

THE MILITANT

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

Job crisis: the socialist answer



San Diego demonstration for jobs last fall

Militant/Dennis Scarla

How a workers government would provide jobs for all

The following is a statement by Peter Camejo, the 1976 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Why can't the government do something about unemployment? Why can't everybody have a job? In the richest, most productive country in the world these are reasonable questions. And they're certainly ones millions of people are asking.

But President Ford doesn't have any answers. He admits that the state of the union is bad and that millions are out of work. But he proposes nothing more than two-bit tinkering to deal with the problem.

The Democrats are no better. They are sitting on their hands in Congress while cutbacks and layoffs mount and unemployment lines grow longer. The government is paralyzed while our unpaid bills pile up, our insurance policies lapse, and things bought on time are repossessed.

There can be no further doubts that this

government doesn't represent working people—neither those who are out of work now nor those who may be laid off tomorrow.

If we had a workers government in Washington today—that is, a government elected by and responsible to the working people organized into a party of their own—it would not hesitate for five minutes to take the necessary steps to provide jobs for everybody.

Not for five minutes. Not for one minute. Not if it were really a government with a shred of responsibility to the workers.

Without hesitation it would immediately provide adequate compensation to all jobless workers. Payments would be at full union scale, regardless of whether a person is a union member or not, and would be paid as long as the person is out of work.

This national insurance plan would put an end to the inequities that exist now,

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ILLINOIS DEMONSTRATORS DEMAND JOBS: Trade unionists from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1006, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 165, and Sheet Metal Workers' Local 517, along with a contingent of unemployed workers, converged on the Illinois state capitol in Springfield Jan. 22 to demand jobs.

Although there is a \$300-million surplus in the state budget, existing unemployment programs are inadequate and discriminate against the Chicago area, with its large Black population. In addition, the Illinois state government has eliminated 6,000 jobs in the past two years, mainly in agencies such as Mental Health, Children and Family Services, and the Department of Labor.

FASTEN YOUR SEAT BELTS: San Francisco Chronicle columnist Herb Caen reported Jan. 20 that "earlier this month, a Pan Am 747 left S.F. for the Far East with almost every seat taken, mostly by men—and since 747s seldom fly full in January, there had to be an explanation.

"There is: The men are military pilots, members of three U.S. squadrons, traveling to Southeast Asia in civilian clothes, per official orders. They looked unhappy and are. 'We don't like this a damn bit,' in the words of one pilot, who added the forlorn cliché, 'We just wish the public knew what was going on.'"

Two new columns appear in this issue. "La Lucha Puertorriquena," by staff writer Jose Perez, is on page 11. This column, which will deal with the increasingly important struggle of Puerto Ricans in the United States and in Puerto Rico, will be published about twice a month.

"Their Government," which is on page 12, will be written from Washington by Cindy Jaquith. It also will appear about twice a month.

MAGEE GETS LIFE: Ruchell Magee, codefendant of Angela Davis in the 1970 Marin County Courthouse incident, was sentenced to life imprisonment Jan. 23.

Magee was never convicted by a jury of any charge relating to the courthouse escape attempt, in which three fleeing prisoners and a hostage were killed by police. His trial ended last year with a hung jury that reportedly voted 12 to 0 for acquittal on the charge of aggravated kidnapping, 11 to 1 for acquittal on the charge of murder, and 11 to 1 for conviction on the charge of simple kidnapping. Simple kidnapping is punishable in California by a sentence of one to five years, with eligibility for parole in one year.

However, last Aug. 14, as preparations for a new trial were underway, Magee suddenly pleaded guilty to the charge of aggravated kidnapping. He explained that after three and one-half years of legal procedures he had been "so frustrated" that he just wanted "to get it all over with."

Magee subsequently tried to withdraw his guilty plea and have a new trial scheduled, but he was turned down earlier this month by the U. S. Supreme Court.

THE AIR FORCE DROPS A MISFIT: A "gung-ho officer," as the military would say, Major Harold Hering had been in the U. S. Air Force for 20 years and volunteered for five additional tours of duty in Vietnam. But on Jan. 11 an Air Force board of inquiry cited him for failure to discharge his assignments properly and for having a defective attitude toward his duties. The board ruled that he should be discharged.

It seems that Hering, who had been assigned to a missile crew at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California after returning from Vietnam, had "mental and moral reservations as to his ability to launch nuclear weapons," and demonstrated "failure to meet the duty performance required of an officer."

The major "never refused to launch a nuclear weapon, nor is he a conscientious objector," his defense lawyers explained. He just "asked what checks and balances there are to assure that a launch order could not be affected by the president gone berserk. . . ."

SUPREME COURT I: On Jan. 21 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that state jury-selection laws that resulted in the systematic exclusion of women from juries are unconstitutional. However, a week later the high court ruled that the new law will apply only to juries impaneled after the Jan. 21 decision.

SUPREME COURT II: Young people as a whole, and Black students in particular, won a victory Jan. 22 when the U. S. Supreme Court ruled, 5 to 4, that public school pupils cannot be suspended without notice of the charges against them, an explanation of the evidence being used against them, and the right to reply to it.

Surveys have indicated that more than 10 percent of

urban pupils are suspended at least once a year. Civil rights organizations have pointed out that such suspensions are used as a discriminatory weapon against Black students.

WANTS THE DEATH PENALTY KEPT: President Ford's nominee for the post of attorney general, University of Chicago President Edward Levi, said Jan. 27, "My belief is that the death penalty, if it is enforced, in a limited area, is a deterrent."

Levi said that the imposition of the death penalty ought to be left to individual states—meaning that the Supreme Court should not rule it unconstitutional.

INDIANS LOSE SUIT ON TREATY RIGHTS: Although the history of government policy toward Indians might make us "retch at the recollection," the conquest of the Indian tribes has made them legally subject to the legislative power of the United States, ruled Federal District Judge Warren Urbom Jan. 17.

The ruling rejected the argument of 125 Indians that a Sioux treaty of 1868 gave the Sioux tribe, and not the U. S. government, jurisdiction over alleged crimes committed during the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D., in 1873.

PORTUGUESE FEMINIST BEGINS TOUR: Maria Isabel Barreno, one of the three authors of the book, *New Portuguese Letters*, began a five-week tour of the United States in Washington, D. C., Jan. 21.

New Portuguese Letters was banned by the Portuguese government in 1972 and the authors, who became known as the "Three Marias," were tried for "obscenity." They were acquitted in May 1974, shortly after the coup that deposed the military dictatorship.

While in Washington, Barreno spoke to an audience of women's liberation activists and Portuguese and Brazilian students at the University of Maryland. She shared the platform with Amy Congers, an American teacher who was tortured in Chile. Both women urged support for Brazilian political prisoner Ines Etienne Romeu, who is serving a sentence of life imprisonment.

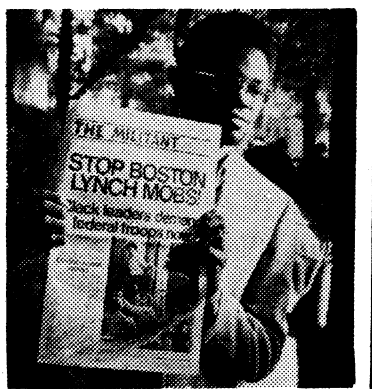
Also while in Washington, Barreno attended a reception for her sponsored by the National Organization for Women, appeared on several television and radio shows, and met with reporters.

THIRD LAWTON TRIAL: The third trial of Black community activist Gary Lawton began in Riverside, Calif., Jan. 8. The earlier trials, in which Lawton was accused of the ambush slaying of two Riverside police officers, ended in hung juries.

Although charges against Lawton's two codefendants were dropped prior to the third trial, the district attorney's office continues with its vindictive attempt to get Lawton. Russell Langton, a juror in the first trial, reacted to the government's case by saying, "It was more than a frame-up. If it had been a frame-up, they would have framed some evidence."

—DAVE FRANKEL

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The fight to defeat the racist opponents of school desegregation in Boston is part of *The Militant's* coverage of the national and international events that affect the lives of all of us. Keep up with hard-hitting news coverage and socialist analysis of the Black struggle, unemployment and the economy, the revelations about the CIA and the FBI, and the new threats of war in Vietnam and the Mideast.

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...workers gov't would provide jobs

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where some unemployed workers get union benefits, others get a few months of government benefits, and at least half get no benefits at all.

After providing this immediate relief, a workers government would rapidly take steps to create employment for everyone who wants a job and cannot find one.

The first step would be to create an emergency public works program. This would kill two birds with one stone—provide jobs for millions of unemployed workers, and take care of the country's crying need for low-rent housing, schools, hospitals, child-care centers, mass transit, parks, educational and recreational facilities, conservation, and many other urgently needed projects. Top priority would be to eliminate the especially miserable conditions Blacks and other oppressed minorities are forced to live in.

This program would have nothing in common with the present government's programs, which, in the name of fighting poverty, create highly paid staffs of bureaucrats, but do very little to improve the living conditions of poor people.

Nor would a workers government tolerate the present shameful practice of some city governments that make welfare recipients work with no increase in their meager payments or with no provision for free child-care facilities. All workers employed in the public works program would receive top union wages.

The only ones who could object to such a program are the big business interests that think no such measures should be undertaken unless a private profit can be made on them.

To those who will complain that these measures will "cost too much" our workers government would answer: What about the billions of dollars spent on propping up military dictatorships around the world and the billions more poured down the drain to finance the secret-police apparatus of the CIA and FBI? We'd take this money, now spent on activ-



Socialist Workers campaign banner at Jan. 15 'Jobs for All' march in Washington, D.C. Militant/Dennis Scarlo

ities that don't help workers here or anywhere else, and use it to help the unemployed.

A workers government would also pass a law shortening the workweek with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. This would benefit both the unemployed and the employed. It would put people back to work by increasing the number of jobs available. It would make the lives of the employed workers easier to bear by giving them more leisure time.

Of course the owners of industry and the big stockholders would have their profits reduced because they would be paying out more in wages.

There is one thing a workers government would especially not tolerate—discrimination against oppressed minorities, foreign-born workers, and women. The present policy of "last hired, first fired" would be brought to a screeching halt. Any employer caught discriminating against a worker on the basis of nationality,

race, or sex would be locked up in jail. In order to help achieve equality, especially oppressed workers would be given preferential consideration in hiring and promotions.

One of the most irrational aspects of the present situation is that many plants are idle or operating at only partial capacity.

The auto corporations argue that they can't operate at full capacity now because they can't sell all the cars that would be produced, and if they can't sell them they'll go bankrupt.

To this the workers government would answer: We want to hear what the auto workers say. Let them examine your books and decide for themselves whether or not the real reason your plants aren't operating at full capacity is because, if they were, it wouldn't help you get richer.

Our workers government would say to the auto barons: If your profits are what is standing in the way of putting workers back to work and

operating the plants at full capacity, the government will take them over and run them by a board of directors elected by the workers instead of appointed by the biggest stockholders and bankers.

If this was done with other industries and the banks, the economy could then be operated according to a national plan, which would eliminate the causes of recessions and would use the full capacity of American production.

That is the socialist answer to the long-term problem of unemployment, depression, and poverty amid unprecedented technology and plenty. Socialists are confident that the majority of people will become convinced of the need for such a change.

Unfortunately we don't have a workers government today, but changes of an immediate nature can still be put into effect if enough people will fight for them.

Struggles are emerging all over the country demanding "Jobs for All"—for a public works program, a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, and adequate unemployment compensation. We will see more actions like the Jan. 15 demonstrations, sponsored by Operation PUSH. And as conditions worsen, they are going to get bigger.

But we would be foolish to count on Ford and the Congress to help us. In fact, they are going to put roadblocks in our way. They'll tell us they support us one day so that they can more easily stab us in the back the next day.

What concessions we win will be accompanied by much footdragging on their part and only after tremendous mass pressure.

The struggle for jobs can only be effective if working people do not rely on the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, but have confidence in our own organizations and our own united strength.

This is the perspective of the Socialist Workers Party, and this is what we are campaigning for.

Working people's Bill of Rights: Jobs for All

As unemployment lines grow, millions of Americans are asking, "What can we do?"

Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, say working people have a right to a job. And they have a program for how to win jobs for all. They propose a Bill of Rights for Working People aimed at protecting us from the evils of this system—from unemployment and inflation, from wars, racism, and sexism.

You can help distribute this Bill of Rights at your workplace, at union meetings, at community meetings, on unemployment and picket lines, or at your school. It should be read by all those looking for a way to fight back.

The socialist candidates and their supporters want to discuss the pro-

posals in the new Bill of Rights with as many people as possible. What do your co-workers think about a massive emergency public works program to provide millions of useful jobs at union wages? A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay?

Help distribute the Bill of Rights for Working People—discuss the proposals where you work, study, and live—send us your ideas.

The Bill of Rights for Working People: 3 cents each; 2 cents each for 1,000 or more.

() Please send me one copy free of charge () in English; () in Spanish.

Enclosed is \$_____ for () Bill of Rights booklets () in English; () in Spanish

() I endorse the Camejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Dem-

ocratic and Republican parties.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to support the Camejo-Reid campaign.

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Militant/Tom O'Brien

Interviews with unemployed workers

Harlem: 'Jobless benefits ending soon'

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK—Congested, understaffed hospitals and clinics, unmotivating schools, a sky-high crime rate, tumbledown firetraps that pass for dwellings—the list of social ills that Harlem Blacks have to put up with goes on and on—cramped parks to serve for recreation, littered streets with backed-up sewers, too much noise.

And unemployment, especially unemployment.

"And unemployment [insurance] is running out soon, so I came here," Herbie Dawkins was telling *The Militant* the other day as he sat in a Harlem employment office alongside other morose job-seekers wondering if something would come through.

When even official unemployment in Harlem is put at 20 percent and unofficially it is said to be 40 percent and going higher, people like Herbie Dawkins start worrying.

Dawkins, who thought he was riding high with his \$7.50-an-hour construction job, saw his rainbow come to an end last year. Now laid off and glum, he has pounded the streets since but turned up no work.

"There's a cutback in construction, I know, but there should be something out there. I just don't get it," he said. "Yeah, I'm worried. And this place hasn't been much good."

"This place" is the state employment office inside the shimmering new 19-story glass-and-marble State Office Building on 125th Street, which stands out from the surrounding squalor like a lily among weeds.

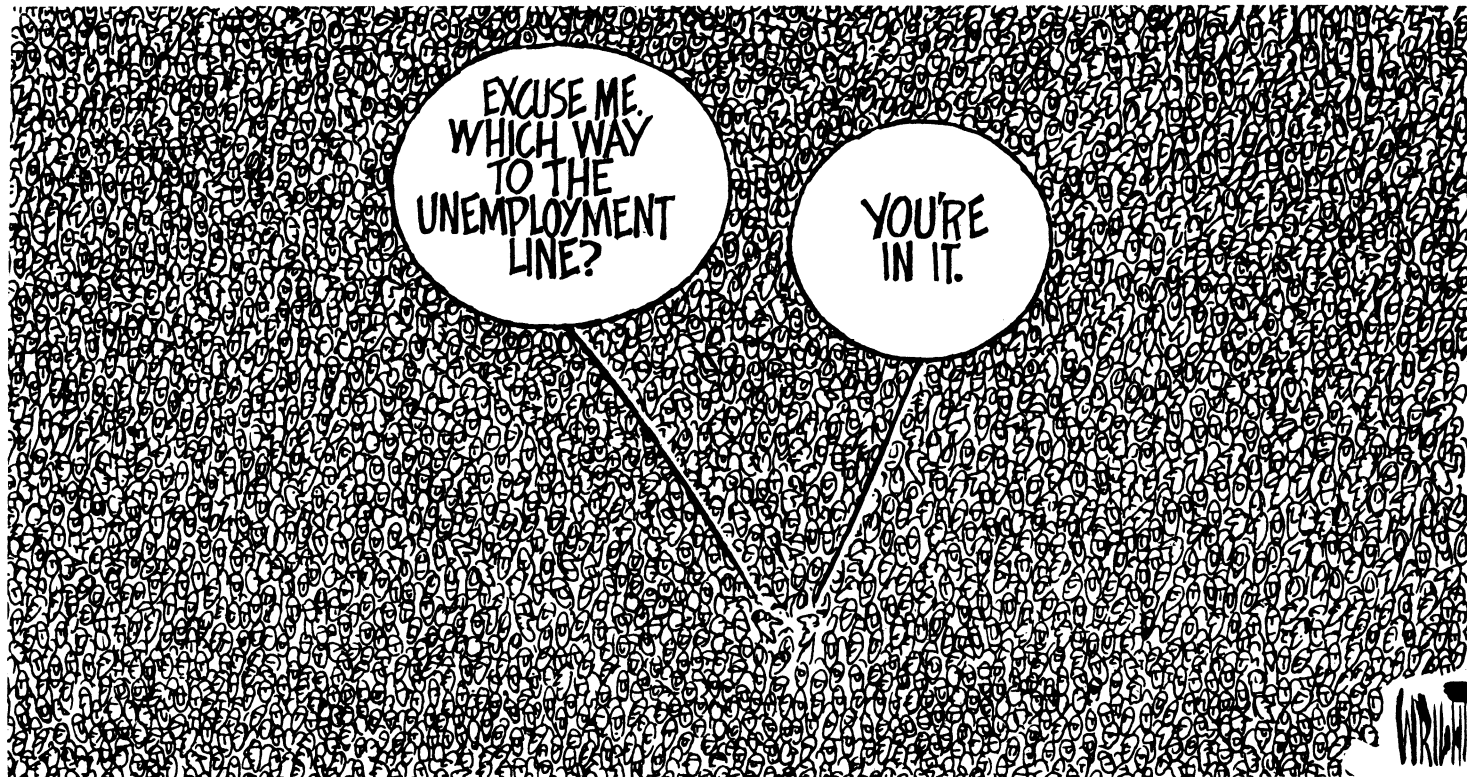
The building was ballyhooed at its completion last May as bringing jobs to Harlem, but of the 20 state agencies slated to move in, very few have, and whatever jobs they have brought have already been filled.

The state employment office moved in last December. Richard Jefferson, who heads it, paints a dreary picture of the job situation. Many who show up at the office looking for work, he said, are parolees, probationers, or individuals living at halfway houses.

"In this labor market the employer doesn't have to put up with trouble," he said. "Just two years ago, we could place anyone—send one person and fill a job. But now an employer says send three or four people with recent checkable references, a minimum of experience, blah, blah."

Monique Moore, 20, easily recalls her experiences with employers. A college student who used to also work at the Veterans Administration hospital, she says she left because "government agencies are prejudiced."

She applied at the phone company but couldn't get anywhere. Then she tried Macy's and didn't get hired—at first. That is, until she went home, fried her Afro hairdo into straight hair, and put on a miniskirt. "I even had the same white interviewer," she added. But because she came back looking and acting like a white woman, she said, she got the job.



Miami News/Wright

Also milling about the employment office was Robert Walker, 19, who says he'll take factory work or "just about anything." He has seven brothers and sisters and his eldest brother was just laid off from Con Edison. "Pretty soon people are just going to start breaking in and robbing," he said.

Atlanta: 'Everyone I know is broke'

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—For 30 years the business executives and politicians boasted that Atlanta was an economic miracle.

Instead of urban decay and poverty, they promised jobs in abundance. Atlanta's skyline got a face-lift: a 70-story hotel, convention centers, and new downtown parks. The city was a mecca for the construction industry.

But now the bubble has burst. The mood is grim. Thousands of building-trades workers are unemployed. Carpenters Local 225 reports 500 of its 3,200 members are jobless. Twelve percent of the members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 613 are out of work.

Atlanta has three auto plants. The largest, Lakewood General Motors, has laid off 2,650 of its 4,400 workers. At the Doraville GM assembly plant, the entire second shift has been idled, and 2,100 of 3,900 workers are on indefinite layoff. Ford has shut down its Hapeville assembly plant for a week, adding 2,550 auto workers to the jobless rolls.

Coca-Cola, with its national headquarters here, recently presented its employees with two "Black Fridays." On these two days, the workers went in dreading to see whether their names were on the long list of new layoffs.

The lines at unemployment offices grow longer every day. Jean McBride was waiting on the line at the Marietta Street office the other day. She is 27 years old, Black, and the mother of two children.

Until a week before, McBride had worked as a cashier at a Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise. "I've tried to find work, any kind of work," she said. "There just isn't any."

It will be six to eight weeks before her application for welfare is processed. "I'm busted," she said. "Everyone I know is busted. I know I can't get any money from anyone, and I don't know what I'll do if unemployment doesn't come through."

"They expect us to be all sweet and nice when they turn off the gas and cut off the lights," she added. "Well, they've got a surprise coming."

Melvin Thomas is 26 and has two children. Like 95 percent of those on the line, he is Black.

Thomas has been without a job since Nov. 1, but no unemployment checks have yet been sent to him. He told *The Militant* he is forced to spend about two days a week at the unemployment office, waiting as long as five hours for an interview.

Asked how he manages to make ends meet, Thomas replied, "Sometimes I go out on the street and mess around with my old man. Sometimes I get a few dollars from my grandparents. But it's not easy at all. I don't have a job, and prices keep going up. Ford talks about a gas tax, but I don't have money to get gas now, and you need a car to look for a job."

Cleveland: 'Entire second shift laid off'

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—The official 6.1 percent rate of unemployment in Ohio does not accurately reflect the full impact of the recession in this highly industrialized state.

These are only the full-time unemployed. Not counted are the many thousands who are forced to work three- and four-day weeks and are therefore ineligible for unemployment benefits.

Even the steel industry, boasting a record year of production and profits, has laid off workers. Republic Steel has laid off 600 workers out of a total of 9,000 and has put hundreds more on a four-day week.

Robert Green, a keeper's helper, has worked at Republic Steel for 27 years. "The layoffs haven't hit me directly," he told *The Militant*, "but since I am the only one in the family working, the inflation has hurt me."

As a union representative, Green had to fight the company to get unemployment compensation for the workers laid off. The company tried to cheat them out of it by claiming the workers were laid off because of the coal strike last year. Ohio law denies compensation to those idled because of a strike.

Workers at U.S. Steel are not so lucky, Green explained. They did not get unemployment compensation from the state or Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) from the company.

Whitey Ford, president of United Auto Workers Local 1112 in Lordsburg, told *The Militant* that the Vega plant was shut down for two weeks in December and one week in January.

"Out of 8,200 union members, 3,200 are laid off," he said. "The entire second shift has been laid off."

How long will the United Auto Workers' SUB fund hold up? Ford estimates the fund will be depleted by June.

"The most complaints I get from the members are on the lag between the layoff and the time they get their first unemployment check," Ford said. "Sometimes it takes five or six weeks."

Many companies are shutting down for a week or two in an attempt to delay mass layoffs. This is the only program the union leadership here has proposed so far. At best it is a temporary stopgap.

General Electric, a key industry in northern Ohio, has laid off 400 and wants to put most of its 2,200 workers on a four-day week.

Joe Janor, president of International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) Local 707, is trying to convince management to shut down the plants one week at a time so that workers can qualify for unemployment compensation.

"In all the years I've worked for

show rising anger across country

this company, I've never seen it as bad as it is now," Janor told the union membership at its January meeting, "and that includes the recession of 1958. Fifty thousand of our IUE members have been laid off." The IUE has a national membership of 280,000.

The building trades have been the hardest hit by the recession. Charles Pinone, executive secretary of the Cleveland Building Trades Council, estimates nearly 40 percent of the city's 35,000 crafts workers are out of work.

Bay Area: 'Ford's idea: give breaks to wealthy'

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—California workers are among the hardest hit by the economic slump, and building-trades workers the hardest of all.

At both the Carpenters Local 22 and Painters Local 4 hiring halls the unemployed lists are long and the outlook gloomy.

Joe O'Sullivan, Carpenters business agent, leafed through the sign-up sheet and said, "Over 300 men registered that week, and not one job call came in. Of course, some men did go to work—about 20. But they went out and got their own jobs."

At the Painters hiring hall, one old-timer said, "I worked for this company for six years, up until I got laid off six months ago. I haven't worked since." He said the long lay-off will hurt the size of his pension when he retires in a couple of years.

Asked whether he thought the country was heading into a depression, Russ, a 28-year-old journeyman carpenter, responded typically. "It sure seems like it. I see an awful lot of guys coming around the job looking for work." As for President Ford's economic proposal, "He gives a tax cut with one hand and takes it away with higher fuel costs with the other."

Mike, another carpenter, said Ford's program is "geared to give the rich guy the breaks. His idea of sharing the hardships is to raise the price of food stamps for all, rich or poor."

John, a 25-year-old apprentice carpenter, observed, "If nobody can afford to buy a house because of the high interest rates, why can't the government step in and put money into construction?"

