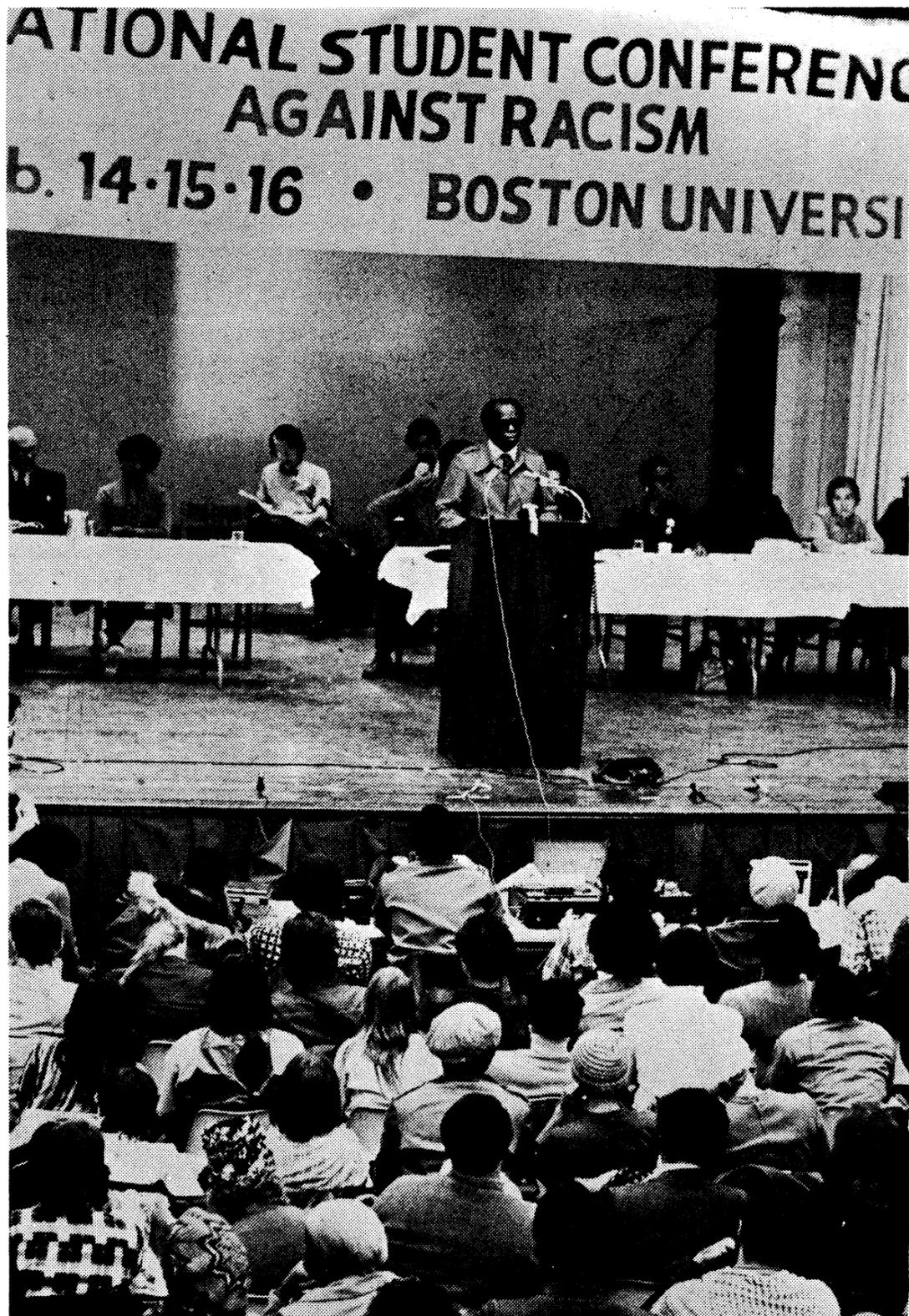


THE MILITANT

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

Set May 17 action

NAACP calls for march on Boston



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

NAACP leader Thomas Atkins addressing National Student Conference Against Racism. The 2,000 participants voted to support NAACP call for May 17 protest. For story on conference, see page 3.

The Boston NAACP has called a national march on Boston for May 17, the anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation. The group's action was announced Feb. 14 by Thomas Atkins, Boston NAACP president.

On May 17, Atkins declared, "we will ask that thousands of people from around the country come to Boston to support school desegregation.

"We will be asking NAACP branches, 1,800 strong across the country, to assist us in organizing such a national show of support for school desegregation, and in organizing the national campaign against the effort to write the Black community out of the United States Constitution."

The NAACP has some 400,000 members nationally, and it is the largest civil rights organization in the country.

Atkins noted that on March 18 the pro-segregation forces are planning a march on Washington to lobby for an antibusing amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Thus the NAACP-initiated march will be able to directly answer this racist mobilization.

Atkins made the announcement of the NAACP call in his address to a teach-in at Boston University (see page 6 for major excerpts from his remarks). The teach-in was the opening event of the National Student Conference Against Racism, which later voted full support to the May 17 demonstration.

In asking the student conference to join in building the action, Atkins said, "It is my hope that this May 17 rally will be the result of a broad-based coalition of organizations and individuals working together, each in their own way, to achieve one unified purpose."

He said the protest would not only help organize the nationwide desegregation struggle, but also would "show tangible support for the embattled Black students whose very right to enter certain parts of this city has been challenged."

Atkins concluded: "If school desegregation cannot be brought about in Boston, then it won't happen anywhere else in the North."

"That's why this fight *must* continue. And that's why we must win."

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RED-BAITING IN WASHINGTON: "Do you remember who Stephanie Coontz is? She was a leader in the mass demonstrations at the U of W (University of Washington) in the late sixties, and then was a congressional candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Most recently she's been on the staff of a left-wing publication in New York City, and is editor of a new book called *Life in America Today: Private Profit, Social Loss*. What kind of political philosophies do you think her students are going to learn?"

That was the reaction of a commentator on a Seattle television station to the recent appointment of Coontz, a former associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*, to the faculty of Evergreen State College in Washington State. The appointment has evoked the wrath of local red-baiters. State Representative James Kuehnle also condemned the hiring of the socialist and threatened to cut funds to the college.

"Is it any wonder our colleges are turning out young people disenchanted with the free-enterprise system which has built this country and believing that violence is an acceptable instrument of social change...?" the TV commentator asked.

Coontz's response to the red-baiters was contained in an article on the controversy printed in the Feb. 5 *Seattle Times*. "All of the demonstrations I and the Student Mobilization Committee organized were peaceful and legal," she said. Coontz charged that her attackers "violate every element of democracy they pretend to stand for."

ERA FIGHT CONTINUES: The Georgia senate voted Feb. 17 to kill the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) by a vote of 33 to 22. Anti-ERA forces had mobilized a strong lobbying campaign for its defeat.

Meanwhile, in Indiana the National Organization for Women, Hoosiers for the ERA, and the newly formed Campus Committee for the ERA at Indiana University in Bloomington are campaigning to get the Indiana legislature to pass the amendment. The groups are planning a March 1 rally in front of the statehouse in Indianapolis.

The rally will be followed by a march to the Indianapolis Convention Center, where a meeting will be held.

The amendment must be ratified by four more states to reach the 38 states necessary for final passage.

'CAMPAIGN REFORMS': It had been only three days since a bomb explosion came very close to injuring some 25 people inside the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters in Los Angeles. Nonetheless, the California Fair Political Practices Commission refused Feb. 7 to consider a request to exempt the Socialist Workers campaign committees from provisions of a new law requiring public disclosure of the names and addresses of campaign supporters contributing more than \$50.

Despite arguments by American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney Mark Rosenbaum that making the names of campaign contributors a matter of public record would clearly expose them to harassment, especially after the murderous attack in Los Angeles, the commission denied it had the power to grant such an exemption.

The ACLU now plans to file a motion in Los Angeles Superior Court requesting an injunction to prevent the state from requiring disclosure of the names.

ERITREAN INDEPENDENCE: Nearly 200 supporters of independence for Eritrea, the embattled northern province of Ethiopia, held a demonstration in New York City Feb. 7 demanding an end to U.S. aid to the Ethiopian junta and full independence for Eritrea.

The demonstration began at the *New York Times* building, where a picket line and rally publicized the demands and protested distortions in that paper's coverage of the Eritrean struggle.

The demonstrators, mostly Eritrean students and U.S. supporters, then marched to the United Nations headquarters and set up another picket line.

The *New York Times* reported Feb. 18 that the U.S. government is studying a request by the junta for an emergency airlift of \$30-million in armaments for the war against Eritrea.

BERKELEY BALLOT VICTORY: As a result of initiatives by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the Socialist Workers Party, the Berkeley city council on Feb. 4 abolished a \$100 fee required of candidates in the city elections in order to have a statement printed in a booklet mailed to every voter.

Opponents of the fee argued that it placed a price tag on what should be a free and democratic right of all candidates. CoDEL had secured the endorsement of several prominent figures in the Bay Area for the resolution to abolish the fee. The resolution was placed before the body by council member Ira Simmons.

Carl Finamore, SWP candidate for mayor of Berkeley, told the council that the fee, by screening out candidates who cannot afford to pay, deprives the electorate of "the right to know."

"Radical" council members Ilona Hancock and Ying Kelley proposed substituting a petitioning requirement for the filing fee. During the debate, however, they were won over to supporting the resolution by Mayor Warren Widener and council member Henry Ramsey, who are both generally viewed as conservative council members.

HOUSTON 12: A partial victory has been won in the case of 12 antiwar demonstrators facing jail on trumped-up charges in Houston.

The prosecuting attorney dropped the charge of "assault with intent to murder a police officer" against three of the five defendants who went on trial for that offense Feb. 3. The jury then found the other two innocent of that charge but guilty of a lesser charge of "aggravated assault."

The judge sentenced Bartee Haile and William Christiansen to two years' probation. If found guilty of the more serious charge, the two could have received life imprisonment. All 12 still face prosecution on a misdemeanor charge of "assault on a police officer."

The case originated in October 1973 when Houston police attacked a picket line organized by Youth Against War and Fascism to protest the U.S. and Israeli roles in the Mideast war.

FORBIDDEN MURALS: Back in the 1930s the present vice-president of this country commissioned the famed Mexican muralist Diego Rivera to paint a mural in the newly constructed Rockefeller Center. When the artist's vision produced a portrait of Lenin and an unflattering image of one of the patron's ancestors, Rockefeller had the mural removed.

This incident is recalled by an item in the January issue of *Steel Labor*, published by the steelworkers union. The city council of Blue Island, Ill., halted completion of an outdoor mural depicting the struggle of Chicano workers. The Latin American Advisory Council went to court to gain permission for the artists, including a Chicano steelworker, to complete the "forbidden mural."

This time the outcome was different. A federal judge granted an injunction forbidding the city council from interfering with the completion of the work.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: People in Wales have had their own experiences with attempts to suppress their language and culture, and the Jan. 24-30 issue of *Welsh Nation* reprinted Miguel Pendas's article on "The case for bilingualism" from the Dec. 6, 1974, *Militant*. The same issue reports that a Welsh play about Trotsky was recently presented on television there.

— NELSON BLACKSTOCK

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The student conference in Boston Feb. 14-16 was a historic event in the fight against racism. The May 17 demonstration for school desegregation, initiated by the Boston NAACP, promises to be even more significant. *The Militant* will keep you abreast of the activities and plans of the antiracist forces organizing for May 17. Don't miss a single issue. Subscribe today.

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2,000 students back NAACP call for mass antiracist protest May 17

By CAROLINE LUND

Two thousand people came to Boston University the weekend of Feb. 14-16 to attend the National Student Conference Against Racism.

The historic gathering mapped out a massive spring campaign designed to mobilize a nationwide response to the racist offensive against school desegregation focused on Boston.

The conference voted to endorse and mobilize youth behind the call by the Boston NAACP for a national march on Boston May 17. The student conference adopted the following demands: "Desegregate the Boston schools now! Keep the buses rolling! Stop the racist attacks on Black students!"

It was decided that April 4, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, would be the beginning of a six-week campaign of local actions and educational activities in cities across the country building up to the May 17 march.

The participants—about 25 percent Black and Puerto Rican—voted to launch a new organization, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, to carry out this campaign. The coalition, which will set up a national office in Boston, is open to all students and youth who support its objectives, regardless of other political views or affiliations.

Young people streamed into the conference from throughout the country, including the West Coast, by busload, carload, and plane. Buses came from as far as Houston, St. Louis, and Atlanta.

It was a conference representative of the manifold aspects of the struggle against racism—from the desegregation struggles in various cities, to the struggles by Black student unions and for Black and Puerto Rican community control of schools, to the fight against racism in the teachers unions, to the antiracist efforts of religious and political groups, to legal suits aimed at various aspects of racism.

The overwhelming sentiment among participants was that what happens in Boston is of crucial importance for all these struggles. It is a battleground where a victory for either side will have implications far beyond Boston.

The conference was called by a meeting of 250 students following the Dec. 14 antiracist march in Boston. On the eve of that march the students had built a highly successful teach-in that helped to explain and publicize the goals of the march.

Teach-in

This conference also began with a teach-in on Friday evening. It was attended by more than 1,000 persons, as buses continued to roll in from other cities for the start of the conference the next day.

The teach-in set the tone of unity and enthusiasm that prevailed throughout the conference. The high point was the call by Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, for a mass rally in Boston on May 17, the anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation.

With forces from the NAACP—the largest civil rights organization in the country—initiating the march, the potential exists for it to be a truly massive protest that could deal a powerful blow to the racists.

In his speech, Atkins posed this perspective before the conference (see page 6 for excerpts from Atkins's remarks).



Conference called for a campaign of broadly sponsored local actions leading up to May 17 protest

Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Other speakers at the teach-in included Joette Chauncy, a Black high school student in Boston; Reverend Vernon Carter of the All Saints Lutheran Church in Boston; Luis Fuentes, suspended school superintendent in New York City's District 1; author Jonathan Kozol; James Meredith, who was the first Black student to attend the University of Mississippi; Marii Hasegawa, national president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Benjamin Spock; Maceo Dixon and Robert Harper, conference coordinators; and Willie Mae Reid, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Coretta Scott King and Shirley Graham DuBois both sent messages expressing support for the conference. Later in the conference a message was read from Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association (NSA), pledging the support of NSA officers and affiliates to the antiracist campaign and the May 17 march.

Seriousness displayed

From the very beginning of the conference on Saturday it was clear that the overwhelming majority of participants had come with an attitude of the utmost seriousness.

Under the first point on the agenda, organization of the conference, a number of persons from a Brooklyn Maoist group, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO), and from the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), attempted to bog down the proceedings with procedural wrangles and charges that the conference was "prearranged" or being manipulated.

It later became clear that the PRRWO was part of an organized grouping that had come to the conference with the sole intent of disrupting or destroying it.

The vast majority of participants, however, were eager to proceed with the proposed schedule of workshops, at which all positions and proposals on the struggle against racism could be discussed and debated. They voted overwhelmingly to get on with the work of the conference.

The rich discussions that occurred in the well-attended workshops reflected the diversity of experience present at the conference.

The first session of workshops was designed for general political discussion on "The situation in Boston—Where do we go from here?" Each workshop was provided with resource people, who ranged from NAACP leaders, to a Hyde Park High School teacher, to a college Black studies coordinator, to a Boston school bus driver who was recently the victim of a racist assault.

The overwhelming majority of participants in the first set of workshops voted to endorse the spring action proposal put forth by four of the conference coordinators, Marcia Codling, Maceo Dixon, Paul Mailhot, and Ray Sherbill. It included support for the NAACP call for the May 17 march.

The second category of workshops dealt with the relationship of the Boston struggle to other struggles, such as the fight for Black and Puerto Rican community control of schools, the fight against racist deportations, campus struggles against racism, the United Farm Workers' struggle, the struggle of teachers against racism, the struggle for bilingual education, and the desegregation struggle in Pasadena, Calif.

In the workshops the main political debates of the conference began to emerge. These were later discussed thoroughly in the plenary sessions Saturday evening and Sunday.

Political debates

The main topics that generated debate were the role of white people and the role of students in the fight against racism, and the relationship of the fight for quality education in general to the fight for the right of Blacks to an equal education.

Members of the Young Workers Liberation League supported the May 17 action proposal, but argued for three amendments. One was that April 4 be the starting point for local actions leading up to the May 17 march. This idea gained general support.

The other two YWLL amendments were 1) to recognize the "special re-

sponsibility" of whites in fighting racism among whites, and 2) to recognize that students "are not in the leadership of progressive forces but can play a role" if they "subordinate" themselves to "the community."

These two amendments were confusing to many people. Someone asked, for example, whether the second amendment meant that this student conference could not make its own decisions, but would have to ask for approval from some vague "community" forces.

Another speaker pointed out the leadership role of students in the antiwar movement and noted how the Watergate tapes showed the ruling class's fear of the student movement.

Finally the maker of the amendment agreed that the word "subordinate" was a bad one and should be deleted. He said the motion just meant students should work in consultation and cooperation with the Black community.

The meaning of the amendment on
Continued on next page

Who was there

The bus from Houston took 40 hours to bring its 38 passengers to Boston. It didn't take that long for everybody to get to the conference, but that is one example of the sort of effort that went into making this the broadest student gathering in recent years.

The credentials report told the story. A total of 2,009 people registered for the conference. They came from 27 states and Washington, D.C., 147 colleges, 58 high schools, and 113 organizations.

There were members of 50 Black student groups present. Women comprised 45 percent of conference participants.

The top 10 areas in terms of attendance were: Massachusetts, 621; New York State, 389; Pennsylvania, 175; Michigan, 96; Georgia, 88; Ohio, 58; Illinois, 52; Indiana, 47; Washington, D.C., 47; and Missouri, 43.

...2,000 students back call for May 17

Continued from preceding page

the role of whites was also unclear to many participants. Some of those arguing for it would make statements such as: "You can't write off people as racists and refuse to have anything to do with them," and "Nobody in this room can say they are not racist."

One young woman received applause when she pointed out that in the case of the hard-core racists, "the way to deal with them is not to plead with them to change their views, but to build a mass movement strong enough to *intimidate* them."

Andrew Pulley from the Young Socialist Alliance said that in his view "the white people here shouldn't wallow in liberal guilt, which seems to be part of the tone of this amendment. You whites who are here are among the best, and you should go back to your local areas and get *all* kinds of people involved, to make the May 17 action the most massive possible."

Peter Camejo, 1976 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke from the floor saying that he felt there could be agreement on all three amendments if they were clarified.

He said, "We're obviously all opposed to working with racists such as those in groups that exclude Black people. It is absolutely correct that we want to get as many white people, Black people, Chicanos, as many as possible, to come to the demonstration May 17. Whether a white person gets a leaflet for the march from a



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the conference, spoke for massive action on May 17.

white person, or from a Black person, or from a Latino, that doesn't matter. I'm sure the YWLL would agree on this, that all of us want to try to reach out to the entire population to build this action.

"Nor would there be disagreement, I'm sure, that the Black community is leading its own struggle, and students are working with, consulting with them in one struggle."

After these clarifications, all three amendments from the YWLL were approved by the conference.

Quality education

The issue of the fight for quality education was raised from two different standpoints. On the one hand, a proposal was put forward by Robert Harper and Ray Sherbill, two of the con-

ference coordinators, that elaborated a perspective for the campuses in building the May 17 action. This proposal also stated: "Rather than ignore the issue of 'quality education,' we must give it its proper definition and demand that better educational equipment, instruction and facilities immediately follow, if not accompany, the desegregation of the Boston schools."

The Harper-Sherbill proposal made clear, however, that "quality education" was not counterposed to the fight for equal education, but rather, that the fight to desegregate the schools is the starting point for demanding improved education.

"The issue in Boston is desegregation," said Harper, speaking from the floor.

The Harper-Sherbill proposal was approved almost unanimously.

Others, including supporters of the Party for Workers Power, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, and Progressive Labor Party, put forth the idea that the demand for quality education should take priority over, or be substituted for, the demand to enforce the desegregation order through busing.

They argued that Black students should give up the busing struggle since they were only getting attacked by the racists and were not getting an education because even the white schools were no good. One proposal even called for shutting down schools like South Boston High rather than enforcing the right of Blacks to go there.

These views were decisively rejected by the conference. Speakers pointed out that even though South Boston High could be greatly improved, the issue is not that, but the right of Black people to attend school anywhere. To retreat from this demand is a capitulation to the racists, who raise the demand for "quality education" *against* the fight for desegregation—as a racist code word for segregated education.

Lunch counters

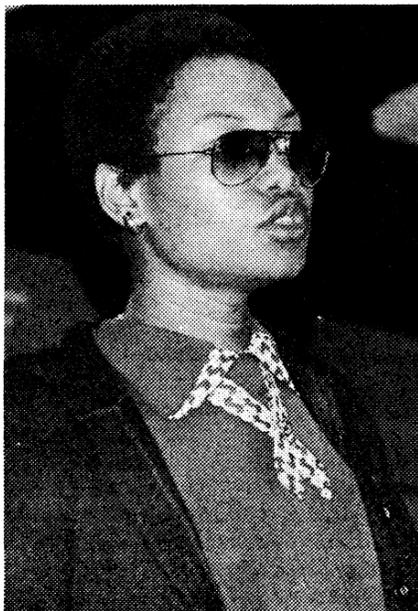
In one of the workshops a woman from Houston made a good analogy with the civil rights struggle to integrate Woolworth's lunch counters in the early 1960s. She said what if, when the racist resistance had mounted, the students had said, "Well, maybe we should just go eat somewhere else. After all, what kind of food can you get at Woolworth's? We aren't interested in the right to eat this rotten food."

The analogy made clear that the struggle for the right of Blacks to go to school, or eat, wherever they please is the basic question, whatever the nature of the restaurant, or the school, or the means necessary to accomplish this right.

Another issue that received some discussion was the demand by leaders of the Boston Black community that federal troops be sent to enforce the desegregation order against the racists. The majority sentiment at the conference was clearly in favor of demanding that all necessary force be used to stop the racist mobs, including federal troops.

When the question of the demand for troops was raised on the floor of a plenary session, however, it was decided that the National Student Coalition Against Racism should not take a position on it at this time.

Several speakers urged that discussion should continue within the student movement on this important question, while everyone could work together on the basis of the three de-



Militant/Jon Flanders

Marcia Codling, from Northeastern University, was elected as a national coordinator.

mands adopted for the May 17 march.

At the Sunday plenary session a thorough discussion took place on the structure of the new organization.

Two proposals were put forth, one by the five conference coordinators and one by the Young Workers Liberation League.

The coordinators' proposal was short and simple, proposing that the organization be open to all students and youth supporting its aims, with a national steering committee consisting of a representative from each chapter of the new organization as well as from each national and local organization supporting the aims of the new organization.

The YWLL submitted a longer proposal, which said that the steering committee should be open only to representatives of statewide bodies of the new organization, not to representatives of the local chapters—in addition to representatives of other organizations.

It also contained some positive ideas, such as a recommendation that each national organization be asked to supply a full-time staff person to work out of the new organization's national office in building toward the May 17 action.

After much discussion a compromise proposal on structure was formulated, incorporating the good points from each of the two proposals as well as other suggestions that had been made from the floor.

The compromise proposal included the name proposed by the YWLL—National Student Coalition Against Racism—as well as several other sections of the YWLL proposal. It maintained the conference coordinators' proposal that the steering committee be open to representatives of local chapters, and also proposed that nominations be made from the floor to broaden out the list of five national coordinators, especially with the object of adding more women coordinators.

All the conference coordinators accepted the compromise as a substitute for their proposal. Matty Berkelhammer, organizational secretary of the YWLL, insisted, however, that the local chapters should be excluded from the steering committee, and moved that section of the YWLL proposal as an amendment to the compromise proposal.

This amendment was voted down, and the compromise proposal was passed with only a dozen or so voting against. The national coordinators who were elected were the five conference coordinators—Robert Harper

of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association; Maceo Dixon, one of the initiators of the Dec. 13 student antiracist teaching; Ray Sherbill, president of the Boston University Student Union; Marcia Codling, chairperson of the Minority Affairs Committee of the Northeastern University Student Federation; and Paul Mailhot, a student from Boston State College—as well as Joette Chauncy, a 16-year-old Black student being bused to Lexington High School in Boston; and Anell Bond, a student from the University of Massachusetts in Boston.

Upon adoption of the main action proposals, as well as the compromise structure proposal, the entire hall burst forth with applause. There was a widespread feeling of pride that the conference had been able to hold together so many people of diverse backgrounds and views, to debate out all views democratically, and to come up with a plan for united action.

Disruption attempt

Amid this general desire for democratic discussion and unity in action, however, the conference faced a serious attempt by some participants to break up and destroy the conference.

