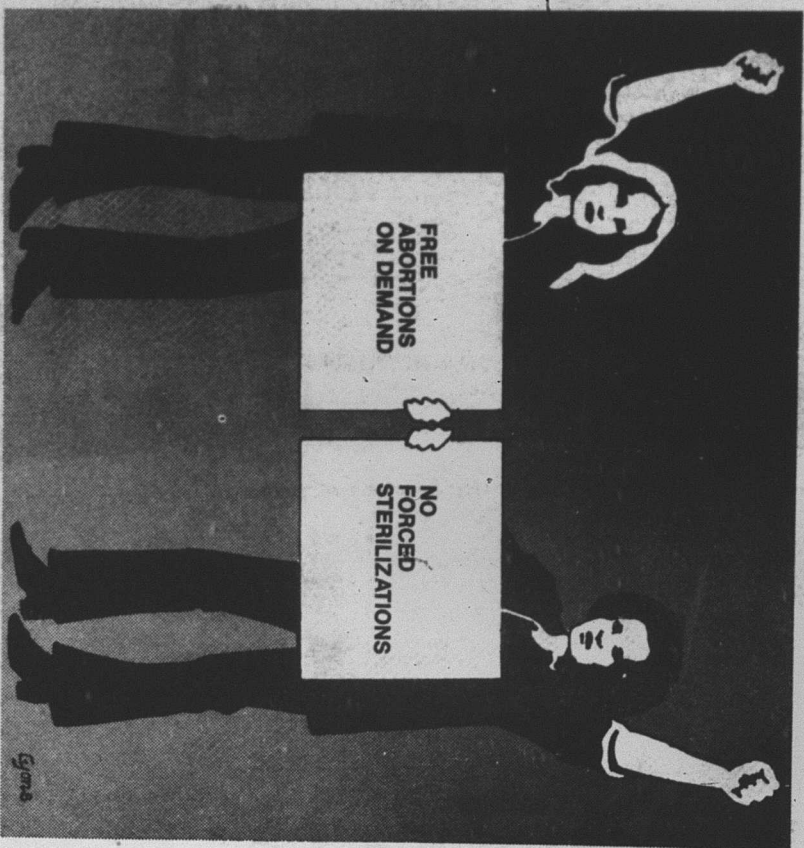
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