Another apprentice, Greg, went further. "I think the government has to step in and keep people going. Unemployment insurance should last indefinitely—for as long as a person is out of work."

Opinions varied on the causes of and solutions to inflation and unemployment. Roberto, a carpenter with 20 years in the trade, thought that "our frontiers should be closed to foreign workers."

But almost in the same breath, he opposed the movement to "buy American." "It won't work," he said. "We'll stop their cars from coming in and they'll stop ours from going there. It will be the same for us—maybe worse."

Greg agreed with the last judgment but dismissed the foreign worker issue as a cause or cure for unemployment.

Also interviewed was the leader of a group of electricians picketing in front of a Toyota auto dealership. They carried signs reading, "Buy American. American workers protest competition from Japanese manufacturers paying cheap wages."

They were up from Modesto, Calif., where they had a beef against Toshiba Company of Japan for using its own technicians to do repair work on a large power generator there.

Gilbert Sturgis, business manager and captain of the pickets, said that an "important principle" was involved. "Over a million jobs would be saved for American workers if illegal aliens were sent back to where they came from."

The *Militant* reporter was asked his opinion on the "illegal alien" issue. He replied that this alleged solution was anti-working class and self-defeating, turning worker against worker in a vain scramble for ever fewer jobs.

He threw a question back to Sturgis. "What do you think of the fight for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay as an answer to unemployment?"

Sturgis reluctantly allowed that it "had some merit." He was pressed for a response to the demand raised by many unions for a massive federal construction program. "Don't you think this is a better way to fight for jobs?"

This time Sturgis broke down and replied with whole sentences. "I guess we do need input into the economy to create jobs. Who else is in a better position to do it than the federal government?"

Then Sturgis looked at his watch, looked up, and called, "OK, men, let's go." Off they went to bug another Japanese company.

Minneapolis: 'A crisis for construction workers'

By LEE GEARHART

MINNEAPOLIS—Many layoffs across Minnesota are not making the newspapers. Cutbacks are not something firms like to publicize. But the jobless picture is steadily worsening here.

More than 104,000 people were officially listed as jobless in December, up 11,500 from November.

Perhaps the hardest-hit industry is construction. The downturn in home building combined with traditional winter shutdowns is creating "a crisis" for many construction workers, according to a St. Paul union official.

As many as one-third of the workers in the baking industry in the Twin Cities have been laid off or shifted to part-time work.

"Anybody who's got a job is hanging on for dear life," one union official says.

"Everywhere I go to look for work, employers tell me they're looking for someone with experience," says a 30-year-old assembler who has been un-

employed since August.

He was standing in line at the general assistance office of the Minneapolis Welfare Department. A welfare official says the office is more crowded than at any time in the past 27 years.

The waiting room, where more than 100 people were sitting last week, looked like a scene out of the depression of the 1930s. Poorly clothed men, women, and children waited for a few dollars to buy a little food, and perhaps a little time from the landlord.

The food stamp office has also been deluged. A line forms in the sub-zero temperatures outside the building long before it opens at 8 a.m. Seven minutes after the doors open, officials announce that the stamp office has its quota of applicants for the day. The rest standing in line must come back tomorrow.

Hunger is a growing problem. Six charity outlets in the Minneapolis area gave 10,000 people emergency groceries last year, double the number of the year before.

The head of the food project told a newspaper that thousands of metropolitan residents go to bed hungry every night.

Pittsburgh: 'I learned how system works'

By VAL MOLLER
and FRED STANTON

PITTSBURGH—Often referred to by local newscasters as "a bright spot in the nation's economy," Pittsburgh entered 1975 with an estimated 6.3 percent unemployment rate.

According to Bureau of Employment Security District Manager Charles Hamilton, there are now 51,000 people in this four-county area getting unemployment compensation, up 31,000 since last October.

On the "bright side," the bureau's job bank lists 1,400 jobs available.

Hamilton estimates that "among Black people 16 to 24 years old, unemployment might be as high as 25

percent."

The East Liberty district unemployment office, serving the east end of Pittsburgh, including three Black communities, is supposed to be capable of handling "1932 twice over."

In recent weeks the last of the office's "emergency" lines have been put into operation, and often the "new applicants" and "extended benefits" lines are more than two hours long.

A large number of the unemployed are seasonal laborers, many of whom have not worked since October. Most had been in the jobless lines in previous winters, but the mood was different this year.

"This is the first year I've ever felt there might not be work for me in the spring," was a common response among carpenters, excavators, and other construction workers.

Black people are being laid off first and often collect less in benefits because of the low wages they made while working. Some young Blacks get only \$5-\$15 a week.

One woman said that she and all the other Black employees of a downtown health club were laid off in one day. "I always thought that 'last hired and first fired' was just a form of self-pity," she said. "I just learned the hard way how this system works."

Many of the "old-timers" who have been unemployed for months get into long discussions about their problems. One such group came to the consensus that "there has to be a recession every so often. It just seems that it always comes when the Republicans are in. When the Democrats take over, then there's a war. You can't win."

The new applicants' line is quieter. Most never thought they'd be there. One truck driver was surprised that his boss would lay him off after 15 years with the company. "They fired the Blacks first, then the bigmouths, then me—what did I do?"

Among the shocked newcomers was the stock supervisor of a supermarket. He had been told, "The store can get as much work from fewer employees. They just have to work harder—you understand."

When asked about Ford's economic proposals he laughed. "Inflation means we all have less money and he's raising taxes to fight recession."

What about Ford's proposals to fight unemployment? "I didn't hear any, did you?"



Jobless workers lining up to receive unemployment checks in Mount Clemens, Mich.

How AFSCME can defend the jobs

By RAY MARKEY

NEW YORK—New York, all will agree, is a city in crisis. But it's a different crisis depending on who you talk to.

For Mayor Abraham Beame and the rest of the city administration, the crisis is a budget deficit. For the current fiscal year the city is \$430-million in the red, maybe \$650-million. City auditors are not sure.

But Beame, like mayors in other cities, has a "plan to save the city." It is simple: cut services and lay off workers.

Last November Beame proclaimed "the toughest austerity program since the depression," and since then he has ordered three rounds of massive layoffs. All told, 11,985 city employees

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have been ordered discharged or forced to retire.

The cuts affect schools, the Transit Authority, Housing Authority, Health Services, Addiction Services, welfare, parks, libraries, and virtually every other city service. Eight fire companies were closed. Even a few cops were fired.

Beame's problem is not yet solved. He figures the budget deficit is still \$120-million, so more layoffs are surely in the works.

Personal catastrophe

For the city workers handed pink slips, the crisis can mean personal catastrophe. Robert Marigliano, 33, a maintenance worker at the Brooklyn supreme court building, was one of 598 "provisional employees" fired Jan. 17. A few hours later Marigliano sat down at a street intersection, drenched himself with gasoline, and lit a match.

He was reported to have "been despondent for weeks over the prospect of being unable to take care of his elderly mother, with whom he lived."

Most city workers laid off are now eligible for unemployment compensation, previously denied them. But this amounts to \$95 a week tops and lasts only 26 weeks. Thousands will be forced onto the welfare rolls.

For the rest of the working-class residents of the city, the crisis means a grim picture of deterioration in already inadequate city services: less

garbage collection, fewer street repairs, reduced subway schedules and probable hikes in fare, less fire protection, fewer teachers and textbooks, welfare cutbacks, poorer health care.

Already the few opportunities for recreation for the city's poor are being wiped out as fees are imposed for visiting museums and zoos, library hours are cut, and the parks fall into disrepair.

Test for unions

For the unions representing city employees, the crisis means a direct test of their ability to protect their members' livelihoods.

My union, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), represents roughly half the city work force. Other major unions involved include the United Federation of Teachers, Teamsters (sanitation workers), Uniformed Firefighters, and Communications Workers.

New York is AFSCME's stronghold. Other locals around the country, also threatened with layoffs, are watching our response and expecting leadership. So far this has not been provided.

At the November delegate assembly meeting of District Council 37, held four days after the first layoffs were ordered, executive director Victor Gotbaum admitted he was completely confused by what was going on.

Gotbaum complained that Beame wasn't playing by the rules, since he was firing civil service employees as well as provisionals (employees who have not taken a civil service exam), when there were some 20,000 provisionals who could be laid off first. Gotbaum personally promised that there would be no layoffs of civil servants.

At the December delegate assembly meeting, Gotbaum announced he had found a miracle cure: force older workers to retire early instead of firing younger workers.

Those who would be forced to retire on smaller pensions than they will be entitled to in a few years were less than enthusiastic. In any case, the federal Department of Labor shot down the whole scheme by ruling it was age discrimination and therefore illegal.

Since then the union has concentrated on requests for federal and state aid to the city, especially to "sweeten" retirement provisions. This way, Gotbaum asserts, the annual attrition rate could be stepped up from 10,000 to maybe 20,000.

Press reports are confused and contradictory as to how many people have actually been laid off to date. Some civil service employees have been fired, but then rehired under state or federally funded programs.

Such maneuvers have lulled many workers into thinking the layoffs will not really be so severe, or that with some fancy footwork they at least will be spared. This false calm is likely to be shattered in early February when Beame insists that pink slips will definitely fall on tenured civil servants. The need for action by our union to stop the layoffs is urgent.

First, it is a moral outrage against the standards of labor solidarity to abandon the provisional employees to Beame's tender mercies. *Virtually all of these workers are members of our union—dues-paying members—and they should have the same right to a job as everyone else.*



Mayor's claim that there is 'no money' is absurd in financial capital of world. But the big corporations are hardly taxed at all.

Second, even if the union's top demands were won and the city agreed to reduce the work force only by attrition—then what? Then we're agreeing to perpetual speedup as fewer and fewer workers try to provide services. And no matter how hard we are pushed, services will continue to slide.

Third, talk is already thrown around that a wage freeze if not outright wage cuts will be demanded of us to balance the budget.

I have talked to workers who think we should all take a 10 or 15 percent pay cut so that no one has to be laid off. They propose this out of the best intentions—a desire not to see the burden fall unfairly on one group of workers.

But once we begin accepting such plans, there will be no stopping the city. The drive will be on to slash wages, speed up the work, and drive down pensions—all with the threat of layoffs unless we comply—until our union has been effectively destroyed.

Frontal attack

The plain fact is that Beame has launched a frontal attack against our union, and so far we're giving in without a fight. The longer we delay, the bolder the attacks will become and the weaker we will be.

What is fundamentally wrong with our union leaders' current approach to the layoffs is that they are trying to solve Beame's problem instead of the problems of District Council 37 members and the other working people of the city. Instead of challenging the whole concept of cutbacks and an austerity program, they have only tried to amend the plan to make it a little more palatable.

Who is to blame for the budget crisis? Day after day the union-hating *New York Times*, *Post*, and *Daily*

News keep pounding away with articles blaming us, the city workers, for being overpaid and underworked. We know better, but so far we're doing a poor job of getting our side of the story out.

Robbery—by banks

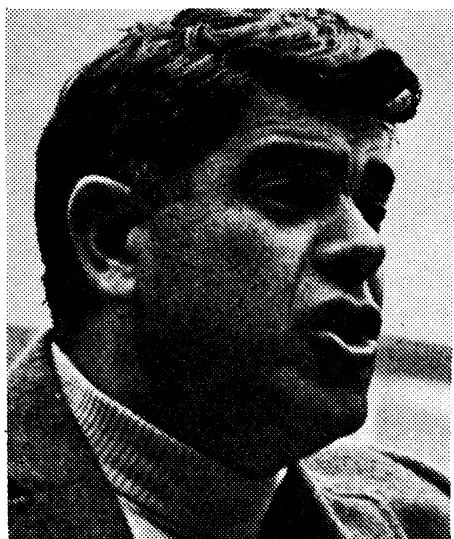
When Beame announced the budget crisis at a Nov. 8 news conference, it was reported that he banged his fist on his desk and declared: "I want you to understand that this has no relationship to the word 'bankruptcy.' Our bonds are good and secure. They will be paid."

That promise is what the budget crisis is really all about: the demand by the New York bankers that we go on austerity so that their looting of the public treasury can go on unhindered.

For this fiscal year, the city has budgeted \$1.8-billion for interest and repayment of principal to the banks, millionaires, and corporations that hold the city's bonds. This is called "debt service," and it amounts to 16.2 percent of the entire city budget. For those who collect the interest, every penny is completely *tax-free*.

It's gotten to the point where the city borrows money to pay debt service on old debts; paying interest on top of interest. By a typical method of city financing, if the city borrows \$100-million for, say, transit projects, we will end up paying the banks \$234-million by the time the loan is repaid.

That's at "normal" interest rates. In January the city offered for sale \$620-million worth of one-year notes. The banks got together and made only one bid: 9.4 percent interest, take it or leave it. The city took it, and those notes alone will cost us taxpayers \$58.1-million in interest.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME. Union leaders should quit worrying about solving Beame's problems and start worrying about problems of union members.

of city workers

Sold in minimum denominations of \$10,000, these notes are not for the proverbial "widows and orphans." The next day the banks put a big ad for the bonds in the papers, pointing out that for individuals or corporations in the 60 percent tax bracket, the taxable equivalent yield from one of these bonds would be 22.5 percent. As one anonymous bond dealer confided to a *New York Times* reporter, "We make a hell of a lot of money off this city."

Debt moratorium

There is an alternative to the layoffs, an obvious one: declare an immediate moratorium on these outrageous interest payments. That would cover the budget deficit several times over. If there has to be austerity, a bank like Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan—whose profits were up 38 percent last year—can afford it a lot better than our union members trying to support families on a few thousand dollars a year.

Which is more important: the profits of the banks or the lives and well-being of city workers and residents? Beame says the banks come first; we should stand up and say, "No, people's lives are more important!"

Instead of jockeying around trying to get somebody else laid off, we should be saying no layoffs and no wage freezes. What this city needs is more and better services, not cutbacks. Instead of freezing new construction as Beame has done, the city should undertake an emergency program to provide low-rent housing, rebuild the ghettos, repair the dilapidated schools, modernize rapid transit, and provide more hospitals and health-care facilities.

No money?

Beame will claim there's no money for such projects. Can any rational person accept that? This is the financial capital of the world, with blocks of skyscrapers housing the headquarters of the richest corporations in the world. There's money to burn, but the really big money is hardly taxed at all.

When Beame says there is no money, we can respond: open the books of the city government. Let's see who is really paying taxes and where the money goes. The bond-payment swindle is the biggest rip-off, but we would also uncover the real waste, the graft, the political pay-



City workers can ally with students and others who have stake in fight against cutbacks.

offs, the exorbitant executive salaries to Beame's cronies.

Nobody is in a better position to expose this information than our own union members. City secretaries, accountants, and clerks who belong to our union, if their knowledge were pooled, organized, and publicized, could tell the *real* story of New York City finances.

We should go after the books of the corporations and banks as well, using the city's authority to uncover the truth of how they're robbing us blind and getting off virtually tax-free.

What are the immediate steps our union should take? First, we need to launch a massive educational campaign to tell the truth about the budget crisis and who is to blame. The administration knows what a powerful weapon public opinion is—that's why they go to such lengths to blame us for rising taxes. That weapon must be turned around to rally public support behind our program of *more* services and *more* jobs.

Allies in struggle

We would quickly find allies among others hurt by Beame's austerity program: other unions, welfare organizations, community school boards, the unemployed, Black and Puerto Rican groups, day-care workers and the mothers who depend on their services.

Students are already organizing demonstrations against the cutbacks in the City University system, and even fighting to save the jobs of city workers.

We too should begin to mobilize our power in opposition to the layoffs through marches and rallies. The Jan. 17 issue of *Public Employee Press* features a front-page call by Victor Gotbaum for a massive labor march on Washington. Let's follow up this excellent proposal by contacting other unions, agreeing on a date, and then mobilizing our members in the streets.

For starters, it should be simple enough to organize a demonstration of tens of thousands of workers right here at city hall, which is actually ordering the layoffs.

And once we have made it clear that there is an alternative to the layoffs, that we stand for the welfare of the city and Beame stands only for the banks, then we should be prepared for united strike action to shut the city down tight if that's what it takes to win our demands.

Our union, together with the allies we can win, has the power to stop the layoffs. We just have to decide to do it.

Many District Council 37 members must be wondering why Victor Gotbaum, who is neither a fool nor a coward, has taken a "you can't fight city hall" attitude, thus endangering our livelihoods and our union.

Isn't it because Gotbaum considers himself—and our union—part of the Beame administration, part of the Democratic Party machine? Isn't it because a serious fight against the layoffs would mean a break with the people our union leaders spent so much money and time to get elected?

Next time somebody proposes that we support another Democrat, or a Liberal, or even a "progressive" Republican for office, let's remember what "friends" like Beame and Governor Carey have done for us. If we do, the idea of the union movement nominating and electing its *own* candidates on an independent labor party ticket will not sound strange at all.

Los Angeles cops train to put down food rioting

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Police Department is conducting a special training program to deal with food riots.

More than 500 police supervisors have already gone through the program. Plans call for all 7,200 members of the force to take food riot control drills in station-house training sessions.

The program is being conducted under the direction of Commander Frank Brittell, formerly a captain in charge of the notorious Special Weapons and Tactics force (SWAT).

It was SWAT that led the bloody police shootout against the trapped Symbionese Liberation Army members here last spring. It also conducted a shootout against the Black Panther Party headquarters here several years ago.

Explaining the present training program, Brittell told the media: "I don't know if we're going to have food riots or not. But the potential, because of the economy, the inflation, and the recession, is such that the department has got to be prepared." Brittell said the program was initiated by Police Chief Edward Davis.

The experts are making differing predictions about prospects for the economy, Brittell said, "but the ones who see things getting worse predict major civil disturbances. Food riots would be one such problem. A major unemployment problem could lead to

major labor troubles, civil disturbances by people who are out of work."

One reason advance training is needed, he explained, is because of the peculiar emotional problem involved if a deep-going depression hits.

The problem seems to be that the cops won't be simply beating the heads of Chicanos and Blacks. Jobless whites may need to be "controlled" as well.

The wide publicity given to the training program prompted a denial, of sorts, from Chief Davis. Davis said the training program had been begun because "we thought it expedient to anticipate from the rapidly changing economy some form of protest coming about within the country or city."

A bad economic situation, he said, could provoke labor unrest and student protests. Some activists, he predicted, might urge people to take the law into their own hands.

But the idea that such a training program was intended to deal with food riots, he asserted, was the creation of newspapers seeking a headline.

The official jobless rate in California is 9 percent; the rate for Chicanos and Blacks is much higher. Last month there were 787,600 Californians listed as out of work. Of these, only 471,125 qualified for unemployment compensation.

It's comforting to know the L.A. cops are ready.

Milwaukee teachers win support for strike

By LINDA D'RAND

MILWAUKEE—The first teachers' strike in history here, begun Jan. 20, is solid and winning labor support.

Locals 1616 and 1053 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, representing truck drivers and school secretaries, have voted to strike in solidarity with the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association (MTEA). The Wisconsin Federation of Teachers has endorsed the strike.

The 5,800 members of the MTEA walked out after the school board suspended 15 teachers and fired one coach for taking part in a work slowdown. The teachers have been without a contract since Dec. 31.

At Washington High School, price-tag signs reading "Teachers Rights/Student Rights—Not for Sale" were displayed in the windshields of several teachers' cars.

A young Black teacher explained: "When teachers start to gain power and feel that we can make X number of decisions, the school board feels they have to change that. They want us to have less input on programs. Sometimes it seems when programs are really being successful they just drop them."

The MTEA is demanding a 16 percent wage increase and a cost-of-living clause with quarterly payments. The teachers also want smaller class sizes and preservation of the seniority policy in transfers.

Blacks are 33 percent of the city's 118,500 students. One group of Black students attended a session of the contract negotiations to urge that teachers be given adequate time to prepare classes and that education be suited



Militant/Linda D'Rand

Milwaukee teachers are fighting against union-busting suspensions and firings, and for a cost-of-living escalator clause.

to students' needs. Students also picketed with teachers at Rufus King High School, a predominantly Black school.

Teachers' strikes are illegal in Wisconsin, and already an anonymous "citizen" has filed suit to get an injunction against the strike. The Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union has demanded that the state make strikes legal.

Last year, striking teachers in Hortonville, Wis., were fired when they walked out. Asked if she thought the Milwaukee strike could turn into another Hortonville, a Black teacher's aide replied, "We have to do whatever is necessary. We either all sink together or rise together."

CLUW sets nat'l campaign

Union women call March 8 protests

By LINDA JENNESS

A national "campaign against the depression, unemployment and layoffs" was approved by the National Coordinating Committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), meeting in St. Louis Jan. 17-19.

To kick off this campaign the CLUW leaders called for actions on March 8, International Women's Day.

A resolution approved by the National Coordinating Committee states that "CLUW members should immediately seek union endorsement of our activity March 8, as part of a continuing campaign to get union endorsement" for the fight against the layoffs.

The resolution proposes that CLUW follow up the March 8 actions with a series of public forums or hearings the week of April 28-May 3. These forums are to focus on the plight of women as a result of the layoffs.

CLUW's action reflects the fact that the growing unemployment lines are filled with women. In plant after plant the layoffs include a large percentage—and in some cases *all*—of the female employees.

In November 1974 the official jobless rate for women jumped from 7.0 to 7.8 percent. In December it rose again, reaching 8.6 percent, compared with 6.2 percent for men.

The jobs these women are losing are crucial to their, and in many cases their children's, survival. Today 30 percent of all family income is brought home by women, and in 15 percent of the families the female worker brings in the chief income.

The CLUW resolution can be the



Militant/Ruthann Miller

Meeting of New York chapter of Coalition of Labor Union Women. CLUW is setting example by organizing national campaign against layoffs.

starting point for a vast campaign by union women to stop the layoffs. It places the blame for unemployment squarely where it belongs: on the U. S. government and big business. The resolution demands:

"Shorter workweek, no loss in pay.

"No overtime as long as anyone is laid off.

"No wage controls and support for the concept of cost of living (clauses) in all contracts.

"No speedup or any other form of job harassment."

CLUW calls for "more jobs at union wages and working conditions including public works jobs; support the Hawkins Bill, enforcement of the Full Employment Act of 1946, and any other measures to create full employment."

The resolution further states that

CLUW will "oppose federal budget cuts in programs for people, and recommend a cut in U. S. military spending to pay for these programs."

The CLUW resolution sets a refreshing and urgently needed example for the entire labor movement, and it reflects the sentiments expressed by CLUW chapters and activists across the country.

Already the Chicago chapter of CLUW has moved to implement the resolution. At a Jan. 25 meeting of 80 women, Chicago CLUW voted to stage a march and picket line for jobs on March 8.

Prior to the National Coordinating Committee meeting, both the Los Angeles and New York chapters of CLUW had proposed that the fight for job protection and against the layoffs be a priority for CLUW.

At its Jan. 11 meeting, the Los Angeles CLUW chapter passed a resolution stating:

"Whereas, American working people are suffering the worst unemployment since 1940 at the time of the worst inflation in our history;

"Whereas, the layoffs have hit women and especially minority women the hardest and are rapidly wiping out all the gains women have made over the past decade;

"Whereas, CLUW supports full employment through the creation of jobs and favors a shorter work week with no loss in pay to spread the available work around," the L. A. CLUW called for "united labor actions for jobs on the West Coast."

The New York CLUW chapter, at its Jan. 8 meeting of 500 women, heard a proposal from the activities committee that it focus its activities on the fight against the layoffs.

The economic crisis poses a challenge for the entire labor movement. With CLUW chapters discussing and urging actions against the layoffs, and with the resolution passed by the National Coordinating Committee, CLUW is in a position to prove in practice that it can fight for the interests of women unionists.

Local CLUW chapters, by implementing this campaign against the layoffs, can broaden their support in the union movement, recruit many more union women to their ranks, and link up in action with other organizations. They can show that union women are in the forefront of the battle to defend the interests of all working people.

No program for action

AFL-CIO officials look for scapegoats

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON—"Ay-rab sheiks" and "foreign workers" were made the scapegoats for unemployment and inflation at the Jan. 23 "emergency session" here of the AFL-CIO general board.

The meeting was intended to attract favorable publicity and give the impression that action to save jobs is in the works.

Accordingly, the AFL-CIO tops decided to make the board meeting open to the media. The officialdom's gatherings are traditionally closed to reporters, not to mention rank-and-file union members.

The whole affair was carefully staged, with the speeches, "discussion," and decisions prepared well in advance. Of the 317 official delegates, less than a dozen were Black or female.

In the morning, delegates dozed through a series of long-winded speeches. The audience perked up, however, when AFL-CIO President George Meany demanded that the United States ban oil imports from the Arab countries.