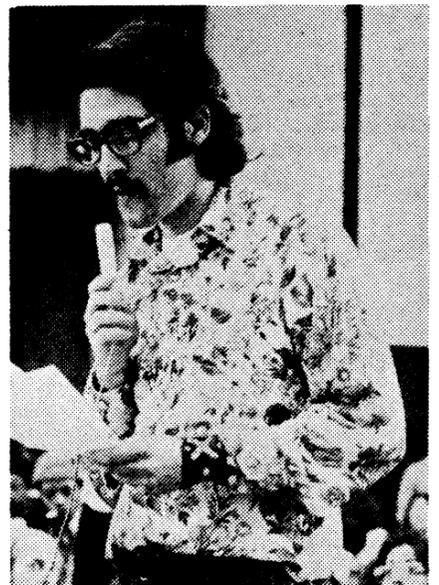
When the plenary session began Saturday evening, a crowd of 30 or 40 persons filed into the aisles, screaming and jeering. They took over one of the floor microphones, demanding to speak as long as they pleased.

This move had been deliberately planned at a closed meeting of 30 or 40 people, most of them from the PRRWO, held during the first workshop session. During the second workshop session, this core of disrupters had called a "Black students workshop," to which about 100 Blacks and some whites from Maoist sects showed up, most of them unaware that the leaders of the workshop were planning to physically disrupt the conference.

At this workshop, the disrupters tried to whip up sentiment against the whole conference, especially centering on the red-baiting charge that the conference was "dominated" by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

While many of the disrupters used revolutionary-sounding verbiage, one of the main instigators behind the workshop was Lawrence Elliot, a Democrat who heads a city commission in Detroit.

As the disrupters tried to take over the microphone Saturday night, it was clear that they were out to provoke a physical confrontation. One of them



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Matty Berkelhammer, of Young Workers Liberation League, discussing structure proposals.

protest

was openly carrying a knife. Amid the din of their shouting and hooting, a couple of people stationed around the hall would blow whistles in an apparent attempt to create general apprehension or panic. Members of the sectarian Spartacist League began yelling encouragement to the disrupters at this point.

When conference participants voted to allow the disrupters to speak, their real political line came out. Far from showing concern for the interests of Black students, they proceeded to attack the entire conference, the desegregation struggle, the NAACP, "forced busing," and the demand for federal troops to be used against the racists.

Red-baiting

Running through their whole harangue was a red-baiting attack on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

They attacked the desegregation struggle and the May 17 action proposal as an attempt "to use 1965 tactics in 1975."

They finally called for a walkout, since it was clear to them that they were receiving no support and that the conference marshals surrounding them were prepared to enforce the democratic right of the 2,000 participants at the conference to proceed.

They left saying, "We demand an end to busing, an end to federal troops, and an end to this whole fucked-up reactionary conference!"

Only about 100 people walked out, and many of these came back to the conference after checking out the rump group's meeting.

After the walkout, the conference responded with enthusiasm to the remarks by Omari Musa of the Pasadena, Calif., Committee Against Segregated Education and the Socialist Workers Party. He noted that the politics of the disrupters was to abstain from and attack the real struggle that is going on against racism.

"Somebody accused us of using 1965 tactics in 1975," he said. "Well, did we win victories with those tactics in 1965?"

Malik Miah, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, took the floor later to answer the red-baiting attacks on the YSA. "It's totally false that this conference is dominated by the YSA or SWP," he declared. "Of the other 2,000 people who have registered here, the overwhelming majority are not affiliated to any particular political organization. The red-baiting attacks that have been made here are an attack on all of us here."

Red-baiting against the SWP and YSA, he said, was merely a cover for attacking the aims of the conference itself.

He explained that it was true the YSA had thrown itself into building the student conference, and urged all other groups to do the same. "We're involved because we support the aims of this conference, we support desegregation of the schools, we support keeping the buses rolling, and we support stopping the racist attacks against Black people."

As the conference closed late Sunday afternoon, the feeling of many people was summed up by a student from San Francisco State College. She said from the floor that she had been sent to the conference by her student government and that "this has been the most exciting conference I have ever attended."

People trooped back to their buses extremely tired but confident that they had participated in a historic event that could help lead to a massive, united show of strength on May 17 against the racist offensive in Boston.

High schoolers discuss strategy

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON— Even though most of the people there were high school students, it was definitely not the typical high school classroom setting.

To start with, nobody brought textbooks. Some people kept their hats on. Some propped their feet up on chairs. A guy in the corner blew smoke rings. Occasional cuss words could be heard, and to top it all off, the "teacher" . . . well, the person in charge, didn't even care.

The honest, probing discussion that took place on how to stop the racist offensive against school desegregation and how to combat racist beliefs would also be definitely out of order in a typical high school classroom.

The 40 or so people present were not gathered for a high school class but for the high school workshop at the National Student Conference Against Racism.

They came from faraway high schools in Houston and nearby high schools in Boston to discuss the questions Joette Chauncy, the workshop coordinator posed:

"How can we as high school students approach this problem? And what can we do in our high schools?"

How to combat racist beliefs became a focus for much of the discussion.

"Look at it like this," one white student with dark, curly hair was saying. "You learned somehow that it isn't good to be racist. And that's what we have to do. We have to teach peo-



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Militant's Baxter Smith (right) talks with Houston high school students

ple not to be racists and sort of convert them."

While he supported the May 17 demonstration proposal, he believed the focus of energy should be on winning over those with racist notions through individual discussions with them, rather than by organizing a movement based on mass action in support of desegregation.

He also argued that the responsibility of white students was to talk to other whites, which he counterposed to working to win support for the upcoming action from everyone, white and Black, who supports desegregation.

"The way you win people over," said

a student in reply to him, "is by organizing a mass movement, a show of force to teach the racists that they can't have their way."

A young woman in a light-green blouse agreed. "It's not just talking that changes racists. It takes a historical situation. You have to have a situation where the racists see that they're up against the power and numbers of Black people and others who support them, and then and only then will they back down."

"And it has to be at the initiative of Black people. They have to take the lead in this fight, not white students. Everybody knows that it's the

Continued on page 22

Antiracist activists look to Boston

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

BOSTON— They traveled from throughout the country to the city that has become the main battleground in the fight against racism. They all came to help in the fight here, but many also came to report on their own local struggles and to draw the connections with what is happening in Boston today.

Michael Zinzun conducted a workshop concerning the busing struggle he is involved with in Pasadena, Calif., and similar struggles in other cities. Pasadena is the scene of a confrontation between probusing forces and a racist school board. The board spent \$200,000 in legal fees to combat a court-ordered school desegregation plan and then began justifying cutbacks aimed at blocking the plan on the grounds that there is a shortage of funds. The board has fired several bus drivers and cut the salaries of the remaining drivers in half.

Zinzun, who is chairperson of the Pasadena Community Information Center and an activist in the Committee Against Segregated Education (CASE), told about plans for a CASE conference against racism in education scheduled for Feb. 22.

Comments from several workshop participants made it clear that both probusing and antibusing forces around the country are carefully watching developments in Boston.



Luis Fuentes at workshop on District 1 struggle in New York

Militant/Dita Constantinidis

"I'm from Louisville," Katherine Sedwick said, "and busing is scheduled to begin there next fall. I came to this conference to bring back some ideas that may help prevent another Boston."

A young Black man from Denver reported that an organization in that city called Citizens Association for Neighborhood Schools is drawing inspiration from the racist offensive in Boston. "They use the same code words—'quality education' and 'neighborhood schools'—to mask their racism," he said.

Stuart Johnson from Milwaukee said that a federal judge is scheduled to rule within three months on a suit to desegregate schools in his city. A local newspaper recently printed the results of a poll that indicated many citizens feel that the potential exists in Milwaukee for a situation more explosive than Boston.

In Philadelphia a formerly white school that is now predominantly Black and Puerto Rican is the center of the fight against racist education, another participant in the workshop reported. Edison High School has been allowed by the school board to physically deteriorate. In response, students at the high school are demanding that the board build a new school. Sixteen Puerto Rican students active in *Aspira*, an organization engaged in that fight, were present at the conference.

In another workshop Luis Fuentes led a discussion on the effort to gain community control in New York City's school District 1. Fuentes, who was the first Puerto Rican school superintendent in New York City and was fired by a racist-dominated school board, explained the parallels between the struggle for community control in New York and the struggle for desegregation in Boston. Both are aimed against white racism and at gaining a better education for members of oppressed nationalities.

"In a sense our children are being stoned every day, on a day-to-day basis. Their minds are being destroyed," asserted Georgina Hoggard, a parent and District 1 school board member.

The 125 participants in the workshop passed a resolution that said, in part: "We feel that the struggle for desegregation in Boston and the struggle for community control of schools by Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese in Manhattan's Lower East Side are brother and sister struggles. The victims of racism have the right to seek to better the education of their children through. . . whatever means they choose."

A New York teacher noted that his school is located in a Dominican neighborhood, but many parents, as a result of the current campaign against "illegal aliens," are intimidated from fighting for community control of their schools by the threat of deportations.

In the campus workshop Jack Lieberman described the racist cutbacks in the CUNY (City University of New York) system and the fight developing against them.

Through all the reports ran a common theme. All these struggles are related to what happens in Boston. "It's all part of the same racist offensive," said the young Black man from Denver.

And almost every workshop agreed on the way to fight back by endorsing the proposal for the May 17 demonstration.

Boston NAACP issues call

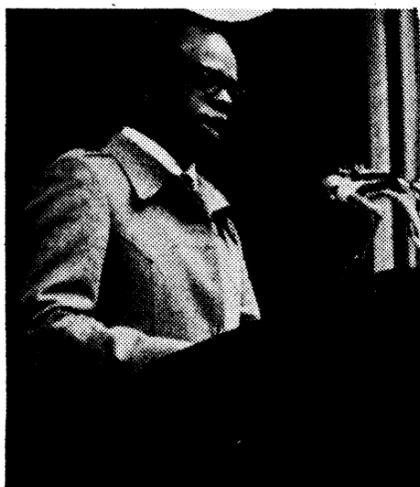
'Come to Boston to back desegregation'

The following is an abridged version of the speech given by Thomas Atkins to a rally of more than 1,000 people at Boston University Feb. 14, which kicked off the National Student Conference Against Racism.

Atkins is president of the Boston chapter of the NAACP, a nationwide civil rights organization with more than 400,000 members.

In 1896, in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, America decreed the establishment of a rigid color line, one which extended unbroken from the cradle to the grave.

Black babies had to be born in separate hospitals than white babies. Black mothers and fathers had to work on different and separate jobs



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

ATKINS: 'There will be no backing away from school desegregation in Boston—not one inch!'

from white mothers and fathers. Black children had to attend separate schools from white children. Black men and women had to be buried by Black undertakers in Black cemeteries. This case ushered in a vast system of discrimination against Black people, which touched every facet of American life. For all practical purposes, that system of separatism continued up till 1954, when the Supreme Court ruled that in the realm of public education there is no place for "separate but equal" and that separate schools were inherently unequal.

Just like the *Plessy* decision before it, the *Brown* case of 1954 had a pervasive impact. It became the backdrop of a broad new series of court decisions and statutes, which began to strip away the artificial racial barriers erected 58 years earlier.

Throughout American history there have always been those who, for their own selfish reasons, needed to have a nigger.

The southern plantation owners needed a nigger, because by no other means could such cheap and strong labor be guaranteed. The northern financiers needed a nigger, because by no other means could personal profits be so quickly made or personal fortunes built. Poor whites needed a nigger, because even when they had nothing else, they could always point and say, "I'm better off than he is."

'Bus hunters'

The *Brown* case constituted a grave threat to all those whose previous status had depended upon the existence of a nigger. Ever since 1954 there have been people and forces in this country seeking to re-create the nigger. We know them by many names.

Today they are hunters of the dreaded bus.

In Boston today there are people who need to re-create the nigger. They serve on our school committee. They hide in a blue uniform. They carry the book of the teacher. They enter city hall daily. They congregate under our golden dome. Some of them lie in wait for the dreaded bus to come by and attack it with all manner of vegetables and pieces of dirt and cement from their poorly maintained streets in their neighborhoods.

But I say to all of them tonight that the nigger is dead and will never be re-created again. I say to them tonight that there will be no more Jim Crow hospitals for Black babies to die in, no more Jim Crow jobs with below-level wages, no more Jim Crow schools with below-level achievement, no more Jim Crow cemeteries for Black men, women, and children to be buried in.

I say to them tonight the racism in this country will never again be powerful enough to re-create the nigger—not a Black one, not a Brown one, not a Red one, not a poor white one, not a Yellow one, not a female one.

Because the forces of racism in this country have, from time to time, achieved tremendous strength, those of us who recognize the incalculable harm it has done must organize to oppose it.

We must resist the dedicated racists who know what they are doing. We must resist the ignorant racists who are told what to do. We must resist the little racists who are being trained how to be big racists.

We must resist the good people who aren't racists at all, but who are allowing themselves to be led by racists. We must make them understand that when the signs on the streets around South Boston High School say, "Kill niggers," then it is not busing that is being opposed, but racism which is being proposed.

Racists are minority

We must make them understand that they cannot win in a battle in which race becomes the issue, because in the world today, they are in a distinct and dwindling minority.

We cannot, those of us who love freedom, ignore the active threat to freedom which exists in this country. We cannot ignore the fascists who bombed the Los Angeles office of the Socialist Workers Party. We cannot ignore the criminals who have stolen from the American Indian all that he had and who now deny him the means of survival itself.

We cannot think that the antifreedom



Militant/Baxter Smith

'It is not busing that is being opposed but racism which is being proposed.'



Militant/Flax Hermes

Dec. 14 march in Boston was united show of strength against racist forces. May 17 action can be even more powerful.

forces are either sleeping or tired. They are neither. At this very moment, the antidesegregation forces in Boston are planning a march on Washington for March 18 to intimidate the Congress into passing legislation to begin amending the Constitution. This amendment to the Constitution, though it will be billed as an antibusing amendment, will in reality be an antidesegregation amendment.

The Boston NAACP calls upon this conference to join us in organizing against those forces which could drag our country back to "separate but equal." We call upon this conference to support us in our effort to commemorate the historic *Brown* decision on May 17. On that date, we will ask that thousands of people from around the country come to Boston to support school desegregation.

We will be asking NAACP branches, 1,800 strong across the country, to assist us in organizing such a national show of support for school desegregation, and in organizing the national campaign against the effort to write the Black community out of the United States Constitution.

We know how important it is to show elected officials that racism is not the guiding force in this country, that there are thousands of Americans who will never allow the Constitution to be used again as an instrument of oppression against minorities, whatever their color, whatever their religious persuasion, whatever their economic status, whatever their way of life or their national origin.

We will insist that the May 17 rally

be peaceful and law-abiding. We want to show the contrast between ourselves and those who have been attacking our children with bricks and sticks and every other weapon they can devise.

Broad coalition

It is my hope that this May 17 rally will be the result of a broad-based coalition of organizations and individuals working together, each in their own way, to achieve one unified purpose.

You should know that there will be no backing away from school desegregation in Boston—not one inch. We will be forming a coalition here of those who wish to work with us to plan for the May 17 rally in support of school desegregation and the Constitution. We will be seeking the support of others across the country who share our concern that to be silent in the face of evil is to help evil succeed.

We will seek the support of labor unions, professional organizations, civil rights organizations, senior citizen groups, consumer groups, women's groups, student groups, church groups, antiwar groups, ecology groups, housewives, husbands, teachers, policemen, soldiers, businessmen, and all others who agree with us that Boston is the place, May 17 is the date, and this is the way to begin the national drive to protect the Constitution.

Such a rally here will serve not only to organize for the national fight, but also to show tangible support for the embattled Black students whose very right to enter certain parts of this city has been challenged. It will say to them that "you are not alone in this national struggle." It will encourage their parents to hold on. It will make all those who would gather in mobs to intimidate our children think twice.

Today only 80 of Boston's schools are involved in desegregation. In September, all 200 will be involved. We have already been told by the antidesegregation forces that they will renew their opposition and their resistance this spring, and that their numbers will grow. I believe them.

If school desegregation cannot be brought about in Boston, then it won't happen anywhere else in the North. That's why this fight *must* continue. And that's why we must win.

Reid: 'Malcolm really laid it on the line'

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON—As early as age eight, Willie Mae Reid was bent low under the hot Missouri sun, chopping, picking, and pulling in the cotton harvest. She labored with her brothers and sisters from sunup to sundown and got a few quarters for it. Each summer the kids did it to earn money for school clothes, even though it meant they'd have to start the school term late.

Then one summer, by a stroke of luck, she got a better job in Wildwood, the resort town on the South Jersey coast. And though it was far away from the South and its unpleasant memories, she still had to face the same racist insults she had grown up with.

In the South, she saw that Blacks all around her had to bow, had to shuffle, had to paste on fast smiles for white folks. And she hated those indignities. So she protested.

She marched against Jim Crow segregation. She sat in. She waded in when she couldn't get into white swimming pools and parks. Accommodation, which the segregationists demanded of Blacks back then, would never be her plight.

In 1960 Reid moved from her hometown of Memphis to Chicago. Around 1964 she began hearing more and more about a firebrand orator named



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Willie Mae Reid discusses need for nationwide antiracist campaign with other participants in student conference in Boston.

Malcolm X. When he went to Chicago, she'd watch him on television and hear his denunciations of white supremacy and his advocacy of Black rights.

Then, about 1966 or 1967, after Malcolm's death and after Reid had been working with Black students in Chicago who were struggling to get Black studies courses on the campuses, she started thinking more seriously about what Malcolm had said.

Today Reid, 35, is confronting "Boss" Richard Daley in the April 1 Chicago mayoral race. After that, she will campaign for U. S. vice-president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

During the National Student Conference Against Racism here, Reid paused to discuss the impact that Malcolm had on her political development.

Malcolm was cut down in his political prime 10 years ago on Feb. 21, 1965, and Reid will never forget the things that he was saying and doing.

"I guess what I like about him most is that he represented more than anyone else the transition from a passive to assertive attitude among Blacks," she recalled.

"You know, back then, before the

civil rights movement, Black people simply adjusted. You had to put up with everything. When any of us would go out at night, my parents would tell us to avoid the police at all costs. If you went just five or six blocks from the house you risked getting beaten by the police. That was what it was like.

"Malcolm represented a change from all that," she continued. "He didn't advocate that turn the other cheek stuff, which was right in tune with what the Black churches that had sway in the community were advocating.

"Malcolm was so powerful, so strong, not afraid to speak out publicly. And the things he was saying seemed so clear," she said.

Reid herself conveys the warmth and strength she admired in Malcolm. She's not a big person, but she has a powerful speaking style. At one morning workshop here she had the participants literally jumping from their seats in gleeful appreciation.

"I was a student during the civil rights movement," she told the workshop, "and we had to march every day. We had to sit in every day to win what we did.

"The schools in Boston are segregated. We're going to have to build a national movement against these rac-

ists if we want the schools desegregated. We have to be ready to move. We have to rebuild the civil rights movement. We have to be ready to do it all over again."

During the interview, Reid said:

"Malcolm's militancy, his pride and nationalism were just so strong in him. He supported civil rights and he'd probably be at this conference if he were alive today. He was uncompromising. He let you know what was on his mind. And he laid it on the line."

Back when Willie Mae Reid was first hearing about Malcolm, he gave a speech that is as relevant today as when it was given, especially considering this conference and why Reid was here.

It goes like this:

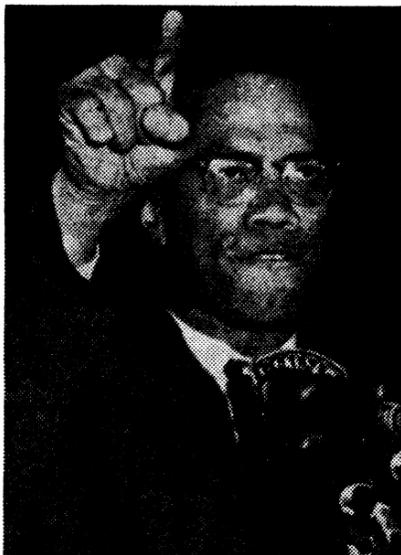
"So we're justified in seeking civil rights if it means equality of opportunity. Because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment.

"Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return. I mean without a dime in return.

"You let the white man walk around here talking about how rich this country is. But you never stopped to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich and you made it rich. . . . If you collected the wages of just the people in this audience for one year you'd be rich, richer than rich.

"When you look at it like that think of how rich Uncle Sam had to become. Not from this handful but millions of Black people. You and my mothers and fathers, who didn't work an eight-hour shift but worked from can't see in the morning until can't see at night. And worked for nothing. Making the white man rich. Making Uncle Sam rich. This is our investment. This is our contribution. . . . We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today. We have made a greater contribution and have collected less. And have collected less.

"So civil rights to those of us whose philosophy is Black nationalism means give it to us now. Don't even wait till next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough."



Malcolm X

Cops exposed at Camejo news conference

By CINDY JAQUITH

COLUMBUS, Ga. — Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo got big headlines here following a Feb. 10 news conference. Camejo and Martha Shockey, a local campaign supporter who has been harassed by the FBI, held the news conference to denounce this government harassment and spying.

It turned out they were being spied on at that very moment!

Plainclothes cops were on hand taking pictures. Reporters who recognized the "photographers" as cops asked the police why they had put Camejo's news conference under surveillance.

"We just wanted to know locally who followers of this yo-yo are," Captain Floyd Guthrey of the Muscogee County sheriff's department explained.

"If you have communists around here, wouldn't you want to know who they are?" he asked. Camejo's trip to Columbus was part of a campaign tour of the Southeast. He spoke before a number of audiences, joined picket lines, and held news conferences in several cities.

The two daily papers here, the *Columbus Enquirer* and the *Columbus Ledger*, ran articles the next morning exposing the cop surveillance of the news conference. One reporter also informed Camejo that the cops had tried to sabotage the morning news con-

ference by informing the media that the candidate would not arrive until late afternoon.

The *Columbus Enquirer* reported that at one point during the news conference one of the cops asked a press photographer to take a picture of a woman listening to the proceedings. "Later, a policeman asked WYEA-TV newsman Craig Dupriest if he could view the film later in the afternoon," the paper reported.

When local FBI agent Charles Rose was asked by the *Enquirer* if his agents were also at the conference he answered with a terse 'no comment.'

In a major article, Jim Smith, city editor of the *Columbus Ledger*, attacked the police surveillance of the news conference as "Watergatchish efforts to harass the presidential candidate and those members of the press in attendance."

"There was nothing surreptitious about [Camejo's] visit," he wrote. "He did not skulk in by dead of night, hold a hush-hush secret meeting in some clandestine place, plotting to overthrow the consolidated government. . . ."

"Capt. Guthrey, who referred to Camejo as a 'yo-yo' said he wanted to know who the local followers of the man are.

"There are, of course, many Democrats who consider Republicans 'yo-yos.' And vice versa.

"If, however, the day has come that local lawmen are going to conduct surveillance of political gatherings—for whatever misdirected reasons—we have reached a low point.

"Free speech is still the law of the land in this nation.

"And, freedom to assemble peaceably for whatever purpose, especially a political gathering in a public place, should never be abridged.

"But that's what Capt. Guthrey and his men were doing Monday.

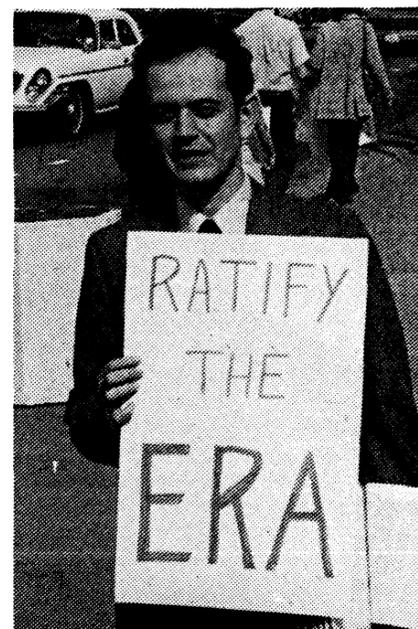
"And they did it right here—in front of our own eyes in the most public of places—and with an impunity that even the dirty tricksters of Richard Nixon's corps would not have attempted. . . ."

"Police Chief Curtis McClung has now admitted that he ordered a police photographer to take pictures of the gathering 'because if any problems arose, we'd know who was there.'

"If that's the basis of the chief's thinking, we can now expect police photographers to show up anywhere a crowd gathers—political rallies, baseball games, even church services—'just in case.' . . ."

The local gumshoes were taken

aback by the sharp response to their harassment. Captain Guthrey appeared especially nervous. "You have to be careful of these yo-yos," he said. "They're always going around suing people."



Militant/Harris Freeman

Camejo joins picket line for Equal Rights Amendment during Georgia campaign tour. Cops want to intimidate people from supporting his campaign.