"No tribute, no foreign aid, no trade, no jet fighters to these people—nothing until the blackmail stops!" he thundered, striking what was to be the most popular theme of the day among the aging bureaucrats.

The real oil blackmailer—the U. S. energy trust, which is gouging record



HALL: Rants against 'Arab sheiks' but refuses to put forward a program to fight for jobs.

profits out of the pockets of working people—was never mentioned by the union officials.

Those speakers who didn't attack the Arabs denounced "foreign workers" instead. Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, said that clothing factories in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and South Korea were "trying to take away the jobs of American workers."

The peak of patriotic phrasemon-

gering was reached by Seafarers International Union President Paul Hall. "Look at the national security of this country," he implored, wistfully recalling how U. S. forces defeated the Japanese in World War II.

"Now the American fleet has been brought to its knees by the oil cartel in the Middle East," Hall claimed, adding that Italy and Great Britain were also about to fall to the "Arab sheiks."

Despite a few rhetorical blasts at the Democrats and Republicans, the board approved an "action program" that differs only in minor details from what the two capitalist parties are proposing. Key features of the program are the following:

- A \$20-billion tax cut, including a \$5-billion cut in corporate taxes.

- A ban on oil imports from countries that participated in the 1973-74 oil embargo.

- Reduction of interest rates.

- Creation of one million public service jobs.

- Protection of U. S. industry from "unfair foreign competition" through import quotas and restrictions and export controls.

- Modest improvement in unemployment compensation, bringing benefits up to 75 percent of weekly wages.

The general board chimed in with the auto makers and coal barons in a call to "stretch out present environ-

mental restrictions on energy production and use."

In the prevailing atmosphere of patriotic frenzy, it is hardly surprising that no one proposed to cut war spending—even though it fuels inflation and sucks money away from social services.

The only suggestion that the power of the unions be mobilized to stop the layoffs came in a brief floor discussion. William DuChessi, an official of the Textile Workers Union, asked the AFL-CIO to "consider" calling for "orderly demonstrations at state capitols and probably at the nation's capitol. . . . to bring to our lawmakers the importance of what is going on in this country."

"Our people are looking for this," he said to scattered applause.

Another delegate also spoke in favor of demonstrations. "We in the labor movement are the only ones that are going to save [the economy]," he said. The AFL-CIO must "pull out all the troops" and "come back to Washington with massive [numbers]. . . . to make sure we have the kind of turnout the whole country listens to."

These appeals were studiously ignored by Meany, who closed the meeting with the announcement that he would mail copies of the "action program" to President Ford and Congress the next day.

Threatens Syria

Israel spreads death in southern Lebanon

From Intercontinental Press

By DAVE FRANKEL

"The lonely, potholed road that runs along Lebanon's southern border is a trail of fear and bloodshed for the villagers and farmers who live here within sight of Israel. . .," cabled *New York Times* reporter Juan de Onis January 7.

"The Israelis come every night," said Olya Hossein, a farmer's wife. "They have prohibited anyone from being out of his house after dark. We are not allowed to turn on lights."

Since New Year's Day, when an Israeli patrol blew up eleven houses in the village of Yarin and took three prisoners there, along with another three from a neighboring village, the Israelis have repeatedly attacked southern Lebanon with ground forces and artillery fire. In a protest submitted to the United Nations Security Council January 16, the Lebanese government listed sixty-one acts of Israeli aggression in the ten days between January 4 and 13 alone.

Hussein Sharafeddin, fourteen years old, described one such instance to de

Onis. "The boy, with a head wound wrapped in bandages, said that his father had gone to the door last Thursday night when he heard noises.

"When he opened the door an Israeli shot him," he said. "My brother Abdullah went to help him and was also shot. Then my brother Falah took a gun and fired out the window. He was killed too."

Hudur Honnein, who was captured last year with his son, Saleh, described the treatment of those taken back across the Israeli border by the raiding parties. "We were held in jails in Haifa and Ramle. For 35 days we were in a dark hole, with nothing but bread and water.

"We were tortured with electric shocks. First they would torture me, while my son had to watch. Then they would torture my son in front of me.

"They kept asking us to tell them about the fedayeen. 'You are working with the Palestinians,' they said. I said all I knew was how to work my land. Look at my hands."

"He extended his palms upward," wrote de Onis. "His hands were covered with callouses."

However, most Lebanese don't have to worry about going through such an experience. As one Israeli soldier explained to *Time* magazine reporter Daniel Drooz, "If they can get their hands up faster than I can pull the trigger, then I'll take them prisoner."

The Lebanese government has come under increasing pressure from the victims of the raids to resist the Israeli aggression. "Angered by the escalating scale of Israeli ground attacks, and seeking greater protection by Lebanese authorities," reported Jim Hoagland in the January 3 *Washington Post*, villagers in the southern Lebanese town of Nabatiyah staged demonstrations, blocking roads around the town with barricades and burning automobile tires."

Although the Lebanese security forces have refused to use their weapons against the Israelis, they did use them against the villagers fleeing the Zionist raids, opening fire January 14 on a group of protesters in the town of Merj 'Uyun. The next day, reported *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John Cooley, the refugees were still in the town, able to watch as Israeli troops blew up their homes.

When Syrian President Hafez el-Asad visited Lebanon January 7, Is-



Lebanese family in ruins of their home after Israeli attack

raeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres quickly warned that any stationing of Syrian units in southern Lebanon would be regarded as a warlike act.

A similar warning was reported in the January 22 *Christian Science Monitor*. "According to semiofficial Israeli sources," wrote *Monitor* correspondent Francis Ofner, "there are now several thousand armed men in southern Lebanon taking their orders from Syria."

"This situation, the sources say, makes a mockery of Lebanon's formal refusal to permit the stationing of Syrian troops on its soil. They warn that mutual cross-border incursions might grow too big to remain localized."

Such threats are aimed as much against Syria as Lebanon. "Some observers speculate that Israel is planning to invade western Syria from Lebanon, entering the latter in hot pursuit of Arab guerrillas," noted C.L. Sulzberger in the January 26 *New York Times*.

In the meantime, the attacks against the people of Lebanon continue.

"President Suleiman Franjeh's moderate government, which now runs the risk of being totally discredited unless it responds to the Israeli attacks, has put an urgent request to Washington for Vulcan 20mm., six-barrel anti-aircraft guns, one of the most effective air defense systems short of missiles," reported Jim Hoagland in a January 16 dispatch from Beirut.

"Libya and Syria," he continued, "are widely reported to have separately offered Lebanon Soviet-made ground-to-air missile systems this month, and government sources here suggest that supply of the Vulcan system would help Franjeh neutralize growing domestic pressure on this issue."

Although the Lebanese government has not responded to the attacks, the Palestinian resistance fighters have. Israel reported twenty soldiers wounded and one dead in the first twenty-one days of January.

The policy the Israeli regime has been following in southern Lebanon was spelled out last April by former Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. Responding to a Palestinian raid he claimed had been mounted from southern Lebanon, Dayan warned, "The people will find it impossible to live there. Their homes will be destroyed, and the whole area will be deserted." Thus, in the village of Kfar Shouba, one of those the Israelis attacked, 166 of the 202 houses were destroyed or damaged so badly that they were no longer habitable. The 1,500 people who were still living there at the beginning of this year are now refugees.

"This is the way we left Palestine," commented a Palestinian employee of a private relief organization helping the refugees, who are Lebanese.

"I'm afraid we will never be allowed to go back," said one woman.

55% say 'No' to new war

While the Ford administration continues dropping hints about the possibility of U.S. military intervention against the Arab countries, a Gallup poll conducted Jan. 10-15 indicated that most Americans are not in the mood for any military adventures.

The poll found that only one in 10 people in the United States would favor military intervention in the event of an oil boycott by the Arab states.

In addition, although 61 percent of those polled thought that another Arab-Israeli war is likely to occur this year, 55 percent were against U.S. involvement. "The 51-year-old wife of an engineering consultant from Alexandria, Va.," says the Gallup news release, "expresses a common view concerning U.S. military involvement: 'Don't send troops—we should have learned our lesson in Vietnam. Our country would go to pieces if we got involved in another war.'"

Greek people force gov't to jail ex-dictator

From Intercontinental Press

The Caramanlis government moved January 14 to begin prosecution of some of the most ill-famed personalities in the junta that ruled the country for more than seven years. It arrested General Dimitrios Ioannides, the strongman who dominated the dictatorship in its final days, and introduced a bill formally declaring the April 21, 1967, take-over a coup and not a "revolution." The former members of the junta claimed they had created a new "revolutionary" legality and thus could not be tried for crimes related to establishing and maintaining a dictatorship. On January 15, the bill was approved unanimously by parliament.

The former head of the junta, George Papadopoulos, who was jailed by the Ioannides clique after the November 1973 student demonstrations, decided



IOANNIDES: "When the revolution handed over power, it did not intend the civilian government to take revengeful measures against it."

not to plead. In a written statement, he said:

"I refuse to testify because the Government is trying to replace justice by a parliamentary act like a court ruling, characterizing me in advance as a criminal."

Ioannides, on the other hand, made an appeal to patriotism. He said that the junta had turned over power voluntarily in July to enable the politicians to achieve national unity and lead the country to victory against Turkey.

"The politicians gave us these assurances," Ioannides said. "It was not possible to foresee the policy adopted afterward, which was a policy of inconceivable concessions and humiliation." The general continued:

"When the revolution handed over power, it did not intend the civilian Government to take revengeful measures against it."

Ioannides's statement seemed to confirm speculation that he hoped the junta could step back temporarily, let the politicians take the blame for a defeat everyone knew was inevitable, and then return to the center of the stage as the champions of offended "national honor." But the mass upsurge unleashed by the loosening of the repression quickly ruled out any comeback for the dictatorship.

In December, the pressure of the masses forced Caramanlis to let the monarchy fall. The fact that the old rightist politician now has decided to open a public trial of the former reactionary government, with which all the conservative forces in Greece were deeply implicated, indicates that mass pressure is continuing to mount for punishment of those responsible for the dictatorship and for liquidation of the repressive apparatus they created.

What Ford offers

While this country slides deeper and deeper into economic crisis, the "solutions" being offered up by Democratic and Republican politicians alike are "solutions" for the rich, not for the majority.

President Ford's package of tax and energy proposals would mean a new cut in the standard of living. It would do nothing to slow rising unemployment, and would lead to even worse inflation.

Recent statements by Ford and his advisers have further highlighted the completely reactionary aims of the administration's program. Here is what Ford is pushing for:

- Drastic cutbacks in all "income redistribution programs" such as food stamps, Social Security, retirement benefits for federal employees, and medical aid. The people who need these benefits—the old, the sick, those unable to work or to find jobs—are already at the bottom of society. Ford would condemn them to even greater misery.

- For another class of Americans, however, Ford has other ideas. For the Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Morgans, and their kind, he says, "we must end the long-term downtrend in corporate profits."

- While Ford denounces "excessive" federal spending for social benefits, he is campaigning vigorously against any cutbacks in the gigantic war budget. He wants to slash millions of dollars from social benefits to finance even more tiger cages and bombers for the Saigon dictatorship.

- Ford's trifling tax rebate is designed to bring the least benefit to those who are the poorest and most oppressed. For example, a family of four making \$7,000 a year will get only \$48 back, while the same size family making \$40,000 will get \$955.

Ford called this giving "people in the middle-income brackets a fair share."

Echoing Nixon's racist and class-biased preaching about the "work ethic" prior to the 1972 elections, Ford said: "I believe it would be a mistake to seek a solution to the problems of recession by penalizing middle-income Americans. Nothing would more effectively put a lid on the ambitions and enterprise and hard work of this important segment of Americans to continue up the economic ladder."

All of Ford's proposals are based on appealing to the privileged against the most oppressed and disadvantaged—the Blacks, the women, the young, and the old. Ford's economic program fits right in with his backing of white racists in Boston, through his statements opposing busing and his refusal to send troops to Boston to enforce the law on desegregation.

Ford is echoing the appeals of his predecessor, Nixon, to the "silent majority." But Nixon's so-called silent majority came to join the protesters in opposing the Vietnam war. And similarly, the majority of working people today are coming to realize that they have more in common with fellow victims of layoffs—Black, Brown, or female—than they do with the class of employers whose interests Ford is defending.

Do the Democrats offer any better program for the growing unemployment, poverty, and insecurity of life?

The Democrats in Congress expend a lot of hot air criticizing Ford's programs. But what they *do* is another matter. The best test of the Democrats' program is the record of the new liberal Democratic governors and mayors who were elected around the country in last fall's elections.

From Hugh Carey in New York to Edmund Brown in California, the Democrats are carrying out the same program on the state level that the White House is implementing in Washington.

In New York, Carey is throwing thousands of state employees out of their jobs and cutting deeply into social programs affecting thousands of New York City's poor. In California, Brown is rivaling his predecessor, Reagan, in calling for cutbacks in social spending in the name of "austerity."

And what is liberal Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley doing to protect the masses of Los Angeles citizens from economic hardships? His city police force is being trained in how to put down "food riots," in case people take action in the streets to demand the right to a job and a decent living!

In this issue of *The Militant* we present an alternative to the capitalist politicians of both parties. We propose a program that would mean some real changes, one that would come to grips with the problems facing the majority rather than the concerns of the corporations for greater profits and domination of the world.

The Socialist Workers Party and its 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are the ones who are fighting for this program. They deserve your active support.

Sugar-cane workers

At a time when the sugar corporations are raking in huge profits and sugar prices are soaring, the cane workers who produce the sugar are living at starvation level. The primarily Black sugar-cane workers of Louisiana live on the sugar plantations in shacks that in many cases once housed slaves, and economically they are little better off than the slaves had been.

The growers, meanwhile, get richer and richer at the expense of the workers. They are currently getting \$65 a ton for sugar cane for which they pay about 17 cents a ton in production costs, including labor!

Now the workers are facing a new threat. Under the Sugar Act of 1930, Congress was given the power to subsidize sugar profits and set "fair" minimum wages for workers. Under this law workers were recently given a wage increase from \$2 to \$2.50 an hour. But seeing no further need to subsidize sugar profits, Congress recently allowed the law to expire, leaving growers free to cut the wages of the sugar-cane workers back again.

It is time to demand justice for the sugar-cane workers and an end to the enormous profits of the sugar barons.

Spencer Livingston
Albany, N.Y.

More reviews

I've been reading *The Militant* continuously since 1969. And I continue to be impressed with the steady increase in quality over the years. I can definitely say that *The Militant* is one of the best tools our movement has to get out the word to more people.

I'd like to see more space devoted to reviews of books, plays, and movies, if possible.

Keep up the good work.
L.D.

Chicago, Ill.

No jive

What is the yearly subscription price of *The Militant* now? We're tired of *Associated Press* and *United Press International*; they jive, jive, jive. Please send us an order form.

K.P. and L.P.
Lincoln, Nebr.

[*The Militant's* yearly subscription rate is \$7.50. An introductory subscription is available to new readers at \$1 for two months. Send to the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

The basic problem

The capitalist press in America seems to be stepping up its propaganda against the Arabs. Along with this the government is talking of war to occupy the oil fields. Perhaps they hope to solve their economic problems with this classic capitalist maneuver, war.

But the problems were there and getting worse long before the oil prices went up, and they will remain even if the capitalists manage to regain control of oil. They cannot shift the blame to others by distracting attention with war talk.

The basic problem is capitalism's

inability to provide adequately for the needs of more than a privileged few. If America's rulers are really concerned about the price we must pay for gas to drive and to heat our houses, they could nationalize the oil companies. Then we could pay the Arabs a fair price for their resources while at the same time lowering what we pay, since we would no longer have to fatten the record profits of these companies.

Mark Speece
Vienna, Austria

Late train

The Second Avenue subway in New York City is a good example of capitalist government "planning." Although the final approval for the new line came in 1969 (almost 50 years after the first proposal), work didn't begin on any of the sections until late 1972, and the plan called for it to be completed in 1981.

Since then taxpayers have put up \$86.3-million in contracts, but still no subway. And "revised" schedules now call for completion in 1988 at the earliest.

As one official recently pointed out, the work might go "to the turn of the century—when a lot of us will be playing harps instead of riding subways."

Workers on the first portion that was started refer to it as the "election section," since groundbreaking took place just before election day. Vice-president Rockefeller (then governor of New York) said at the time, "There is just one man responsible for this groundbreaking this morning, and that man is President Nixon."

Gee, thanks a lot.
D.D.
New York, N.Y.

Native Americans

I appreciate reading *The Militant* for its information and views, but I want to comment that too little is said regarding the Native Americans. They have played a vital role in this country throughout history and in my opinion have suffered the most blatant oppression and atrocious neglect.

I would like to see a good analysis of the Red man in society from the socialist viewpoint. Instead of the token respect typical of social action to date, the Red man deserves much more of a humanistic response than has been provided by the Department of the Interior and society as a whole.

The prevailing "fatherly" attitude must be destroyed so the Red people are totally accepted in everyone's struggles for self-determination.

Eric Sorenson
Moorhead, Minn.

Public employees

Washington state employees are threatening to strike for the first time in history.

The demands of their union, the Washington Federation of State Employees (WFSE), are for implementation of recent salary survey findings (an average 12 percent wage increase) by Feb. 1, plus "catch-up" and "keep-up" increases in the coming year.

The demands are modest in view of a civil service law passed in



Affirmative action under attack

The following guest column is by Catarino Garza, a bilingual teacher in New York and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.

Attacks are mounting against the modest gains won by oppressed minorities and by women in education and on the job.

● A California superior court judge recently declared that the University of California's special admissions program at its medical colleges was unconstitutional. A 30-year-old white research engineer had sued the school for "reverse discrimination" because he was turned down twice for admission to medical school. He charged that less-qualified minority applicants were admitted.

It seems that 16 out of 100 places at the University of California Medical College at Davis were reserved for "educationally or economically disadvantaged students."

● In New York, the City College's Center for Biomedical Education is under attack in two similar suits, filed on behalf of white students by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Italian-American Center for Urban Affairs.

● As *The Militant* recently reported, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has issued a special order on college hiring practices designed to undercut any effective affirmative-action programs. It insists that "recruitment for employment vacancies must be undertaken without designation or identification by race, sex, [or] ethnicity."

These attacks are being lauded by the conservative officialdom of the AFL-CIO, especially through the voice of Albert Shanker, president of New York's United Federation of Teachers. Labeling attempts to give minorities half a chance at previously all-white jobs as "reverse discrimination" is a convenient cover for Shanker and others to maintain white job-trusts in their unions.

Pious arguments are used by front men like Bayard Rustin in the AFL-CIO *Federationist*. He writes that "we should not adopt as our principal mechanism a program designed exclusively to fight discrimination." This is a "narrow orientation" and will lead to Shanker's favorite bugbears: "racial and sexual quotas" and "tampering with legitimate standards."

Rustin cites the fact that affirmative-action programs "cannot prevent the deterioration of economic standards when the economy as a whole is sick." True enough. But if oppressed people could not get a fair shake when the capitalist economy was relatively stable, what chance is there for people kept out of jobs to break in now, with production going down and unemployment skyrocketing? Stay in your place, Rustin advises, until the capitalists get things straightened out.

In the meantime Black and Puerto Rican unemployment remains at least twice as high as white unemployment. And as the American Council on Education recently reported, the proportion of Blacks in college is falling drastically.

It appears the old cycle is about to be repeated. The oppressed were told that the reason they couldn't get good jobs was because they weren't educated or "qualified." Parents and students fought against tremendous odds for the right to an education. Now that a few have obtained the necessary degrees they are told there are not enough jobs, and in any case they have to compete with white males who have "higher qualifications."

Who determines what these "qualifications" are to be? Why, the white, male job-trusters, of course. "Heads we win, tails you lose."

Many young white males, especially if they themselves have had to fight for an education, resent being told that race and sex matter. *We* didn't discriminate, they protest. It's small consolation to them that what they judge as "reverse discrimination" is merely an attempt to right the wrongs of previous generations and of a racist and sexist system.

But it is unjust and a perversion of logic to demand that the oppressed, who have been and still are the victims of *real* discrimination, grin and bear it until there is a better economic climate.

People who are truly concerned with equality and justice will not fail to see that reason and right are on the side of the oppressed. To do otherwise is to take the position that so many young people condemned their elders for in the 1960s. Why were you silent in the past, they asked, when the oppressed fought for equal rights and human dignity? That same decision is before the young generation today.

1960, which requires that state employees be paid "at not less than prevailing rates" in private industry. But Washington state employees have not been paid at these "prevailing rates" since 1969.

The strike threat is being backed up by the organization of a state-wide network that will be capable of bringing the entire state machine to a halt should the union demands be ignored. Also, support is being sought from every labor organization in the state, with an excellent response thus far.

One of the WFSE's leaflets makes the issues clear:

"For a long time now state employees have carried the burden of the state budget on their shoulders, sacrificing their legal right to prevailing wages so the budget could be balanced and state services could be provided without unduly burdening the taxpayers of the state.

"But state employees have reached the end of the rope when it comes to balancing the budget at their expense."

Pat Bethard

Seattle, Wash.

'Heartbreak Kid'

I just had to write after seeing this movie on TV. *The Heartbreak Kid* showed excellently the political atmosphere of the typical college campus in 1972.

There was one scene that took place at a college and there, in a major movie, was a poster advertising the Linda Jenness vs. Paul McCloskey debate.

R. R.

Roxbury, Mass.

Labor history conference

I am writing to notify you of the first annual Southwest Labor History Conference, to be held April 24-26 in Stockton, Calif. The conference will mark the start of a new regional association of trade unionists, labor historians, labor editors, and others interested in the history of working people.

This region has the most interesting labor background of any area in the country, and yet has had no regional association. In other areas unionists and historians have organized groups dedicated to building a mutually advantageous partnership leading to a greater interest in labor history.

Such an association is now being planned here. The conference should be of great interest. Anyone interested in assisting should contact the Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies, University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif. 95211.

Sally Miller

Conference coordinator
Stockton, Calif.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



Economic lynching of a nation

The *New York Times* ran an article Jan. 19 under the unassuming title, "Puerto Rico's Recession." Looking at the contents, a more appropriate headline would have been: "The economic lynching of a nation."

The article outlines the effects of the U.S. recession on that Caribbean property of Wall Street.

"Unemployment in Puerto Rico is estimated at 16 percent. . . ." writes H. J. Maidenberger from San Juan. "Inflation is rampaging at an annual rate close to 30 per cent—a particularly cruel trial for people whose per capita income is still only one-third of the national [U.S.] average."

But the *Times*'s figures—astounding as they are—tell only a small part of the real story.

In June 1970 unemployment in Puerto Rico was 11 percent. In addition to the 92,000 officially unemployed, however, the government classified 253,000 as "idle." This is a statistical sleight of hand also used in the United States under the name "discouraged workers" to cover up the real extent of unemployment. With the "idle" included, *real* unemployment in Puerto Rico in 1970 was 30.4 percent—as high as in the U.S. during the Great Depression.

The government's figures for 1970 showed another 35 percent as "underemployed"—people who wanted full-time work, but could only find part-time jobs.

The *Times* does not give any current figures for "idle" or "underemployed" workers. But the staggering 45 percent jump in the "unemployed" category alone shows that the overall situation is much graver today than five years ago. The overwhelming majority of the workers of Puerto Rico are either unemployed or underemployed.

But that's only half the story. In the past 25 years,

hundreds of thousands have been forced to leave the island and come to the U.S. in search of jobs. This migration has been so great that today about 40 percent of the Puerto Rican people live in the United States.

With the recession in the U.S., however, even that avenue of escape is being cut off. During times of relative economic prosperity Puerto Ricans here are the last hired for the worst-paying and most dangerous jobs. During a downturn they are simply thrown out into the street.

Needless to say, the *Times* delicately avoids probing why there are no jobs for Puerto Ricans today, either on the island or in the U.S. But the reason is well known.

Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. On all important questions that concern it, the decisions are made directly by the U.S. government. Moreover, what little power the island's local government does have is simply *delegated* to it. What Uncle Sam gives he can also take away.

The economy of Puerto Rico is completely dominated by Wall Street. The capitalist profiteers deliberately maintain astronomical unemployment, poverty-level wages, and prices even higher than those in the United States. In this way they rake in mountains of profits. The people of Puerto Rico have absolutely no control over either their government or economy.

In the United States it is the same story. The same small clique of businessmen and bankers who control the island run this country. And for this gang of greedy parasites, the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans is nothing compared to a fraction of a percent on their profit charts.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



What makes Henry run—"As a historian, you would now have to predict that our kind of society would very probably not last much longer. But if you are an official, you have no such freedom. You just have to do the best you can."—Henry Kissinger as quoted by columnist Stewart Alsop.