Linked to racist offensive

Edelin conviction blow to abortion rights

By WENDY LYONS

"I believe very strongly in a woman's right to determine what happens to her body. . . . During illegal abortions, many women died. And many women suffered. And the problem is, the women who died are poor women, and mainly Black women."

This is how Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor from Boston, views the abortion issue. On Feb. 15 he was convicted on charges of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion on a young Black woman. On Feb. 17, Edelin was sentenced to one year's probation. The conviction will be appealed.

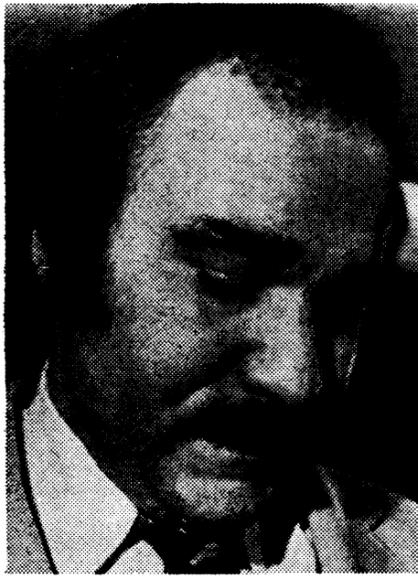
His conviction by an all-white jury was a victory for reaction—and especially for the opponents of the rights of Blacks and of women.

The racism that has been whipped up by the opponents of school busing played a major role in the trial. One alternate juror, Michael Ciano of East Boston, told reporters that racist slurs were made throughout the trial by jurors in the jury room.

"The nigger is guilty as sin," was a typical remark, he reported.

Since the historic 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, a nationwide campaign has been under way to reverse that victory.

The Catholic church and the "right to life" organizations have been crusading to convince the American people that abortion is murder. They have spent millions on this hysterical campaign, buying television time and



Kenneth Edelin

billboards to show pictures of fetuses "who have been denied the right to life."

These hypocrites express concern about the "rights of the unborn," but when it comes to the rights of the already born, it's a different story. In Boston you see the same faces in the crowd and the same faces from the platform at both the anti-abortion and antidesegregation rallies.

They are for the "rights" of the fetus, but when it comes to the rights of Black students to get an equal education, they are for stoning the buses. They are against "forced busing" but in favor of forced motherhood.

The response among pro-abortion forces to Edelin's conviction was rapid. On short notice, feminist organizations in Boston organized a demonstration of 2,000 women and men, many of them Black. On Feb. 17, they marched through downtown Boston chanting, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate!"

Edelin's attorney, William Homans, reported that telephone calls declaring support for the doctor were pouring into his office.

Enemies of women's right to abortion also responded immediately to the verdict, which they see as a major victory in their campaign to reverse the Supreme Court decision.

The day after the verdict, a district attorney on Long Island, N.Y., announced that he would "investigate" a complaint that a legally aborted fetus at a local hospital was a victim of "infanticide."

The charges against Edelin were the outgrowth of a carefully planned campaign by right-wing forces in Boston. "The anti-abortion forces didn't just stumble onto this case," Edelin commented. "They had been watching me for about two years."

Edelin had debated the abortion issue with one of the arch "right-to-lifers," Dr. Mildred Jefferson, who turned up as the prosecution's first "expert" witness at the trial.

At Boston City Hospital, where he worked, Edelin was one of only two doctors who volunteered to perform abortions, working overtime and on Saturdays without pay.

In June 1973 the *New England Journal of Medicine* published a research article on the results of federally funded fetal experiments at the Boston City Hospital. The anti-abortion



Boston, Feb. 17. Demonstration to protest Edelin conviction, called on short notice, drew 2,000 women and men, many of them Black.

forces jumped on it and launched a smear campaign, spearheaded by the Massachusetts Citizens for Life, to expose the "crimes" being committed.

In September 1973, city council member Albert "Dapper" O'Neil orchestrated a public hearing where the right-wingers gave "testimony" on this issue.

Garret Byrne, the district attorney, who was then up for reelection, opened a grand jury investigation with much fanfare.

In April 1974, the grand jury returned separate indictments against the medical researchers and against Edelin. The researchers are now facing charges under an 1814 "grave-robbing" statute prohibiting "illegal dissection." The conviction of Edelin paves the way for a show trial against them.

During Edelin's trial, the judge allowed the prosecution to play on the emotions of the jurors and to brazenly appeal to their most reactionary prejudices.

Edelin had been indicted for manslaughter on the claim that the aborted fetus was 24 weeks old, and therefore

"viable" under the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling. During the trial there was compelling evidence that the fetus was not "viable"; that is, it could not survive outside the womb. But the prosecution nonetheless argued that the fetus had the "rights of a person."

Even after the prosecutor's "experts" had been thoroughly exposed as representatives of "right to life" groups, the judge allowed their testimony on the viability issue to stand.

Prosecutor Newman Flanagan was even allowed to show pictures of the fetus to the jury and continually referred to it as "the baby boy!"

When Edelin was shown the picture and asked if it looked like the fetus he had aborted, he said it did not. Flanagan leaned over to him and said that was because it was distorted "with pain."

The appeal of the Edelin conviction is certain to become the focus of the continuing battle to protect the right to abortion against all efforts to roll back or circumvent the Supreme Court decision. Supporters of abortion rights should rally to Edelin's defense.

Militant launches spring circulation drive

By ROSE OGDEN

This spring *The Militant* is launching a nationwide campaign to increase our readership through both subscriptions and single-copy sales.

For each of the next 11 weeks supporters in cities across the country plan to sell at least 9,700 copies of *The Militant* on campuses, street corners, workplaces, and labor and political gatherings.

We also aim to sign up 9,000 new subscribers by April 12. There is an introductory subscription offer of two months for \$1—half off the cover price.

Our spring circulation drive coincides with the efforts to organize a massive turnout for the May 17 march in Boston for school desegregation. Activists in that struggle will find *The Militant* an indispensable source of information and analysis, and many will want to subscribe. Participants in the Feb. 14-16 National Student Conference Against Racism bought some 400 copies and dozens of subscriptions.

This spring our readers will be get-

ting the latest news of developments in Boston and other struggles against racism—and unlike the capitalist-owned mass media, *The Militant* will be telling the truth. Readers will get regular reports on how civil rights forces in other areas are organizing for May 17. And they'll have the best source for following the discussion on the crucial political questions facing this new civil rights movement.

In addition, sales of *The Militant* will be one of the best ways to get out the word about May 17 and mobilize people for it. Setting an example in this work, Pittsburgh supporters have already sold 31 subscriptions going door-to-door in a housing project in the Black community there.

This spring is sure to see rising unemployment—and rising anger by working people about the economic crisis. Conferences and demonstrations against the layoffs are becoming more frequent. It will be a good time to step up sales on the job and at plant gates, unemployment lines, and

union meetings—everywhere people are looking for solutions to inflation and unemployment.

An early indication of the potential was the response to our Feb. 7 issue, with a special feature on "Job crisis: the socialist answer." Twin Cities supporters sold 102 copies at unemployment offices, and in St. Louis 61 copies were sold at workplaces, union meetings, and an unemployment office.

With the 1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign and many state and municipal races under way, socialist campaign events will be another likely spot for selling *The Militant*—the socialist campaign newspaper. In Knoxville, Tenn., nine subscriptions were sold at a recent meeting for SWP presidential nominee Peter Camejo.

As of Feb. 18, just four days after the start of the subscription drive, 164 subscriptions had already been received by the business office. In upcoming issues we will report on progress of the circulation drive, including sales and subscription scoreboards.

Two national subscription "blitz weekends" are scheduled for March 1 and March 22, when supporters will fan out to hundreds of campuses, housing projects, and apartment buildings.

In addition, 15 teams of young socialist activists will tour the country this spring for eight weeks organizing support for the struggle in Boston and for the SWP campaigns. Each has taken a goal of selling 100 *Militants*, 100 copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper, and 30 *Militant* subscriptions weekly. The *Young Socialist* has also launched a sales campaign to sell 11,300 copies each month from February through May.

Join us in the spring circulation drive! To participate in the sales effort, contact the SWP or Young Socialist Alliance unit nearest you (see directory on page 22), or write directly to the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014, to order a weekly bundle of *Militants* and plenty of subscription blanks.

Despite protests to L.A. mayor

Cops take no action against Nazi terror

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 17— It is now 11 days since a Nazi outfit declared it had bombed the Socialist Workers Party headquarters here. But the Los Angeles police department (LAPD) still has not taken any action.

Meanwhile, there has been a new attack with noxious gas. It occurred Feb. 13 during a showing of the Cuban film *Lucia* on a campus here. Again authorities displayed little interest in apprehending those responsible.

The campus Latin American society at Cal State scheduled an afternoon showing of the film with another showing slated for the evening.

Rebuilding fund

LOS ANGELES—An appeal has been issued here to help the Socialist Workers Party defray the cost of the damage done in the Feb. 4 bombing of its headquarters. A letter urging contributions for this purpose was signed by John T. Williams, a Teamsters union business agent; Janet Bandy, state president of Local 535, Social Services Union; Art Kunin, former publisher and editor of the *Los Angeles Free Press*; and Jan Tucker, Los Angeles County Chairperson of the Peace and Freedom Party.

Physical losses are uninsured and an estimated \$3,000 will be required to repair and strengthen the security of the facilities. A Socialist Rebuilding Fund has been established to accomplish this. Checks should be made out to David Prince, treasurer, Socialist Rebuilding Fund, and sent to him at 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057.

While the afternoon screening was in progress, people in the audience began to notice the effect of the gas. It was found that it had been spread on the floor in the hallway just outside the room where the film was being shown.

While the closed door prevented any extensive effect of the gas within the room, the gas did force the evacuation of several classes in adjacent rooms of the Latin American studies department.

Campus security police were notified, and Professor Timothy Harding called LAPD. Harding told the cops that he felt the attack could be related to a similar gas attack, which forced the evacuation of 2,500 people at a Feb. 2 Santa Monica rally demanding the reopening of the Rosenberg case, and to the Feb. 4 bombings of the SWP hall and the Unidos bookstore.

The police told Harding they too considered this a reasonable likelihood and that they would come out to the campus to investigate and would talk to him there. As of this writing, however, Harding has heard nothing from the LAPD.

The campus police apparently have a similar attitude. Louis De Armond, director of the Latin American studies department, discussed the attack with them and requested protection for the evening showing of the film. He was advised that one plainclothes and two uniformed police would be present.

Harding said the plainclothes cop may have been present that evening but there was no sign of uniformed police. Meanwhile, students organized their own defense, and the second showing was held without incident.

The explosion of a lethal fragmentation bomb at the SWP Central-East hall occurred the night of Feb. 4. Some 25 people escaped without in-

jury by a rear exit seconds before the blast.

The next day, a threatening notice was posted on the door of the SWP in Santa Monica signed by the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front. And on Feb. 6 the same outfit called a local news agency and declared it had conducted the bomb attack on the SWP hall.

Earlier the Nazis also took credit for disrupting the Rosenberg rally.

Failure of the LAPD to take action against the declared perpetrators of these crimes is particularly glaring since they are not difficult to find. This 'Nazi gang operates a public bookstore called the "New Order" at 11101 Garvey Ave. in El Monte, a nearby community.

The cops' inaction against the right-wing terrorists is continuing to generate protest, with demands being directed to Mayor Thomas Bradley that he take action.

The Pasadena school board voted unanimously Feb. 11 to condemn the bombing of the SWP and to urge action by the mayor.

The board acted after it was noted that the bombed hall was campaign headquarters for Tim Mallory, Socialist Workers candidate for the school board.

Board member Sam Sheats, a nominee for reelection, proposed the resolution, which expressed the school board's abhorrence of the bombing "since such acts seriously compromise and jeopardize the electoral and democratic process."

A letter to Mayor Bradley from Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association, said, "We demand that you do everything in your power to apprehend the terrorists who seriously threaten human lives with this action."

A similar message from the University of Missouri Legion of Black Col-



BRADLEY: Will he act to stop right-wing attacks?

legians told the mayor, "We would hope that your police department would cooperate with other law enforcement agencies to capture the individual or group responsible."

Members of the student-faculty council at Wayne State University in Detroit sent a telegram declaring, "As mayor of Los Angeles you should begin a full-scale investigation of this incident, and further, you should apprehend and prosecute those responsible."

In a letter to Bradley, Russell Johnson of the New England regional office of the American Friends Service Committee said, "I trust that you as mayor of Los Angeles will use all of your influence to see that this case is followed up and that those responsible for this crime be brought to justice."

Coral to speak on repression

Argentine socialist leader to tour U.S.

By JOSE PEREZ

Preparations are being completed for the arrival in the United States of Juan Carlos Coral, general secretary of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

Coral will be conducting a speaking tour of a dozen cities during March and April, under the sponsorship of the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Coral will be speaking on the escalation of right-wing terror in Argentina and the situation of political prisoners there.

During the past year, there have been scores of radical and civil libertarian figures murdered in Argentina, primarily by the Argentine Anticomunist Alliance (AAA), a group that functions with police cooperation and protection.

Since Nov. 6, 1974, Argentina has been under an official "state of siege," which the government has used to arrest an estimated 2,000 political prisoners. Many have been held for extended periods without formal charges or trial. Civil libertarian groups have recently accused the government of torturing the political prisoners.

The PST has been a special target of both "legal" and extralegal attacks. During 1974, seven of its members were assassinated by the AAA, including César Robles, a member of the

party's national executive committee. Coral himself has been personally "sentenced" to death by the AAA.

Government attacks against the PST's democratic rights have included a number of raids on various party offices, among them a Nov. 7 raid on the national headquarters, which was the first action of the Argentine police under the state of siege. Many PST members have been picked up by cops since then, and several are still being held. Coral himself was detained by the police the weekend of Dec. 6.

Coral is a longtime leader of the labor and socialist movements in his country. He joined the Socialist Party of Argentina in 1955 and in 1963 was elected to the legislature. While in office, Coral participated in and led peasant mobilizations, land squatters' movements, strikes, and factory occupations. He also denounced, from the floor of the legislature, the military dictatorship's use of torture and repression. As a result of these activities, Coral was arrested and imprisoned several times.

In the March 1973 general elections, Coral was the presidential candidate of the PST, heading up a slate of worker and socialist militants. In September 1973 he ran for the same post against Juan Perón, tripling the number of votes he had received in March.

Since then Coral has led his party's

campaign against right-wing terror and government repression, speaking out at meetings with other parties and with government officials in defense of democratic rights.

Jim Little, a national staff member of USLA who is coordinating the tour, emphasized to *The Militant* the importance of Coral's visit. He said that USLA's main purpose in hosting the speaking engagements is to mobilize public opposition in this country to making Argentina another Chile.

"With the recent revelations about the CIA's role in Chile and other Latin

American countries," he noted, "we can assume that the current right-wing offensive in Argentina is being instigated, aided, and abetted by agents of the U. S. government."

Little stressed that this means people in this country have a special opportunity—and responsibility—to support democratic rights in Argentina by demanding an end to U. S. complicity with undemocratic attacks.

Further information about the tour can be obtained from USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Suite 600, New York, N. Y. 10010. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.



Juan Carlos Coral addressing socialist campaign rally before March 1973 elections

March on Boston

A new chapter in the struggle for school desegregation opened up in Boston on the weekend of Feb. 14-16. The Boston NAACP's call for a united antiracist demonstration on May 17 opens the way for a massive mobilization to defend busing and deal a decisive rebuff to the rock-hurling racist mobs.

The 2,000 participants in the National Student Conference Against Racism, representing more than 100 organizations and all parts of the country, enthusiastically endorsed this call for mass action.

The call by the NAACP, the largest and most authoritative civil rights organization in the country, and the breadth and success of the student conference, can pave the way for uniting in action broader forces than at any time since the civil rights battles of the early 1960s.

Black organizations around the country—churches, student groups, local NAACP chapters, and other community groups—can be rallied behind the march on Boston.

A powerful coalition, involving the Black community and its allies in the struggle against racism, can now be forged.

Today the racists have chosen to make school busing the battleground of their fight against equal rights. But it does not end there. Behind the anti-Black offensive are reactionary forces that if unchecked will assault the rights of women, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and trade unionists. Everyone has a stake in this fight.

Labor has a particular responsibility to join the antiracist campaign. The rulers are trying to pit white workers against Black and thus weaken the unions in the face of the economic crisis. Union locals should be urged to pass resolutions in support of May 17 and begin mobilizing their members to go to Boston. Especially among the many unions with large Black memberships, this action will find an enthusiastic response.

The 2,000 students who met in Boston gave the lie to the claim that students have become apathetic or conservative. The newly formed National Student Coalition Against Racism can draw together campus and high school activists who will be among the key organizers of a mass outpouring on May 17.

May 17 marks the anniversary of the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation. This year it can bring thousands of people into the streets of Boston to say, "Twenty-one years is too long! Enforce desegregation now!" It can be a turning point in constructing a powerful new movement to defend and extend Black rights.

A political trial

It is no coincidence that the first doctor to be convicted on charges stemming from an abortion since the 1973 Supreme Court ruling is a Black man from Boston. The racist mobilizations against busing Black students into previously all-white schools set the stage for this vicious witch-hunt against Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor who worked overtime without pay to provide abortions for impoverished Black and Puerto Rican women in Boston.

The jury was all white and out for blood. Remarks like "the nigger is guilty as sin" were common in the jury room, one alternate juror reported.

The segregationists in Boston are trying to roll back the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation by beating up Black students and stoning school buses. Likewise, the "right-to-lifers" are trying to nullify the Supreme Court's legalization of abortion through the courtroom lynching of Dr. Edelin. And, as often as not, the same right-wing gangs are yelling for both positions.

Dr. Edelin's case should become a rallying point for action and mobilization by defenders of women's right to abortion.

At the same time, it should be a flashing red danger signal to any who would ignore or minimize the threat to all our liberties posed by the racist offensive in Boston. If these reactionary mobs succeed in blocking desegregation, they will expand their sights. Their target is not only Blacks, but also women, trade-unionists, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos—everyone who is fighting for justice and human rights.

No comic book

I thank you for sending me *The Militant*. I've found it very informative, and I support you and all the brothers and sisters who are involved with *The Militant*.

I hope you will continue to send this paper to me. All my fellow inmates who I share it with enjoy what they are getting to read.

So right on to a beautiful paper. By the way, since I started to read *The Militant*, the *Daily News* is like a comic book.

A prisoner
New York

True history

The history of an oppressed people is dangerous for that people to know, for it is a story of constant fighting against that oppression. When a people see their true history, they not only see rebellion in the present as not being unnatural but rather the expected form of response.

This is why the rulers always hide the true history, and hence the importance of the fights for Black, Chicano, women's, and other people's true history.

But still, the people don't know the true history of the great fights of American workers. Do people know about the awesome railroad strikes in 1877? the fight for the shorter workweek with no loss in pay? the 1886 fight for the eight-hour workday?

I think it would be great if, every three or four issues, *The Militant* would have an article about some of these fights. Since we need revolutionary heroes, maybe these articles could be combined with a story on some of the great fighters for the American workers.

J. W. Billingsley
Chicago, Ill.

Finally

Finally I have found a Marxist-oriented paper. *The Militant* is great!

Enclosed is \$4 for six months. Keep up the good (factual) work.

S. G.
Flushing, N. Y.

Keep it up

Please extend my subscription for one more year. Yours is the only news source I can trust. Keep up the good work!

J. H.
St. Paul, Minn.

Example not to follow

Your readers may be interested in the excitement here over the appointment of Herrick Roth as director of the Colorado Department of Labor and Employment by Governor Richard Lamm.

Roth was a state legislator 10 years ago, an official of the American Federation of Teachers, president for 12 years of the Colorado Labor Council, and more recently an unsuccessful candidate for the U. S. Senate in the Democratic Party primary. His appointment is a reward for supporting George McGovern in the 1972 presidential election, for which he was ousted as president of the Colorado Labor Council by AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Roth is a competent politician,

having received most of his training in the union movement. He says of his new job that the number of inspectors in the occupational safety and health program should be doubled and that state laws should be revised to allow more people to receive unemployment compensation. These are modest proposals, considering the many urgent needs of workers.

An official of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Robert Grinstead, opposed the nomination on the grounds that Roth violated his labor oath by seeking help in the courts against the Meany ouster. A fellow Democrat, State Senator Vincent Massari, accused Roth of "communist connections" for having spoken once in support of Angela Davis. Both Grinstead and Massari evoked only ridicule.

The thing about Roth is that his hopes and aspirations do not conform to the program and practices of the Democratic Party. Politicians of his ability who owe their limited personal success to the labor movement would do better to devote themselves to organizing class-struggle actions by the workers instead of trying to wheedle a few favors from the ruling class through its political parties. Roth's example of little accomplishment ought to serve as a warning to younger unionists against the futility of Democratic Party politics.

C. K.
Denver, Colo.

Just wait

Enclosed is \$20 for 22 prepaid subscription cards. That is a start. If Jeff Mackler [who sold 73 *Militant* subscriptions to fellow teachers] thinks the teachers liked *The Militant*, just wait till bus drivers in my union get hold of it.

Steve Beumer
Detroit, Mich.

[Prepaid subscription cards are a good way to win new subscribers to *The Militant*. Readers can buy the cards from *The Militant* and collect a dollar back each time they sell an introductory sub.

Each card already has a stamp on it, so all you have to do is fill in the subscriber's name and address and drop it in the nearest mailbox. The new reader will begin to receive *The Militant* the next week.

The cards are sold for \$1 each and are good for a two-month introductory subscription. Order from the *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. Send \$5 for five cards or \$10 for 11.]

Mideast occupation

Currently the imperialist news media are approaching the problem of this country's future energy needs by advocating a seizure of Arab oil fields.

Recognizing that American troops have the capability of entering the area, I would like to continue the military scenario further.

By occupying Saudi Arabia, for example, the United States would be bringing down the Middle East's most pro-Western government and would consequently radicalize the whole Arab world.

While "securing" a portion of the world's petroleum reserves, with



A dangerous appointment

troops, for ourselves, we would be severing the supplies of others.

These warmongers write of the need to conquer nations and millions of people 7,000 miles away not for two or three years, but for a generation—in order to "internationalize" their resources for the welfare of humanity, yet they cannot conceive of internationalizing the industries of the West or the farmlands of North America for this same world humanity.

Our Middle East occupation would put all Third World countries on notice of the limits of their sovereignty when American interests surface.

Ray Ajluni
Livonia, Mich.

More on Mideast

What's this talk about "Israel's growing isolation" when everyone except the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognizes the legitimacy of some kind of state for the Jewish people? Do you not accept the United Nations definition of a "people," and don't the Jews qualify as one?

The Jews are proportionately among the most progressive peoples in the world. And the Arabs, another Semitic people, are among the most reactionary in many respects. PLO members, the vanguard of the Arab left, have told me that in all Arab countries, women's liberationists are subject to arrest and that not a few have died resisting arrest. Further, Egypt has arrested a majority of the leftist leaders there.

In regard to racism, why don't you talk about racism in general, and use the Boston struggle as a specific? I know of as many racist attacks on non-Black minorities as on Blacks.

Steve Yaillen
Cypress, Calif.

Bigger price

When selling *The Militant*, I find that people are all the time, asking, "Is it free?" And frequently I have to chase after people who take the paper and keep on walking, under the assumption that it is free.

I would appreciate it if you would put "25 cents" nice and large in the upper right-hand corner, thereby saving me a lot of trouble. As it is, nobody reads the fine print that says "25 cents."

C. S.
Lawrence, Kans.

Impressed

I have been very impressed with your newspaper during my two-month trial subscription. I find the articles both enlightening and provocative, and therefore would like to start a year's subscription.

In addition, I would like to start a subscription for my father.

Keep up the good work!

B. I.
St. Louis, Mo.

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

The new secretary of labor, John Dunlop, is a Harvard economics professor and labor consultant. He specializes in "industrial peace." Preaching the advantages of "partnership" between labor and capital, he gained a reputation in the Nixon administration for his ability to compromise, protecting the immediate interests of the trade-union bureaucracy while satisfying the long-range aims of the employing class.

Dunlop's record displays total disregard for the needs of working people. It foretells possible moves by the Ford administration to impose new wage controls, compulsory arbitration, and denial of the right of union members to vote on contracts.

When President Ford picked Dunlop on Feb. 8 to replace the discredited and useless Peter Brennan, the announcement was immediately approved by top union officials who often disagree on such matters. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons was reported to be satisfied. United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock said Dunlop was his first choice among likely candidates. AFL-CIO President George Meany called him a "good, capable, well-equipped guy." All three had worked with Dunlop on the Cost of Living Council, which held wage increases to 5.5 percent annually while prices skyrocketed. Currently they serve under him on Ford's Labor-Management Advisory Committee.

Dunlop was Nixon's choice in 1971 to head the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), his purpose being to hold down wage increases of building-trades workers. It was a prelude to the wage-freeze edict later that year.