How appropriate can you get?—A collective bargaining election at the Ashland, Ore., Community Hospital was won by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

The man in the gray flannel trench coat—"What we were trying to do was

to find out what the radicals were marketing and to learn if they had any new products. They were a target company and we were another company in competition."—A former CIA agent describing his activities spying on New York radicals.

Double whammy—In our neighborhood they used to say that if you were out of matches the way to start a fire was to rub two boy scouts together. If you can't kick the habit, that may be the best way to light your coffin nails. According to a University of Missouri researcher, the

carbon from matches and lighters may be a factor in causing lung cancer, along with the cigarette itself.

Crispy crunchy—According to the Hollywood grapevine, *The Towering Inferno* and *Earthquake* may be distributed as a double bill. Promotional material for the twin attraction, we're advised, will go out under the heading "Shake and Bake."

Sounds reasonable—Spiro Agnew's new real estate partner, Walter Dilbeck, says the former veep should be a multimillionaire within four years.

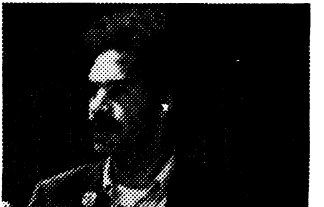
Concerning Agnew's tax evasion conviction and bribery charges, Dilbeck observed philosophically, "What he did when he was in office—that's American politics."

Sweet—In the last half of 1974 stockholders in the Great Western Sugar Company enjoyed a profit of \$18.09 a share as compared with 51 cents a share for the same period the previous year.

Things-are-tough-all-over dep't—President Ford said he won't be able to get away again this winter for skiing.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Black unemployment high and going up

Turn around today and everywhere you look unemployment is high and going up.

Official government figures in December set unemployment in the construction industry at its highest level since 1961—15 percent and going up. For young veterans the rate was 15.3 percent and going up. Unemployment for blue-collar workers was 9.4 percent and going up. Twice what it was one year ago, the jobless rate in manufacturing was 8.6 percent and going up.

All these sectors and others as well produced an overall unemployment figure in the Black community that remains twice what it is for whites. In December it was 12.8 percent and going up. The highest rate was for Black teen-agers—36.6 percent. And, of course, that too is going up.

"These figures are depressing," Gustav Henningburg, head of the Newark Urban Coalition, told a reporter. "But the actual figures are even worse. These are only the people who are coming to the unemployment office." Many Blacks, he believes, have given up hope altogether.

Even the Labor Department's estimate is that Blacks comprise about 25 percent of all those it terms "discouraged" workers.

For Blacks, such widespread unemployment and

mounting layoffs, coming as they do amid high prices and inflation, can be deadly crippers, crushing hopes and undermining every social and economic gain Blacks have won in recent years.

The resultant stories are legion and they all spell heartbreak.

Richard Stokes, of Brooklyn, N.Y., received his dismissal notice Jan. 23 from the Seatrain Shipbuilding Corporation, where he worked as a carpenter. "I've got four children and it's very complicated," he explained to a reporter. "You can't tell a kid there ain't no food, 'cause a baby don't understand."

Then there are the Walkers of 112th Street in Harlem. Here is a family that, even before two of its members were struck by layoffs, was acquainted with trouble, had a friendship with grief, and built strong bonds with tragedy.

Nineteen-year-old Robert Walker told me at the state employment office the other day that he was recently laid off from his job at a paint company. His oldest brother was laid off from Con Edison Company. His mother is deceased and his father is disabled. One of his sisters, he suspects, uses heroin. One of his brothers is in a home for delinquents. And just the other day, a cop beat up

and arrested still another brother.

He turned the question around and asked: "What can you do?"

Indeed, what possible hope can Gerald Ford's appeals kindle in people like these? What can his promises possibly mean?

People like Robert Walker could tell you those promises don't mean anything. The government, the system, the Man, capitalism, "it"—whatever term they use, these people know it's out of whack and it isn't working for them.

But that's part of the game too. Promises? Sure. But guarantees? Uh-uh.

No, capitalism is in an acute crisis and it's making no more guarantees. And in times like this Blacks and other minorities always suffer first and hardest, not only in economic setbacks, but in sharpening attacks on social gains, attacks that will increase as the economic problems deepen.

No, for Blacks, capitalism, as Robert Walker would probably agree, is like the cards in a black-jack game. You know, a dude gets dealt a few good hands and everything's halfway cool. Until he's dealt more than 21 and gets busted. Then he has to throw in his cards because they didn't pay off.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Ford's 'starve with honor' plan

WASHINGTON—As Washington correspondent for *The Militant*, I have yet to be invited to the White House for dinner.

Normally I don't keep tabs on the social circuit at the White House, but I would be interested to know what the Fords are planning to serve for dinner on March 1. So would the 15 million people who will be hit that day with a sharp hike in the cost of food stamps, if Ford gets his way.

A new plan devised by the White House and administered by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz would substantially raise the amount food stamp recipients have to pay for stamps, starting March 1.

There has been a lot of hand-wringing from the new "younger, more liberal" Congress about the situation. Many of the politicians have pointed out that the price increase for food stamps is like taking food from the tables of millions of retired, laid-off, or miserably paid working people.

But thus far Congress has been dragging its feet on action to block this outrageous attack, although pressure is mounting as the deadline approaches.

Of course, the legislators—who *do* on occasion dine at the White House—won't be affected by the

stamp cutbacks. Nor will their friends.

But the impact will be severe on those who depend on the stamps. According to a survey done for the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress:

- The average monthly income of food stamp households in 1973 was only \$364.

- Seventy-nine percent of the adults in the program are unemployed, unable to work, or retired.

- Thirty-seven percent of the recipients are Black.

- Women head 66 percent of the households.

These are the figures as of 1973. Today, with the jumps in both prices and unemployment, those on food stamps have a much tougher time finding a job and keeping pace with inflation, especially food prices.

The allocations to the food stamp program are minimal to begin with. But if Ford's plan goes through, they will become virtually meaningless for many recipients.

Consider, for example, the case of one young woman who is a plaintiff in a suit filed by the Food and Research Action Center to halt the hikes in food stamp costs.

This woman now pays \$33 a month for \$46

worth of stamps. Under the new plan, she would have to pay \$45 for \$46 in stamps! Given all the red tape you have to go through to get stamps in the first place, why bother?

Joining this suit are several other groups, including the United Farm Workers and the National Welfare Rights Organization. The Department of Agriculture is named as defendant.

Agriculture Secretary Butz has already made plans for how he'll spend part of the estimated \$650-million the government will save by slashing food stamp funds. He's building a plush new dining room for himself and his guests at the Agriculture Department—at a cost of \$185,000.

As for the rest of the \$650-million, it just about adds up to the extra money Ford is demanding to prop up the dictatorships in South Vietnam and Cambodia. In effect, he is asking the poorest people in this country to foot the bill for the stepped-up war in Indochina.

Just as the poor, the Blacks, and other working people were forced onto the front lines of battle in Vietnam, so now they're being thrown into the front ranks of the "starve with honor" brigade here at home.

2,500 protesters say: No aid to Thieu!

WASHINGTON—In a candlelight march to the White House Jan. 26, 2,500 demonstrators denounced the Ford administration's demand for more funds for the war in Southeast Asia.

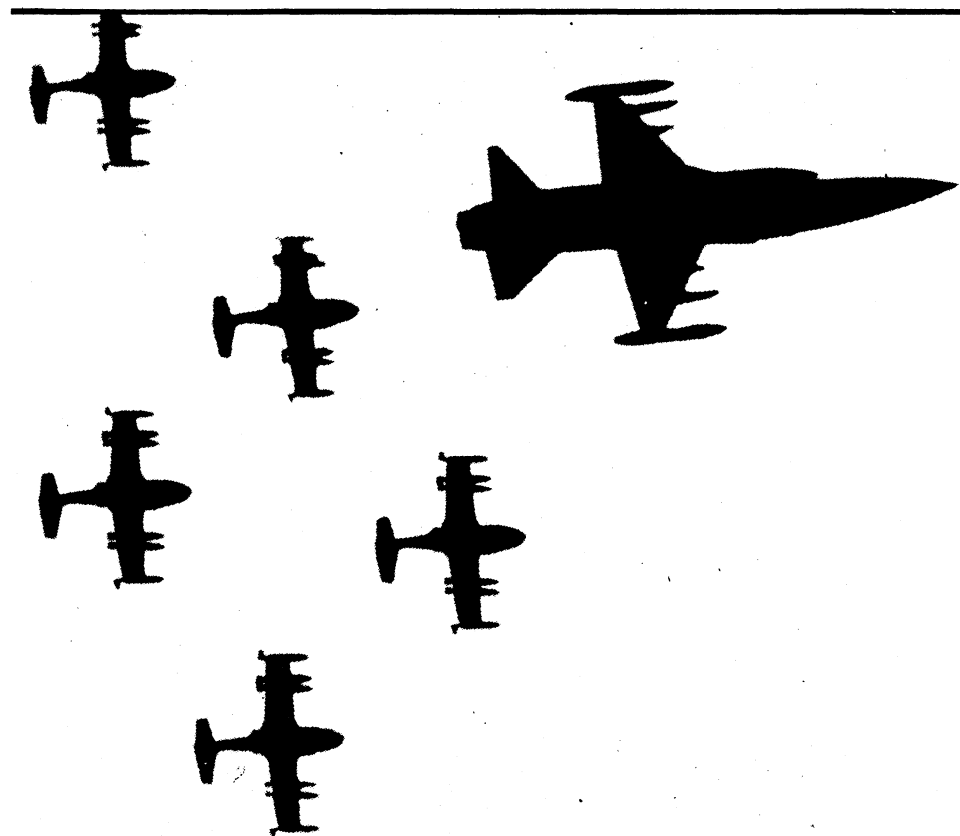
Protesters carried signs bearing the names of political prisoners in Saigon's jails and of American draft resisters and deserters. They gathered for a brief rally in Lafayette Park across from the White House after the march.

The action was part of a four-day "Assembly to Save the Peace Agreement," called to mark the second anniversary of the Vietnam "peace" accords.

The conference coincided with renewed threats of direct U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia and a White House request for an additional \$300-million to back up the Thieu regime.

In an official statement Jan. 27, the anniversary of the accords, State Department spokesperson Robert Anderson said the U.S. "intends to continue to work in support of the objectives and purposes of the Paris agreement, and to this end, we are going to support the government of Vietnam with military and economic aid so they can defend themselves."

The Jan. 26 demonstration at the White House heard antiwar activist Tom Hayden and Pentagon papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg speak on



U.S.-supplied fighter bombers over South Vietnam. Ford wants money to send more.

the history of the movement against the war. Ellsberg reminded the crowd what Watergate had shown about the impact of the Vietnam protests. "Every picket line, every rally, every demon-

stration, every action against the war counted," he said.

Earlier in the evening, demonstrators had packed into the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church for a

rally featuring Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.). Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Bishop Paul Moore, and Ron Young of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) also spoke.

Sixteen hundred people from 38 states registered for the conference. Sponsoring groups included AFSC, Coalition to Stop Funding the War, Indochina Peace Campaign, SANE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Women Strike for Peace.

The first two days of the conference, Jan. 25 and Jan. 26, were devoted to panel discussions, workshops, and plenary sessions oriented toward lobbying Congress to cut off funds for the war. Speakers at the sessions included Fred Branfman, Indochina Resource Center; journalist I.F. Stone; Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); and several Vietnamese.

An antiwar film by Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, *Introduction to the Enemy*, was shown and singers Joan Baez and Holly Near performed.

The final two days of the assembly were spent lobbying members of Congress. A rally was held on the Capitol steps Jan. 27, addressed by Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) and other members of Congress. Demonstrators demanded that Congress cut off all aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes.

Raza Unida delegation plans trip to Cuba

By HARRY RING

A delegation of activists from La Raza Unida Party (RUP), led by José Angel Gutiérrez, will make a 10-day visit to Cuba.

In a telephone interview, Gutiérrez told *The Militant* the delegation will include representatives from Texas, California, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

Gutiérrez is a leader of La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Tex., and was recently elected Zavala County judge there.

The Crystal City delegation will include Amancio Cantú, superintendent of public schools, and Zeke Guzmán, city manager.

The RUP leaders decided to make the trip, Gutiérrez said, after they received an invitation from the Cuban ambassador to Mexico.

Explaining why they were going to Cuba, Gutiérrez said, "Cuba prior to the revolution had many of the problems we have here—illiteracy, unem-

ployment, poor health, housing problems, all kinds of oppression.

"Since the revolution," he continued, "it's reported they've found solutions to these problems. We want to go see what those solutions are and see what their applicability is to our conditions in the United States."

He said the people of Crystal City are enthusiastic about the delegation making the trip. "They're overwhelmed," he said. "They're eager for us to go and find out if we can apply some of these solutions and also to carry word of the Chicano movement to other countries, such as Cuba."

Spreading the word about the Chicano movement, Gutiérrez said, is the second purpose of the trip. He said the visit would help to make more widely known the activities of La Raza Unida Party, and he intended to talk about this as the opportunity permitted.

"We will express the view," he said, "that we ought to work together; that

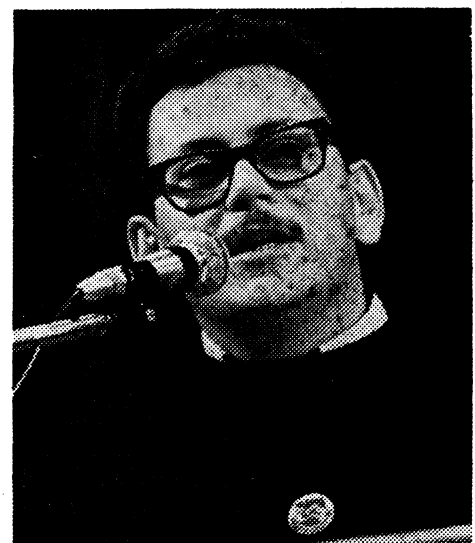
we come from similar kinds of experiences, although they're much more advanced than we are because of their revolution."

"We'll explain," he said, "that we're attempting by all kinds of means—at this point working within the system—to exhaust all remedies, and in that process politicize our masses to arrive at other methods or strategies to achieve our liberation."

Gutiérrez said this will be his first visit to Cuba, but he has been interested in the Cuban revolution for many years. As he heard reports of the accomplishments in Cuba he became increasingly interested in learning what the revolution was about.

He said he assumed the Raza Unida delegation would be red-baited by right-wing elements in the U.S. for making the trip. "They'll accuse us of being in bed with the communists," he said. "But the benefits of the visit far outweigh any criticism we might be subjected to."

While Chicanos have visited Cuba as part of other groupings, this is believed to be the first formal delegation from the Chicano movement to make the trip to see the revolution firsthand.



GUTIERREZ: Wants to see what solutions Cubans have found.

Bombing is pretext for anti-Puerto Rican drive

By JOSE PEREZ

NEW YORK—A powerful explosion that left four dead and dozens injured in a Manhattan financial district restaurant Jan. 24 has been attributed by police to a group calling itself the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

According to an FALN communiqué, the bombing was carried out in retaliation for a bomb attack against a Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) rally Jan. 11 in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. The FALN has also claimed responsibility for several other bombings in New York since last October.

The terrorist act was given sensationalist front-page treatment in major New York newspapers for days. Several ran editorials, including the

New York Times, which called the bombing "manic nihilism" and used the occasion to attack Puerto Rican independence.

The hypocrisy of these denunciations is exposed by the fact that these capitalist mouthpieces made no similar statements against the Jan. 11 attack on the PSP, in which two workers were murdered.

On that occasion the *Times* found space only for a six-paragraph *United Press International* dispatch, which falsely stated that the bombing "was part of a war between left-wing and right-wing extremists."

The news coverage around the FALN bombing is designed not only to sell more papers but also to whip up hysteria against the proindependence movement. It goes hand in hand with the witch-hunt and terrorist attacks that are being carried out against

the PSP and other groups on the island.

This is clear from the statement of New York Assistant Police Chief James Sullivan. "We have established links with other groups," he told the *Times*, "but I can't go into that at this time." Moreover, the cops have announced that they are extending their dragnet to Puerto Rico.

Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the PSP, strongly condemned the New York bombing, which, he pointed out, "prejudices the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico by identifying Puerto Rican nationalism with an act of terror."

In a statement released the day of the bombing, Mari Brás said its effect was "to fool people into thinking that the left and the right function on the same level, . . . when the truth is that it is the fascist bands and their sup-

porters in the repressive apparatus of the system which use terror."

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party 1976 presidential candidate, also issued a statement criticizing the terrorist action. "There is a good chance this action was carried out by government agents provocateurs," he said. "But even if it was carried out by supporters of independence, they've done a great disservice to the struggle."

"They've unnecessarily made it easier for the U.S. government and others to turn public opinion against the struggle. Actions like this are not effective because they are not aimed at winning mass support for social change, but instead at relying on the deeds of a few individual saviors."

Camejo called for solidarity with the proindependence movement against any attempt to use the bombing as a pretext for a witch-hunt.

King, civil rights movement were targets of FBI at 1964 Democratic convention

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON—After the members of the Senate Watergate committee kept the story secret for two years, the facts on how the FBI disrupted civil rights activists at the 1964 Democratic convention have finally begun to come out.

At the direct order of President Lyndon Johnson, the FBI wiretapped Martin Luther King and other Black leaders, and infiltrated "dissident factions" at the Atlantic City, N.J., convention.

A description of the surveillance campaign against King is contained in a memo that the Senate Watergate committee never revealed to the public. The document deals with the testimony of Leo Clark, who was head of the Atlantic City, N.J., FBI office at the time of the 1964 convention. Details of his testimony were reported in the Jan. 26 *Washington Post*.

Clark told the Senate committee in 1973 that Johnson ordered J. Edgar Hoover's assistant, Cartha DeLoach, to report directly to him on King's activities through a telephone line that bypassed the regular White House switchboard. The FBI was also assigned to spy on then attorney general Robert Kennedy.

Feared Black challengers

"Although President Johnson in 1964 was assured of nomination for his first full term as President," wrote the *Post*, "he was worried about a possible move to draft Robert Kennedy to be his running-mate and about a challenge by a primarily black dele-



FBI reported directly to Lyndon Johnson on King's activities.



Martin Luther King speaking at Montgomery, Ala., civil rights demonstration in 1965

gation to the white, Mississippi delegation.

"A conflict could have marred Democratic unity or provoked picketing by civil rights activists. Although the civil rights movement at the time largely adhered to King's doctrine of nonviolence, such demonstrations could have been politically embarrassing."

The challenge to the white Mississippi delegation came from 68 Mississippi Freedom Democrats, who were mostly Black and had come to the convention to raise the issue of civil rights. The Mississippi Freedom Democrats demanded that they be seated instead of the racist "regular" delegation.

"Trouble was expected from the Mississippi and Alabama delegations," Clark told the Watergate committee. "One of the objectives of the FBI would be to infiltrate dissident factions. . . ." In addition, he reported, the FBI installed a wiretap on King's phone and a bug in his hotel room, and watched to see who came in and out.

A tap and bug were also installed in a nearby civil rights office used by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and other groups.

Johnson followed the details of King's whereabouts meticulously during the convention. According to the memo on Clark's testimony, "Clark recalls overhearing DeLoach speaking on the telephone to President Johnson and to Director Hoover, giving them summary information from the technical surveillance. . . ."

"In a DeLoach conversation with the President, Clark heard mention of discussions concerning the seating

of delegates or delegations, of vice presidential candidate possibilities, and the identities of congressmen and senators going in and out of King's quarters. . . ."

"There was particular interest in learning who was seeking the support of the black leaders and the maneuvering of the black factions with regard to the seating of the Mississippi delegations."

In addition to the FBI, Johnson directed other disruptive efforts at the Blacks. He assigned Senator Hubert Humphrey, supposedly a supporter of civil rights, to pressure other delegations not to raise the issue of the Freedom Democrats on the floor.

Humphrey's compromise

Humphrey proposed to the Freedom Democrats that they accept a "compromise"—the "regular" Mississippi delegation would be seated, but only two Freedom Democrats would get seats, and they would not even be recognized as representing Mississippi. The Freedom Democrats voted down this "back-of-the-bus" plan, but the rest of the convention accepted it.

Humphrey was successful in part because he was able to convince key Black leaders, including King, CORE Director James Farmer, NAACP head Roy Wilkins, and Social Democrat Bayard Rustin, not to fight the exclusion of the Mississippi Blacks.

Fannie Lou Hamer, one of the Freedom Democrats, recalled the tremendous pressure applied by the Democratic Party leadership. "People were saying things, and then chickening out, and we didn't know why," she told the *Post*.

The racist treatment of the Mississippi Blacks at the convention had an important impact on the civil rights movement. It helped convince a layer of Black activists that the Democratic Party is just as much an instrument of racist rule as the Republican Party.

In Lowndes County, Ala., the Lowndes County Freedom Party was formed in part out of this experience. A group of Blacks decided civil rights could not be won by working within the Democratic Party, and they ran their own candidates against both the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Independent political action by Blacks was precisely what Johnson and the ruling class feared. In the late 1960s, they stepped up secret-police attacks on the Black movement, particularly through the infamous Cointelpro ("counterintelligence") program.

At the time of his murder in 1968, King was under constant watch by the FBI. From the facts that have now surfaced on the 1964 convention, it is clear that the White House was supervising this blanket surveillance.

Senate cover-up

Yet the Senate Watergate committee refused to inform the American people of Johnson's illegal spying on King. When asked on the television program "Issues and Answers" why the senators covered up the Democratic spying, Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) offered the lame excuse that "it was not involved in the '72 presidential campaign."

The real reason, however, is that the Senate committee did not want the public to learn that Watergate extended far beyond Richard Nixon. It did not want the American people to learn that illegal spying against dissidents is an integral part of both Democratic and Republican administrations.

As Fannie Lou Hamer put it in a telephone interview with *The Militant*, "Everyone's talking about the break-in at the Watergate. Why, the same thing's been happening to us all the time."

Hamer recalled the numerous FBI "investigations" of violence against Blacks during the civil rights struggles. "Instead of investigating what we would try to report—the brutality and all—the FBI was investigating us!"

"Even before Watergate, we were aware that our phones were bugged, that the FBI kept tabs on us. Now I listen to the news about what they're going to do about this 'domestic spying'—well, they let it go on for a long time," she said.

Attica frame-up: witness tortured into lying

By WENDY LYONS

Charles Crowley, a key prosecution witness against five Attica defendants, has admitted that he had given false testimony against them because he was terrorized by police and prison guards.

Crowley, a Black former prisoner, said he testified to "save my life." He told a Jan. 22 pretrial hearing that after the Attica rebellion he was sodomized by guards with a nightstick, threatened repeatedly with knives and a gun, shown the body of a Black prisoner killed in the Attica massacre, and "made to crawl around on the floor and shout 'white power' and kiss their feet."

As a result of the torture, Crowley

said he agreed to "back up" stories fed to him by state officials implicating four of the five men now on trial in connection with the deaths of two other prisoners.

The five defendants are Big Black (Frank Smith), Roger Champen, Herbert X Blyden, Shango Bahati Kakawana (Bernard Stoble), and Jomo Joka Omowale (Eric Thompson). The two men they are accused of killing were among 43 persons found dead after Nelson Rockefeller ordered the massacre that ended the Attica rebellion of September 1971. The five were indicted for the murder more than two years after the uprising.

Crowley's recantation "has substan-

tiated what I said in 1971," Champen told the court, "that we were attacked and massacred. And we have been brutalized ever since."

Crowley's disclosure was not the first indication that testimony against the Attica Brothers has been fabricated. On Dec. 19, 1974, jurors who acquitted Vernon La Franque of charges of possessing tear gas during the rebellion described the state's case as "trumped up" and "rehearsed."

In November during the pretrial hearings of Charles Pernasilice and Dacajeweah (John Hill), who were accused of murdering a prison guard, a Bureau of Criminal Investigation agent admitted that he was instructed

to destroy notes of interviews with informers so they could not be obtained by the defense.

Crowley's admission further exposes the Attica indictments for what they are—a massive frame-up to prosecute the victims of Attica rather than the real criminals.

Sixty-two people have been indicted on 1,400 different felony counts since the Attica rebellion. All of them were prisoners at Attica at the time of the uprising. Not one state trooper or prison official who was responsible for the massacre at the prison has been indicted. And the biggest criminal of them all—Rockefeller—has been promoted from governor of New York to vice-president of the United States.

Dossiers kept on thousands

Texans demand: Open secret police files

By ED JURENAS

HOUSTON—The Socialist Workers Party has filed motions in federal district court to force the Houston police department to turn over files it keeps on political activists.