In 1973 Dunlop moved from CISC to the Cost of Living Council, which he headed until its demise on April 30, 1974. The record is well known. While approving steep price rises in nearly all industries, Dunlop used threats, cajolery, and where necessary brute force to strictly limit wages.

When New York City hospital workers struck in November 1973 for a \$12 weekly wage increase that had been awarded almost a year and a half earlier by a New York state arbitration panel, Dunlop conspired to reduce the meager raise to \$9 and to have the courts impose fines of nearly \$1-million on the union and its officials. At the same time he granted

the hospitals a 9 percent raise in prices, bringing the average daily cost of a hospital bed to more than \$100, almost as much as the weekly take-home pay of many hospital workers.

After wage controls were officially ended, Dunlop returned to his Harvard teaching post, but continued as a part-time member of the Republican administration.

As head of the Labor-Management Advisory Committee he recently persuaded Meany and other union officials to recommend a \$5-billion tax giveaway for big business through a rise in the investment tax credit from 7 to 12 percent.

He is currently engaged in a scheme to unify construction contractors for purposes of collective bargaining, with the aim of simplifying and standardizing job classifications, eliminating craft jurisdictions, reducing work crews, increasing productivity, and establishing uniform regional wage scales at the lowest possible level in the construction industry. His immediate target is the San Francisco Bay Area building-trades unions.

Until his appointment to the Ford cabinet, Dunlop was also a private consultant to Saudi Arabia and an arbitrator of labor disputes on the Alaskan pipeline. His present involvement with the oil industry dates back to his earlier association with Rockefeller interests.

Dunlop is almost certain to support the demand for repeal or non-enforcement of Title I of the Landrum-Griffin Act, which specifies the right of union members to vote on contracts and to appeal decisions of their officials.

Steelworkers President I.W. Abel calls these provisions "a dangerous weapon for harassment of responsible trade unions." Abel is especially sensitive since one of his opponents in the steelworkers union, Ed Sadlowski, won the vote for district director in the union's largest district in a Labor Department-supervised election last November.

The new secretary of labor is one of the more skillful professional guardians of the interests of the ruling class, a deceitful enemy of the working class. He is one of their class-war generals and dangerous.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Malcolm X on civil rights

BOSTON—About a year before Malcolm X's death, a television news reporter asked if he could recall the first time he was hurt by segregation. Malcolm replied, "When I was born. I was born in a segregated hospital of a segregated mother and a segregated father."

The reporter pressed him for more specific incidents, and Malcolm said:

"The first was when we were living in Lansing, Mich., in an integrated neighborhood. One night I woke up and found the house on fire. The good Christians of the neighborhood had come and set the house afire.

"The second was when my father was found under a streetcar where he had been thrown by the good Christians—that's my second. You want my third and fourth and fifth and sixth and seventh?"

During his 39 years Malcolm had seen enough of segregation to want to organize Blacks into a movement powerful enough to eventually dig the grave for not only segregation but also its parents: racism and racial oppression.

He never accomplished this because he was murdered 10 years ago this week on Feb. 21, 1965, before the civil rights movement had laid to rest the final vestiges of Jim Crow segregation.

All during his last years, the media maligned Malcolm and tried to set him apart from other Black leaders.

Malcolm, it is true, was apart from many of them in the program and tactics they advocated, but he held the same goal of abolishing every barrier to full Black equality.

Malcolm, after he broke with the Muslims, was organizing Blacks chiefly in Harlem, where there was

no legal segregation. But he supported the demands of the civil rights movement in the South and stood ready to aid it whenever he could.

Malcolm, however, often opposed the practice of most civil rights leaders of trying to contain the militancy of the movement to "within the rules that are laid down by the white liberals," as he put it.

He believed that militant activists within the Southern civil rights movement should challenge the mistaken notions of these civil rights leaders. But of the movement itself, apart from its leaders, Malcolm had nothing but kind words. He said in reply to a question at an Organization of Afro-American Unity meeting on Jan. 24, 1965:

"And you actually do the whole thing a disservice by not getting involved. . . . No, I say let's all get in it, and get in it without compromise, and anybody that gets in the way—don't compromise. That's all. . . . Our people in Alabama, our people in Harlem, our people in California are the same people. You and I will not get anywhere by standing on the sidelines, saying they're [civil rights leaders] doing it wrong. I spent 12 years doing this in the Black Muslim movement, condemning everybody walking, and at no time were we permitted to get involved to show a better way. Okay, I say let's get involved."

Malcolm believed that struggles to end de facto discrimination in the South and de jure discrimination in the North would never be successful as long as they were played by the rules of the white power structure.

You could never compromise with the power structure and win. This belief Malcolm fought for, and in the end he died for it.



Sweet land of liberty—What pride one feels in a government that sees protection of individual liberty as a sacred trust. Especially on reading how the FBI bugged two Washington, D.C., warehouses to blackmail errant foreign diplomats into spying for the United States. Or Lyndon Johnson, who, according to *Newsweek*, "enjoyed placing FBI dossiers conspicuously on his desk while subjecting vulnerable congressmen to some political arm-twisting."

Bitting the bullet—Betty Ford instructed the White House chef to substitute soup for the fish course at banquets

for visiting dignitaries and also to cut down on the meat portions. Meanwhile, she flew into New York for a fast shopping trip. A dozen dresses from a new designer. Only \$70 to \$250 each.

A victim of imperialism, right, rabbi?—Rabbi Baruch Korff, Nixon's principal mentor, placed a fund-appeal ad explaining that the "campaign of vengeance" against Dick was continuing unabated. The ad appeared in the *Voice*, on the island of St. Lucia, an impoverished British colony in the Lesser Antilles.

Think you've heard everything?—General Foods Corporation pleaded "no contest" to charges of short-weighting its Maxwell House ("Good to the last drop") instant coffee. Whereupon a Los Angeles area judge hit the firm with a fine of \$1,500. However, he added, it would only have to pay \$500 of that amount if no further violations were charged against it within the next year.

Learn quick—Susan Ford doesn't get a fixed allowance and has developed this technique with her father, reports the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*: "It all depends on how good I am and how

much Daddy has in his pocket. If he doesn't have change for a \$20 bill I get \$20. He says, 'Bring me back \$10,' but I never do."

An equal opportunity lord—Jesus was the original women's liberationist, according to Reverend L.J. Ogilvie of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church. Jesus said, "Whoever divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery against her; and if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery." By thus equating the actions of men and women, the minister explained, Jesus elevated women to equal status.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



N.Y. 'suicide': cover-up for murder

The following guest column is by Carmen Maymi, a member of the Brooklyn chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance and longtime activist in the Puerto Rican movement.

NEW YORK—Last Dec. 1 Martín "Tito" Pérez, a 31-year-old Puerto Rican photographer and musician, was riding on the Lexington Avenue subway with a group of friends from Taller Boricua, a collective of radical Puerto Rican artists.

They were riding uptown, singing and laughing, when transit cop Sylvester Hayes told them to stop making so much noise. Pérez asked the other passengers if they were being bothered, and the cop responded by clubbing Pérez with his nightstick.

When Pérez's friends protested this brutality, Hayes called in reinforcements, and several more police were waiting for the artists when the train stopped at the 125th Street station. Pérez was clubbed by four cops, and he and two others were handcuffed and taken to the Twenty-fifth Precinct police station.

The three were charged with disorderly conduct. Since Pérez refused to give his name and address, he was booked as "John Doe." He was put in a special cell for "dangerous" suspects, where a sign

indicates that all prisoners should have belts, suspenders, and sharp objects removed to prevent them from committing suicide.

An hour and a half later, an ambulance pulled into the precinct station and Pérez's body, his hands still manacled, was wheeled out. Metropolitan Hospital officials pronounced him dead on arrival. Police said Pérez had hanged himself with his belt in his cell.

The chief medical examiner of New York, Dominick DiMaio, performed an autopsy and proclaimed that Pérez had died of "asphyxiation by hanging" and "that there is no other conclusion but suicide." But there are numerous contradictions in this conclusion.

One is that the police have admitted that they manacled Pérez's hands behind his back when he was arrested, but to hang himself he would have had to have his hands manacled in front of his body.

Another is that his wife, Rosa Pérez, has told reporters that Tito Pérez never wore a belt. Moreover, the cops, according to their own rules, remove belts from prisoners put into the cell for "dangerous" criminals.

And to top it off, the medical examiner said he found no bruises on the corpse. But the eyewitnesses

to the arrest have reported that Pérez was clubbed by police.

The obvious conclusion is that Pérez was clubbed to death by the cops, and the "suicide" is a cover-up for this brutal murder.

Demonstrations have been held in front of the precinct station demanding the suspension of Officer Hayes and a thorough investigation of the case by the district attorney's office.

The December First Committee has also been formed to investigate the "suicide." It is planning an exhibition of Pérez's photography on Feb. 28 at the Taller Boricua Gallery, 1558 Madison Ave. The object of the exhibition is to keep the artist's name and the circumstances surrounding his death in public view. The committee can be reached at the Puerto Rican Media Action Coalition, 1699 Lexington Ave., or at Taller Boricua.

When I went to Taller Boricua to gather facts for the column, the FBI was at the Taller headquarters. But despite the protests over the "suicide," they weren't there to investigate that. Instead, they were "investigating" the so-called "Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation," a mysterious group whose terrorist bombings have been used by the government as a pretext to increase harassment of Puerto Rican activists.

The American Way of Life

If we could only eat their words...

Since the turn of the century the American people have been promised a "Square Deal," "a chicken in every pot," a "New Deal," a "Fair Deal," a "War on Poverty," and a "Great Society," depending on which public relations whiz was writing the presidential campaign material of the moment. The last elected president of the United States—Richard Nixon—in addition to promising peace in Vietnam, said in a special message to Congress in 1969, "The moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America. . . for all time."

If words could be eaten, the problem would have been solved long ago. The food is there—for those who have the money to buy it.

As for the others, their plight was described by *New York Times* reporter James Wooten Feb. 13. One woman of nearly 80 tried to survive on her pension check. "When Mrs. Elsie DeFratus could no longer afford the cost of living, she died. . . ."

"She weighed 76 pounds. An autopsy found no trace of food in her shrunken stomach.

" 'Malnutrition,' the coroner concluded."

Others are luckier. Last October *Newsweek* described the case of Etta Young, 78, of Chicago, who was found unconscious on the floor of her room. "It turned out that, for three months, she had been living on nothing but oatmeal and a splash of milk each day."

A big percentage of those suffering from hunger and malnutrition in the U.S. are old people. A 1973 survey in Florida found that 25 percent of the elderly in urban areas spent less than \$34.39 monthly on food—the amount that the Florida Division of Health estimated as the minimum needed to maintain an adequate diet.

Children are also affected, as was shown in Dr. James Carter's recent analysis of *The Ten-State Nutrition Survey*, a government survey on nutrition among the poor released in 1972. Dr. Carter's analysis has been published by the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The survey showed, Carter writes, that "a higher income level was associated with greater stature, greater body weight, a greater thickness of sub-

cutaneous fat, advanced skeletal development, advanced dental development, earlier maturation and earlier attainment of maximum stature."

The survey also found that "Black pregnant women from low income states had a mean caloric intake of 1506 calories and a mean protein intake of 60 grams per day, while pregnant white women from high income states had mean intakes of 2127 calories and 89 grams of protein per day.

"These findings are alarming. Pregnant women who have caloric intakes as low as 1500 calories will very likely have fetuses who are suffering from malnutrition. . . . An infant so affected would be undersized and poorly developed. The growth and development of the brain and other vital organs would likely also be affected. . . ."

Today we can look back on decades of empty promises. But there is a way that hunger really can be ended: by expropriating the parasites who sell the necessities of life for a profit. Short of that, people like Elsie DeFratus will continue to starve.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Rewriting history

The 'Guardian' and the Vietnam accords

By DAVE FRANKEL

In reviewing the events in Vietnam during the two years since the signing of the Paris accords, Caroline Lund wrote in the Jan. 31 *Militant* that the continuation of the war and the survival of the Thieu regime confirmed the position taken by the Trotskyist movement when the accords were first proposed.

Irwin Silber of the *Guardian* disagrees. Writing in the Feb. 12 issue of that Maoist weekly, he calls Lund's analysis "shoddy" and "reprehensible." But Silber, as we will see, has to falsify the actual position taken by the *Guardian* at the time of the accords in order to make his case.

When the proposed accords were first announced, the Nov. 10, 1972, issue of *The Militant* said in a front-page editorial: "Nixon's top aid Henry Kissinger says that 'peace is at hand' in Vietnam. This is a lie. . . ."

"Already the U.S. is rushing military equipment to the Thieu government. . . . Under the proposed agreement, U.S. troops are to remain indefinitely in Thailand and in the seas off Vietnam, ready to intervene again if the U.S. warmakers think it necessary. This is no peace!"

Following the final agreement a *Militant* editorial on Feb. 2, 1973, explained that the accords meant not an end to the war, but "a new stage of the civil war, and of Washington's intervention."

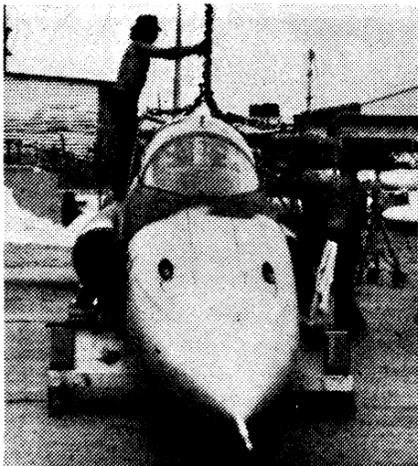
What the 'Guardian' said

What *The Militant* said would happen at the time is precisely what did happen: the war continued. In contrast, the *Guardian* campaigned for the accords, promising its readers that their acceptance would bring victory for the liberation forces, final defeat for Washington, and peace to Vietnam—all in short order. Silber would rather forget about this today. He denies any "naive expectations" and relies on his readers' short memories to falsify the *Guardian's* record.

Lund's argument that "the accords solved none of the fundamental problems that had led to the civil war and U.S. intervention in the first place" is dismissed by Silber as a "revelation that will shock absolutely no one since neither the Vietnamese nor their supporters held to any such naive expectations in the first place. . . ."

"There was always the possibility, of course, that the U.S. imperialists might demonstrate a rare 'wisdom' and actually live up to all the provisions of the peace accords, thus making a total concession of humiliating defeat. But this was never considered very likely. . . ."

It wasn't? Here is what *Guardian* writer Richard Ward wrote in the Nov. 8, 1972, issue, immediately after Kissinger announced that "peace is at hand".



U.S. fighter plane being delivered in South Vietnam just before signing of accords. *Guardian* claimed that treaty would bring peace to Vietnam.

"If there are no hitches, it will be a great victory for the people of Vietnam. . . ."

"Having failed to implant a successful puppet regime in South Vietnam, the U.S. is compelled in the agreement to officially recognize for the first time the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). The agreement equally provides for the establishment of a new government by democratic means and the release of the countless thousands of political prisoners in South Vietnam, thereby opening the way for final victory over the reactionary puppet elements."

Just a little 'hitch'

"If there are no hitches," says Ward, a democratic government will be peacefully established, political prisoners released, and final victory over the Thieu regime achieved. But of course there was just one little "hitch"—a proimperialist regime in Saigon, armed to the teeth by Washington and recognized by the accords.

The *Guardian* campaigned for the accords, saying that they would ensure the rapid victory of the liberation fighters. Its Nov. 22, 1972, issue argued that "the U.S. is on the defensive and its puppets on the verge of collapse."

The following week it editorialized that "the Vietnamese people are now preparing to complete the total expulsion of U.S. military forces from their soil."

"This is the real meaning of the nine-point draft peace agreement negotiated last month. . . ."

And after the final acceptance of the accords *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burchett wrote in the Feb. 7, 1973, issue that the "unorganized, unpopular and corrupt Thieu administration cannot be expected to long survive on its own."

But the whole point was that the Saigon regime was never left "on its own." In spite of the heroic sacrifices made by the Vietnamese people, the offensive begun in March 1972 against the proimperialist government was contained by the most intensive air war in history.

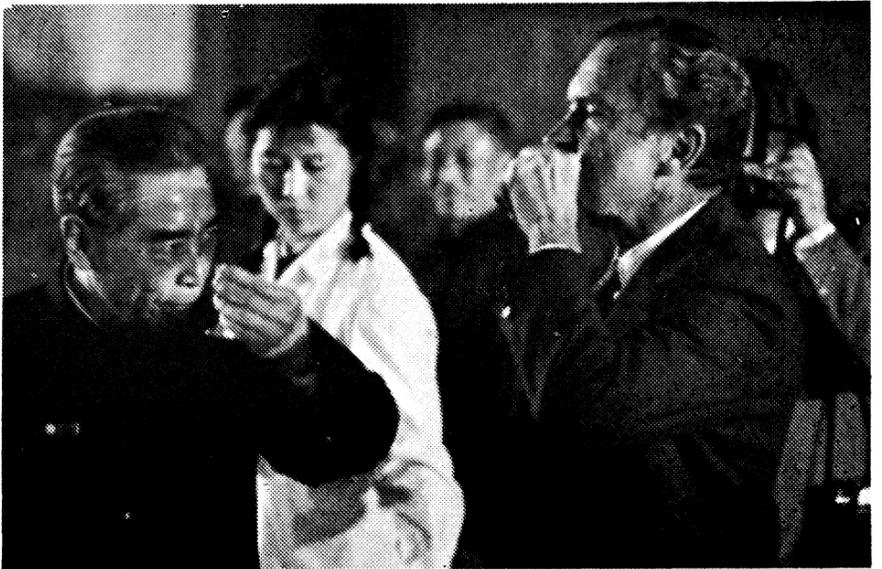
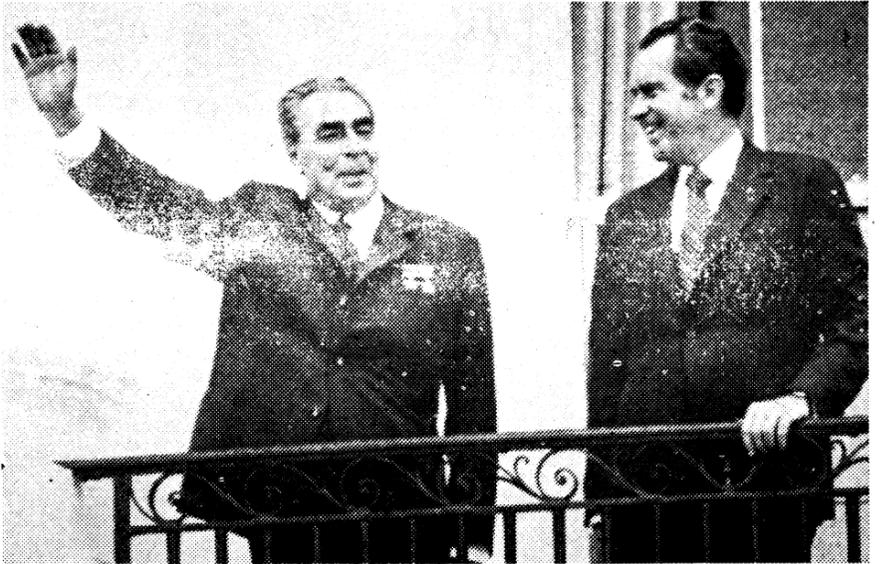
Faced by the determined resistance of the Vietnamese people and growing antiwar pressure from a mass movement at home, Nixon was forced to give up the hope of crushing the insurgents. At the same time, the Vietnamese liberation forces proved unable to overcome the U.S.-backed regime in Saigon.

The accords, which were hailed by both Moscow and Peking as a great victory, were backed by the imperialists to ensure that their foothold in Vietnam would be maintained. In the months before they were signed, Nixon armed the Thieu regime with the third-largest air force in the world. The Saigon army, more than a million strong, was equipped with more helicopters and tanks than it was capable of servicing, and under the accords, Washington was legally allowed to replace lost or damaged equipment.

Furthermore, the Paris treaty formally recognized the existence of two armies and two administrations in Vietnam, and specified that each would be left in control of the areas they were occupying. All provisions concerning elections, release of prisoners, recognition of democratic rights, and unification of the country were to be carried out jointly by the PRG and the Saigon dictatorship.

Two perspectives

The Vietnamese masses were fighting for unification of their country, an end to the dictatorship and foreign



Nixon with partners in detente. Moscow and Peking put pressure on Vietnamese to sign treaty. *Guardian* supported accords because Peking did, not because they helped Vietnamese.

domination, and land reform. But none of these objectives could be won through cooperation or reconciliation with the regime of landlords and capitalists in Saigon. The accords were an attempt to set up such a collaboration.

As Barry Sheppard explained in the Feb. 16, 1973, *Militant*: "The accords outline a policy of collaboration between the PRG and the Saigon regime to set up elections for a new government. This can only work if the PRG agrees to Saigon's terms. If this should occur, it would mean a major setback for the Vietnamese struggle, and a demoralization and demobilization of the masses."

"The strategy of organizing and leading the masses in struggle around the urgent needs of the workers and peasants in South Vietnam is the opposite perspective. But this strategy will inevitably lead to massive struggle against the Saigon regime. A 'National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord' could not possibly function under such circumstances. . . ."

"A key element determining what will happen in South Vietnam will be which of these two courses is followed by the NLF and the North Vietnamese leaders."

The course the *Guardian* was hoping for in Vietnam was clearly spelled out by Richard Ward on the first anniversary of the accords. Writing in the Jan. 30, 1974, *Guardian*, Ward said:

"Needless to say, the Paris agreement was not a blueprint for prolonged war. To the contrary, in elaborate and precise detail, its articles and associated protocols, provided a plan for peace. . . ."

"There were those observers in the West who said that it would never work, the peace agreement was naive and more condescendingly, they said

that there was no reason to expect that the Vietnamese who have been fighting each other for nearly three decades would lay down their arms and unite in establishing a government of national union."

Fronting for Peking

While this year Silber claims that it "was never considered very likely" that the U.S. would live up to the accords, last year the *Guardian* was trying to sell the treaty as "a plan for peace" that was sabotaged only because of Washington's duplicity—as if what Washington was planning hadn't been obvious from the beginning.

The *Guardian* tries to present the accords as a great victory for the Vietnamese, and pass off as good coin the pie-in-the-sky rhetoric in the accords about free elections, the release of political prisoners, and democratic rights—all to be carried out with the cooperation of Saigon—because it is covering for the Maoist regime in China. Like their counterparts in Moscow, the Maoist bureaucrats were more interested in trade deals and diplomatic agreements with Washington than in the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Stalinist regimes in both Moscow and Peking viewed the continuation of the war in Vietnam as the main roadblock to détente with Washington, and they put heavy pressure on the Vietnamese to accede to the imperialist demands and accept the treaty. Moscow and Peking stood silently by while Nixon used B-52s against Hanoi and Haiphong and mined Vietnamese waters. They were silent again during the Christmas bombing of North Vietnam, the final piece of slaughter designed to force

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TV discussion

Hamill, Jenness: 'Why U.S. needs socialism'



'Under capitalism it is precisely the people who work hard for a living who don't get anything out of it.'

On Feb. 10, Channel 5 television in New York City broadcast a discussion with Pete Hamill and Linda Jenness about the basic ideas of socialism. Hamill, a well-known columnist, had written an article in the Jan. 13 *Village Voice* declaring that socialism is the answer to the growing crisis of U.S. society. Jenness was the 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. The following are excerpts from the televised discussion, which was moderated by Bob Boggs.

Boggs: Who would benefit and who would be hurt by us becoming a socialist nation? Linda Jenness right now is a representative of the Socialist Workers Party. She was its presidential candidate in 1972. And also with me is columnist-writer Pete Hamill. Pete, are you a socialist?

Hamill: Yes. I consider myself a socialist and I have written several pieces in the last couple of years about the subject, most of which culminated in a long piece I did in the *Village Voice* a couple of weeks ago.

Boggs: I think that there is a lack of understanding about what socialism really is. And I'd like to address ourselves to what it really is from your two perspectives. Linda?

Jenness: When I talk about socialism, I'm talking about a rational, planned national economy controlled by the majority of people who live and work here. One of the fears that people have about socialism is that they think it's not going to be democratic. I think that's partly because they look at the Soviet Union and see a country where, in the name of socialism, they have slave-labor camps and put dissidents in mental hospitals, and they think that it means totalitarianism.

One of the obligations of socialists in this country is to explain that socialism and democracy go hand in hand. We're talking about a socialism where the majority of people make the decisions about our everyday

lives, which is certainly not the case in the Soviet Union.

Boggs: So would you say that socialism and democracy are a more happy wedding than democracy and capitalism?

Jenness: Capitalism and democracy are impossible to have together, because capitalism means the control of the resources and the wealth by a tiny minority who make all the decisions about it. There is no way for it to be democratic.