The SWP action comes in the wake of recent disclosures that the Criminal Intelligence Division (CID) of the department has amassed political dossiers on more than 1,000 Houston citizens.

The spy files are being sought by the SWP as evidence in its suit challenging the Texas campaign disclosure law. The suit, being brought by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), charges that the Houston police and other police agencies have spied on, illegally wiretapped, harassed, and otherwise interfered with the right of the SWP to carry on legal political activities.

The SWP is asking for a court order barring the state from forcing the socialists to turn over lists of financial contributors to its election campaigns. As the recent spy file revelations show, such a list in the hands of the government would be used to provide additional targets for illegal police operations.

The Texas socialists maintain that if they are successful in obtaining the dossiers, they will have the necessary proof to win the case.

The existence of the CID "enemies list" was revealed recently by Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz. In at least one file, that of a former fire chief, photographs, surveillance reports, and transcripts of wiretapped conversa-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

PEDRO VÁSQUEZ: "Let police victims inspect our own files."

tions are known to have been kept.

Other prominent Houstonians named by Hofheinz as having been spied upon include U.S. Representative Barbara Jordan and Gertrude Barnstone, a former school board member and well-known civil libertarian.

One city council member has accused Hofheinz, who is a liberal

Democrat, of purposely waiting until election year to announce the existence of the files.

Hoping to attract liberal support for his efforts to "clean up" the cops, without impairing their day-to-day spy functions, Hofheinz has named a three-person commission to "investigate." Hofheinz ordered the commission to "purge the illegitimate activities from the legitimate activities" as quickly as possible.

Police Chief Carrol Lynn has publicly stated that files on so-called extremist political groups or "anybody who is a threat to the community" will be retained. In an earlier police spy scandal last March, Joe Singleton, ex-head of the CID, admitted that the police had infiltrated informers into the SWP.

Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidate for state attorney general in 1974, denounced the mayor's appointment of the commission as nothing more than a cover-up.

"Whose names will the commission keep on the enemies list and whose will it purge?" Vázquez asked. "No one will ever know. Let the victims of police spying look at their own files! Order Chief Carrol Lynn to make them available to the Chicano and Black militants who were spied upon, to the antiwar activists, to the civil liberties advocates, and to the many others—all targets of Houston's own Watergate. We demand our files!"

In a related action, the ACLU has filed a \$55-million class-action suit against the city for maintaining the files. The suit charges invasion of

privacy, defamation, slander, and libel. An initial victory was won when Federal Judge John Singleton granted the ACLU request to bar Hofheinz and the cops from destroying the files.

The judge also ordered Hofheinz's commission to draw up a list of all people named in the dossiers. All spy targets will be contacted by the court and asked if they wish to become a part of the ACLU class-action suit.

The full ramifications of the Houston police spy exposures are only beginning to become known. Recently, local newspapers have referred to similar political files having been kept, but now allegedly destroyed, by the state department of public safety.

One reporter has charged that a secret-police unit exists that is funded jointly by the federal government and 10 local police agencies. The extent of this police operation, known as the Harris County Organized Crime Intelligence Unit, is not yet known. However, despite its claim that it does not conduct spying operations against political groups, it has reported membership figures of various organizations, including the SWP, on its application for federal funding.

The existence of a Houston enemies list has already sparked protest activity at the University of Houston. Students there are planning to conduct a speak-out Feb. 7 to publicize the nature and extent of police spying. The program has the endorsement and backing of the student government. Demands will also be made on the campus administration to open up its own files on political activists.

New evidence of Baltimore police crimes

By ANNEMARIE HILL

BALTIMORE—Amid fresh revelations that the Inspectional Services Division (ISD)—a secret unit of the Baltimore police department—has spied on at least 125 groups since 1966, a state senate committee has decided to conduct a full-scale investigation of the illegal spying.

Among the groups that have been targeted for the spy operation are the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The senate committee had conducted preliminary hearings following published disclosures last December of the secret-police activities.

Since the initial articles appeared in the newspapers here, new memos and revelations have been reported almost daily. The evidence proves that there has been a massive campaign of surveillance and harassment, including bugging, infiltration, break-ins, and burglaries, directed at radical groups, Black elected officials, civil rights workers, news reporters, ministers, unionists, and environmental activists.

The information accumulated so far, although incomplete, is staggering.

Activists here consider the documented evidence as just the tip of the iceberg.

Police Commissioner Donald Pomerleau admitted to the senate committee that the ISD prepared dossiers on U.S. Representative Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), State Senator Clarence Mitchell III, women's groups, and anti-war organizations, but claimed such activities were not improper.

One ISD memo reports on two 1969 rallies protesting police brutality and includes names of prominent Black

leaders participating. Another memo describes a 1971 debate between the two major Black candidates for mayor and also includes names of Black leaders in attendance.

Although Pomerleau has refused to make public the complete list of individuals and groups spied upon, one police document provided to the Baltimore *Evening Sun* by a former ISD member names 125 groups, including the following:

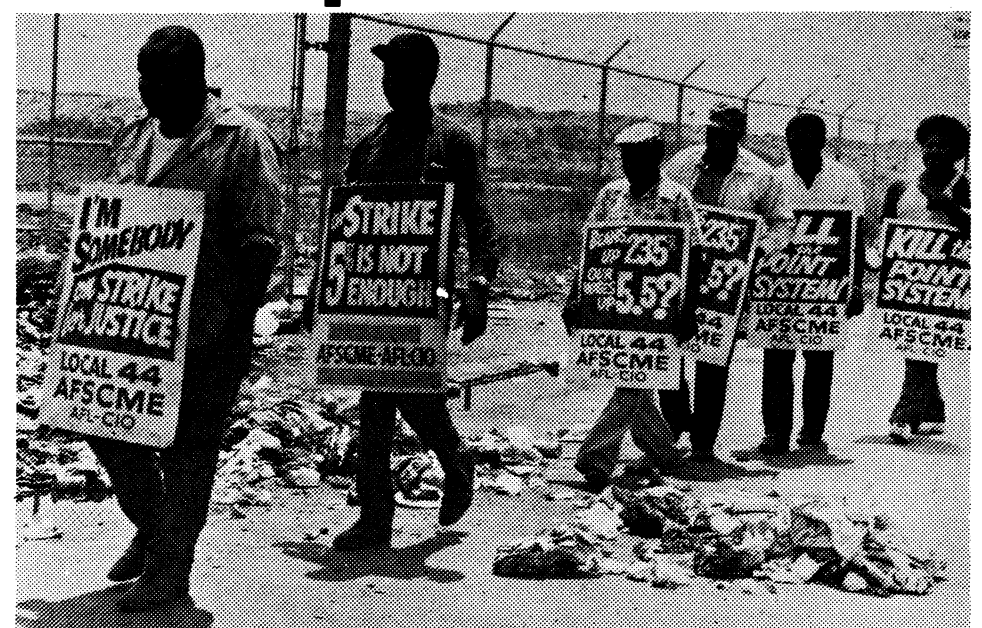
Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Congress of Racial Equality; NAACP; Communist Party; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Peace and Freedom Party; Revolutionary Action Movement; Women's Liberation Front; Women's Collective; and a long list of tenant groups and neighborhood improvement associations.

The cops even went so far as to include in their sweeping operation any attorneys who defended any of the groups listed. A footnote to the list adds: "Note: Civil Liberties Union—This is made up of a group of attorneys who protect the rights of persons demonstrating for a cause. File these reports according to the organization involved."

Parren Mitchell told *The Militant* in a telephone interview that he was not pleased with the senate committee's investigation so far. "I predict a whitewash," he said.

"You know, the same types of individuals are investigating the ISD that are investigating the CIA, and I'm not optimistic about what will be done," Mitchell said. He indicated that he may file a suit to halt the ISD's activities.

Meanwhile, because of his outspoken opposition to the ISD, Mitchell's family has received police harassment. On Jan. 26 cops here beat and arrest-



Baltimore municipal workers. Unionists have been among the targets of secret police spy operation.

ed Mitchell's 23-year-old godson, McLeod Townes.

The cops claimed Townes illegally left his car engine running unattended outside Mitchell's home. When questioned about this, the police claimed, Townes became belligerent and attacked an officer. A fight ensued and Townes suffered an eye cut that needed five stitches.

Clarence Mitchell III, Parren Mitchell's brother, has charged that the ISD was behind at least two of the burglaries at his Baltimore law office, and another lawyer presented an affidavit at the preliminary hearing describing how an ISD informer took important papers from his office.

Arrogantly, Pomerleau admitted at the hearing that ISD agents were trained by "the best lock men in the business"—Army Intelligence men at Fort Holabird, Md. He added,

though, that the training was "only for the purpose of preventing surreptitious entry."

Thomas Bradley, director of the Metropolitan Baltimore Labor Council, AFL-CIO, told the senate committee, "I think we really ought to open up this can of worms. There seems to be a direct line between the police department, the CIA, the FBI, and the Army Intelligence all over the country."

Public concern is growing over the ISD's illegal activities. The major newspapers, the Black-owned Baltimore *Afro-American*, and several trade-union and Black leaders have demanded full disclosure. And at a time when Watergate-style political crimes are fresh in the minds of the public, pressure for disclosure is bound to increase.

Link N.Y. & Boston struggles

Kenneth Clark to speak at N.Y. meeting

By SUSAN WINSTEN

NEW YORK—Dr. Kenneth Clark and Reverend Wilbur Miller will be the keynote speakers at a public forum Feb. 7 sponsored by the New York Student Conference Against Racism. Entitled "Little Rock 1957—Boston 1975: The Struggle for School Desegregation," the meeting will be held at 8 p.m. in Wollman Auditorium, Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University, 112th St. and Broadway.

The forum will link the struggle against racism in education in New York to the continuing campaign in defense of Boston's Black students against racist mob violence.

Clark is the only Black member of the New York state board of re-

gents. In a regents' meeting Jan. 22 he voted against the new policy that maintains that the number of Black students in a school district has no bearing on its degree of integration. Clark will seek legal action to have the law repealed.

Miller was a leading participant in the 1973 school desegregation struggle in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn.

Also speaking will be Luis Fuentes, fired superintendent of school District 1; author Jonathan Kozol; Timothy Mitchell, chairperson of the racism committee of the National Council of Churches; and Richard Wallace, a Black student now being bused in Boston.

The forum was projected at the first meeting of the New York Student Conference Against Racism on Jan. 23.

The 85 participants included student government representatives and Black and Puerto Rican activists from Hunter College, Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC), Brooklyn College, LaGuardia Community College, Columbia University, Staten Island Community College, New York City Community College, City College of New York, and other campuses.

The students felt that the Feb. 7 forum, the first such activity in the city, could be a springboard to organize New York participation in the National Student Conference Against Racism slated for Feb. 14-16 at Boston University.



Amsterdam News

Kenneth Clark will join other prominent backers of school desegregation at Feb. 7 forum at Columbia University.

New York Human Rights Commissioner; the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York; Students for a Better Government at BMCC; the student government at Brooklyn College; Nat Hentoff; and People Against Racism in Education.

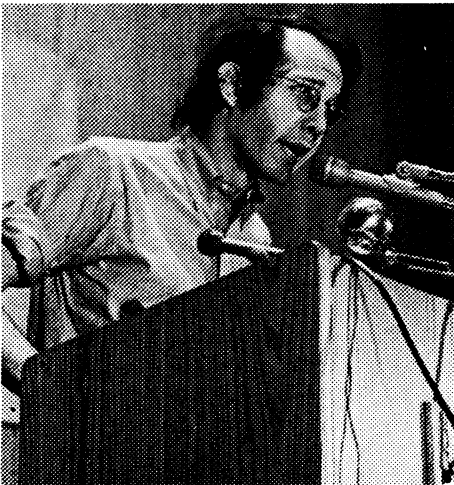
The New York Student Conference Against Racism can be reached at Room 306, Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027. Telephone: (212) 866-8830.

HOUSTON—As part of the activities to build participation in the National Student Conference Against Racism in Boston, a forum entitled "The Fight Against Racism" will be held Feb. 4 at 8 p.m. on the predominantly Black campus of Texas Southern University here.

The meeting will discuss how Houstonians can aid in the struggle to defend school desegregation in Boston and will feature as speaker Reverend Ransom Howard, the leader of the Concerned Citizens of Port Arthur (Texas) Association (CCPAA).

The association was formed several weeks ago after Clifford Coleman, a 22-year-old Black man, was shot in the back by a cop outside the police station in Port Arthur.

The association has held several marches and protests demanding the suspension of three cops involved in the slaying incident. In response, a Justice Department mediator has been called in to investigate.



Militant/Norman Oliver

Jonathan Kozol has been speaking in a number of cities to publicize student anti-racist conference.

Racist violence continues

Thugs beat up Boston school bus driver

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—The climate of violence created by Boston's racist antibusing movement was grimly underscored again Jan. 23 when Kim O'Brien, a Boston school bus driver, was badly beaten by members of the all-white South Boston High School track team.

O'Brien, who is white, was driving the team from South Boston to a track meet. The bus route went through a portion of Boston's Black community. The white students rolled down the windows of the bus, spat on Blacks, made obscene gestures, and yelled racist epithets at them.

O'Brien stopped the bus several times, insisting he would not drive until the team members stopped such behavior.

When the bus reached its destination, one student took a swing at O'Brien while others joined in. After O'Brien left the bus, he was jumped by four of the hooligans, beaten again, then chased and pummeled by more "athletes" while the rest of the team cheered on the thugs.

O'Brien is planning to take legal action against his assailants, as well as the Boston school committee, which, he asserts, "is responsible for creating the mood of terror and violence that pervades places like South Boston."

South Boston is a center of racist resistance to court-ordered desegregation.

O'Brien, who came to the National Student Conference Against Racism for help in his legal efforts against the racists, told his story to *The Militant*.

"Just to drive a bus in Boston is dangerous," he said, "because there's a good chance you'll get rocks thrown at the windows. And the racists hate the bus drivers. They think that if they can stop us from driving, there

won't be busing."

O'Brien wasn't surprised, he said, when the track team members from South Boston High School boarded the bus on Jan. 23 and called him "nigger lover" and "faggot." "I didn't respond to the taunts," he said.

The bus was escorted into and out of South Boston by police to deter rock throwing. In this neighborhood, which is crazed by race-hatred, any yellow bus is a potential target.

As the bus drove out to the Southeast Expressway, it took a Roxbury exit. Roxbury is where a major portion of Boston's Black community lives. "The students cheered," O'Brien said, "We want to go to nigger town." O'Brien explained that the bus route took a turn through the edge of the Black community that "is longer than

the typical route that goes right through the center of Roxbury."

The students, O'Brien said, rolled down the windows and "spat at Black people, made obscene gestures, and leaned out the window screaming 'nigger.'" O'Brien said he told the students to put the windows up or he would stop the bus. "Then," he said, "more of them started yelling 'nigger lover' and 'queer.'" The team's coach, Joseph Crowley, "acted like nothing had happened. Then he finally told them to put the windows up and they did."

This increasingly tense scene was repeated five more times.

When the bus pulled up to the Commonwealth Armory, the site of the track meet, at a side-street entrance, one of the students opened the emer-

gency exit, which bus company policy forbids. O'Brien closed the front door, telling the team he wouldn't open it until the emergency exit was closed.

"Then, a student tried to jerk the door handle out of my hand and punched me. The coach was just watching everything," O'Brien said.

"Then a bunch of students attacked me," he said. O'Brien then opened the door and got out of the bus. As the team disembarked, taunting him, he was jumped, "while three or four kids held my coat and punched me in the face." O'Brien slipped free from his coat and ran. He was tackled by two of the hooligans who began beating him while others caught up and joined in.

"I thought they were going to kill me," O'Brien said. "Then the coach shouted 'that's enough,' and they stopped."

The track team and the coach left O'Brien bleeding. "I was in shock," O'Brien explained. He was finally taken to the hospital.

"I told a policeman at the hospital what had happened," O'Brien continued. "The guy didn't even take any notes. He just told me that I'd have to go to the courthouse if I wanted to make a complaint."

"We're going to demand that the school committee suspend all the students and the coach, and we plan to sue the school committee itself for creating the climate of racism and violence where a bunch of bigots think they can maul people at will," he stated. "Just think if I'd been Black," O'Brien said, "they'd have maimed or killed me for sure."

"We have to show how to stand up to this vicious violence. We've got to show them we can fight back," O'Brien said.



Militant/Baxter Smith

Just sight of yellow school bus has become enough to enrage South Boston reactionaries.

Second of a series

By WENDY LYONS

"We need at least a division of federal troops with tanks, ack-ack guns, machine guns, grenades, and bazookas and everything else—to put down the rock throwing and intimidation."

This was the response last fall of Rafe Taylor, a Black minister in Boston, to the campaign of racist violence aimed at halting school desegregation. Should this demand, raised by many in the Black community, be supported?

Some sectarian groups on the left have said, "No." One of the most vociferous of these groups is the Spartacist League.

plan, they refuse to call on the government to go beyond mere words and back up the court order with all the force that's necessary, including federal troops.

The sectarians argue that instead of troops, we need to call for "the formation of a bi-racial defense force, organized by black and community groups and the labor unions, to protect the buses and maintain order in the schools."

Such a defense force would be an ideal solution, but unfortunately it does not correspond to the level of organization or consciousness in the Black community or in the trade-union movement right now. The Black community in Boston is just at the beginning stages of organizing a mass response to the racist offensive. Most trade unions

racial defense force based on the Black community and trade unions would come to their rescue.

Of course, the government cannot be depended upon to act in the interests of working people. It would be desirable if the Black community and its allies were in a position to ensure effective day-to-day defense for the Black students. But, if they were in such a position, would the demand for federal troops be precluded, as the Spartacists argue?

This is a tactical question that would depend on the concrete situation, but it is instructive to look at one example from history.

In 1957 in Monroe, N. C., sections of the Black community under the leadership of Robert Williams, president of the Monroe chapter of the NAACP, legally obtained guns and organized to defend the community from night-riding terrorist attacks by the Ku Klux Klan. In his book, *Negroes With Guns*, Williams describes how the call for federal and state action against the racists went hand in hand with the Black community organizing its own self-defense.

"The local officials refused to enforce law and order and when we turned to Federal and state officials to enforce law and order they either refused or ignored our appeals. . . .

"We first appealed to [the governor]. He took sides with the Klan; they had not broken any laws, they were not disorderly. Then we appealed to President Eisenhower but we never received a reply to our telegrams. . . . So we started arming ourselves."

When the KKK attacked the home of one of the leaders of the NAACP, Blacks defended the house with guns.

Williams reports, "After this clash the same city officials who said the Klan had a constitutional right to organize met in an emergency session and passed a city ordinance banning the Klan from Monroe without a special permit from the police chief."

Williams recognized that the armed forces of the government are most often used to oppose rather than defend the interests of Blacks and other working people, but this didn't stop him from demanding that the government enforce its own laws and protect Blacks. He saw that such demands would help put maximum pressure on the government.

He wrote, "In 1961, after the Cuban invasion fiasco, when President Kennedy justified U. S. intervention for the 'cause of freedom,' we sent an open telegram (read at the United Nations) to the President requesting equivalent U. S. tanks, airplanes, artillery, machine guns, and mercenary troops to fight the Klan in North Carolina."

Not an abstract question

As is typical of sectarians, the Spartacists raise the question of self-defense in an abstract way unrelated to the reality of Boston today. But it is not an abstract question. The level of self-defense possible must be gauged by the stage of a struggle at any given moment. A method of self-defense appropriate at one stage would be an exercise in adventurism at another.

The key to the defense of the Black community, and to winning the battle over desegregation, is to rely on mass action and massive mobilizations of the Black community and its allies in this struggle. The most effective way to do this right now is through educational activities designed to explain what the issues are and through massive street demonstrations that will show the numerical strength of the movement.

The demand for federal troops to enforce the law against segregated schools must be seen in the context of building a mass independent movement that relies on its own power. It is a demand that both corresponds to the objective needs of the struggle today and also paves the way for the movement, as it gathers strength, to take further measures to ensure the safety of the embattled Black community.

Just published

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Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Busing struggle

Should we demand gov't send troops to Boston?



Mass pressure forced Eisenhower to send troops to enforce school desegregation in Little Rock, Ark., in 1957

In a recent supplement of their newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, the Spartacists say, "Federal troops, just as much as the local police or National Guard, are the armed fist of the bourgeois state, the enemy of working people. . . .

"The Spartacist League condemns the call for troops as an expression of confidence in the government, a betrayal of elementary Marxist principles and a threat to the black population of Boston."

The Spartacists argue that it is unprincipled to demand that the Army, which they correctly point out is a bourgeois instrument, be used to protect Black students being bused into formerly all-white schools.

But the busing plan itself was ordered into effect by a federal court—an equally bourgeois institution. Was it wrong to demand that the bourgeois court rule in favor of school desegregation? If the Spartacists were consistent they would have to say, "Yes."

According to their logic it would be unprincipled to support the court-ordered busing plan. Such support could be construed as an "expression of confidence in the government"—couldn't it?

This position would be absurd, of course. And the Spartacists themselves support the demand "Implement the busing plan!" Even they are forced to recognize that the court decision ordering school desegregation was a victory for the Black community.

Demand gov't enforce law

The Spartacist position boils down to saying the following: "Oh yes, we're for desegregation. But if the racist mobs use force and violence to stop the buses, we can't demand that the government do anything about it, because, don't you see, it's a bourgeois government."

After demanding that the government rule in favor of desegregation and implement the busing

have yet to be convinced that they should pass resolutions supporting school desegregation in Boston, much less participate in a defense force.

Protect Black community

Therefore, in the face of the immediate need to protect lives, the Black community is calling for the government to enforce its own law and send troops into white neighborhoods to defend Blacks going to school there.

Is it possible that the government can be compelled to use armed force to defend the Black students? According to the Spartacists this is out of the question. They remind us that the Army, police, and the National Guard are the enemies of working people. This is the ABC of Marxist politics. But, to construct a whole sentence it is necessary to go beyond ABC and learn the rest of the alphabet.

The fact is that the capitalist state—the enemy of working people—can sometimes be forced to make concessions. The courts can sometimes be forced to rule in favor of the interests of working people, as they did with the desegregation decision, and the government can sometimes be forced to deploy its armed forces in the interests of working people.

For example, the pressure of the civil rights movement forced the government to send federal troops to Little Rock, Ark., in 1957 to protect the lives of Black students desegregating the schools there.

In Boston today the police have already been forced to protect Black students. On Dec. 11 a lynch mob gathered outside South Boston High School, trapping more than 100 Black students inside. The police dispersed the mob and escorted the students to safety.

But according to Spartacist "principles," the students should have refused police protection and waited until sometime in the future when a bi-

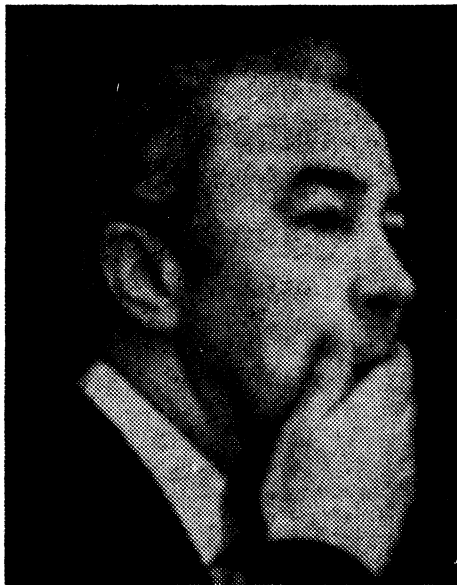
Students lukewarm to McCarthy '76 campaign

By ELAINE MITCHELL

WASHINGTON—On the campuses in 1968 there were blue-and-white McCarthy buttons everywhere. Thousands of students worked on Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign, following him all the way to the Democratic convention in Chicago, where the cops beat up hundreds of antiwar demonstrators.

In 1972, McCarthy made another stab at the Democratic nomination, but gave up quickly. Now he has announced that he will run again for president in 1976, this time as an "independent" supported by the Committee for a Constitutional Presidency.

Recently, students at George Wash-



MCCARTHY: Still says he was right in backing Humphrey in 1968.

ington University here got an opportunity to see how "independent" McCarthy actually is. Eight hundred students turned out to hear him speak just a few days after he had announced his campaign.

The size of the crowd was an indication of the interest there is in candidates who pledge independence from the Democrats and Republicans.

Many were first-year students, but there was also a sizable number of old McGovern and McCarthy supporters and antiwar activists. A few people sported 1968 McCarthy buttons, and a campaign organizer at the door wore a "Gene Lives" button.

McCarthy had been billed to speak on the inequities of the federal campaign "reform" law, and he devoted most of his brief talk to this subject. He explained why he has filed a suit against this law, which he said "violates freedom of association and the right to privacy" of smaller parties. He mentioned that the Socialist Workers campaign committees are also challenging the disclosure laws in the courts.

His talk was liberally sprinkled with jokes about Watergate and jibes at the corruption of both capitalist parties. Every time he attacked the Democrats for being just as bad as the Republicans, he got a big hand.

But his explanation of why he is running as an "independent" was very vague.

He argued that the real root of Watergate was a "desire for power" on the part of Richard Nixon. To the

surprise of many in the audience, he dismissed the role of big business in the scandal, saying "there is very little evidence" that the interests of the rich dominate government.

McCarthy avoided talking about anything besides Watergate and democratic rights. So in the question period, students pressed him to explain his views on other political issues.

A Zionist student asked him if he agreed with Secretary of State Kissinger's threat to invade the Middle East if the Arabs place a "stranglehold on oil." McCarthy said he thought Kissinger's statement to the media had been unfortunate, because secretaries of state should avoid answering "hypothetical questions."

"But where do you stand on Israel?" asked the student impatiently. After further dodges, McCarthy finally said he believed the U.S. has "a legal and moral commitment" to Israel "going back to 1945."

Another student asked him about his stated opposition to a volunteer army. "Does this mean you would favor the draft if you were president?" he asked.

To the shock of his audience, McCarthy said yes, and then launched into a hasty justification of his stand. He argued that the "best army" is one with "a mixture of drafted and enlisted men." The trouble in Vietnam, he asserted, was that the "balance" in the U.S. Army was poor, leading to massacres such as My Lai.

No one applauded this answer, although some of McCarthy's replies



GIs train for Mideast war. McCarthy backs U.S. 'commitment to Israel' and the draft.

to other questions got a good response, such as when he called for reopening trade with Cuba.

But McCarthy's basic program in no way differentiated him from the Democrats and Republicans he claimed to oppose. He supported the aims of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, he supported the draft, and he supported the capitalist economic system, where the rich minority rules over the majority.

Some in the audience seemed to sense this, and one person questioned him on his "independent" label. The

Continued on page 22

Right to abortion is issue in trial of Dr. Edelin

By RICHARD CAHALANE

BOSTON—The trial of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, charged with manslaughter for performing a legal abortion in the fall of 1973, continues to attract widespread local and national interest.

Day after day the prosecution witnesses have presented "medical testimony." Under defense cross-examination, however, all three medical "experts" presented to the court by the prosecution have been exposed as active members of various right-wing "right to life" organizations.

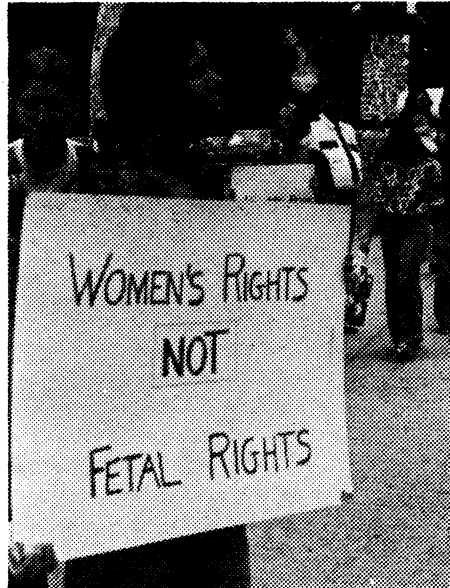
The prosecution is trying, through the testimony, to redefine the accepted medical definitions of birth, abortion, and, most crucially, "viability" of the fetus. "Viability" has become the focus of the courtroom battle.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in

January 1973 that abortions are completely legal prior to viability of the fetus. The Supreme Court defined viability—the ability of the fetus to survive outside the womb—as taking place sometime between 24 and 28 weeks after conception.

The state claims in the Edelin case that the fetus was 24 weeks old and "viable." Therefore, the prosecutors argue, Edelin committed manslaughter by performing the abortion. The real intent, of course, is to reduce the time during which a woman can legally obtain an abortion and, ultimately, to restrict abortions altogether.

Outside the courtroom the battle over a woman's right to choose abortion was expressed at two rallies on Jan. 22, the second anniversary of the Supreme Court decision.



Militant/Joanna Rohrbach

Several hundred anti-abortionists gathered for an hour at the edge of the Boston Common "to mourn for the millions of defenseless unborn children" and to press for legislative action to overturn the Supreme Court ruling.

At the same time, in front of the statehouse nearby, 100 defenders of abortion rights put up a picket line to "support the Supreme Court decision and to gather support for the rights of minors to have abortions."

In August 1974 the Massachusetts legislature passed a law prohibiting abortions for minors without parental consent. This law is one of the reactionary by-products of "right to life" agitation stirred up by the sensationalism surrounding Edelin's indictment in April 1974.

Easy way to find new readers for The Militant

By ROSE OGDEN

The Militant doesn't have the revenue for a high-priced advertising campaign to increase our circulation. Instead, we rely on our readers to help introduce people to the socialist news-weekly.

Many of our readers promote the paper by selling subscriptions to their friends or co-workers or to students where they go to school.

And, our readers report, more and more people are open to the socialist alternative. For example, one reader sold a subscription to his mailman. Another sold a subscription to a teller where she banks, and the next week another teller asked for a sub. A reader in New York City writes that a plumber who was working in her apartment noticed a copy of *The Militant* and decided to subscribe.

Seventy-three teachers in the Bay Area tried out *The Militant's* introductory sub offer this past fall because of the efforts of one active supporter there, Jeff Mackler. Mackler, who is vice-president of the Hayward local of the American Federation of Teachers, sold the 73 subscriptions to members of his union.

Many readers have found that *The Militant's* prepaid subscription cards are a handy tool for selling subs.

The cards are actually postcards with *The Militant's* address and correct postage on one side and space for a new subscriber's name and address on the other. They sell for \$1 apiece and are worth a two-month subscription to *The Militant*.

Since last August, when the cards were made available, 1,100 have been purchased. Of these, 500 have already

been sent back to the business office.

Maceo Dixon, from Boston, sent in the most cards—a total of 69. Bob Mears of Lawrence, Kans., who sent in 18, was our second-highest seller this fall. And Buddy Beck, running neck and neck with Mears, signed up 17 new readers in Pittsburgh using the prepaid cards.

Other supporters using the cards to sell *Militant* subscriptions include Ben Harris from Nashville, who sent in 14; Gordon Chapman from Washington, D.C., who sent in 10; Don Gurewitz of Boston, Lee Smith of New York, and Alan Wald of Berkeley, who each sent in nine; and Susie Beck from Pittsburgh and Eloise Linger from Washington, D.C., both of whom sent in eight.

Packets of 11 cards are available

for \$10. This gives you the option of giving away the extra subscription to an interested person who is short of money.

Harry Baker of Salt Lake City, Utah, ordered a packet of 11 cards in late December and has already sold eight subscriptions. Baker writes, "I'm certain many other working sisters and brothers who have been reading *The Militant* for a long time, and who now realize it is extremely important that others read it too, will sell subscriptions this easy way."

Order your prepaid sub cards today and never miss an opportunity to get *The Militant* into the hands of new readers. They are available from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014, at five cards for \$5, or 11 cards for \$10.

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 7, 1975

Maria Joffe gains exile after 27 years in Stalinist prisons

By Gerry Foley

Maria Joffe, the widow of the Left Oppositionist Adolf Joffe, arrived in Israel January 12, according to a Reuters dispatch from Tel Aviv. The dispatch reported that she planned to write her memoirs:

"I have little time left but I have a commitment to humanity to write so people will know what happens in the Soviet Union," the 75-year-old Bolshevik veteran said on her arrival at Tel Aviv airport. "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote about the horrors of the concentration camps and I have my own story to tell of this difficult time."

There was no indication of why Joffe's widow chose Israel as a place of exile. There could be some practical considerations. Every Jew has a right to Israeli citizenship. The United States has been able to put strong pressure on the Soviet Union to allow Jews to emigrate. Moreover, Zionist emigration is perhaps the least embarrassing kind for the bureaucratic regime.

Maria Joffe was held in a concentration camp from 1929 to 1956, from the time the Stalinist bureaucracy consolidated its dictatorial regime until the post-Stalin "thaw." She was in the Trotsky home on January 17, 1928, when the revolutionary leader was seized and sent off with his family to exile in Alma-Ata in Soviet Central Asia.

Trotsky's wife Natalia described the incident in her diary: "... we had hardly finished breakfast when the bell rang; it was Byeloborodov's wife; next came Joffe's wife. Another ring—and the whole apartment was filled with agents of the G.P.U. in civilian clothes and uniforms. An order was handed to L.D. [Lev Davidovich Trotsky] declaring him under arrest for immediate conveyance under escort to Alma-Ata. . . . The telephone rang continually, but an agent stood beside it and good-humoredly prevented us from answering. It was only by chance we managed to let Byeloborodov know that our house had been occupied and that we were being carried away by force. . . .

"The agents were noticeably excited. L.D. refused to leave of his own accord. He took advantage of the occasion to make the situation perfectly clear. The Politbureau was trying to make his exile, as well as that of at least the most prominent oppositionists, seem like a voluntary affair. It was in this light that the exile was being represented to the workers. Now it was necessary to explode this legend, and to show the reality in such a way that the facts could be, neither suppressed nor distorted. Hence L.D.'s decision to compel his opponents

to an open use of force. We locked ourselves in one of the rooms with our two guests. Parleys with the agents of the G.P.U. were carried on through locked doors. The agents did not know what to do; they hesitated, consulted with their chiefs by telephone, and when they had received instructions, announced that they were going to force the door, since they must carry out their orders. Meantime, L.D. was dictating instructions for the future conduct of the opposition. The door remained locked. We heard a hammerblow, the glass crashed, and a uniformed arm was thrust inside. . . . Seeing L.D. in his slippers, they found his shoes and put them on him. Then they found his fur coat and cap and put them on him. L.D. refused to go. They lifted him in their arms and started away. We hurried after. I slipped on my snow-boots and my fur coat. . . . The door slammed behind me. On the other side of it, I heard a commotion. I shouted to the men who were carrying L.D. down the stairs and demanded that they let out my sons, the elder of whom was to accompany us into exile. The door was flung open, and my sons burst out, followed by our women guests, Byeloborodova and Joffe. They all forced their way through with the aid of athletic measures on Seryozha's part. On the way down the stairs, Lyova rang all the door-bells, shouting: 'They're carrying Comrade Trotsky away!' Frightened faces flashed by us at the doors and on the staircase; in this house, only prominent Soviet workers were living. We were all crammed into one automobile; Seryozha could hardly get his legs in. Byeloborodova was also with us."¹

It is not clear what happened to Maria Joffe at this time, whether she was arrested then, or decided to remain behind and was arrested later.

Family persecuted

Like Trotsky's children, the family of the leading diplomat of the young Soviet state was a special target for the paranoid vengeance of the dictator who destroyed the Bolshevik party and murdered most of its leaders.

An Old Bolshevik, Aleksandra Chumakova, mentions Joffe's daughter Masha in her memoirs, which were published in samizdat sometime after the fall of Khrushchev. Masha Joffe's fate was linked in a peculiar way to that of Anya Khromova, a particularly talented representative of the idealistic youth who came of age after the establishment of Soviet power and were destroyed in the great purges. Khromova was arrested for writing Stalin a letter in verse describing the sufferings of the forcibly collectivized peasants.

Chumakova wrote: "Upon returning to Moscow after her stay at the collective farm, Anya wrote a letter to Stalin in verses that described the miserable life in the collectivized village of Russia.

"Anya hoped that Stalin would aid the starving kolkhoz and save her grandmother and grandfather from death by starvation. But she was mistaken. Her verse letter was not to Stalin's liking, and he ordered the OGPU to call Anya to account severely.

"Soon the dread figure of an OGPU investigator arrived at her school and began an investigation. The director of the school, the teachers, the maintenance people, and even some of the students were all questioned. All those who were questioned liked Anya very much and spoke of her with affection. She was a very intelligent and talented young woman. She was an attentive observer of natural phenomena and of human life and she put down what she saw in vivid images, embodied in both prose and poetry.

"No one had anything bad to say about her. They all spoke well of her. But the OGPU investigator was a crusty sort. He found it hard to accept favorable testimony about anyone. He did not believe the testimony

Continued on next page



Trotsky speaking at Adolf Joffe's funeral in 1927. It was his last public speech before he was exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin.

1. Leon Trotsky, *My Life* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), pp. 540-41.

...Trotsky on Adolf Joffe: 'follow the example of his life, not his death'



Adolf Joffe, Maria Joffe's husband, was a leader of early Soviet government.

Continued from preceding page

of the people at the school. He had his own professional opinion, worked out over many years as an investigator and based on suspicion and mistrust of people. He was certain that the verse letter to Stalin about the collective farms had not been written by Anya but by someone else who was hiding behind the skirts of a schoolgirl. He arrested Anya and took her off to jail, straight from school. The entire school wept, bidding Anya Khromova farewell. But even as she sat, huddled in a corner of the car, she was already whispering new verses to herself.

"A few days later Anya was called for questioning. The investigator had decided to expose her 'alleged literary talent' and to make her tell the name of the real authors of the letter to Stalin. He felt certain that the author of the letter was some hardened enemy of Soviet power, one who was not going to get away.

"When Anya was brought into his office, he gave her pen and paper and proposed that she create a literary work in verse about the women with whom she shared her cell.

"The investigator left the room, saying he would return in two hours. Left to herself, Anya fell into thought. She began to call to mind the faces of her bunkmates and selected the most striking images to show how their life in prison had become one of unbearable suffering and torment. Among those sharing our cell at that time were the following:

"1. Masha Joffe, daughter of the famous Soviet diplomat, A. A. Joffe.

"2. Elena Barbina, wife of an official in the Moscow Soviet.

"3. A large group of Young Communist women guides at the Gorky Park for Rest and Recreation, who were accused of wishing to emigrate to England. (That summer the British writer George Bernard Shaw had visited Moscow.)

"4. Kabakova, wife of the first secretary of the Sverdlovsk Regional Committee of the party.

"After two hours the investigator came back and took the filled-in sheets of paper from Anya. With great irritation, but with eager absorption as well, he pored over the rhythmic phrases of her marvelous poetry. He was overcome with anger, irritation, and chagrin. There in his hands he held a literary work of talent, from whose pages the voice of anguished womanhood cried out, calling for help to the innocent arrested women whose lives were being destroyed in prison.

"With great poetic power Anya described one of her bunkmates in prison who had been taken away from her own nursing child by the Chekists when they arrested her. Her breasts became painfully swollen from the sudden interruption in nursing, and the inflamed nipples cracked and bled. The unfortunate mother tossed and turned on her bunk, groaning and cursing her fate as a woman and mother.

"The investigator no longer had any doubts. He had tested Anya Khromova's literary talent. He no longer suspected someone else of having written the letter to Stalin. Her fate was now sealed. She was sentenced to penal exile in Siberia. In parting she asked us, 'Is it true that Dostoevsky and Ryleev spent time in prison?' We told her it was true. 'Then,' she said, 'I no longer fear for my future.'"²

The memoirist never heard anything more of Anya Khromova. And Masha Joffe seems to have disappeared just as completely.

Adolf Joffe, revolutionist

As for Adolf Joffe, his death could not fail to make an impression. His name was bound up inseparably with the heroic period of Soviet power. He committed suicide at the last minute before Stalin established the political dictatorship of the bureaucracy.

An anonymous old "Bolshevik-Leninist" and veteran of the Left Opposition described Joffe's role in his samizdat memoirs:

"A. A. Joffe came to the revolutionary movement in the last days of czarist reaction when the bodies of revolutionaries hung from lamp posts, and the flames of the 1905 barricades were flickering out in the Presnya district. Without regret he left the home of his wealthy father, abandoning his peaceful life as a bourgeois for the dangerous life of a revolutionary fighter for the proletariat. Fearlessly he walked down this path in life, although he constantly risked exile or death from the bullets of the police.

"In the early days of Soviet power, Joffe was asked to work in the most difficult area facing the Soviet state, the sphere of diplomatic work, of foreign policy. Here there was one obstruction or impediment after another. The bourgeois world did not wish to recognize Soviet power. Only Joffe's great capabilities, knowledge, and

talent could overcome these obstacles. He was like a sapper on a battlefield, clearing away a road that has been mined, in his efforts to win diplomatic recognition for Soviet Russia. He was the first ambassador plenipotentiary from the land of the Soviets to bourgeois Germany and to other countries. He was assigned by Trotsky, then commissar of foreign affairs, to untangle the knots between Germany and Russia. He played a major role in the peace negotiations at Brest in 1918. For this outstanding work he received Lenin's personal thanks. Not long before his death, Joffe was our ambassador to Japan."³

Joffe returned from Japan in early 1927, gravely ill with tuberculosis and neuritis. His doctors in Moscow

The following message was sent to Maria Joffe on January 27 from the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers Party.

Cothinkers of Adolf Abramovich Joffe and L.D. Trotsky in the United States, who continue to uphold the ideas and struggle traditions of the Left Opposition, greet you, survivor of the generation of the October revolution and victim of Stalinist tyranny. We welcome the report that you plan to tell your own story, free of KGB censorship, about the fate of those in the camps, and look forward to its publication.

agreed that the only hope for saving his life was to send him abroad for treatment. But Stalin not only refused him an exit visa but deprived him of medical care, while the secret police subjected him to severe pressure.

On November 16, 1927, Joffe shot himself. The Left Opposition was able to organize a demonstration at his funeral. It was probably the last open expression of revolutionary opposition to the bureaucracy outside the concentration camps until the rise of the new opposition after Stalin's death.

The old Left Oppositionist who published his memoirs in samizdat for the new generation of oppositionists was a participant in this demonstration.

Ten thousand at funeral

"The column at the head of the procession arrived at Novo-Devichy monastery. At the monastery gates were mounted police, armed with rifles. The secretary of the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, Yenukidze, stood near the militia. He had given orders to allow only relatives and close friends of the deceased to enter the gate. We were ordered to 'immediately disperse and go home.' But there were 10,000 of us. We rushed the gates and took them by storm. The police retreated. Within the cemetery we saw an open grave right next to a wall; and on top of the wall stood armed troops of the Cheka. They had laid an ambush for us ('just in case'). . . .

"A meeting began near the open grave. First Chicherin spoke. After him Ryutin, a member of the official government delegation to the funeral, got up to speak. He was a 'newly risen star' of the first magnitude and he began to speak along familiar lines. His way of speaking was crude and contained many outbursts against the Opposition. It was a funeral oration profuse with insulting allusions and seemed to be a provocation. . . . But we kept our indignation to ourselves and remained silent.

"Ryutin declared that the entire Opposition was to blame for Joffe's death. Little did we suspect at that time that a few years later we would meet that 'star' Ryutin in the same boat as ourselves at the Verkhne-Uralsk prison."

Trotsky also spoke.

"Having climbed to the platform, Trotsky bared his head. His speech flowed like a sad melody and struck us to the very quick. I had heard many of Trotsky's speeches but there had never been one like that. He spoke of his friend, of a revolutionary who had devoted his ardent spirit to the cause of the revolution to the last drop of his blood.

"Joffe's death deeply affected Trotsky. This kind of death could lead to impermissible imitations by others. The noble example of the Lafargues was not a struggle for revolutionary ideals but a protest, a dearly bought protest which could be detrimental, for it removes fighters from the ranks of revolutionaries. This could not be permitted.

"And then the sad melody in Trotsky's speech began to give way to a spirited appeal to life, to the struggle for life: Trotsky's scorching words seared into the crowd of 10,000 listeners, ringing out like metal, 'No one has the right to follow the example of this death. You must

Continued on next page

2. George Saunders, ed., *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* (New York: Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 1974), pp. 200-202.

3. Saunders, *Samizdat*, pp. 94-95.

Shah admits 2,000 Iranian troops fighting in Oman

By Majid Namvar

"There is really something wrong with you, with how much you enjoy criticizing your allies and ridiculing them. You must be either masochists or very odd people."

These words were part of what the shah of Iran was quoted as having said about the U.S. press in an interview with an Associated Press reporter. An account of the interview appeared in the January 4 air edition of the Tehran daily *Kayhan*.

The shah was referring to unflattering reports in the American press on the conduct of Iranian troops sent to fight the liberation forces in Dhofar. Although he did not mention any particular newspaper, it was implied that he was directing his comments at the *Washington Post*.

Jim Hoagland, a *Washington Post* correspondent who visited the battle area in Dhofar, reported December 16 that in a recent clash with the liberation forces Iranian troops were handed a sharp setback.

"A 200-man Iranian unit sent in to take a commanding height between the settlements of Manston and Akloot ran into fire from 30 or 40 guerrillas before it could set up defensive positions," Hoagland said.

"In hand to hand combat," he added, "the guerrillas killed 10 of the inexperienced Iranian soldiers before escaping without any casualties, intel-

ligence sources say."

In the Associated Press interview, *Kayhan* reported, the shah "praised the bravery and combat skills of the 2,000 Iranian soldiers in Oman who are aiding the fight against the communist rebels." *Kayhan* added, however, that the shah was irritated because "some American newspapers had criticized an Iranian infantry unit."

"In fact," *Kayhan* quoted the shah as saying, "this kind of criticism is disgusting. Our soldiers have met and are maintaining all of their goals. One of our units was ambushed in a heavily forested region; its members did not surrender and were killed. Now, instead of praising their bravery, they say that our soldiers do not know how to fight. It is as if they would like to destroy our image—we who are their allies."

Disregarding the shah's praise for his troops' performance, it should be noted that this is the first time he has specified the number of Iranian troops in Oman.

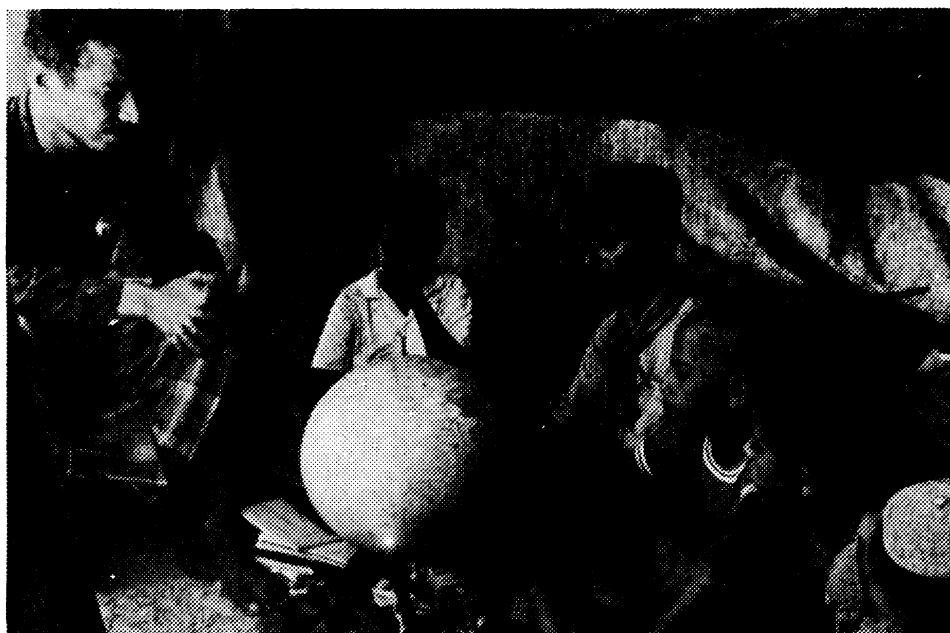
The shah's intervention in Dhofar began in December 1973 under what Omani Foreign Minister Qais el-Zawawi termed an "unwritten friendly agreement" made in Tehran in 1971.

In July 1972, the shah and Sultan Qabus of Oman signed a secret pact giving the shah control of almost all of the northern tip of Oman for counterinsurgent activities.

To capitalize on rumored disagreements within the liberation forces, the Omani government announced last October that the shah's troops were being withdrawn. The announcement, however, was contradicted on October 14 by a report in the *Washington Post*. In addition to the troops already stationed in Oman, the *Post* reported, Iran was dispatching a new brigade of paratroopers to take part in a major offensive against the opponents of the Qabus regime.

The arrival of these reinforcements had reportedly been kept secret inside Oman until the recent clash in which the ten Iranian soldiers were killed.

"The capture of one Iranian," the December 16 *Washington Post* said, "... is thought to have forced the Omani government to issue a brief announcement of the losses on a late-night Arabic-language radio broad-



A school in liberated area of Dhofar

Afrique-Asie

cast, thereby confirming the widely suspected presence of a new Iranian brigade."