Boggs: Pete, don't you find that when you're talking to some people this goes against their basic nature, or at least their point of view of the way things are supposed to be in the United States—that you find they're afraid of the change?

Brainwashing

Hamill: The most successful brainwashing campaign in the world was launched by American capitalism at the end of the Civil War until recently. Now they're in a lot of trouble with working people. But they made people afraid of the notion of socialism. And did it very successfully through controlling newspapers, through controlling the movie industry, through controlling our national myths, which are perpetrated by television.

Boggs: What are some of those myths?

Hamill: One of the myths is the Horatio Alger myth. You too can be walking down the street, rescue the little girl, and be picked up by the capitalist who will make you Nelson Rockefeller when you grow up. There is only one Nelson Rockefeller, who runs a mini-state called the Rockefeller family. Nobody is going to grow up to be Nelson Rockefeller, and I think a lot of people know that now.

Boggs: But what about the concept of the American dream—of someone who comes from a very meager back-

ground and through honest hard work builds himself or herself up into having a lot of money and a really nice house? Is that totally dissolved under socialism?

Hamill: It depends on how you make that money. If you make it on the pain, or grief, or lack of employment of other people, you shouldn't be allowed to do that. You shouldn't be allowed to make money off of other people's labor.

The people who are affected are the seven or eight guys who run the oil companies in this country and arbitrarily raise prices. The companies who make 200 percent profit while there are eight million people out of work. Those people will be affected. But the guy who lives out in Queens, who lives out in Bayridge, he's not going to be affected. This will be a great thing for him.

Standard of living

Jenness: I think they will be affected. Only they'll be affected positively. One of the fears used to be that if you had socialism your standard of living would go down.

Look at the U.S. economy today: at least 10 million people can't find jobs, inflation runs rampant, you can't pay your rent, you can't go to the grocery store. The standard of living in the country has been just shot to pieces under capitalism.

More and more people are beginning to see that it is precisely the people who do work hard for a living—who have worked 20 or 30 years, put in an honest day's work—they don't get anything out of it.

They don't get any medical care. They don't get free education. Their jobs can be taken away at will with nobody voting on it or deciding on it.

And it's the people who don't work—like the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and the Carnegies, the ones who've never worked a day in their lives—they're the ones who have all the benefits of society.

Socialism is really for the people who do work.

Boggs: How can you justify taking away that which people have acquired through their families over several generations?

Hamill: Because they haven't acquired it themselves.

Jenness: Right, they didn't work for it.

Hamill: One question no one asked Rockefeller during the hearings, when he was laying half a million on this character and \$200,000 on that character was: "How much of that money did you earn yourself through putting in hours somewhere?"

He earned none of it. He has it only because his father and grandfather earned money through various kinds of crimes years ago. He is something like the third generation mob is going to be, 30 years down the line.

Boggs: How would the incentive system work under socialism? What would be the incentive to work hard? And if you do acquire an estate, could you pass it on to your children?

Hamill: A little something. I think you could make an inheritance law of some kind. For example, if you leave your son or daughter \$100,000, that's not exactly sending them out to shine shoes. That's a pretty good stake. But to leave somebody eight billion dollars and Venezuela in permanent custody, that's another whole thing.

New Bill of Rights

Jenness: There is another way we should approach it. The Socialist Workers Party has launched a 1976 presidential campaign. We're running Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. One thing that we are raising in this campaign is a proposal for a new Bill of Rights for working people. In addition to fighting to defend and protect the old Bill of Rights, we need new rights.

For instance, the right to have a job, the right to free medical care, the right to free education, and the right to know the truth about what this government is doing.

If you are guaranteed a job, a decent standard of living, free health care, and free child care—the things that are basic human rights—then you don't need to talk about an inheritance law or an inheritance tax. Everyone in this country would be guaranteed the human things that they need to survive and to live in a decent way.

Don't forget we're talking about the richest country that the world has ever known, a country that could produce abundance for everyone. We hope that the Bill of Rights for working people will be widely discussed in the 1976 presidential campaign.

This discussion will involve Pete Hamill and Mike Harrington and ourselves, and many other people who are beginning to discuss socialism in a serious way.

Boggs: In many people's minds the concept of socialism is that you're all going to go out on the farm and work and there would be a great deal of sameness about life under socialism. What about the expression of individuality?

Socialism & individuality

Jenness: I don't think there is any system in the world that has destroyed individuality like the capitalist system has.

For instance, you read about the apathy that exists in the U.S. toward politics and politicians. Why is that? It's not because people don't care. It's because they know that they are

not making the decisions.

Come election time for instance, you get a choice between a Democrat and a Republican—basically alike. People know they're dishonest. People don't care to go out and vote for them.

My point is that people know that they don't have any control over their individual lives. We don't make decisions about inflation or unemployment, or war, or anything.

What creates initiative, what creates individuality, is the feeling that people have when they are making their own decisions, controlling their own lives, and controlling their society. And that's what socialism is about. It is to put the decision making into the hands of the working people.

Boggs: Could our country have grown this fast and been this powerful if we had not been under capitalism?

Jenness: There is certainly no question that at one point in history capitalism played a progressive role. It laid the basis for the development of technology, science, and industry. But that is not the question today.

The question isn't developing science, technology, and industry, but using it. How are you going to use it? Are you going to use it for destruction, for dropping bombs on the Vietnamese, for destroying the environment? Or are you going to use it to build low-cost housing, provide medical care and schools and other things that we need?

The way our economy is run today is so irrational and so anarchistic and so wasteful that a planned national economy under workers' control just seems so obviously better.

You think of all the waste that goes into the military budget, for one thing. It should be cut out entirely. It is not doing anything progressive. It is just supporting dictatorships around the world.

Boggs: I'd like to have you both back with a couple of capitalists sometime in the future.

Jenness: People can read Pete Hamill's manifesto in the *Village Voice*, and they can get a copy of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" by writing to the Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

People should read both of them and write to us about their ideas. I hope we can continue and broaden out this discussion that has been begun.

Bill of Rights for Working People

Help distribute and discuss the Bill of Rights for Working People—send us your ideas. Copies are 3 cents each; or 2 cents each for 1,000 or more.

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

Enclosed is \$_____for_____copies () in English; () in Spanish.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

Reid campaign moves into high gear after ballot victory

By JUDY HAGANS

CHICAGO—Supporters of the campaign of socialist mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid held a rally here Feb. 7 to celebrate Reid's achievement of ballot status and to project on-going campaign activities.

Reid is the first independent mayoral candidate in decades to win a spot on the ballot.

Suzanne Haig, who headed up the petitioning effort, told the rally that the Democratic Party machine of Mayor Richard Daley decided not to challenge Reid's right to be on the ballot April 1. This decision was made, she said, because of the "tremendous efforts of campaign supporters" in gathering the 66,243 signatures Reid submitted, and because more than 80 civil libertarians, union officials, and Black leaders in Chicago had signed a statement supporting Reid's right to be on the ballot.

Haig also announced that the Socialist Workers Party would not comply with the section in the Illinois law on campaign financing requiring dis-



Militant/Tom O'Brien

Socialist nominee Reid says street crime can only be ended by eliminating rotten social conditions that breed it.

closure of the names of campaign contributors. She said that because of government harassment of the SWP, turning in the names of financial supporters of the campaign would be tantamount to giving the government a ready-made "enemies" list.

The socialist campaign has asked for a hearing before the election board on its request for an exemption from the disclosure requirement.

Willie Mae Reid gave the main rally speech. Her Democratic and Republican opponents have stressed "crime" as being a central issue of the campaign, and all have called for more cops as a "solution."

Reid lambasted this "law and order" approach. She described the deplorable conditions in the so-called high-crime areas and pointed out that her socialist program points the way toward ending the conditions that breed street crime.

Also speaking at the rally were Harriet Palmer, a student at Chicago State University and a coordinator of the Student Committee Against Racism in Boston; Brian Williams, organizer of the Chicago Young Socialist Alliance; and Eddy Two-Rivers, president of the Chicago chapter of the American Indian Movement.

The day after the rally, supporters of the Reid campaign met for a series of workshops and talks that focused on the "Bill of Rights for Working People" called for in the socialist campaign.

With the achievement of ballot status, Reid's supporters have been stepping up their efforts to reach working people throughout Chicago. For example, Reid and a group of campaign activists talked with people and distributed literature at an unemployment compensation center on Feb. 4. Joining Reid was Ed Heisler, a railroad worker and member of the United Transportation Union, who is a national chairperson of the Socialist Workers presidential campaign.

Estella Johnson, 22, a nurses' aide who has been looking for work for six months, told the campaigners, "I don't have any nice words for the economy." When asked if she thought the country is headed for a depression, she replied with words heard often at the jobless center, "This is the depression."

Asked what the Democratic and Republican politicians are doing about unemployment and high prices, Willie Johnson, a construction worker who was waiting while his wife filed for jobless benefits, summed up the sentiments of many, saying, "I can't say they're doing much of nothing."

Reid was well received by many of the people she talked with. One woman said that since she has a lot of free time, she would volunteer to work on the Reid campaign.

U. of Chicago debate

Reid spoke to 300 students who turned out Feb. 4 at the University of Chicago for a candidates' debate sponsored by the student government.

At the debate, Stuart Sweet, president of the student government, reported that of the six candidates invited, only Mayor Daley had declined to attend. Calling Daley's absence "an unmistakable pattern," Sweet compared the mayor to "a reluctant Nixon or Johnson," unwilling to speak to young people who might raise criticisms, while frequently addressing groups of businessmen.

It turned out that Daley was not the only candidate who would prefer to avoid his opponents. Garrett Brown, who had helped organize the debate, told *The Militant* that Edward Hanrahan's campaign manager and brother, William Hanrahan, had tried to persuade him that Reid had "no right to speak" since she was not a candidate in the Democratic or Republican primary.

However, when the debate organizers refused to back down and rescind their invitation to the socialist candidate, Hanrahan had no choice but to accept the student government's nonexclusionist policy.

Democratic Alderman William Singer, a liberal in search of more conservative backing, began the debate by designating "crime" as a primary issue in the campaign and by calling for, among other things, 1,000 more cops on the street. He went on to advocate more tax breaks for business, which he claimed would attract more industry, and therefore more jobs, to Chicago.

Singer was followed by Hanrahan, the former state's attorney who was the chief official responsible for the 1969 slaying of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

To make his "law and order" stance more palatable, Hanrahan called for the police department to become an "equal opportunity employer," while also demanding harsher sentences to teach that "crime does not pay."

Like Singer, Hanrahan wants to see "easy loans" for business, while offering nothing to solve the problems of working people.

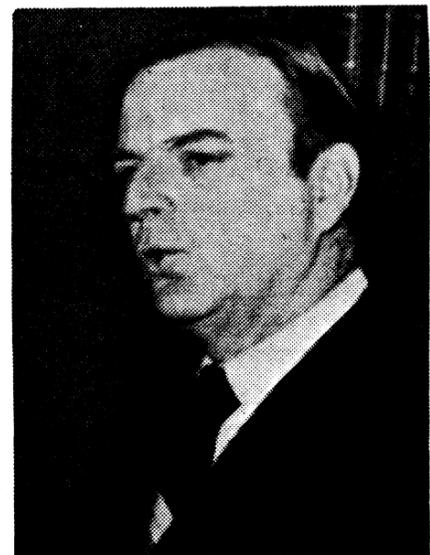
As soon as the question period began, Hanrahan was attacked by questioners for his role in the Hampton-Clark murders.

'Insult to Blacks'

Willie Mae Reid, who followed Hanrahan, expressed the feeling of most of those in the audience when she called it an "insult to the Black people of Chicago" to have a murderer such as Hanrahan treated with such politeness by the other Democratic candidates.

She also scored the other candidates for mentioning "not a single word" about the white racist mob violence directed against the Black schoolchildren of Boston and charged that it was "pandering to racism" that brought about this silence, just as it was "pandering to racism" that caused her opponents to be silent about Hanrahan's role in the attack on the Panthers.

Reid called in her talk for "deep-going solutions for the deepgoing problems we have."



Killer-cop Hanrahan demands harsher sentences, more 'law and order.'

She said she favored a massive public works program to provide jobs and critically needed low-cost housing, schools, hospitals, and day-care centers. She pointed out that instead of giving business a tax break, as recommended by Singer and Hanrahan, she would tax the corporations and eliminate the \$100-billion defense budget to provide funds for public works. She called for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all.

Reid was followed by State Senator Richard Newhouse, a Black Democrat. He painted a picture of the inequities between Black and white people in Chicago, but he offered no real solutions to the problems he described.

When he was asked whether he supported Singer and Hanrahan's proposals on crime, Newhouse said, "All those proposals are good."

Newhouse reiterated his well-known position against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and was challenged on this by questioners in the audience who pointed out that passage of the ERA would bolster the struggle for women's rights.

With Willie Mae Reid's campaign becoming more well known throughout the city, new supporters continue to join the campaign and to offer to do work. A number of these new supporters attended a reception at Reid's apartment Feb. 2. They joined in a lively discussion of the Bill of Rights for Working People and how these demands can be achieved. They also discussed how to get news of the campaign to people throughout Chicago.

Hundreds in S.F. hear Maria Barreno

SAN FRANCISCO—Four hundred people turned out to hear Maria Isabel Barreno at the Militant Labor Forum here Feb. 8. Barreno, an outspoken feminist and socialist, is coauthor of *New Portuguese Letters*. The forum was the high point of her three-day tour in the Bay Area.

New Portuguese Letters first appeared in 1972 and was immediately banned by the Portuguese dictatorship as "pornographic and offensive to public decency."

Barreno told the audience, "If this book had been written by a man, there would never have been a trial. It would never have been banned. In fact, the shops of Lisbon are full of books far more explicit than ours, but they are, of course, written by men. Three women writing about the real passions and emotions of women was more than the government would stand for. To them it was dangerous."

The "Three Marias," as the authors came to be known, were arrested and brought to trial. They attribute their acquittal last May in large part to the powerful protest movement organized by feminist groups in Europe and the United States. Barreno was optimistic about the future of the women's movement in Portugal. One of the most urgent needs, she says, is to fight for legalized abortion. "I estimate 98 percent of Portuguese women have had abortions. Abortions must be made safe, legal, and available to all women."

Author Kay Boyle, who represented Amnesty International, also spoke at the forum. Boyle urged support for Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, an Iranian sociologist and researcher sentenced to eight years in the shah's prisons.

Catherine Siskron, of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), explained the case of Ines Romeo, a Brazilian woman who was arrested, tortured, and sentenced to life imprisonment by Brazilian authorities.

Speaking to 200 students at Stanford University, Barreno emphasized the need for Portuguese women to fight for equal rights. "By law, women had equal pay even under the dictatorship. But we must fight to get the rights we have in law, but not in fact—a situation I have discovered that exists in many other countries as well."

The Golden Gate chapter of the National Organization for Women sponsored a reception for Barreno, and she was also the guest of honor at a luncheon of the United Nations Association (UNA). The UNA is organizing an International Women's Conference to be held in Mexico City later this year.

Barreno's stay here received extensive feature-length coverage in all the major newspapers. The *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote, quoting her: "The feminist movement has to show that men and women have fought all these years as the poor fight the rich." The feminist "is not trying to be an equal of men—to be like the oppressor. The whole society must change. Men are not the model."

...crisis in Detroit: a way out?

Continued from back page

permanently low. Making a profit is their one and only aim, and if that means a depression in Detroit, then so be it.

Oh, yes, there is one assembly line working full-time and overtime. The General Motors (GM) Cadillac plant is forcing workers to come in six days a week, nine or 10 hours a day.

In theory, laid-off auto workers are protected by Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), which together with state unemployment compensation pay up to 95 percent of straight-time wages. That's fine . . .

if you have enough seniority to qualify;

if your benefits (26 or 52 weeks maximum, depending on seniority) haven't run out yet; and

if the fund hasn't gone bankrupt.

Thousands have already exhausted both state and SUB benefits, and the UAW estimates that another thousand lose their benefits every week. To top it off, the Chrysler fund is expected to run completely dry in March, and GM's by midyear. Then what?

Young's record

For all the talk of a Black-labor-business "alliance," there is no mistaking which side Coleman Young is on.

At the beginning of January, Young returned from a week's vacation in Jamaica and announced the layoff of 1,329 city employees. Detroit, like other cities, faces a budget deficit, perhaps \$50-million. And Young, like other mayors, is determined to make it up out of the pay of city workers and by cutting out social services now needed more than ever. Still more city layoffs are threatened.

There is one exception: the cops. Young has pledged to crack down on crime; he wants to hire more cops and increase "on-the-street services." It doesn't take much imagination to know what kind of "services" the racist cops dish out in the ghetto.

Young boasts that "the police department is arresting more people than have every been arrested in the history of this city."

But the effect on crime—which is bred by the unemployment, poverty, and racism that Young has done nothing about—has been negligible. Last year the city set a new record with 801 homicides.

What about the long-term economic decline of the city? Young's greatest "achievement" to date has been helping push through the state legislature a bill to give more tax breaks to industries that modernize their facilities instead of moving out of the city. This is supposed to save jobs. No doubt it has saved Chrysler and others a bundle on their tax bills, but as for jobs . . . well, look around.

So far the top officials of the UAW have acted as though the layoffs were



Coleman Young (left) with friends Henry Ford II and Leonard Woodcock. "What is good for the rich is good for the poor," Young promised.

some natural catastrophe, beyond their power to affect.

Even when the UAW leaders took 10,000 unemployed union members to Washington, D. C., Feb. 5, speeches by Woodcock and others focused on what could be done to help the auto corporations out of the slump.

'Partnership'?

For many years now UAW officials have assumed that they were in "partnership" with the employers to create an affluent society in which the needs of workers and employers alike would be "equitably" satisfied. This was a bad mistake.

The employing class has its own plans for Detroit. These include speed-up, forcing down wages, and keeping unemployment permanently high. The union movement needs some plans of its own that will satisfy the needs of working people, the unemployed, and the poor.

The demand for cars may not pick up for months or years, maybe never. Instead of just watching in horror while SUB benefits run out, doesn't it make more sense to launch a drive to put everybody back to work through a 30-hour workweek at 40 hours pay?

Perhaps people in this country don't really need or want nine or 10 million new cars a year—at today's prices we certainly can't afford them. But those same factories now shut down could be transformed for the production of mass transportation equipment, prefabricated housing units, and farm equipment desperately needed by millions of people here and around the world.

About those profits

The auto companies will no doubt howl that this couldn't be done at a profit. But let's look again.

Chrysler is complaining about los-

ing \$52-million in 1974, but its profits the year before were \$255-million. GM's "paper-thin" profits last year were a tidy \$950-million. These corporate giants would seem to be in better shape to absorb the costs of the economic crisis than auto workers with no assets and no prospects for finding another job.

But that's only scratching the surface. If the unions demanded that the books of these companies be opened up, they would uncover the truth about how the industrialists are swindling workers and consumers out of millions more every year in hidden profits that never show up on the official reports.

Is there any answer to the crisis facing Detroit? Yes—but it means facing up to the fact that there is no "commonality of interests" between working people and those who own the factories and banks. There is a clash of opposing class interests, and no party or politician can represent both.

Everyone knows that the labor vote and the Black vote are decisive in this city and to a great extent in the state. But that immense power has done nothing to ward off this crisis. Why? Because it is dissipated and wasted in supporting Democrats like Coleman Young.

If the unions and the Black community put up their own candidates, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, these candidates would behave in a totally different way.

Workers' representatives

Working-class representatives in the city and state governments would use their influence to back up labor struggles for higher wages, a shorter workweek, or opening corporate books.

They would strictly prohibit industries from closing plants and moving to low-wage areas.

They would take over shut-down factories and keep them running.

They would tax the profits of the corporations and use the money to provide more and better social services and additional public service jobs—with the top priority on rebuilding the ravaged inner city.

The problems of layoffs, racism, and poverty are broader than just Detroit, of course, and they cannot be ended in this city alone.

But if we get together here and begin to mobilize the union ranks, the unemployed, and the Black community against the layoffs—if we stop relying on Democratic and Republican charlatans and begin organizing independent political action—we will set an example that will spread like wildfire across the country.

Time for 30-hour week

"Soon, we of organized labor will take up the cudgels for a shorter workweek. Already, the men of little faith are pulling their hair and gnashing their teeth at our proposal that now is the time to shorten working hours. They say, as they have always said, it can't be done. . . .

"They did this when we talked about abolishing the 16-hour day, and the 14-hour day, and the 12-hour day and the 10-hour day. They said living standards would come down. They said that workers with leisure on their hands would degenerate into drunks and immoral beasts. But we got the 8-

hour day and living standards rose more than we ever dreamed of with a 16-hour day.

"The tools of production made it possible to create greater economic wealth with less human effort. We now have the tools that can give us higher living standards, a shorter workweek and a greater measure of human leisure. . . ."

— UAW President Walter Reuther in 1957

Eighteen years later, those words could not be more appropriate. Isn't now the time to "take up the cudgels for a shorter workweek" so that everyone can have a job?

Program for labor action

How unions can 'get U.S. back to work'

By FRANK LOVELL

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, appeared on national television Feb. 9 to prophesy economic gloom and doom. "We're past the recession stage," he said, "we're going into a depression."

Meany called for emergency measures "like you take when you are fighting a war." Elaborating on this theme, he said, "We are now fighting a war to preserve our way of life, as far as I'm concerned, and we have people in Congress and in the White House who seem to be insensitive to the problems of the people of America."

Meany stands squarely behind the AFL-CIO's "action program" designed to "restore stability to the economy and get America back to work," adopted by the general board meeting last month. For all his rhetorical militancy, the "program of action" turns out to be a stale rehash of penny-ante reforms, little different from what is being offered by various sections of the employing class.

The "program" calls for a ban on Arab oil, quotas on imports of industrial goods to protect U.S. industry, lower interest rates, a \$20-billion tax cut, a modest public works program, and some better unemployment benefits. It appears more suited to the needs of special corporate interests than to the problems of consumers and unemployed workers.

To create more jobs the standard proposal of the AFL-CIO executive council has been to reduce interest rates and increase credit allocations, primarily for the benefit of the housing and construction industries. This was repeated and reaffirmed by the general board.

Stripped of the verbiage about "blackmail demands of the Arab oil sheiks" and Meany's bombastic "not one cent for tribute," there was nothing different from what the union bureaucracy has been saying for the past several months and years. It adds up to very little, certainly far short of a full-employment program.

Real purpose

If the real purpose of this extraordinary meeting of the rarely convened AFL-CIO general board was to draft a program for the union movement to combat unemployment and inflation, the results did not warrant the bother of calling more than 300 of these top officials from around the country to Washington. They all drew their travel costs and per diem expenses, and some may have enjoyed the trip. But there was another purpose, sensed by most of them, if not completely understood.

They are an essential part of the two-party political structure, and they know that the economic and social crisis dictates that they perform. This is what brought them to Washington.

They are compelled now to dissociate themselves from the economic policies of the Ford administration. They also seek to strengthen their bargaining position within the Democratic Party and hope in this way to exert greater influence upon the new Congress to achieve their own narrow ends. They are mindful of the demands from the members of their unions as well as their obligations and commitments to the employing class.

When the top labor officials met to recommend "emergency measures," they scratched around for something they thought would be acceptable to the new Congress.

Tax cuts

The most specific "independent" proposal is a two-part package of tax reductions, drafted originally by Ford's Labor-Management Advisory Committee. It was approved unanimously by the committee, but rejected by Ford. This is the \$20-billion tax cut the AFL-CIO will urge Congress



MEANY: Ready to fight Arabs, but not U.S. employers



Jobless workers in New York. AFL-CIO 'program' aims to bail out U.S. industry, not create jobs for all.

to enact, including a \$5-billion tax savings for big business through a rise in the investment tax credit from 7 to 12 percent.

The theory is that if the government subsidizes corporate investment in plant expansion some jobs will trickle down.

Sitting on the Labor-Management Advisory Committee are top executives of General Motors, Alcoa, General Electric, Sears Roebuck, Mobil Oil, the Bechtel Companies, U.S. Steel, and the First National Bank. The union officials are careful, in drafting their economic proposals, not to offend any of these gentlemen.

When George Meany appears before congressional committees to explain labor's stand to "stabilize employment" and to regulate prices through "allocations and rationing," he does so with eyes and ears for the response of the most authoritative representatives of big business, those with whom the union officialdom is in constant negotiations over questions of wages and hours and other labor-management issues.

In this way the union bureaucrat is conditioned to believe that all major social issues can or should be settled in back-room negotiations. Then the decisions on necessary legislation can be taken to Congress for enactment.

Most top union officials have the impression that they deal with the real powers in this society, which accounts for their low opinion of politicians in both capitalist parties, whom they regard as the "political office boys" of the rulers. Heavy financial gifts to politicians for favors returned, of course, are not precluded on this account. It all comes natural.