Despite efforts by the shah's propaganda machine to perpetuate Persian chauvinism against Arabs, and his frequent remarks about the Dhofari liberation fighters as a "handful of illiterate savages," the Iranian army does not seem to show any sign of enthusiasm for combat.

"The Shah may claim his effort here as the first Persian military victory in 2,000 years," a British officer in Oman told Hoagland, "but so far the results have not been impressive. The Iranians have shown inexperience and over-reliance on American training and tactics by trying to use firepower against the guerrillas, when dedicated pursuit is needed."

Hoagland reported that after arriving in Oman a year ago, the Iranian forces took up defensive positions along the road leading to the coastal town of Salalah but did not move out to join the Omani units.

"According to officers in the sultan's army," he added, "the Iranians spent most of their time blazing away at their own positions when they heard any suspicious noise."

The *Washington Post* correspondent also reported that two Iranian helicopter gunships were withdrawn from

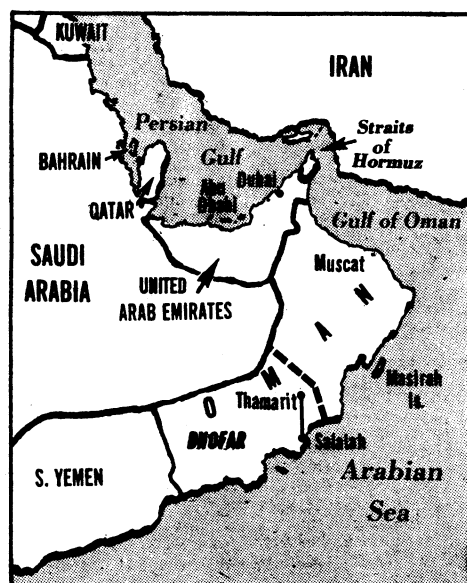
the battle zone "after they had strafed their own troops."

Despite these incidents, the shah's intervention in Dhofar is growing. "Clad in American military-style khaki and gabardine uniforms," Hoagland reported, "Iranian officers and sergeants have become the most numerous military group at the rapidly expanding Midway air base in central Dhofar."

In addition, the shah has forces in position to invade South Yemen, which borders Oman, and reportedly has been aiding the anti-Qabus guerrillas. According to Hoagland, "Senior officers of the Omani command feel that the shah has given Oman an implied commitment to use the Iranian air force to retaliate inside South Yemen if the war is seriously escalated."

While officers from the British, Jordanian, and Pakistani armies are becoming increasingly visible in the area, the shah's troops remain the major counterrevolutionary force operating in the Arab-Persian Gulf.

"Without naming the countries," Hoagland reported, "Foreign Minister Zawawi expressed displeasure with 'neighboring gulf states' that have not been prepared to offer support as freely as 'our good friends and neighbors the Iranians' and Western countries."



Washington Post

...Maria Joffe

Continued from preceding page

follow the example of this life.'

"This was the order of the army commander. . . . We never forgot this order, this command, even in the darkest days of the Stalinist repression.⁴

"The Leninist banner of world proletarian revolution has been thrown in the mud and trampled upon," said Trotsky, accusing Stalin of betraying Lenin's cause. The orator's voice rang like a warning bell, raising alarm and trepidation. 'How shall we lift it up again? How shall we cleanse it of the mud that soils it?' we thought to ourselves, picturing Lenin's banner in our mind's eye.

"Trotsky said further that the leadership of the Central Committee had let slip revolutionary situations in Europe, China, and India, and had thrown back the world revolution many decades. This was a betrayal of internationalism. . . .

"Trotsky's last words at Joffe's grave rang out like a sacred oath: 'We will raise high the Leninist banner of the world proletarian revolution and carry it forward to world communism. Long live the revolutionary communist party!'"⁵

Like the Old Bolsheviks who have passed on the truth about the Left Opposition in samizdat, Maria Joffe has survived the butcher of her party and lived to see the decline of the system he built and of the state religion he created to justify it. In the West, she can also find a new generation of revolutionists continuing the fight of the Left Opposition. Her memoirs could tell the story of the generations of revolutionists destroyed by the Stalinist holocaust and help strengthen the continuity between their struggle and that of those who continue to uphold their ideals not only in the Soviet Union but throughout the world.

Only the most dedicated and farsighted revolutionists could maintain a revolutionary perspective through more than fifty years of mass terror and totalitarian repression. But the Old Bolshevik memoirists who transmitted Adolf Joffe's name and example to those who are fighting the Stalinist bureaucracy today in the Soviet Union show that there is no lack of such character among the Left Oppositionists who survived.

4. The text of Trotsky's speech in the Harvard archives does not include the following passages. The editor of *Samizdat* speculated that the speeches of Trotsky and Zinoviev had run together in the memory of the "Bolshevik-Leninist." The latter's speech was reportedly less restrained than Trotsky's.

5. *Samizdat*, pp. 95-98.

Samizdat Voices of the Soviet Opposition

An anthology of dissident writing circulated clandestinely in the Soviet Union, edited by George Saunders. This collection includes memoirs of the early struggles against the growing Stalin bureaucracy; accounts of personal experiences in the prison camps; and speeches, writings, and petitions of the recent dissident movement. A Monad Press book. 464 pp., \$15, paper \$3.95

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Argentina: rightist terror hits LCR, Política Obrera

The wave of terror against working-class and radical organizations in Argentina continues to claim new victims. On December 13 two members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) were killed when police raided their home in the city of Lomas de Zamora in Buenos Aires province.

One of the two revolutionists, Mario ("Gallego") Rodríguez, had been a delegate to the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International in February 1974. The other was Adriana Drangosch, twenty-one years old, known as "La Petisa." Both were veterans of the guerrilla struggle.

Rodríguez had been arrested in 1971, along with an entire military

Revolutionary People's Army), the military wing of the PRT.

In a statement issued December 17, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria reported that a "people's prison" had been located in the house where Rodríguez and Drangosch were killed.

The statement described how the two revolutionists had become aware of a militarist and centrist deviation in the PRT and sided with the Fracción Roja (Red Faction), which began to raise criticisms of the organization's course. After being expelled from the PRT, the Fracción Roja formed the LCR.

The terrorist attacks on the left in Argentina have been carried out both by the government and by extra-legal squads made up of police, military, and civilian rightists. Two members



Argentine police arrest demonstrators. Violence against left has also come from rightist gangs of thugs.

team of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party). He managed to escape a few months later by jumping from a window of the court building.

Adriana Drangosch became active first in the Guerrilla del Ejército de Liberación (Guerrillas of the National Liberation Army) under the military dictatorship that preceded the Peronist government inaugurated two years ago. She later joined the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—

of the Política Obrera (Working-Class Politics) group have been kidnapped and murdered by the death squad that calls itself the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance), according to a statement by their comrades.

The two were Jorge Fischer, general secretary of the Miluz factory committee, and Miguel Angel Bufano, a trade-union activist in the same factory.

A third member of the organization, Ester Raquel Kitay, was seized by police at Ezeiza airport in early December on her way to Paris. She was accused of being a courier for the ERP, although the Política Obrera group has never had any ties with the ERP or the PRT.

The Política Obrera group recently affiliated to the Comité d'Organisation pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale (Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International), a grouping that opposed the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963. In a statement issued December 19, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization of France), the largest formation in this international grouping, said that Kitay was on her way to a meeting of the International Bureau of the Comité pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale at the time of her arrest. She was tortured, the OCI said, and imprisoned.

The statement said that Política Obrera has been unable to function openly in the recent period because of the repression. Several other leaders of the group have been reported missing.

World news notes

French soldiers demonstrate

About 500 French soldiers stationed in West Germany demonstrated in the streets of Karlsruhe January 13, protesting the high cost of train fare home, army policy on leaves, and low pay. According to a report in the January 14 *Le Monde*, this was the first time French draftees have demonstrated in West Germany.

The protest action was preceded by a general assembly on the base, attended by about 200 draftees, to discuss the "Appeal of the One Hundred" and demands for improvements in living conditions. The Appeal of the One Hundred is a petition for democratic rights that has been circulating in the ranks since May 1974.

The appeal has now been signed by more than 5,000 conscripts.

Latin Americans condemn U. S. trade law

Representatives of twenty Latin American and Caribbean countries voted January 23 to condemn the new U. S. trade law signed by President Ford on January 3. The protest, passed by the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, called the trade law "discriminatory and coercive."

The law bars special duty-free status for all goods imported from countries that 1) join cartels to hold up prices of exports; 2) refuse to sign agreements with Washington to provide essential goods at what the White House considers "reasonable" prices; or 3) take over American-owned firms without providing rapid compensation.

The law would prohibit tariff preferences to Venezuela and Ecuador because they are members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Before the new law took effect, about 60 percent of U. S. imports from Latin America were free of tariff.

Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez called the law an "undeniable act of economic aggression and political pressure." He pointed out that "the country that has benefited most from our resources has made us the object of a highly discriminatory law."

Plight of immigrant workers—Norway

The government of Norway announced January 10 that as of February 1 it would ban the entry of immigrant workers for one year. Exceptions are to be made for those with certain specialized skills, political refugees, those who have already established contacts in the country, and workers from other Scandinavian countries.

Plight of immigrant workers—Germany

Development Minister Egon Bahr announced January 13 that Bonn is enacting measures to reduce the number of foreigners working in West Germany from the present level of 2.5 million and to give preference to German job seekers. He said the program was aimed at making 500,000 jobs now held by foreigners available to Germans.

Those hardest hit by the new measures will be the 1.2 million foreign workers who have held jobs in Germany for less than five years. When a worker in this category becomes unemployed, government labor exchanges are ordered to give job-referral preference to Germans.

At the same time, however, Bonn is hoping to avoid an immediate mass departure of foreign workers. For one thing, the jobs they hold tend to be low-paying positions at the bottom of the economic scale, and it is expected that no more than 20 to 30 percent of these jobs would be attractive to German workers.



Typical run-down housing that immigrant workers in Germany are forced to live in.

Turkish students protest fascist attacks

On January 25, Turkish students held the largest demonstration since martial law was imposed in that country in 1971. Twenty-five thousand young people marched through Istanbul as part of a funeral for a leftist youth. An *Associated Press* dispatch suggested that the youth had been killed by rightists.

The march culminated a student sit-in at Istanbul University. The sit-in was held to protest the "growing tide of unprovoked armed raids by Fascist elements."

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Detente vs. world revolution

Stalin's first 'detente': where did it lead?

Third of a series

By CAROLINE LUND

Our previous article in this series discussed how the Kremlin policy of détente runs counter to the Marxist analysis of the contradictions of the capitalist system, which inevitably lead to wars. We also showed the vast difference between the revolutionary diplomatic policy of the early Soviet government under Lenin and Trotsky, and the current counterrevolutionary dealings of the Kremlin.

The most decisive test, however, in evaluating the Stalinist détente perspective is the actual experience of history.

The theory and practice of détente are not new; the basic elements have been applied by Stalin and his heirs since the 1930s. It has gone by various names—collective security, peaceful coexistence, and "building socialism in one country."

The fundamental line of the Kremlin through all these years has been that the way to bring about world peace and to preserve the Soviet workers state is through arranging diplomatic pacts and deals with the imperialist powers.

The goal is to get the imperialists to agree not to attack the Soviet Union and to be "peaceful" rather than "aggressive." In return, the Kremlin promises to use its considerable weight inside the world working-class movement to the advantage of those capitalist governments that are allied with the Soviet Union at any particular time.

Prior to the current détente, this policy had already undergone two major historical tests.

The first was Stalin's attempt to

achieve a network of "collective security" agreements with capitalist powers of Western Europe in the 1930s. These agreements were supposed to halt the spread of fascism and prevent a new world war.

The second test was Stalin's deals with the Western imperialist powers at the end of World War II. These agreements, codified at Tehran and Yalta, were also touted as a guarantee of "enduring peace" in the world.

What were the results of these "détentes" of the past? Has history shown that the Marxist analysis of the predatory nature of capitalism is outdated? Did these attempts at détente bring the world closer to peace?

'Collective security'

Stalin's "collective security" policy, launched in 1934, was a major right turn of Soviet foreign policy. It was begun under the impact of the staggering defeat for the world working class represented by Hitler's rise to power.

Because of the sectarian policy of the mass German Communist Party—which had minimized the fascist danger and refused to make a united action front with the Socialist Party against the Nazis—Hitler was able to take power without any resistance from the powerful German workers movement.

Stalin became alarmed by the rearmament of Nazi Germany and the growth of a fascist movement in France. But to meet this danger the Kremlin bureaucrats did not turn their attention to analyzing what the German CP had done wrong, or how to mobilize the workers of Europe against the fascist danger. Rather,

Stalin turned to the Western imperialist rulers and their organization, the League of Nations, as the hope for stopping Hitler and assuring peace.

Two types of imperialists

Stalin divided the imperialist countries into two categories. One was the "progressive," "peace-loving," "democratic" governments, which included the United States, France, some smaller European powers, and Britain. The other was the "aggressive," fascist governments of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Stalin's idea of "collective security" was that the Soviet Union would sign nonaggression and mutual assistance pacts with the "peace-loving" imperialists. To make it worth their while to ally with the Soviet Union, the Communist parties in these countries would conduct themselves not as leaders of the class struggle but as props for the shaky rule of the capitalist class. They would use their power to block any workers' struggles from developing into a revolutionary struggle for power.

The Kremlin decreed, and the CPs echoed, that the armament of these "democracies" for "security" against Germany was progressive.

As part of this right turn, Stalin took the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. He used the prestige of the world's only workers state to bolster the illusion that international conflicts could be averted through diplomatic discussions, and that the imperialist rulers were sincerely trying to prevent a war through their participation in this international body.

This was a complete reversal of the policy of Lenin, who had called the League of Nations a "thieves kitchen."

Stalin-Laval pact

The focal point for Stalin's collective security policy was France. In May 1935 Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov and French Foreign Minister Pierre Laval concluded a Franco-Soviet military alliance.

Ostensibly the pact simply called for mutual assistance by France and the Soviet Union in case either was attacked. But Stalin's side of the deal amounted to much more than was spelled out openly. It was to bring the support of the French Communist Party behind the French imperialist government and the preservation of capitalism in France.

One aspect of this support to French capitalism that Stalin did make public was his approval of the "national defense policy" of the French government.

Within France, as in a number of other countries, Stalin's orders were carried out through the policy of the "Popular Front." The French Popular Front was a political bloc of the CP, the Socialist Party, and the Radical Party, a liberal capitalist party com-



Stalin with new ally Laval (right), who later became collaborator with the Nazis.

parable to the Democratic Party in the U. S.

The CP, as well as the SP, consistently subordinated their proposals inside the Popular Front to what would be acceptable to the Radicals, even though this capitalist party had received even fewer votes than the Socialists in the 1936 elections. When the Popular Front came to power in 1936, the CP members of parliament supported all the government policies for administering French imperialism—including the administration of France's colonies.

To understand the magnitude of the betrayal carried out in the name of the Popular Front, it is necessary to recall the context in which this policy was applied.

Prerevolutionary situation

Following the victory of Hitler in 1933, the hopes of the working class of Europe—and of the world—turned from Germany to France. France was moving toward a prerevolutionary situation.

In February 1934 the French fascists had brought down the government headed by Radical Party leader Edouard Daladier through a massive armed demonstration.

The CP and SP were forced by pressure from the masses to join in united-front actions against the fascist leagues. SP leader Leon Blum described this mass pressure—stemming from the workers' determination not to allow a repeat of the German defeat—as like an "electrical current."

When the Popular Front government came to power in June 1936, the French workers responded with a massive wave of strikes and plant occupations that spread until more than one million workers were occupying their factories.

The enormous power and confidence of the workers at the height of the upsurge led even some leaders of the Socialist Party—by no means revolutionists—to raise the slogan "everything is possible!"

What was the role of the CP in

Continued on page 22



French Stalinist leader Maurice Thorez (right) with Socialist Party leader of Popular Front Leon Blum. Thorez wears tricolor sash to show his loyalty to French capitalism.

Stalin-Laval pact: what 'The Militant' said in 1935

In its issues of May 11 and May 18, 1935, *The Militant* (then called the *New Militant*) ran front-page articles by its editor James P. Cannon warning that the Stalin-Laval pact, negotiated in 1935, was not a step toward peace but a step that would embolden the imperialists in their drive toward war.

Cannon said the military alliance itself was not the problem; the Soviet government had a right to make a pact with an imperialist power if it were so weak that it had to turn to such an unreliable source of aid.

But if this were the case, he wrote,

the truth would have to be told to the workers about the nature of the pact. The Stalinists, on the other hand, "paint up the rapacious French imperialists as advocates of 'peace' and represent the pact with them as a 'victory for socialism,' an 'advance,' etc.

"That is a lie, a deception, a fraud!" wrote Cannon. "By such perfidious methods the French workers can be dragooned into the trenches to fight for 'peace-loving' French imperialism; they cannot be led into a revolutionary struggle to overthrow it."

Cannon quoted the joint communi-

qué signed by Stalin and Laval, which said: "M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces at a level required for security."

Cannon noted that this means "nothing is to be done to interfere with military preparations of the French imperialists. . . . The Social Democrats of Germany and France voted for the war credits of their respective Governments on the Fourth of August, 1914. Following that they became recruiting sergeants for the war.

"The Social Democrats carried out their historic betrayal under the slo-

gan, 'Defense of the Fatherland.' The Stalinists march on the same path under the banner of 'Socialism in One Country.' The content and the results are the same."

Cannon wrote: "We say, with Liebknecht and Lenin: The enemy is in our own country! We reject the treacherous formula of 'peaceful' imperialists on the one side and 'aggressors' on the other. No truce in the class struggle, no moderation of the class struggle for a single day! The answer to imperialist war is the workers' revolution!"

WHAT'S BEHIND DEEPENING

Inprecor: International Press Correspondence. Biweekly information organ of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. No. 16-17, Jan. 16, 1975. \$1.

By **DICK ROBERTS**

The capitalist world has plunged into the first international recession since the 1930s. Although unemployment is still much worse in the United States than in the other major capitalist nations, there is no leading capitalist country where the ranks of unemployed are not growing and where industrial production is not slowing down.

On top of this, as the plants close, prices are spiraling upward around the globe. Inflation rates in France (14.6 percent), Britain (17 percent), Italy (20.8 percent) and Japan (23.4 percent) are worse than in the United States (11.6 percent).

Moreover, there is the danger that the deepening U. S. recession and the inflationary expansion of credit could combine to throw the capitalist world into an economic crisis on the scale of 1929-32. Leading capitalist experts in the United States, Europe, and Japan are the first to admit that such a danger exists.

None of this was supposed to happen. The more sophisticated capitalist economists—such as Paul Samuelson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose texts are almost universally used in undergraduate economics courses—admitted that the ups and downs of the capitalist "business cycle" could not be eliminated.

But the effects of the business cycle could be ameliorated. Here is how Samuelson put it in the most recent edition of *Economics*, published in 1973, and more widely distributed than any other college economics text:

Has business cycle been 'tamed'?

"Many people do believe that the business cycle has finally been tamed. And indeed, study of [the charts] shows that the American mixed economy

Periodicals

has reduced recessions in the post-World War II period to brief and infrequent punctuations in the progress of sustained growth. It used to be the case, under historic capitalism, that the charts showed the shadings of recession half the time. . . .

"What can be said scientifically about the outlook for business fluctuations? Most economists would pretty much agree with the following formulation: *Although nothing is impossible in an inexact science like economics, the probability of a great depression—a prolonged, cumulative and chronic slump like that of the 1930s, the 1890s, or the 1870s—has been reduced to a negligible figure.*" (p. 266, emphasis in original.)

Samuelson is wrong on all three counts. In the first place the present U. S. recession is the second in three years, so that the frequency of recessions has not slowed down. It is increasing.



SAMUELSON: 'Probability of a great depression . . . has been reduced to negligible.'



New cars pile up in Germany. Plenty of goods can be produced, and the masses of working people need these goods. But capitalists will not produce, or sell, except at high enough profit.

Secondly, even if the present recession ended today and the U. S. economy started to turn up—which it isn't going to do—this recession will still end up being longer than the previous upturn of 1972-73. (The period of recession is generally measured from the beginning of the slump until production again reaches the pre-slump level.)

The 1972-73 upturn lasted only 18 months. The present recession is more than a year old and still on the downslide. Even the Ford administration believes unemployment will rise to 7.5 percent this year. So that the period of crisis is longer than the previous period of recovery.

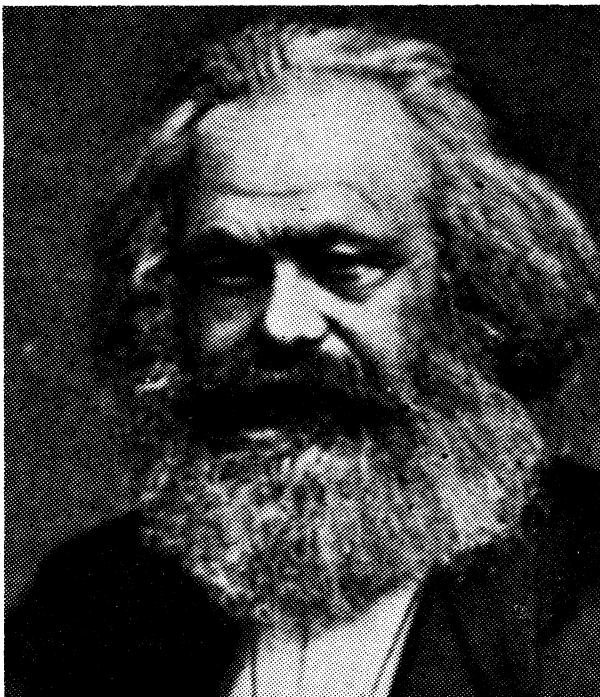
Thirdly, there is a real danger of banking collapse.

Not supposed to happen?

According to Marxist economic theory, *crisis* is the inevitable consequence of contradictions of the capitalist system. Today's plague of spreading unemployment and outright famine in many semi-colonial countries is not "accidental." It is the result of production for private profit.

The Generalized Recession of the International Capitalist Economy, a special issue of *Inprecor*, is a collection of articles by Marxists on the causes and consequences of the present world economic crisis. *Inprecor* (International Press Correspondence) is published biweekly by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

This special issue includes an introductory article by Ernest Mandel, the well-known Belgian author of *Marxist Economic Theory*; and articles on: Britain (by B. Sutcliffe); West Germany (Winfried Wolf); France (Helene Valentin and C. Leucate); Japan (Jiro Fujiwara); the United States (Dick Roberts); Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico



MARX: Economic crises are inevitable result of capitalist production for profit.

(Pierre Salama); Eastern Europe (Ted Harding); and the world famine (A. Udry).

This is an extremely useful collection in that it presents the facts and figures on the economic crisis in the leading capitalist nations (as well as several semicolonial nations) and an analysis of the specific roots of these crises.

Overproduction

The fundamental causes of the crisis can be singled out for special attention. These are the *overproduction of goods* and the *falling tendency of the profit rate* that makes overproduction inevitable.

"The generalized recession of 1974-75," Mandel writes, "is a classical crisis of overproduction. This must be stressed all the more categorically in that many circles are trying to lay the blame for the generalized recession on the 'oil sheikhs' or even on the trade unions—and not for reasons that are purely ideological."

Mandel stresses the two underlying dynamics: "The current recession is the *outcome of a typical phase of decline in the rate of profit*. This decline clearly antedates the pronounced increase in oil prices after the October War of 1973. . . .

"The present recession is marked by a pronounced underutilization of productive capacity in the principal imperialist country, the United States. . . ."

Mandel presents the following figures on the rate of profit (after deduction of the gains of appreciation of stock values) on the net holdings of industrial and commercial companies in Britain, before taxes:

1950-54	16.5 percent
1955-59	14.7 "
1960-64	13.0 "
1965-69	11.7 "
1968	11.6 "
1969	11.1 "
1970	9.7 "

Underutilization of capacity

To illustrate the underutilization of capacity Mandel cites the equally striking figures for U. S. production of manufacturing industries as a percentage of capacity:

1966	92.0 percent
1967	87.9 "
1968	87.7 "
1969	86.5 "
1970	78.0 "
1971	75.0 "
1972	78.6 "
1973	83.0 "
1974 (fourth quarter)	78.0 "

Mandel adds, "This long-term deterioration is all the more pronounced if account is taken of the enormous share of American production wasted on military or paramilitary goods. The result is a virtually permanent nonutilization of *nearly* a

WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS?

third of productive capacity directed toward civilian productive goals."