No action planned

This explains why the AFL-CIO general board plans no action to "put America back to work." Their "action" is in the halls of Congress, not on picket lines or in mass demonstrations. Those two or three union presidents who had the temerity to suggest that a march of the unemployed on Washington might prompt some favorable legislation were instant pariahs among their peers, which does not mean there won't be any demonstrations. It only means that demonstrations will not be called by the top officials of the AFL-CIO.

They are committed to the proposition that the conditions of the workers and the poor can improve only as the existing industrial structure is revived and the owners of industry prosper. They want first to "stabilize the economy," and they fear that demonstrations by millions of AFL-CIO members and others will create greater economic and social instability. They seek to negotiate with the leading industrialists, heads of the giant corporations, to reach "mutual" solutions for the problems that beset industry.

This approach to the crisis of the capitalist economy gets in the way of a union program to fight unemployment and inflation.

The union movement, with all its potential allies—the unorganized workers, Blacks and other minorities, the unemployed, and the millions of impoverished people—can create jobs by de-

manding a shortening of the hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay.

More jobs than the present work force can fill could be created by a massive public works program employing millions. This should be constructive work, not a make-work scheme. It should be carefully planned, designed to make the best use of all modern technology to build public housing for all who need a decent place to live, hospitals for the sick, and rest homes for the old. It should build new schools and modern mass transit systems.

These two badly needed measures—a shorter workweek and a national public works program planned and controlled by workers—would solve the unemployment problem, and many others in the process.

Who will pay?

Who will pay the bill for all this? Who will buy the materials? Who will pay the wages? The public works program will create new wealth, raise the living standard of everyone, and lift up the general condition of life. This in turn will help reduce crime and all the graft and corruption endemic to the planned scarcity that now exists. There will be no lack of money.

For those who worry about how the Congress can get the money to start an economic turnaround of this kind, let them look to the \$100-billion annual military budget. This is sheer waste, worse than waste. Eliminate this huge drain on the economy and there will be plenty of money to start on a new course and make possible useful expansion of the economy.

Another quick \$30-billion, probably more, could come from simply cutting out the exorbitant interest payments on the national debt. Why should the government pay tribute to private bankers?

A national campaign by the entire union movement—including such big and strategically important unions as the auto workers, the miners, and the Teamsters, which are not AFL-CIO affiliates—to create jobs and keep the standard of living of the working class from slipping ever lower would arouse the support of the vast majority who are unorganized, and all who suffer most.

It could not be expected that the AFL-CIO general board would develop such a program or organize any actions. It is not in the nature of this body to do so.

But the urgent need for action is felt and voiced by growing numbers. Black organizations, notably Operation PUSH, have led marches and rallies for jobs, encouraging union participation. The Coalition of Labor Union Women has called for actions March 8 to demand jobs for all. Conferences are being held by a number of state and local union bodies, and a march on Washington is widely discussed.

It is these initial steps to fight back against the attacks by the employing class—not Meany's program for bailing out U.S. industry—that show the way to deal with the threatening economic disaster and "put America back to work."

S.F. students, parents, teachers hit cutbacks

By JON OLMSTEAD

SAN FRANCISCO—Budget cuts by the school board have generated angry resistance among students, teachers, and parents here. Offers of charitable donations that have been made by local individuals will hardly be able to make up for an estimated \$4-million in cutbacks this year, and an estimated \$16-million budget deficit next year.

"To assume these programs can continue on charity is idiotic . . . as well as irresponsible," said one 15-year-old student, Katherine Cisinski.

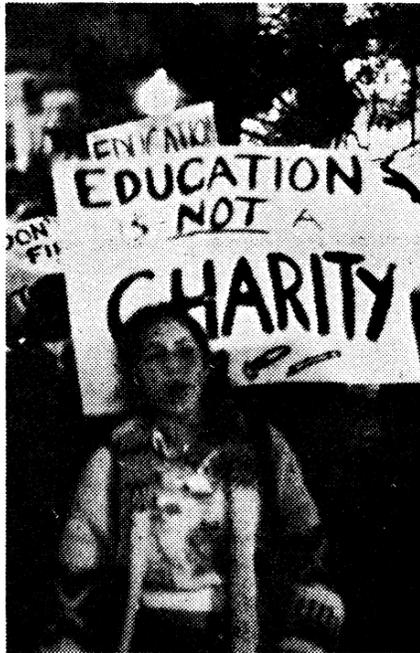
About 75 students held a spirited picket line outside of the board of education meeting Feb. 11, chanting, "Education is our right!" and "Stop the cutbacks now!" Eric Harvison, one of the leaders of the action, told the board meeting, "We're not a charity. Education is a constitutional guarantee. Why don't you lay off some of the administrators in this building instead of cutting our programs?"

Leslee Clement from Lowell High added, "The school district is not a charitable organization. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of our needs."

That same evening students from five junior high and five high schools announced the formation of a new group—Students United Against Cutbacks (SUAC)—and called a planning meeting for the following day.

Cutbacks made so far will end all varsity and intramural school sports programs; all purchases of books and other instructional materials; and all junior high school drama, music, and forensics programs. In addition, all school maintenance will be deferred "unless safety is jeopardized."

As the San Francisco Examiner ex-



Students picket board of education to protest cutbacks.

plained, this means that "stockroom shelves will soon stand empty of simple items like paper and pencils. Library collections will not expand and lost or stolen books won't be replaced. New textbooks also are apparently out. Hallways will seldom be swept. Broken windows and mimeograph machines will stay that way unless staff or student safety is endangered."

Bryan Stevens, head of the 145,000-member California Teachers Association, said, "San Francisco is the tip of the iceberg." He warned that unless state aid to school districts is increased before June, at least 15,000 teachers throughout the state would face layoffs for the coming school year.

L.A. students protest cop raids in schools

By DAVID KAUFMAN

LOS ANGELES—Protests are growing against the latest in a series of police attacks on the rights of Los Angeles high school students. Last December, the Los Angeles police department (LAPD) rounded up 128 students, loaded them onto buses, and took them to Juvenile Hall for allegedly pushing drugs.

Demonstrations to protest this dragnet raid have taken place at Canoga Park, Venice, Pacific Palisades, and University high schools. In addition, the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has filed suit to block further victimization of the high school students.

Those arrested were fingered by undercover cops posing as high school students since the beginning of the school year. Several students described how the undercover agents had gone to great lengths to convince them to buy drugs, showing that the real pushers are the cops themselves.

The mass arrests took place against a background of public outrage at the LAPD's "Alpha File." This is a secret list of students, mostly Black, who are kept under surveillance as "potential troublemakers." Students are placed on this list without their knowledge and without being formally charged with any crime, on the basis

of unconfirmed reports from school officials and bus drivers.

The right of the police to keep this secret "enemies list" is being challenged in court by the ACLU, the Greater Watts Criminal Justice Center, the Western Center on Law and Poverty, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

David Keepnews, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles board of education Office 7, declared his support for the student demonstrations against the latest police harassment.

He said: "The LAPD roundup, under the guise of getting drugs out of the high schools, is the latest in a series of attacks on the rights of all high school students. The arrested students are victims of the city's desire to keep students quiet about the rotten conditions in the schools."

"The city would like to focus attention away from the problems of shrinking school budgets, overcrowded classrooms, and racist prison-like conditions by saying that the big problem is drugs in the schools."

"The SWP demands an end to this harassment. We demand that all criminal and disciplinary charges against the students be dropped and that all cops be immediately removed from the high schools."

Hundreds join picket in U. of Mich. strike

By MARGARET THOMAS

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—A strike by the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) at the University of Michigan here continues to gain support as it enters its second week.

GEO was recognized in April 1974 as the collective bargaining representative for 2,000 teaching assistants and about 200 research and other graduate student assistants.

After more than eight months of unsuccessful negotiations, members of GEO voted by a 5-to-1 margin to go on strike at a Feb. 10 meeting of more than 1,000.

Their demands include: higher wages, a service fee in lieu of tuition, affirmative action and a clause against sex discrimination, job security, class size limitations, guarantees of consultation with the union on changes affecting union members, union recognition, and an agency shop.

Graduate student assistants at the university are among the lowest-paid of any at major universities. GEO President Aleda Krause stated, "The university's last offer is still less than our take-home pay in 1967 in real dollars. We must at least keep up with the rate of inflation."

On Feb. 14 a demonstration of 2,500 students, faculty, and other supporters was held on central campus to protest the university's position at the bargaining table. This was the largest demonstration at the university since 1970.

An undergraduate support committee has urged students to boycott classes. Many sympathetic professors have canceled classes. One undergraduate dorm and residential college, East Quad, voted overwhelmingly last week to close the college

and turn the building into GEO strike headquarters.

The Black United Front, a coalition of 22 Black and Third World student organizations, has endorsed the strike.

Statements of support have also come from United Auto Workers Local 2001, which represents 3,200 newly organized clerical workers at the university; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1583, which represents 2,400 service and maintenance workers; and many other labor organizations in the area. A \$5,000 strike fund has been collected.

Picket lines of as many as 500 people are up at all major buildings, parking lots, and loading docks. The Teamsters, representing truck drivers delivering supplies to the university, have pledged their full support. In many instances members of other unions are also honoring picket lines.

Raising the slogan, "The stronger the support, the shorter the strike," hundreds of pickets have succeeded in shutting down several major classroom buildings. Attendance in some others is less than 50 percent.

Police have been called in to break the strike by aiding trucks and cars to cross picket lines. Despite considerable pushing and shoving, no major confrontations have occurred so far.

Last week the union and the university entered secret negotiations. The union soon realized that the secrecy worked against them, however, as rumors were allowed to spread. Open negotiations have now resumed. Agreement has been reached on two important issues, affirmative action and nondiscrimination.

Food stamp protest becomes victory rally

By MARY HILLERY

MINNEAPOLIS—About 150 persons turned out here Feb. 14 for a rally to protest the proposed increase in the cost of food stamps. The protest, called more than a month ago, became a "victory rally," however.

A day earlier, a bill freezing the cost of food stamps became law when President Ford decided not to veto the measure.

Ford's proposal to hike the cost of food stamps had aroused opposition throughout the country. The bill freezing the cost until Dec. 31 was carried through Congress in several weeks.

The demonstration, held at the Hennepin County Government Center, drew widespread support from com-

munity organizations and public officials.

Some of the picket signs at the rally read: "Freeze the price of food stamps forever" and "Let Ford eat cake."

One speaker after another echoed the sentiment that while the price freeze is a victory, the cost of food keeps rising, continuing to reduce the real value of food stamps.

Betty Olbekson, a mother on welfare, told the crowd that hunger is a daily reality for some of the city's poor. "I challenge President Ford," she said, "to live on a food stamp budget until World Hunger Day, March 9." She added, "I don't think he can do it."

Olbekson said that it was the massive opposition of food stamp recipients themselves that kept the price rise from going through.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture had acknowledged that it had received thousands of phone calls protesting the price hike. The head of the food stamp program in Minnesota publicly denounced Ford's plan, as did other food stamp officials.

The increase would have forced many people, including a large number of elderly and handicapped persons, to pay as much as \$45 for \$46 in food stamps. In effect, they would have been eliminated from the program.

A government study recently released showed that a family using food stamps, even at current rates, could not afford to purchase even the minimum food necessary to live.



Many families on food stamps can't afford minimum food necessary to live.

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 28, 1975

Behind China's new constitution Paving the way for Mao's successor

By Dave Frankel

The day after it had adjourned, the people of China were informed that the National People's Congress—formally the highest governing body in the country—had met in Peking January 13 to 17. The congress, the first in ten years, opened with two reports. The first, on the revision of the country's constitution, was given by Deputy Premier Chang Chun-chiao; the second, on the work of the government, was given by Premier Chou En-lai.

According to the official communiqué printed in the January 24 issue of *Peking Review*, "The Congress was held at a time when the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country had registered brilliant achievements, when in particular the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had won great victories and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius had scored big successes and when the situation both at home and abroad was excellent. From beginning to end the Congress was permeated with an atmosphere of jubilation, unity, vigour and militancy. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory."

The communiqué reported that after unanimously approving the reports by Chou and Chang, "The deputies celebrated the accomplishment of these glorious and historic tasks with prolonged applause."

Despite the self-congratulatory rhetoric, the congress actually reflected a deep insecurity in the Chinese bureaucracy. This was shown especially in the revision of the constitution of the People's Republic of China.

No Pretense of Discussion

When the "Stalin constitution" was adopted in the Soviet Union in 1936, Leon Trotsky subjected it to a withering criticism. He noted that the proposed draft of this constitution had been submitted to the Soviet population for its "consideration." "It would be vain, however," he wrote, "to seek in this whole sixth part of the globe one Communist who would dare to criticize a creation of the Central Committee, or one nonparty citizen who would reject a proposal from the ruling party. The discussion reduced itself to sending resolutions of gratitude to Stalin for the 'happy life.'"

But in the case of the Chinese constitution, there was not even the pretense of public discussion. The first the people of China heard of it was after it had already been adopted. Even the 2,864 delegates to the National People's Congress first began discuss-



Soldiers of the People's Liberation Army. New constitution places them under command of party chairman instead of government.

ing the document January 5—only eight days before the opening of the congress.

Of course a constitution is only an outline on paper; its guarantees may or may not be enforced. The promises about democratic rights in the Stalin constitution were meant to impress liberal opinion in the imperialist democracies. For the millions of purge victims they might as well not have existed. But the new Maoist constitution makes the one introduced by Stalin look like a blueprint for the millennium. It goes considerably further than even Stalin went in formally codifying the substitution of the party for the state, the party leadership for the party as a whole, and the individual dictator for the collective party leadership.

Article 3 of the new constitution declares, as did the 1954 constitution that preceded it, "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels. . . ."

But article 2 states: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China."

Thus, power belongs to the people but is exercised by the "vanguard." And for those who miss the import of article 2, the point is repeated, several more times.

Article 16, for example, begins to define the structure of the state by

explaining, "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China." (Emphasis added.)

The section in italics was not in the 1954 constitution. Its application was indicated in a January 17 communiqué in *Hsinhua*, the Chinese news agency, which announced that the Central Committee of the Chinese CP "decided to submit to the National People's Congress for deliberation 'the draft revised text of the constitution of the People's Republic of China', 'the report on the revision of the constitution', 'the report on the work of the government', as well as lists of nominees for the membership of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council."

Here we have "the highest organ of state power." Its agenda and the reports it considers are first approved by the Chinese CP, as are the nominees it chooses for government posts. Obviously, the real government is the party leadership, and the pretense of an independent government apparatus is simply a sham.

Centralization

Although the party has been the decisive force in China since its conquest of power, the formalization of its total power over the state is an important step. One of the tasks carried out by the National People's Congress was the formal abolition of the post of head of state, because in the past the head of state—Liu Shao-chi

—happened to come into conflict with the head of the party.

Another source of potential conflict was eliminated—at least on paper—by the approval of article 15 of the constitution. This explains that "the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China. . . ."

"The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces."

The armed forces are commanded by the party chairman, not by the government. As Chang Chun-chiao said in his report on the constitution, "All this will certainly help strengthen the Party's centralized leadership over the structure of the state and meet the desire of the people of the whole country."

In the absence of any democratic discussion, what "the desire of the people of the whole country" is, is debatable, but Chang's point about centralization is indisputable.

Iron Fist

The iron fist is prominently displayed even in those sections of the constitution paying lip service to the idea of democratic rights. Article 13, for instance, says, "Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people."

Then comes the purpose of such activity. "The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Emphasis added.)

What the Maoist regime means by "speaking out freely, airing views fully, [and] holding great debates" was shown in an item in *Hsinhua* dated July 7, 1974, which stated:

"When the criticism movement was forging ahead this spring, a number of teachers and students at Peking University and other institutions left the campuses to explain the directives of the Party Central Committee on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and other relevant material to a total audience of several hundred thousand workers, peasants, soldiers and government cadres." (Emphasis added.)

Anyone rash enough to engage in critical activity beyond the scope of the party directives would soon find out that the "criticism campaign" had a new target.

Those naïve enough to think that the average Chinese citizen should have a say in politics are sternly admonished in article 26 of the constitution. "The fundamental rights and du-

Continued on next page

...China: Maoist regime strengthens dictatorial rule

Continued from preceding page

ties of citizens," it says, "are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China."

To disagree with the Maoist leadership is to violate the basic law of the land.

Mao's Role

The bourgeois press in the United States, virtually without exception, has speculated that the absence of Mao from the congress indicated that he disagreed with some of its decisions. But the fact that the chairman of the Communist party—which Mao remains—was named as commander of the armed forces casts doubt on the idea that Mao lost out in a conflict with his lieutenants.

Furthermore, the Mao cult was written into the preamble of the constitution, which says, "our great motherland will always advance along the

road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

A more likely explanation for Mao's absence was given by Leo Goodstadt in the January 31 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "The family rifts were patched up at the Fourth National People's Congress in Peking," Goodstadt writes. "So confident was the old man that, while it was being held, he retired to a winter retreat 1,000 miles away from the capital.

"... his decision not to fly to Peking may have been a reminder to the nation that its leader has no illusions of immortality. . . ."

Whatever the truth about Mao's role in regard to this particular congress, there can be no doubt that its attempts to strengthen the control of the top party apparatus over all aspects of life in China were motivated by fear of what may happen when Mao dies.

Other Aspects of Constitution

Before turning to other aspects of the congress, some additional features of the constitution should be noted.

● Even the Stalin constitution recognizes in principle the right of the constituent nationalities of the Soviet Union to secede from the state. This was a basic part of the Bolshevik program on the rights of the historically oppressed nationalities, and one that Lenin devoted his last efforts to defending and amplifying. The Chinese Stalinists, to their shame, have repudiated even the formal recognition of this right for such distinct nationalities as the Tibetans and Inner Mongolians. Article 4 of the constitution states:

"The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China."

● The new constitution's preamble enshrines the Stalinist theories of building socialism in one country and of peaceful coexistence with imperialism, along with the repulsive cult of Mao Tsetung Thought. Even a formal reference to the eventual triumph of the world revolution and the establishment of a single human society is missing from this document.

The Maoist preamble concludes, "The Chinese people are fully confident that, led by the Communist Party of China, they will vanquish enemies at home and abroad and surmount all difficulties to build China into a peaceful socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

"People of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!"

Compare this with the "Declaration of Union" which headed the Soviet constitution adopted in 1923, under Lenin and Trotsky. It said, "Finally, the very structure of the soviet power, which is international in its class character, calls the toiling masses of the Soviet Republics toward a unity of one socialist family."

It concluded that the Soviet Union "shall be the voluntary association of these sovereign nations on a basis of equality, each republic reserving to itself the right of free withdrawal from the Union, that admission to this Union shall be open to all Soviet Socialist Republics such as are now existing and such as shall arise in the future . . . that it shall stand as the



Maoist 'democracy' includes directives from party on who and what to criticize. To disagree with Maoist leadership is to violate new constitution.

firm bulwark against world capitalism and form a decisive step toward the union of the toilers of all countries into one World Soviet Socialist Republic."

Such language is alien to the Maoist bureaucrats, whose only interest is to solidify their own base of power, and whose highest ideal is their own advancement.

● Article 27 of the new constitution asserts, "The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child." It is precisely marriage and the family that have been the historical forms through which the enslavement of women has been carried out, and a genuine revolutionary government, while not attempting to mechanically abolish these institutions by decree, would never give them its blessing.

Successful Stabilization?

Although both the 1954 constitution and the newly adopted one call for yearly meetings of the People's Congress, which may be advanced or postponed "when necessary," this congress was only the fourth since the Chinese CP came to power. The previous congress was held in 1964.

The ten years since the last congress were a period of turmoil in China. Both Chou and Chang asserted in the very beginning of their reports to the congress that things had been successfully stabilized.

"Since the Third National People's Congress," said Chou, "the most important event in the political life of the people of all nationalities in our country has been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao. . . . The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, promoted socialist construction and ensured that our country would stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world."

In his report on the constitution, Chang said: "Through repeated trials of strength with enemies at home and abroad, and especially through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the last eight years which destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao, the people of all nationalities in our country are more united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever."

It is certainly true that the Maoist leadership appears to be more united than at any time in the recent past. But the history of the Chinese CP is one of factional warfare waged by various bureaucratic cliques. The 81-year-old Mao doesn't have long to live, and the top bureaucrats are trying to patch together a party regime that will guarantee a stable succession. They know that renewed clique warfare might open opportunities for the masses to intervene with their own demands.

Thus, the claims that the country is "more united," and the regime "more consolidated than ever," have at least as much to do with the hopes and

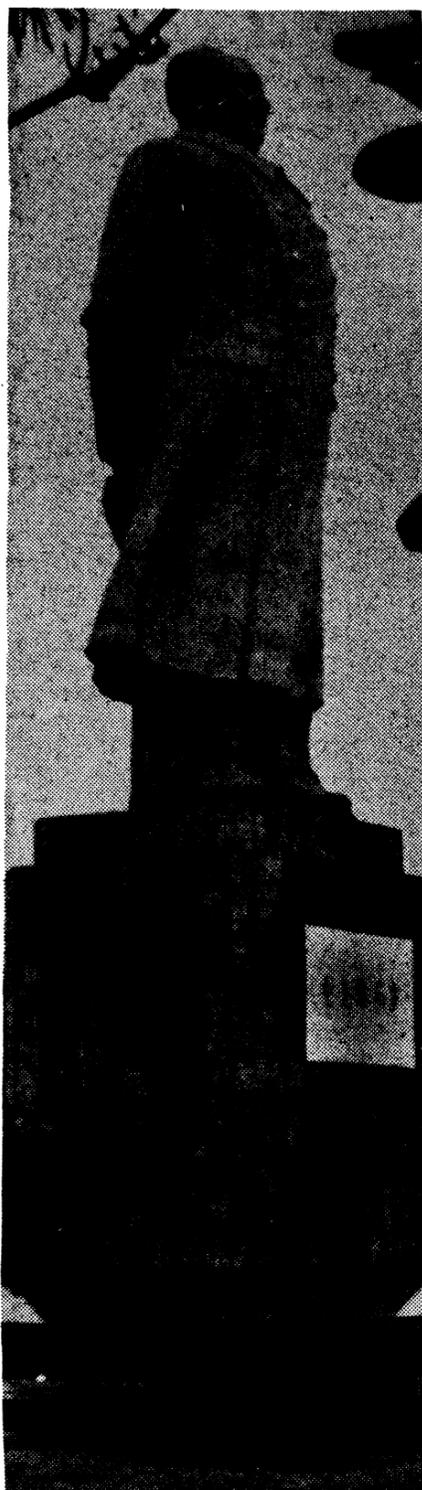
Kremlin hypocrisy

The Chinese Stalinists may have gone a step beyond their counterparts in Moscow by openly saying that the working masses do not have the right to determine the policy of the government, but the race for the title of who are the greatest hypocrites is still up for grabs. *Pravda*, the Soviet party daily, ran an article containing the following analysis of the Maoist constitution February 5.

"The contradictory nature of the new Constitution," it wrote, "the gap between 'democratic' phraseology used for publicity purposes and the actual curtailment of fundamental democratic rights of the people, shows that the Maoist regime comes up against the opposition of sections of the working people."

The Kremlin bureaucrats, who have sent—and continue to send—innumerable oppositionists to prison solely because of their political views and writings, have the gall to complain about the "terror and repressions against dissidents" practiced by the Maoist regime.

But both the Peking and Moscow bureaucrats will find that the cynical use of democratic demagoguery while denying the real thing to the people they rule can be a dangerous game. They are planting seeds that they will someday have cause to regret.



Cult of Chairman Mao has been enshrined in new Chinese constitution, along with Stalinist theories of building socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence.

at home, promises support to imperialism abroad

fears of the bureaucrats as the reality of today. This explains why the single most consistent thread running through the congress reports, as well as through the revision of the constitution, was the need to strengthen the repressive apparatus and the centralized control of the party bureaucracy.

'Magic Weapon'

The dictatorship of the proletariat, said Chang, "is the magic weapon with which the people of our country vanquish enemies and protect themselves. We must treasure it and constantly strengthen it."

His comment on the centralizing provisions in the constitution has already been quoted. Similarly, Chou said, "We should rely on the broad masses to deal steady, accurate and hard blows at the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy."

Only a "handful of class enemies," yet Chou explained, "Our primary task is to continue to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist, is long and tortuous and at times even becomes very acute." (Emphasis added.)

Both reports and the preamble to the constitution include the Stalinist theory of "sharpening class struggle" following the overthrow of capitalism. In *State and Revolution* Lenin, restating the theory of Marx and Engels, explained that the capitalist state was an instrument of repression used by a minority against the majority of society. He explained that a workers state, representing the majority of society, would have less and less need to resort to the forms of repression required under capitalism once the armed resistance of the exploiters had been broken.

Defense of Privilege

The Stalinist bureaucracy, however, did require such a repressive apparatus in order to protect its privileges against the mass of workers and peasants. Instead of withering away, the state apparatus was strengthened, and the internal regime was turned into a police dictatorship.

Following their Soviet mentors, the Maoist bureaucrats maintain that although capitalism has been abolished in China, the industry nationalized and the proimperialist armies shattered, it is necessary to continually strengthen the repressive apparatus against the threat of capitalist restoration. In reality, it is not capitalism they are afraid of, but the Chinese people.

The fear of the masses acting independently was behind Chou's exhortation to the congress delegates in which he said, "We must resolutely support the centralized leadership of the Party. . . . it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. We must put all fields of work under the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels.

"We must carry forward the glorious tradition of observing discipline, conscientiously practise democratic centralism, and, on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, achieve



Students working in countryside. Regime has dealt with potential opposition by sending 10 million to 'mountainous and other rural areas.'

unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action." (Emphasis in original.)

'Message From the King of Hell'

The meaning for the Chinese people of the decisions proclaimed by the so-called People's Congress are often hidden behind the rhetoric of stock phrases, the Maoist substitute for political discussion and analysis. The constitution informs the reader, for example, that "we should build socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and we should be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people."

One line in Chou's report, however, gave a small indication of how "the magic weapon" of repression is being used in China today. "Nearly ten million school graduates have gone to mountainous and other rural areas," Chou told his audience.

This is the regime's method for weeding out and isolating the millions of working-class youth mobilized by Mao against his factional opponents in the early days of the Cultural Revolution. Having used demagogic promises of proletarian democracy to push the Red Guards into motion—promises that are notably lacking in the present constitution—the regime now fears that many of these disillusioned youths have now become carriers of oppositional ideas.

Deportations from the cities of young persons who had participated in the Red Guard movement began in 1967. In December 1973, Hsinhua gave a figure of eight million for those exiled to the countryside. In his report, Chou stated that the number has now grown by nearly two million.

A former Red Guard quoted in an article in the November 30, 1974, issue of *Saturday Review-World* gives a vivid description of the way such banishment to "rural and mountainous areas" is viewed by the victims. He explained:

"There was a big meeting attended

by all the teachers and students. And a big red poster was put up with a special sign on top in gold, just as on a wedding announcement. And underneath were the names of everyone who was to be sent to the countryside. The way they presented it—you might think it was a great honor. When all the girls saw their names, they burst our crying. But we boys just laughed. Who cares? If you pointed 10 guns at me, I'd still laugh.

"Then an individual notice was sent to each home—with a whole ceremony, gongs, and firecrackers, more than on New Year's Day. . . .

"We students called this individual notice a message from the King of Hell, telling us to hurry on down."

Viewed in this light, one change from the 1954 constitution is particularly interesting. The provision that stated, "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of residence and freedom to change their residence" has been dropped, thus formalizing the existing system of internal passports and mandatory residence permits.

New World War?

Although the congress was mainly concerned with China's internal situation, one pronouncement by Chou on foreign affairs caught the attention of the world press. He said in his report, "The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, and they are the source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to war some day. The people of all countries must get prepared. Detente and peace are being talked about everywhere in the world; it is precisely this that shows there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world."

It is certainly true that detente cannot guarantee peace. The war drive of imperialism is not something that can be altered short of its overthrow. But the point of Chou's statement was not to warn against making deals with imperialism at the expense of the world revolution. On the contrary, he was warning the imperialists that Mos-

cow is an unreliable ally, and that Peking would prove a more dependable substitute.

"Soviet social-imperialism," says Chou, "makes a feint to the east while attacking in the west."

Although Chou doesn't really expect a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, as was indicated by the focus of the congress itself, he uses this device as a means to make clear that the Maoists would be willing to unite with imperialism against the Soviet Union in the event of such a war.

Narrow Nationalism

The Maoist policy on this score was best expressed, in all its narrowly nationalist shortsightedness, in a Hsinhua dispatch dated July 6, 1974. The dispatch said:

"In furtherance of its expansionist ambition Soviet social-imperialism is handling Japan with kid glove and mail fist and applying the stick-and-carrot policy in an attempt to put Japan into its orbit of hegemony. . . .

"Linking its military bases on Japan's four northern islands with those in Vladivostok and other places in the Far-East, the Soviet Pacific fleet and military aircraft can control the Soya and Tsugaru straits and the Japan Sea and roam in north and west Pacific. This is spearheaded first and foremost against the U.S. Seventh Fleet and at the same time threatens Japan's security." (Emphasis added.)

The same policy has led the Maoist regime to give its support to the blood-soaked reign of the shah of Iran on the basis of the shah's hostility to the USSR.

Counterrevolution abroad and stifling dictatorship at home—that was the promise of the Fourth National People's Congress to the people of China and the world working class. The need for a political revolution by the mass of the Chinese workers and peasants to sweep the rotten Maoist bureaucracy out of power has never been clearer.

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Right to picket under attack

British workers demand: 'Free Shrewsbury Two!'

By Robin Hunter

London

Two years after their alleged crime, and more than a year after their conviction, the largest demonstration yet held in defense of two Shrewsbury building workers jailed for "conspiracy" during the 1972 national building strike took place here January 14.

Des Warren and Eric Tomlinson—known as the Shrewsbury Two—received sentences of three and two years respectively for picketing a building site. They were found guilty under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, which both Tory and Labour governments have kept on the books as a weapon against the type of militant flying pickets used so successfully by striking building workers and miners in 1972.

Between ten and twelve thousand workers turned out to march from Tower Hill to the Houses of Parliament, where the Trades Union Congress sponsored a lobby of MPs. Another three thousand marchers went directly to Parliament from Euston station, the main terminal for trains from the north of England and Scotland.

The lobby had been endorsed nationally by Britain's three largest unions, the Transport and General Workers Union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, and the General and Municipal Workers Union, as well as the National Union of Railwaymen. Seamen on a number of ships in the ports of London and Liverpool struck to join the action, and Sheffield shop stewards in engineering and shipbuilding called for a one-day strike in solidarity.

The greatest number of stoppages were, of course, in the building industry, taking place in Sheffield, South Yorkshire, and on about twenty large sites in London. A number of building sites passed by the march were closed for the day; at others the marchers demanded, "Shut it down."

The march from Tower Hill and a prior rally were organized by the two main building workers unions, the Transport and General Workers Union and the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians

(UCATT), along with the Greater London Association of Trades Councils. Jack Dunn, general secretary for the Kent area of the National Union of Miners, called on the TUC General Council to lead a national campaign to free the Shrewsbury Two, including, if necessary, a one-day general strike.

Alan Tattam, London regional organizer of UCATT, Arthur Scargill, secretary of the Yorkshire miners, and other trade-union leaders made similar appeals for the one-day action. They were joined by Sydney Bidwell, chairman of the Tribune group, a collection of "left wing" Labour party MPs. Also speaking from the Tribune group was Audrey Wise.

Hundreds of banners from regional and local unions and from trades councils from every part of the country were to be seen at the action. A large contingent under the Welsh flag were a reminder that most of the original twenty-four defendants that the government had tried to victimize in the Shrewsbury case live across the border in Wales.

In general, the participants tended to be delegates from the national, regional, and local bodies, rather than the product of an attempt at all-out mobilization of the rank and file, particularly in the case of those from outside London.

Supporting the trade unionists were contingents and banners from many political groups. The spirited and aggressive march was a clear indication of the potential for building a powerful movement for the release of the Shrewsbury Two and the repeal of the antipicketing laws.

The government has already tried to extend the Shrewsbury precedent to political groups. In November 1974 a High Court judge ruled that any non-trade-union picket could be ruled illegal, and a week later police violently broke up a picket against land speculation.

As for Warren and Tomlinson, they were jailed in October 1974 after an extended appeal process. The two have been denied visitors and confined to their cells in retaliation for their refusal to work or wear prison clothes.



WARREN & TOMLINSON: Jailed under 1875 antipicketing law

World news notes

New denunciations of torture in Brazil

A new barrage of criticism against the Brazilian dictatorship was touched off by Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Aliomar Baldeiro January 29 when he charged the government with responsibility for "illegal arrests, torture, suppression of freedom of thought, and disappearances. If someone disappears, you never find a trace, not even the ashes from a corpse."

In a departure from the practice normally followed by Brazil's tightly censored press, the statement received major publicity, appearing the following day in most of the country's dailies.

The same day that Baldeiro spoke, Monsignor Ivo Lorscheiter, general secretary of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, charged that the Geisel regime had failed to comply with a request made last August for information on the whereabouts of some twenty political prisoners who had disappeared while under police custody.

The regime's failure to provide information on countless political prisoners who have "disappeared" was also challenged by Lyanes Maciel, a member of parliament from the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB—Brazilian Democratic Movement, the main opposition party). According to a report in the February 3 weekly international edition of the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nación*, Maciel called for the formation of a congressional committee to investigate these violations of human rights.

Minister of Justice Armando Falcão replied to the growing criticism January 30 with a warning to those who attempt to "poison the minds of the uninitiated, disturb the peace, and interrupt our progress." The government also issued a brief announcement February 6 denying any knowledge of the whereabouts of the prisoners on the list that had been submitted in August.

Relatives of the missing prisoners said they were "shocked" by Falcão's statement. "We know that they were arrested and we know they haven't been freed or escaped, and so we want to know what's happened to them," the daughter of one was quoted as saying.

Portuguese demonstrate against NATO

Several thousand Portuguese workers marched through the streets of Lisbon February 7, defying the government's six-day ban on demonstrations imposed during the visit of a NATO fleet.

The demonstration, originally called by several unions to protest unemployment (the number of unemployed in Portugal is now estimated at 200,000, about 7 percent of the work force), turned into an anti-NATO demonstration. Slogans such as "No to unemployment" mingled with others directed against the U. S.-dominated military alliance: "Out with NATO, national independence." Leaflets distributed along the route demanded: "Portugal, get out of NATO; NATO, get out of Portugal."

The demonstrating workers were reported to have come from more than a score of factories in the Lisbon area. They were angered by the presence in the capital's harbor of nineteen warships and 11,000 sailors from the United States, France, Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, and West Germany, as well as Portugal. The NATO fleet had just completed "Operation Locked Gate 75," a combined air and sea war game hosted by the Portuguese government.

The government made no effort to enforce its ban, and no soldiers or special police were in sight, except for troops guarding the U. S. Embassy.

Only hours earlier, the government had reaffirmed its support for NATO in a statement issued at the end of a twenty-four-hour visit by the British foreign secretary, James Callaghan.

South Korean oppositionists win victory

South Korean opponents of the Park Chung Hee regime won an important victory February 15 when Park announced that he would release many of the 203 political prisoners arrested in 1974 for demanding democratic rights. Among those to be released are: the Most Reverend Daniel Chi Hak Soun, Roman Catholic Bishop of Wonju; the poet Kim Chi Ha; and Kang Shin Ok, the lawyer who defended many of those arrested for their political activities.

Although the government announced that all students involved in the anti-Park demonstrations last April would be released, its statement excluded twenty-two prisoners charged with membership in the so-called People's Revolutionary party, including seven condemned to death. Critics of the regime have charged that this party is a fabrication of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

In addition, those charged with violating the regime's national security and anti-Communist laws will not be released, and thirty-five others who have appealed to the supreme court will have to wait until their cases are heard.

International gay rights conference

The first International Gay Rights Congress was held in Edinburgh, Scotland, December 18-22. It was attended by nearly 500 gay men and women from most countries of Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Mexico, Japan, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere.

The congress set up the framework for an international gay organization. Representatives of various national gay organizations will coordinate their activity through various task forces, including one on the legal position of gays, one on the defense of gay militants in Chile, and one on the situation of gay people in the workplace and the trade unions.

Truman approved military action

Gov't admits secret intervention in Italy

From Intercontinental Press
By DICK FIDLER

President Harry S. Truman authorized the use of "covert action," including military intervention, to prevent a victory of the Communist-Socialist alliance in Italy's 1948 election, according to documents just published by the State Department.

The documents, a censored version of National Security Council reports, reveal that Truman approved a secret recommendation that the United States "make full use of its political, economic, and if necessary, military power" to help the pro-U.S. government of Premier Alcide de Gasperi turn back the Communists in the April 18, 1948, election.

Plenty of deletions

The documents are part of the series "The Foreign Relations of the United States." They contain many deletions. The February 12 *New York Times* provided some examples:

"One report, dated Feb. 10, 1948, lists eight recommendations. The fifth, ending with a deletion, says: 'Actively combatting communist propaganda in Italy by an effective U.S. information program and by all other practicable means [rest of sentence deleted].'

"Another report, dated March 8, recommends 'efforts by all feasible means [deletion] to detach the Italian left-wing Socialists from the Communists.'

"The same report recommends, with an additional deletion: 'Continue to assist the Christian Democrats and other selected anti-Communist parties [deletion].'"

The State Department declined to discuss with the news media what had been deleted. But the *New York Times* reported that William M. Franklin, director of the State Department's Historical Office, had told members of the department's outside advisory panel on the foreign relations series:

"It has been agreed that we cannot cover in the foreign relations series

clandestine operations, covert intelligence reports or any matters having to do with secret weapons or nuclear programs other than those that could be specifically declassified."

Walter F. Lafeber, a Cornell University history professor, who is chairman of the advisory committee, told the *Times* that "the National Security Council is being very sticky about releasing documents."

The documents published by the State Department do not indicate what role was played by the newly formed Central Intelligence Agency in carrying out Truman's recommendations. But in the January issue of *Foreign Affairs* quarterly, Harry Rositzke, a former CIA official, said that "in 1948, spurred by the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia and the Italian political crisis, the National Security Council gave the CIA the responsibility for 'political, psychological, economic, and unconventional warfare operations' . . ."

These revelations come at a time when the Italian Communist party, encouraged by the widening fissures developing within the ruling Christian Democratic party, is stepping up its efforts to get back into the government. It was kicked out of the coalition government in 1947 under pressure from Washington.

Ready to do it again

Only a few months ago, the Ford administration indicated that it is quite prepared to repeat Truman's example of military and economic blackmail and covert operations to thwart such a development.

When Kissinger met with congressional leaders in September 1974 to defend CIA activities, "he reportedly defended the need for covert activity by asserting that despite criticism of the C.I.A., if Italy went Communist, there would be criticism that the United States had not done enough to save her," *New York Times* corres-

pondent Bernard Gwertzman wrote September 27.

Similarly, Ford's explicit defense of Washington's "right" to intervene in the internal politics of other countries, as in the case of the CIA's clandestine operations against the Allende government in Chile, was a public warning that other countries, including Italy, could become the object of CIA attention—and possible military intervention.

The new disclosures about Truman's role in the 1948 Italian election sustain what revolutionary socialists said at the time.

"Rarely has there been so brazen an attempt by a foreign power to interfere with an election in another country," Art Preis wrote in the March 22, 1948, issue of *The Militant*, the U.S. socialist newsweekly.

U. S. war 'games'

The Militant described the various means employed by the Truman administration to pressure Italian voters into rejecting the workers parties and backing capitalism.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall threatened to cut off Economic Recovery Program assistance (the Marshall Plan) to Italy if its people (in his words) "choose to vote into power a government in which the dominant political force would be a party whose hostility to this program has been frequently enunciated. . . ."

The U.S. Justice Department declared that "Italians who join the Communist party never will be permitted to immigrate to the United States"—a serious threat when many thousands of Italians were forced by the extreme poverty of their native country to move to the United States.

The Militant of March 22, 1948, reported that "a great naval armada has been concentrated around Italy's coastal waters, numerous naval 'games' have been held in the Mediterranean and American naval planes have repeatedly flown over Milan, Turin and other major industrial cities of Italy."

Stick & carrot

Besides shaking the big stick, the threat of military action, Washington offered a carrot. About \$4 million was reported to have been poured into Italy by the U.S. government to swing the vote. The biggest election bribe, however, was the announcement on March 20, 1948, that if the Italians voted for a right-wing government, the United States, Britain, and France would favor restoration of the territory of Trieste to Italy. At the same time, "unusually reliable diplomatic sources" in Washington broadcast the promise that some of Italy's former African colonies might likewise be returned.

The Truman administration's public declarations were carefully synchronized with a fierce right-wing campaign inside Italy led by the Christian Democrats and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Vatican announced that it had instructed the clergy to refuse absolution to professed Communists—including, presumably, anyone who voted Communist. The de Gasperi regime paraded tens of thousands of troops bristling with U.S.-made weapons. Fascist gangs swarmed the streets, attacking workers meetings. Labor leaders were kidnapped and assassinated.

"This formidable array of capitalist force," the April 19 *Militant* stated in an editorial headed "Hands Off Italy!"



TRUMAN: Talked about free elections in public, but wasn't prepared to abide by results if he didn't like them.

is "based on far more than the internal resources of Italian capitalism which is utterly decayed, bankrupt and discredited. The funds, the arms, the material means of power come from a foreign source—the United States."

The documents just released in Washington confirm the truth of this charge.

De Gasperi's Christian Democratic party won the April 18, 1948, election with 48 percent of the vote, an increase of about 13 percent over its vote in the previous election in 1946. The Stalinist-dominated electoral bloc received just under 31 percent—about the same as the combined CP and SP vote in 1946.

The election results established the Christian Democrats as the major parliamentary party in Italy. They no longer needed to rely on coalition with the Stalinists to maintain capitalist order and private property.

The Communist and Socialist party leaders had helped pave the way for the resurgence of reaction by their whole policy of coalition with the Christian Democrats and other bourgeois parties. In government, they had played a crucial role in stabilizing Italian capitalism in the aftermath of the fascists' overthrow—disarming the workers, opposing strikes, and calling for social peace.

U. S. helped ex-fascists

Washington's intervention, however, was no doubt instrumental in refurbishing the discredited bourgeois politicians, former collaborators of the hated fascist regime, who built the Christian Democracy into the formidable right-wing political machine that has dominated Italy's governments for almost thirty years.

The recent revelations about the role of covert CIA action in attempts to prevent Allende's election and in the overthrow of Chile's Popular Unity government aroused widespread indignation. The new documents published by the State Department show that such policies go back at least a quarter of a century.

They indicate the need to open up an investigation of the CIA's covert activity, to expose the entire record of U.S. imperialism's secret intervention in the internal politics of countries around the world.



Italian workers demonstrate in Rome after fall of fascist regime. U.S. agents joined with fascists and Roman Catholic hierarchy to oppose left.

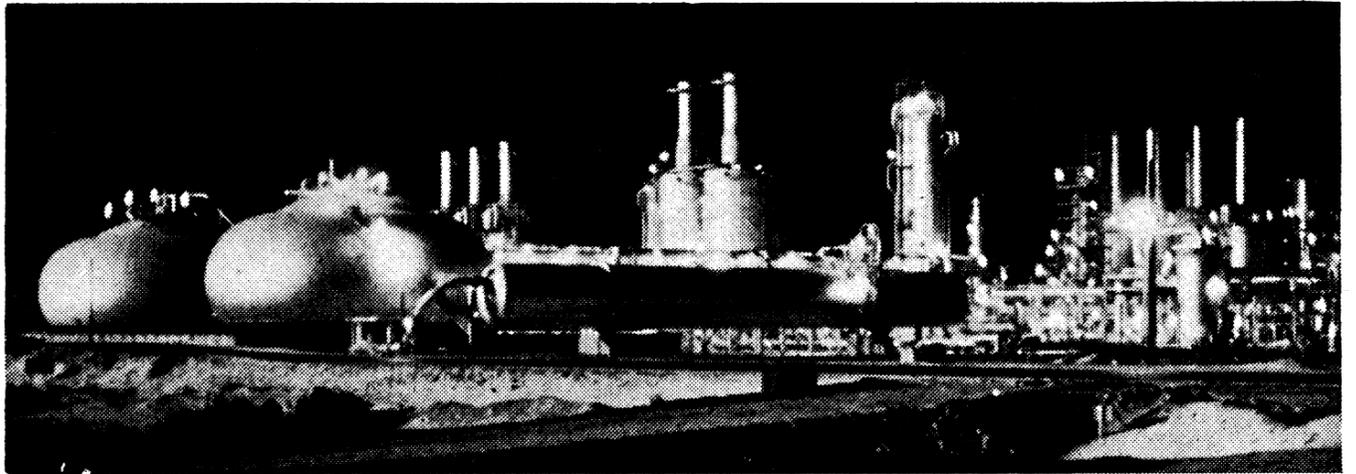
Mideast oil billions: myth vs. reality

Do Mideast oil billions threaten the world? by Dick Roberts. *International Socialist Review*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. February 1975. 75 cents.

The relentless propaganda is paying off, it seems. According to the latest Harris poll, a big majority of Americans—about three out of four—now believe the Arabs are the real villains to blame for both inflation and recession. One-quarter of those polled said they would back a U.S. take-over of Arab oil fields.

The myths about "Arab oil blackmail" are hammered home day after day by Democratic and Republican politicians, by the mass media, and by trade-union bureaucrats anxious to cover up for their own failure to defend union members' standard of living.

"The whole weight of official propaganda in the United States and Europe aims at pushing the working class and its political representatives into renouncing defense of the Arab and Iranian states against foreign capital," Dick Roberts observes in "Do Mid-



Oil refinery in Saudi Arabia. Are 'petrodollars' cause of world economic crisis?

case the dangers attributed to petrodollars are only symptoms of the underlying sickness of the system itself.

"To the extent that petrodollars are invested in long-term stocks abroad—and so far this is quite minor—they cannot also be said to constitute a monetary crisis," he writes. "Isn't it actually a good thing for the capitalists of West Germany that Iran is willing to invest upwards of \$100 million in Krupp?"

"And it is precisely on this point that the imperialist chauvinism of the 'petrodollar crisis' argument shows through. The imperialists, who have taken over companies in every corner of the world through their foreign investments, do not want their own firms taken over by foreign capital."

But, Roberts cautions, it is a serious error to think this question is resolved by financial considerations alone. "U.S. foreign investments are secured by the untold economic and military might of the nuclear-armed American technological giant. Foreign investments of the Arab sheiks and the Iranian shah are protected by—the willingness of the host government to

recognize the legitimacy of the investment. On the one side there is actual power; on the other a mere legal 'right' that can be canceled at will."

Moreover, since this article was written the imperialist "experts" have quietly revised their projection for the total income the oil exporters will accumulate down from \$1-trillion to no more than \$300-billion. In 1974 the oil exporters netted \$60-billion—about one-third of the \$177.2-billion taken in by the seven major oil companies!

Roberts emphasizes throughout that the fundamental origin of higher world oil prices is *the drive by the U.S. oil giants to maintain their monopoly over world energy supplies by developing alternative sources of oil and alternative energy forms—development that requires the higher prices if it is to be profitable.*

There is more than ample evidence showing that higher oil prices were a U.S. objective long before the October 1973 Mideast war, and this thesis finds further confirmation almost every day with such developments as Kissinger's plan for a world *minimum* oil price.

Finally, Roberts takes up the ques-

tion of whether the oil revenues offer a road by which Iran and the Arab oil producers can escape their dependent, semicolonial status and enter the ranks of the lesser imperialist powers.

If that were the case, it would have profound repercussions not only for Marxist theory but also for the political stance revolutionaries take in conflicts between those states and Washington.

To help answer the question, Roberts reexamines Lenin's classic work on the subject, *Imperialism*. Taking Iran (which has both a large population and great oil reserves) as a test case, he uses Lenin's criteria to evaluate Iran's development plans, the results to date, and the prospects for industrialization and the formation of Arab or Iranian "finance capital."

What emerges from this analysis is the continuing centrality of U.S. imperialism and its determination to maintain its domination of the world. This drive—not "Arab oil blackmail"—is shown to be the real source of the developing world economic crisis, and of the growing danger of war.

—ANDY ROSE

Periodicals

east oil billions threaten the world?" the featured article in the February *International Socialist Review*.

Those who seek to expose this propaganda barrage and oppose the escalating U.S. war threats must be armed with an analysis of the real meaning of the "energy crisis," the increase in world oil prices, and the accumulation of "petrodollars" in the hands of some semicolonial oil-producing countries. Roberts provides the most comprehensive Marxist treatment of these questions to date.

Roberts first examines the effect of the oil revenues on the world monetary system, showing that in every

'Three Marias: New Portuguese Letters'

The Three Marias: New Portuguese Letters by Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, and Maria Velho da Costa. Translated by Helen Lane. Doubleday & Co., New York, 1975. 432 pp., \$10.

When *The Three Marias: New Portuguese Letters* was first published in Portugal in 1972, the government hysterically declared it "an outrage to public decency." Its authors were arrested, the book banned, and all copies that were found were confiscated.

Women's liberation groups, writers

Catholic morality, as on the brutal persecution of political dissidents.