Capitalist crises confront us not with *too little*, that is, an absolute incapacity of the economy to provide enough—as, say, in the Middle Ages, when plagues decimated the population and crops were destroyed by blights—but with *too much*. Too much plant capacity has been constructed, markets have been saturated, goods cannot be profitably sold.

"There is no better indication of the irrational and inhuman character of the capitalist system," says Mandel, "than the fact that millions of men, women, and children are gravely undernourished and threatened with starvation while enormous resources in machinery, raw materials, and labor remain unutilized—resources with which tractors, fertilizer, irrigation canals, and electrical pumps could be produced to rapidly increase food production and thus feed the hungry."

Profits fall

How does this wastage of resources come about? Winfried Wolf capsulizes Marx's theory: "The introduction of qualitatively more advanced technology also means the rise of the organic composition of capital (increase in 'dead labor'—machines, raw materials—in comparison with 'living labor'). Since only living labor creates value and surplus value, this process also means that the mass of profit realized per unit of capital diminishes; that is, *the rate of profit falls*."

"The rise in the organic composition of capital is thus the motor force of the regular increase in productivity; but at the same time it is the motor force of the tendency of the rate of profit to decline

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and thus of the general lowering of the rate of growth."

Marx recognized what capitalist economics cannot accept: that labor and machinery do not enter the production process on an equal footing. No matter how sophisticated the machinery, whether it is programmed to make a product from start to finish and even repair that product—the machine is not the source of new values and consequently of the profits of capital.

Only the workers who run the machinery can perform this role. Only *living labor* produces surplus value. And consequently the capitalists can derive profits only from the component of the value of a given commodity that is added by labor power.

The contradiction is that the profit drive forces competing capitalists to more and more develop their technology, to add more and more machinery into the production process. The component of value added by labor power shrinks; the compo-

nent derived from machinery, plant, and raw materials grows.

A car made in Henry Ford's day took two or three times the living labor required in auto plants today. A vast increase in the machinery and scale of auto production has greatly reduced the labor required per car.

Wolf notes the complaint of the West German "Council of Experts" that "the constant deterioration of the share returning to the entrepreneur and the capitalist is explained by the fact that the component of capital has become larger than the component of labor power."

Marx's law

Wolf also cites the ironic remark of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* that "West German capitalists are trying to lift . . . the rate of profit back to what they consider a normal level. Undoubtedly, they are contributing through this price policy to accentuating inflation. But they have not succeeded in braking the falling tendency of the rate of profit, this law discovered by Karl Marx (a law that only Marxists resist recognizing today)."

It is true, unfortunately, that the Marxist concept of a falling tendency of profit rate has been attacked in New Left circles, not only in West Germany but in Britain and the United States as well (by *Monthly Review's* Paul Sweezy, for example).

The reaffirmation of Marx's basic principle in this series of articles and the demonstration of its global effects will be of the utmost interest to those who are beginning to "rethink" the capitalist system and to consider the Marxian analysis.

For it is precisely in order to overcome the falling tendency of the profit rate that monopoly saturates markets, that it produces too many goods considering the available purchasing power, and thus provokes crises.

The prices that are on the cars in Detroit stockyards are obviously not determined by the so-called law of supply and demand as Samuelson (in most of *Economics*) would have us believe.

There is a huge supply and many millions of workers need cars. But the prices do not come down sufficiently. General Motors does not reduce prices, keep production rolling along, and keep workers at jobs. It fires workers, reduces production, and keeps prices up. (The current much publicized "cash rebates" cover only a tiny fraction of the full price of cars, are temporary, and have undoubtedly already been planned into the auto makers' long-term profit schedules.)

'Normal' rate of profit

For prices are set in order to realize what the monopolists consider to be a normal profit rate over and above costs. GM—in order to make up for the ever rising organic composition of its capital, the huge scales of production, and the tremendous technology that it commands—charges prices that ultimately must overstretch the ability of consumers to buy.

Overproduction crises are not eliminated by monopoly, as can be seen in this example of the



French unions march against high cost of living

biggest of all industrial monopolies. On the contrary, crisis is ultimately exacerbated by monopoly.

Important elements of the present international crisis flow from the drive of monopoly to expand its markets to make up for the falling tendency.

As both Wolf, in the article on West Germany, and Fujiwara, in the article on Japan, stress, the economies of these two countries have long since been pinned on huge exports; that is, on markets going far beyond their own national boundaries.

But as saturation becomes a global phenomenon, Japan and West Germany cannot escape the consequences. They will be deprived of their main export markets in the other advanced countries.

Fujiwara explains how this has heightened the drive of Japan to exploit the semicolonial nations of the Far East. "The bourgeoisie is now talking about the need for raw-materials-saving industries and a qualitatively advanced industrial structure, which means exporting the heavy industries such as oil, petrochemicals, steel, etc., to the semicolonial countries, utilizing the abundance of raw materials and the cheap labor of the Southeast Asian countries, importing the cheap basic materials processed in those countries, and doing the final processing at considerable profits in the 'mother country' of Japan. That is the 'grand design' of Japanese imperialism."

But this can be no solution. "Japan is becoming surrounded by developing anti-Japanese struggles among the toiling masses of these countries. We have seen the explosions of anti-Japanese sentiment in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and South Korea, and those movements will surely deepen their proletarian character," Fujiwara notes.

Heightening class struggle

Thus from one end of the capitalist world to the other, economic crisis is deepening the problems facing working people and heightening the class struggle as a result. The crisis is rooted in fundamental contradictions explained by Marx. It can only be eliminated, in the last analysis, by ending the system based on exploitation of wage labor.

"The generalized recession," Mandel concludes, "is dealing a grave blow to all neoreformist and neogradualist illusions about the allegedly infinite capacities of 'adaption' possessed by the capitalist system. It confirms what our movement has been proclaiming ceaselessly throughout the years of the strongest expansion."

"The leopard has not changed his spots. Capitalism is still capitalism. Its internal contradictions remain insoluble. If a return to unemployment, to graver and graver recessions, to galloping inflation, to famine throughout the semicolonial world, to misery that can reappear on a grand scale even in the imperialist countries is to be avoided. . . . the capitalist system and the bourgeois state must be overthrown. The regime of the workers must be established (and in the semicolonial countries, the regime of the workers and peasants)."



Unemployed line in Britain. Jobless rolls are growing in every major capitalist country.

Calendar

DENVER

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION IN THE PRISONS. Speakers: Frank Driscoll, former prisoner; others. Fri., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

THE RIGHT OF TEACHERS TO STRIKE: LESSONS OF GARDEN CITY AND CRESTWOOD. Speakers: John Melchor, chief negotiator for Garden City teachers; Duncan Jones, Crestwood strike committee; Paula Reimers, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers Local 2000. Fri., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

THE ROSENBERG CASE, THE CRIME OF THE CENTURY: BUT WHOSE CRIME? Speaker: Peter Boyd, Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; videotaped interview with Robert Meeropol, a son of the Rosenbergs. Fri., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

NEW YORK CITY

LITTLE ROCK, 1957—BOSTON, 1975: THE FIGHT FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speakers: Dr. Kenneth Clark, member of New York state board of regents; Jonathan Kozol author of *Death at an Early Age*; Reverend Wilbur Miller, leader in 1973 Canarsie school desegregation struggle; Reverend Timothy Mitchell, chairperson of racism committee, National Council of Churches; others. Fri., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. Willman Auditorium, Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University, Broadway and 115th St. Ausp: New York Student Conference Against Racism. For more information call (212) 866-8830.

PHILADELPHIA

WORLD HUNGER CRISIS: WHAT'S THE ANSWER? Speakers: Abdul Yusuf, African Students Association, U. of Penn.; D. Eileen Gersh, research associate professor, U. of Penn. Fri., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

SEATTLE

THE INDIAN FISHING-RIGHTS STRUGGLE CONTINUES. Speaker: Janet McCloud, member of Tulalip tribe, Indian activist. Fri., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

THE WAR IN VIETNAM: TWO YEARS AFTER THE PEACE ACCORDS. Speakers: Marianne Hamilton, Committee for Defense of South Vietnamese Political Prisoners; John Linder, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...students

Continued from page 18

student recalled that in 1968, after losing the Democratic nomination, McCarthy urged his supporters at the last minute to back Democrat Hubert Humphrey.

McCarthy defended his endorsement of Humphrey, cynically adding that

he had stalled until the last minute before endorsing him "because we thought we ought to wait until the head wounds healed from Chicago."

When the meeting broke up, students drifted out appearing somewhat disillusioned. Few stayed to talk to the candidate or sign up as volunteers.

"Wow, he really tried to dodge those questions," commented one student on her way out.

...detente

Continued from page 19

this prerevolutionary situation? The treacherous policy of the Stalinists was to rescue the French rulers from the mass working-class upsurge! The CP, which most revolutionary-minded workers mistakenly looked to, became the defender of the institutions of French imperialism.

● The CP did everything it could to end the sit-down strikes and to limit them to purely economic issues. They raised the slogan: "Not everything is possible"—claiming that "rash actions" "could only lead to the alienation of an important part of the petty bourgeoisie," and would endanger "the security of France" against "Hitler's menace."

● The CP's support to "progressive" "peace-loving" French imperialism meant support to the French empire. During 1935 the party gave up its defense of national independence movements in the French colonies, such as Vietnam. As CP leader Maurice Thorez explained it, "the interest of the colonial peoples is in their union with the French people," since the "critical issue at present is the defeat of fascism."

● In obedience to Stalin's approval of French "national defense," the CP dropped its campaign against the introduction of two-year compulsory military service in France.

● Support to the capitalist Popular Front also meant that the CP covered up for the refusal of this so-called "people's" government to come to the aid of the Republican side in the Spanish civil war.

Following on the heels of the French workers' upsurge, Spain was the other mass workers mobilization of the 1930s that held out the hope of a revolutionary victory by a workers and peasants government.

But the French Popular Front government, following the line of the other Western imperialist powers, adopted the policy of "nonintervention" in Spain. This meant refusing to send

arms to the Republican forces despite the fact that Germany and Italy were pouring arms in to Franco's fascist army.

This coincided with Stalin's policy of sending insufficient arms to Spain in order to impress the Western imperialists with his disavowal of the revolutionary implications of the heroic struggle of the Spanish workers.

● Another by-product of Stalin's détente with French imperialism was the expulsion of Trotsky from France. Trotsky had been permitted to move from Turkey to France in 1933, but in April 1934—just as the negotiations were taking place leading up to the Stalin-Laval pact—the French government began to harass Trotsky and finally ordered him expelled.

No country could be found that would accept him, however, until Norway did in June 1935, so Trotsky was in France during the momentous events that led up to the coming to power of the Popular Front government.

In the next article we will discuss the alternative program that Trotsky proposed to the workers of France and assess the overall results of "collective security," the first historic test of the policy of détente.

...Boston

Continued from back page

Afro-American Unity; Case Western Reserve University National Lawyers Guild; Geraldine Roberts, president of Domestic Workers of America; and Curtis Wilson, director of the Cleveland State University Black studies program.

The Washington Teachers Union, Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, on Jan. 27 passed a resolution supporting the conference.

Also, at the recent National Coordinating Committee meeting of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), a resolution was passed opposing the assault on desegregation in Boston and pledging CLUW to "make every effort to expose the antilabor, antiwomen, and antimorality efforts of the reactionary segregationist movement across the country."

The conference organizing committee has produced an eight-page newspaper, the *Student Mobilizer*, which is available in quantity for use by local committees in building the conference. The *Student Mobilizer* features speeches by Jonathan Kozol, Maceo Dixon, Robert Harper, Reverend Vernon Carter, and Richard Wallace, a

Black student currently being bused into South Boston. These speeches were given at the highly successful teach-in against racism sponsored by the committee and held Dec. 13, 1974, at Harvard University.

There is also a feature article on why Black students should take the lead in building support for the conference as a way of helping to defend the desegregation effort in Boston.

A new poster is also available from the committee.

To order this material or to contribute your time and money, contact the National Student Conference Against Racism, 720 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02215. Telephone: (617) 266-9665.

Readings on the Mideast

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism by Gus Horowitz, an EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS publication, 8x11 format, \$1.00

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ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST War Anthology, taken from the pages of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 8x11 format, \$.75

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WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: The Socialist View by Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas, \$.60

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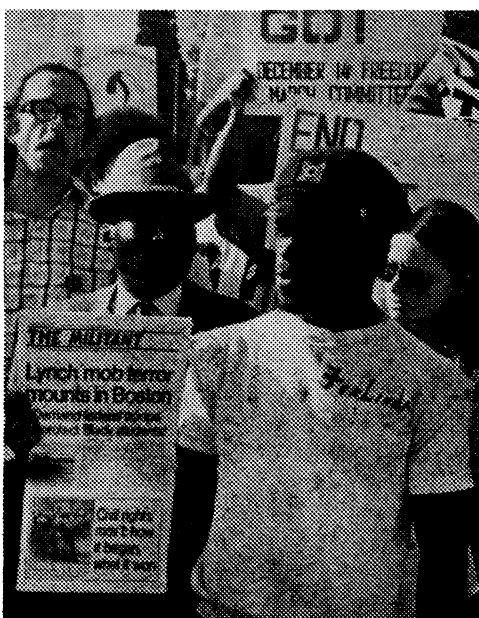
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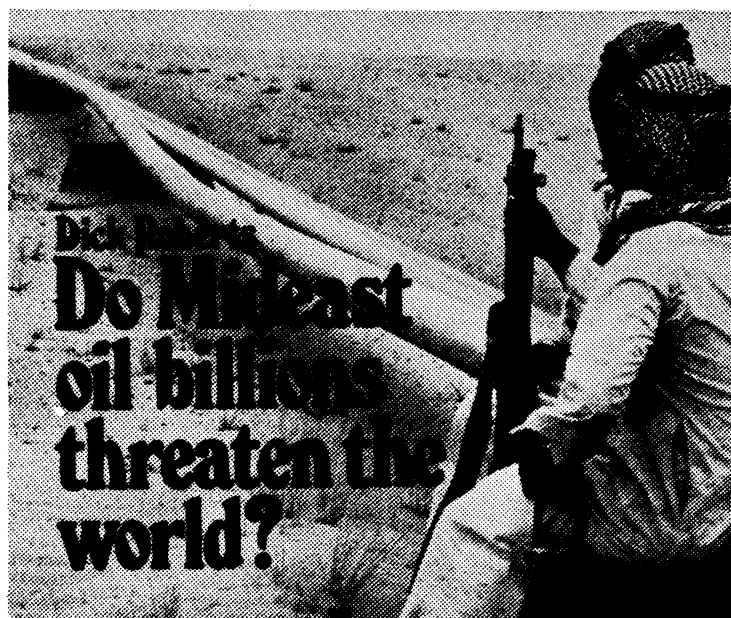
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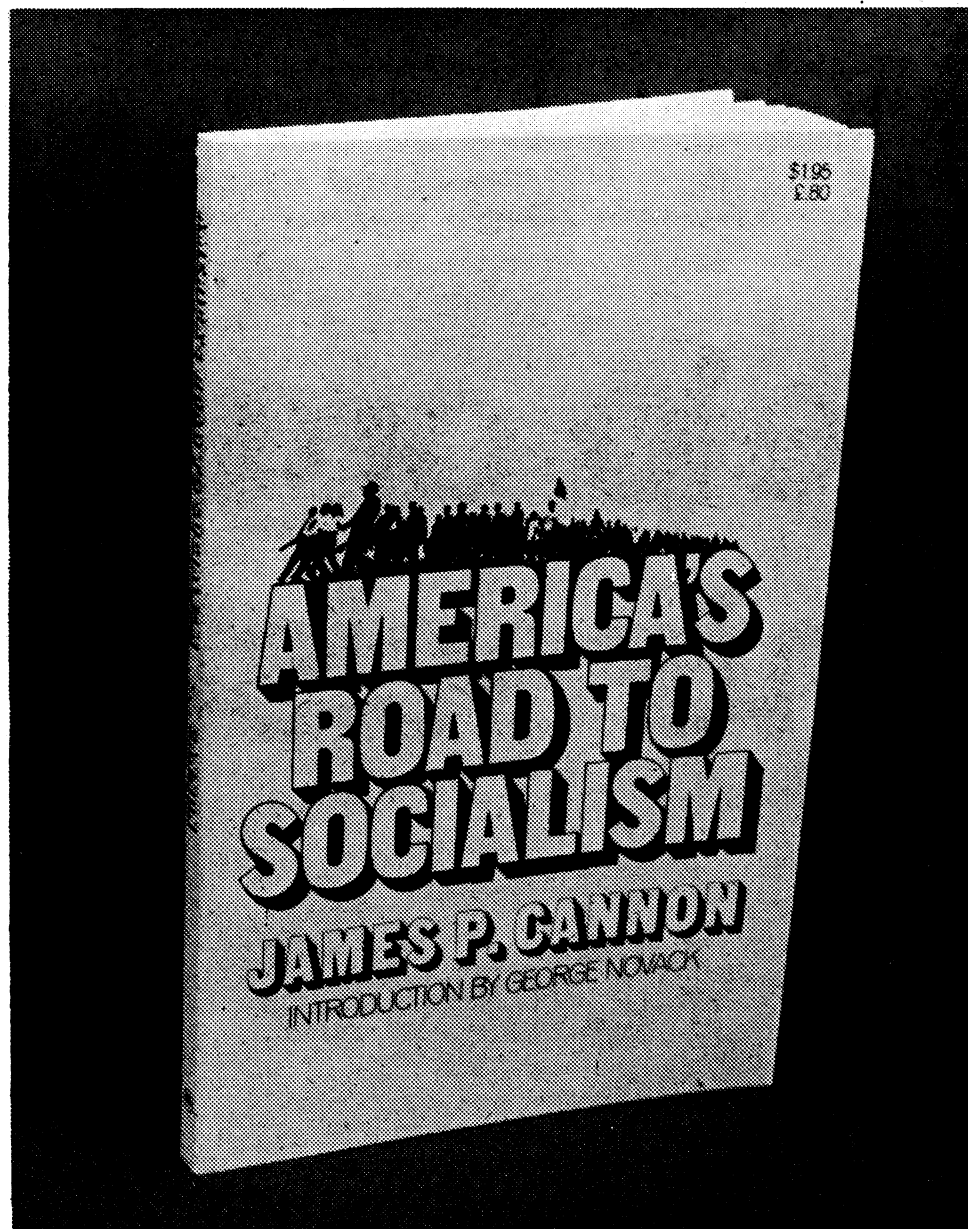
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SATURDAY, FEB. 8, 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE. Presentations, discussion, and workshops. Dinner and party to follow. 428 S. WABASH, FIFTH FLOOR, CHICAGO. Donation: \$1.50 for rally, \$1 for conference. Ausp: Chicago SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

Help organize Boston antiracist conference

By PETER SEIDMAN

BOSTON—Successful meetings in Cleveland, Chicago, and New York underscore the broad interest in and support for the National Student Conference Against Racism set to take place here the weekend of Feb. 14.

The meetings were part of a tour by Jonathan Kozol, award-winning author of *Death at an Early Age*, and Robert Harper, of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association. Harper is a coordinator of the conference organizing committee.

Kozol spoke to a meeting of 250

Further coverage of Boston desegregation struggle appears on pages 16 & 17.

people at Cleveland State University on Jan. 24. The audience, which was nearly half Black and included students from almost every campus in the city, heard Kozol detail the racist campaign against school desegregation being carried out by the Boston school committee.

Kozol pointed to the upcoming conference as a key meeting where the student movement can organize to defeat the racist mob violence directed against Black public school students here. A collection of \$150 was taken at the meeting, which was covered by the *Plain Dealer* and the local NBC affiliate.

The next evening Kozol spoke at a meeting at the First Unitarian Church in Chicago's Hyde Park. Despite a

snow storm, 125 people, including students from 11 different colleges and high schools, came to hear him.

Cassandra Dowden, a Black student from Columbia College, chaired the meeting. Approximately \$175 was collected in an appeal for funds to continue the work of the Chicago student conference committee.

Supporters of the conference in the Chicago area received another boost this week when the Roosevelt University student government endorsed the conference and provided the student committee with office space and a \$1,000 budget.

Harper's tour of New York City included meetings with a number of prominent student leaders at Borough of Manhattan Community College, Brooklyn College, and with the president of the City University of New York student senate. On Jan. 23 Harper addressed a city-wide meeting of 85 supporters of the student conference.

New endorsers of the conference are continuing to come in. This week the conference organizing office made public the following statement from U. S. Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.):

"I wholeheartedly support and endorse the upcoming National Student Conference Against Racism. Supporters of civil rights should continue to organize a massive response to the violent racist attacks on the rights of Black students in Boston. A victory for Boston's embattled Black community will mark a victory in the struggle for equality on all fronts and

in all cities. I urge you to attend the National Student Conference Against Racism at Boston University Feb. 14-16, which will discuss the next steps to be taken for equal education in Boston."

The president of the Boston NAACP, Thomas Atkins, has also endorsed the conference. A New England regional conference of the NAACP, attended by the directors of 24 branches in the area, also voted to endorse the student conference—as did the regional youth council of the NAACP.

Atkins will be one of the speakers at the teach-in being organized by the committee for Friday night, Feb. 14. He has also signed a fund appeal

letter being circulated by the student group.

Other prominent individuals who endorsed this week include: Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Ind.; I.F. Stone; Beulah Sanders, National Welfare Rights Organization; and Marie Hasegawa, national president, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Also, Clarence Smart, president, University of Kentucky (UK) Black Student Union; UK Black Student Union; UK student senate; Carey Junkin, president, UK Gay Coalition; Carolyn Dougherty, Lexington, Ky., Women's Center; Black Unity House, Cleveland; Cleveland State University Society for

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Part of crowd at Cleveland meeting to build support for Feb. 14-16 student conference.

N.Y. regents in new attack on desegregation

By BAXTER SMITH

Last week saw important developments in the battle over school desegregation in New York State. In a broadside attack on the fight for equal educational opportunities, the state board of regents in essence prohibited the schools from gathering statistics necessary to show that a school is segregated.

On Jan. 22 the regents, who set the overall policy for all public schools in the state, voted 9 to 4, with two members absent, to ban the use of any enrollment figures indicating racial composition.

With baffling logic, the regents ruled that a district may now be judged in compliance with state desegregation laws merely by its "effort to bring about equal opportunity for children of various ethnic groups to intermingle and to share a common learning environment. . . ."

Dr. Kenneth Clark, the lone Black member of the board, termed the ridiculous new policy "shameful."

Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for

the NAACP, said his organization would seek legal action to reverse the new policy.

The regents' decision follows an October ruling in which they gave parents the go-ahead to challenge a busing order on grounds that the bus ride might endanger the health or safety of their children. The ruling was viewed as bolstering racist attempts to halt busing to achieve desegregation.

These two rulings by the regents occur in the context of the racist offensive against busing in Boston. They represent another step by the U. S. rulers in their attempt to push back the fight of Black people for equal rights.

The Jan. 22 ruling was viewed as a deliberate effort to stymie attempts to move ahead with plans to desegregate the school districts in Buffalo, Utica, Mount Vernon, Lackawanna, and Newburgh.

These districts have Black students concentrated in only a few schools and were ordered to be desegregated in September.

Meanwhile, in a desegregation move

in New York City Jan. 23, Federal District Judge Jack Weinstein ordered Mark Twain Junior High School to be transformed in September into Mark Twain Junior High School for the Gifted and Talented.

The school, in the Coney Island section of Brooklyn, was ruled to be segregated as the result of the NAACP suit. About 80 percent of the students at the school are Black or Puerto Rican, while 70 percent of the students in the district as a whole are white.

In his original ruling Weinstein took note of segregated housing patterns in the area and proposed that new housing projects going up there be desegregated so as to cut down on Black and Puerto Rican enrollment at Mark Twain. But this attempt went awry after housing officials informed Weinstein of the broader social implications of desegregating housing.

So Weinstein, still confronted with a school segregated by the local board, decided to turn Mark Twain into the city's first "magnet" school next fall.

As a magnet school, Mark Twain would draw "gifted students" (read white) with special talents and interests in 12 areas and offer them advanced programs.

"When the parents [read white, again] see what we're going to offer," Allen Zelon, president of the District 21 school board, said, "they will know that if their child belongs there, he will be cheated if he doesn't go there."

Last July, an official of the NAACP assailed the proposed idea because it calls for voluntary enrollment of white students rather than mandatory enrollment. He said the NAACP might have to go back to court because he was worried that under the magnet setup the school might not become desegregated.

That seems a bit farfetched.

It's fairly predictable that Mark Twain will get its necessary number of "gifted" white students. The racist and nonmotivating New York public schools don't turn out too many Black students who are considered "gifted."