The book has its origins in a relationship that developed between Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, and Maria Velho da Costa—all established Portuguese writers. The three began exchanging their writings, and gradually the idea emerged of writing a book collectively.

Chosen as the thematic basis of the book was a seventeenth-century classic, *Letters of a Portuguese Nun* (reprinted as an appendix), written by a young novice who had a turbulent love affair with a French officer and was cruelly abandoned. In her letters to him, written after her betrayal, the nun (Mariana) is "dying of love."

Gradually, however, she comes to derive pleasure from her elaborate passion, and concludes that the romantic agony is more satisfying than the experience itself had been. Her life in the cloister thus becomes endurable. In *The Three Marias*, Mariana serves as a metaphor for the suffering of every woman, and the walls of her convent a symbol for the walls that encase all women.

Much of *The Three Marias* consists of variations on the legend of Mariana. It is as if one of Mariana's sobs

of anguish became loosened from its seventeenth-century grave, leaped across the generations, and planted itself in the lungs of today's Marias. The authors almost feast on this legend, rework it from endless angles, and continue the correspondence.

The officer is metamorphosed into an émigré, a husband, a soldier in Africa. In some of his letters, the authors reverse the sex roles and have him beg Mariana to stop tormenting him with her indifference.

Mariana (sometimes Maria or Maria Ana) also appears in several forms. The authors alternately have her raped by her father, drive her to suicide, or have her derive pleasure from masturbation. An entire lineage of descendents of Mariana is invented, and in one letter, she appears as a radical student in the 1960s.

It is obvious that the writers had a great deal of fun composing these variations on a theme. The laughter almost rings out from beneath the elaborate mental gymnastics.

Although the theme of these letters and lyrical poems is the exercise of passion as a means of escaping the cloister, dissertations on Portuguese society are interwoven. There are statements on Portugal's colonial pol-

icy in Africa, abortion, job discrimination, and *macho* law.

None of the letters or poems are signed, nor are the letters the authors exchange with each other (interspersed throughout the book) about their collective effort. We never know which Maria is writing. Through their exchanges, however, the different philosophies of liberation on the part of the authors become evident. They represent, in microcosm, different currents in the feminist movement.

One Maria views the family as the source of women's oppression, and calls on her sisters to join her in going back into history and pinpointing the place where men's and women's destinies diverged. Another Maria tends towards viewing men as the enemy, and urges a rejection of romantic love—an addiction she herself admits to being unable to kick. The third Maria regards feminism as divisive and humorless.

This interplay of political philosophies, as well as the modes of writing and juxtaposition of dimensions of love and sexuality, give *New Portuguese Letters* the character of an anthology. It is one of the best records of the consciousness-raising experience to emerge from the feminist movement.

—ANNA WOOLFE

Books

associations, and civil libertarians throughout the world immediately initiated a campaign demanding that the writers be freed and their book be made available. And in 1974, shortly after the overthrow of the Caetano regime, charges against the women were dropped and *The Three Marias* once again circulated.

It was its feminism that made *The Three Marias* unacceptable to the Caetano regime, which based its rule as much on the suppression of women, reinforced through *macho* law and

Detente vs. world revolution

Stalinist policy after World War II

Fifth of a series

By CAROLINE LUND

Our previous two articles reviewed the results of Stalin's first major attempt at détente in the 1930s. The results were:

- The "collective security" agreements and League of Nations did nothing to stop the drive of the imperialists toward war.

- Stalin's painting of the Western imperialists as defenders of democracy against fascism was proven false by their consistent appeasement of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco.

- Stalin's strangling of revolutionary upsurges in Spain and France to ingratiate himself with his détente partners had the effect of strengthening reaction and therefore the drive toward war.

These disastrous results didn't prompt the Stalinists to reconsider their counterrevolutionary policy, however. No sooner was the first détente drowned in the blood of World War II than Stalin was proclaiming a new one: the wartime alliance of the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States was to continue into the postwar era and usher in an epoch of peace and freedom.

The postwar alliance was given initial form at a meeting in Moscow in October 1943 between Cordell Hull, Anthony Eden, and V. Molotov, representing the U. S., Britain, and the Soviet Union. At this meeting the three agreed to cooperate after the war to disarm Germany, to establish a "general international organization"—a new League of Nations—and to try again to impose "collective security."

'Enduring peace'

The Moscow conference was followed by summit meetings at Tehran and Yalta between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin in December 1943 and February 1945. The joint declaration of the three following the Tehran summit promised: "We are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace."

This was a much broader détente arrangement than the Kremlin had been able to achieve in the 1930s, and the Stalinists were ecstatic. U. S. Communist Party leader Earl Browder wrote at the time that "capitalism and socialism have begun to find the way to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the same world."

During the war, the U. S. Stalinists had become the biggest flag-wavers and supporters of the Roosevelt administration. They condemned as "divisive" wartime strikes and any actions by Black people demanding an end to racial discrimination.

Now Browder projected—with unanimous approval of the CP's national committee—"the consolidation of national unity in our country [he means between the exploiters and the exploited], and its extension into the postwar period."

Browder announced that the CP wanted "to cooperate in making this capitalism work effectively in the postwar period."

The Stalinists throughout the world hailed the Tehran and Yalta pacts as paving the road to "enduring peace."

But the reality was the opposite.

The aim of British and American imperialism in the postwar years was to redivide the world's riches and markets among themselves after the prostration of their prime rival, German imperialism.

To carry out this plan they needed Stalin's participation. Only with the collaboration of the world Stalinist

movement could they hope to deflect and defeat the revolutionary upsurge set into motion by World War II.

To understand why the Stalinists had such great influence it is necessary to remember that the central military conflict of the war was between Germany and the Soviet Union. The heroic resistance of the Soviet people and the Red Army was revealed to the whole world to be the main fighting bulwark against the fascists. This was despite the disastrous policies of Stalin and the tremendous weakening of the leadership of the Red Army and the Soviet workers due to the purges of the 1930s.

This great prestige of the Soviet Union brought mass support to the European Stalinist parties, which rose to the leadership of the resistance movements in the fascist-occupied countries.

With the defeat of Hitler, Mussolini, and their puppet regimes, the main organized, armed forces remaining in countries such as Italy, France, Greece, and Belgium were the CP-led resistance movements, which enjoyed overwhelming popular support. The capitalist parties and politicians had been discredited or exposed as collaborators with the fascists. The masses were demanding deepgoing social reforms, nationalization of central industries, and the right to keep their arms.

The demand raised everywhere, "Purge the collaborators!" reflected the refusal of the masses to accept the return of the compromised capitalist politicians, and their desire for workers and peasants governments.

The capitalist rulers were in mortal fear of this radicalization created by the war. U. S. Secretary of State Hull, for example, made a statement at the time warning that Europe faced the possibility of 14 revolutions, in contrast, he said, to the outbreak of only four following World War I.

In the colonial world as well, mass struggles surged forward, inspired by the democratic goals that the Allied imperialists claimed to be fighting for.

This was why the Kremlin had to be included temporarily in the postwar machinations of British and U. S. imperialism. Stalinist control of the mass movements was essential to saving capitalism in Europe and for blunting the upsurge of independence struggles in the colonies.

Dissolved Comintern

Stalin had already made a convincing demonstration of his rejection of the goal of socialist revolution: He dissolved the Communist International in 1943.



Stalinists in China, as in rest of world, did their best to hold back postwar revolutionary upsurge, but in China mass movement proved too powerful. Above, General George Marshall with Mao and Chou En-lai after the war.



Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin agreed to divide world into spheres of influence at Yalta conference.

The CPs of Europe, schooled in the popular-front policy of the 1930s, threw their considerable weight into the task of holding back the upsurges from going over into socialist revolutions.

In France, Italy, and Greece the Stalinists led the way in disarming the resistance movements and imposing governments of dictators and monarchists—such as the Badoglio regime in Italy, and DeGaulle in France. The CPs joined the cabinets of these regimes to help administer and enforce capitalist rule. In Italy, CP deputies even voted to renew Mussolini's pact with the Vatican, giving the Catholic Church a privileged position in the country.

The greatest betrayal of all was in Greece, where the CP-led resistance movement, the EAM-ELAS, had won virtually total control of the country away from the Nazis. The Stalinists tried to get the Greek workers to accept occupation by British troops and the reimposition of the monarchy. The drive of the masses toward freedom was too strong, however, and a massive mutiny against the monarchist government in exile swept the entire army and navy. Civil war broke out, with British warships shelling the workers' districts in Athens.

Stalin, who had agreed at Tehran that Greece was to be part of the British "sphere of influence," saw to it that not a word of support for the Greek rebels or criticism of the British was carried in the Soviet press or on radio.

The Stalinists in the colonial countries pursued a similar policy. In Vietnam, for example, the Viet Minh swept to power in a mass upsurge when

the Japanese occupiers surrendered. But since Stalin had agreed that the southern part of Vietnam should be relegated to the British "sphere of influence," the Viet Minh persuaded the armed people of Saigon to welcome the British troops into the city. The British then proceeded to arrest the Viet Minh leaders and to turn southern Vietnam back over to the French.

In some areas the Stalinists proved unable to hold back the postwar revolutionary wave. The Chinese masses surged forward to defeat the Chiang Kai-shek armies and put power in the hands of the Chinese CP. In India during the war the massive struggle for independence from British imperialism was opposed by the CP as harmful to the "war of democracy against fascism." But the struggle surged forward to victory despite the CP.

Results of detente

But what happened to the détente agreement that emerged from Tehran and Yalta? Did it usher in a new era of "enduring peace" and cooperation between the two opposing social and economic systems?

The détente was short-lived. After the imperialists had succeeded in consolidating capitalist rule throughout Europe Stalin had outlived his usefulness and the imperialists changed their tune. The "cold war" and "containment of Communism" replaced "peaceful co-existence" and détente.

The U. S. and Britain cut off all aid to the Soviet Union, although it was more ravaged by the war than any other country. The Marshall Plan and NATO were established as part of a strategy of building an international economic and military alliance against the USSR. The U. S. began stockpiling nuclear weapons, also aimed at the USSR.

Less than five years after the second "war to end all wars," the U. S. launched the bloody war in Korea—carried out under the banner of the United Nations itself—the organization that was supposed to prevent war!

The events before and after World War II reveal clearly the underlying world social and economic conflicts that preclude any lasting détente or real peace. Diplomatic deals cannot erase the conflict between the workers and the capitalists, the conflict between the oppressed nations and the oppressor nations, the conflict between the rival imperialist powers, or the conflict between the masses of the workers states and their dictatorial rulers.

Imperialist aggression continued un-

Continued on page 22

Calendar

BROOKLYN

BEHIND CHINA'S NEW CONSTITUTION: WHAT IT SAYS AND WHAT IT MEANS. Speaker: Les Evans, editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

HOW TO FIGHT RACISM: A REPORT FROM BOSTON. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1 Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CLEVELAND

CAMPAIGN 'REFORM' LAWS: WHOM DO THEY BENEFIT? A DEBATE. Speakers: Jerry Rampelt, chairperson, Common Cause of greater Cleveland; Mike Alewitz, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Speaker: John Cotman, Young Socialist Alliance; film: *Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom*. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

MATRIARCHY: MYTH OR REALITY? A SYMPOSIUM. Speakers: Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*; Dr. Hilda Kuper, professor of anthropology, UCLA; Francine Parker, writer, director, and producer; Dr. Annette Ehrlich, associate professor of psychology, California State University; Dr. Gloria Ricci Lothrop, associate professor of history, California Polytechnic University. Sat., March 1, 2 p.m. Woman's Building, 743 S. Grandview. Ausp: Sisterhood Bookstore. For more information call (213) 465-0242.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X: 10 YEARS LATER. Film on the political message of Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1 Ausp: Westside Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK CITY

CUBAN FILMS. In Spanish with English subtitles. Lucia. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. St. Mark's Church, Second Ave. and 10th St. Donation: \$2.50. *Memories of Underdevelopment* and *Por Primera Vez*: Sat., March 1, 8 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104-06 W. 14th St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Venceremos Brigade.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

MALCOLM X: HIS REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS LIVE ON. Speaker: Malik Miah, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.) Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

MALCOLM X: HIS LEGACY AND ITS MEANING FOR THE BLACK STRUGGLE TODAY. Speakers: Clifton DeBerry, 1964 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate; others. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

CIA AND FBI: THE REAL FACE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. Speakers: David Kairys, National Lawyers

Guild and National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Terry Ann Hardy, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

MUST WORKING PEOPLE CHOOSE BETWEEN JOB SAFETY AND EMPLOYMENT? Speakers: Jane Sobolewski, United Steelworkers of America; Professor Walt Smith, Pennsylvania State University; Neil Berns, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Allegheny County commissioner. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (at Halket). Donation: \$1 Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

PORTLAND

HOW SAFE ARE NUCLEAR REACTORS? Speaker: Lloyd Marbet, Coalition for Safe Power. Films: *How Safe Are Nuclear Reactors?* and *Energy—The Nuclear Alternative*. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1 Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN DIEGO

DISSENT IN THE USSR. Speakers: Professor Richard Gripp; Peter Link, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

HOW TO FIGHT THE SCHOOL CUTBACKS. Speakers: representatives from Students United Against Cutbacks; Eric Harveson, Young Socialist Alliance; and a San Francisco public school teacher. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Ed Heisler, cochairperson, SWP 1976 national campaign committee; Stephanie Coontz, contributor to *International Socialist Review*. Sat., March 1, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK IN AMERICA. Speakers: Philip Berrigan; Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. West Bank Union Auditorium, University of Minnesota. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund and West Bank Union. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY Speaker: Peter Camjo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Sat., March 1, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. Donation at door. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...detente

Continued from page 21

abated following the war—with the brutal Dutch war in Indonesia in the late 1940s; the French colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria; British intervention in British Guiana in 1953; the CIA-engineered coups in Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954; and the British, French, and Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956.

Meanwhile, Stalin was forced by the pressure of the cold war to carry through the transformation of property relations in Eastern Europe, which he had at first tried to maintain as capitalist countries.

Stalin's heirs could not even maintain "peaceful coexistence" within the socialist bloc. They crushed in blood the 1956 uprising of the Hungarian workers demanding workers democracy.

The continuing struggle of the colonial world for national independence and social reforms culminated later in the Cuban revolution and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese against U.S. aggression.

Our next article will examine how the Vietnam war set the stage for the current détente.

...accords

Continued from page 13

acceptance of the accords by the Vietnamese.

Ironically, the Maoist Silber is forced into the position of defending the "social imperialists" in Moscow, since China and the Soviet Union had the same policy of total support to the imperialist-imposed deal. He dismisses as ridiculous the idea that Moscow and Peking put pressure on the Vietnamese.

But new confirmations of this fact are continually appearing. The latest piece of evidence is in the Feb. 13 *New York Times*. Anthony Lewis writes of a series of secret meetings described in the book *Kissinger* by Bernard and Marvin Kalb:

"Mr. Kissinger told Ambassador Dobrynin that the Nixon Administration would not hesitate to destroy North Vietnam if necessary—necessary to preserve a non-Communist government in Saigon. He made clear that this was a basic American price for détente: The Soviets would be expected to help achieve a Vietnam settlement leaving the Saigon Government in power, or at least to tolerate whatever measures the Americans used." And that's exactly what they did.

Having stabbed the Vietnamese in the back, Moscow and Peking covered up their betrayal by declaring it a "great victory" for the revolution. It is the job of Silber and the *Guardian* to defend this treachery here in the U.S.

...students

Continued from page 5

oppressed themselves who have to free themselves."

"I don't think racists are incorrigible," the curly haired student butted in. By now he had gotten a little crabby. "They are human beings. It is worth teaching them. We shouldn't treat them as enemies."

The young woman in the light-green blouse began again but then the workshop coordinator interrupted: "Wait, I don't want to sound like a teacher or anything, but there are some other people who want to talk."

So she called on a white guy with a green cap, but he also directed his remarks at the curly haired student.

"I mean, what you're saying just wouldn't work out. True, we have to educate white students. But if I'm white I just can't go around in my high school only talking to white students about racism and getting them to build the May 17 demonstration and yet not talk to Black students about it too. That doesn't make sense."

"But if you have them at a demonstration with thousands of people saying no to racism, that it has to stop, I think that would be very educational."

Matt Herreshoff from Highland Park High School in Michigan, summed up this mood, "We have to get out and demonstrate and build a mass movement that can turn the racists around now. Yesterday wasn't soon enough for the racist mob violence to be stopped. Last October wasn't soon enough."

Eighteen-year-old Jeffrey Bankett, a Black twelfth grader at Houston's Jesse Jones High School, talked more about these questions after the workshop:

"We're trying to do it the nonviolent way by protesting and marching and letting the people know what we stand for. Letting them know that we're sick and tired of the way that we're being discriminated against."

"For over 200 years Black people have been discriminated against because of their race. And I think it's about time we brought this thing to an end before it gets any worse or before it goes any further."

His friend Sam Anderson, a tenth grader at Jones High, agreed, adding, "We've got to go over or we'll just go under."

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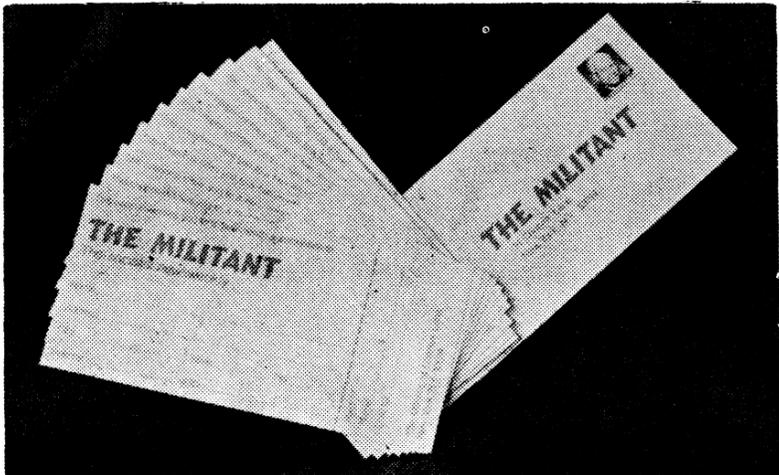
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Malcolm X

To help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*, reproductions of sketches by Copain, artist for *Intercontinental Press*, were published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers party and bound in an 8.5" x 11" book. The aim was to use the money gained from sales to help us begin publishing articles in Spanish.

The drawings, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Cesar Chavez, Leon Trotsky, and many more, some of which are suitable for framing.

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MYRNA LAMB, author of *The Mod Donna* and *Scyklon Z: Plays of Women's Liberation* and the forthcoming play, *Apple Pie*

JOAN MELLEN, film critic and author of *Women and Their Sexuality in the New Film*

DR. BARBARA ROBERTS, leader of the abortion rights struggle
WILLIE MAE REID, Socialist Workers candidate for Vice-President of the United States will chair the program.

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5 PM: A Reception will follow the program to celebrate publication of *Woman's Evolution*. (Program and Reception: \$4.50)

Sponsor: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Copies of *Woman's Evolution* are available by mail from Pathfinder Press or at the bookstores listed in *The Socialist Directory* on the facing page. 512 pp., \$15.00, paper \$4.95.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Socialist Workers campaign rally

SATURDAY, MARCH 1. Rally launching 1975 Socialist Workers Party school board campaign. Speakers: PETER CAMEJO, 1976 SWP presidential candidate; NAN BAILEY, 1974 SWP mayoral candidate. Refreshments, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 1345 E ST. N.W., FOURTH FLOOR, WASHINGTON, D.C. Donation: \$2. For more information call (202) 347-1314.

Paid for by Washington, D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Chairperson: James K. Gotesky; Treasurer: David J. Segal. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

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Depression in Detroit: is there any way out?

By RICHARD ORAWIEC

DETROIT—Detroit is known as the "Motor City." Right now not many of those motors are being produced.

The sprawling auto assembly plants lie silent and empty for weeks at a time. Inexorably the silence spreads to the factories that used to churn out steel, synthetic rubber, electronic gear, and dozens of other supplies and parts.

Long lines form in the icy predawn hours outside unemployment offices. Officially, Michigan unemployment hit 13.7 percent in January—the highest in the nation. Detroit is worse. City authorities estimate that among Blacks, poor whites, and those under 25, half the people are out of work. The mood is grim.

Last month Labor Secretary Peter Brennan stopped by an unemployment line on a visit to town. He was greeted with jeers and catcalls. "You promised us jobs," one man shouted. "You shouldn't come around here and smile at us. We're mad!"

"They ought to lay his ass off," muttered a 19-year-old who used to have a job at Chrysler.

Food stamp applications are up 85 percent. At one food stamp office in Detroit hundreds of people waited from 6 a.m. until 8:30 a.m. for the doors to open—only to see them close after 10 minutes because the daily quota had been filled.

Promises

Coleman Young, a liberal Democratic politician who was an auto worker many years ago, was elected as Detroit's first Black mayor in November 1973.

Young's victory was a show of the strength and desire for political power of the Black community, which was



Huge backlogs of unsold cars symbolize crisis that has thrown thousands of Detroit workers into the streets

a voting majority for the first time. Profound changes in the lives of Black people in Detroit were promised—and expected. Racist oppression would surely ease, and the city might begin to move forward again after years of decline.

Young set out to prove that Blacks "will not have to go outside the system in order to have some control over their own destiny."

Young had the backing of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Metropolitan AFL-CIO after their first choice, a white liberal, lost in the primary. He was also supported by many of Detroit's wealthiest businessmen and industrialists, who were worried that Detroit Blacks might begin

moving outside of the Democratic Party.

At a gala inaugural ceremony in January 1974, Young clasped arms on stage with UAW President Leonard Woodcock and auto magnate Henry Ford II before an audience of 3,000. The scene symbolized Young's plan of uniting the workers and capitalists of Detroit in a drive to "save the city."

'Good for the rich. . . .'

"What is good for the rich people of this city is good for the poor people of this city," Young declared. "It is clear that we have a commonality of interests. . . ."

What happened?

For those who have eyes to see and ears to hear there is something to be learned from the crisis in Detroit. Because the truth is that what was good for the rich has spelled disaster for the Black and white working people of this city.

The auto makers, who have jacked up prices more than \$1,000 a car in the past year, expressed surprise when sales plummeted and huge backlogs of unsold cars built up.

The companies' answer has been to lay off half the auto work force, demand a moratorium on pollution and safety controls, and prepare to operate at a profit even if sales stay

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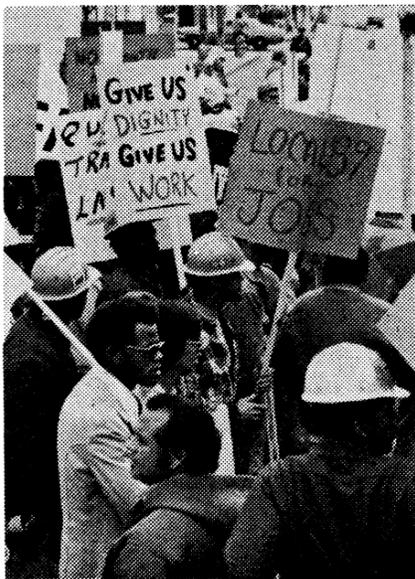
California unions call march for jobs

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—The California Federation of Labor has called for a march on the state capitol to demand state and federal action against unemployment. The demonstration will be held in Sacramento on Saturday, March 8.

Calling on unions throughout California to join in the action, John Henning, executive director of the state federation, said, "The unemployment crisis grows worse each day. Union labor has called for immediate job-producing programs by government, and for government policies that will increase purchasing power and get the economy out of the worst crisis since the Great Depression."

California has been especially hard hit by unemployment. The official jobless rate is 9 percent and in some industries, such as San Francisco construction, the figure is twice that high. Of the nearly 800,000 jobless in the



Militant/Dennis Scarla
San Diego unionists in protest against unemployment last November.

state, only 471,000 qualify for unemployment compensation.

This is the first time in recent memory that the state federation, a generally conservative union body, has called for such a demonstration.

Union meetings throughout California will soon be discussing the march. Many activists will be urging their unions to mobilize in a real show of labor's strength, and to invite support from Black, Chicano, and women's groups and other victims of unemployment.

At a special meeting Feb. 18 the steering committee of the San Francisco chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) endorsed the march and decided to make organizing participation in it a central activity for the next two weeks.

They discussed chartering buses to Sacramento, leafleting unemployment lines, and working through all the

unions where CLUW had members to build the action.

San Francisco CLUW is also holding a public meeting March 7 that will include a panel on women and unemployment.

Carl Finamore, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley, issued a statement hailing the call for the action. "The Democrats and Republicans are doing nothing to help working people while unemployment rises with no end in sight," Finamore said.

"Independent action by the labor movement offers the only way out of the economic crisis gripping California and the nation. I wholeheartedly endorse the California Labor Federation's call for a march for jobs, and I and my supporters will do everything we can to help mobilize the largest possible turnout on March 8."