

THE MILITANT

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

Why can't we all have jobs?



Lining up for jobs in Chicago. For a socialist analysis of the job crisis, and a program for labor action to meet it, see special feature, pages 13-16.



Int'l Women's Day: a new book on 'Woman's Evolution'

—See page 23

Chicago socialist candidate in runoff with 'Boss' Daley

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ILLINOIS DISCLOSURE HEARING: The Illinois Socialist Workers Party has been granted a hearing before the state board of election commissioners on its request for exemption from the state law requiring disclosure of campaign contributors. The SWP refuses to turn over the names and addresses of its contributors and requests exemption from the law because of the government's record of harassing and victimizing the party's members and supporters.

The hearing alone is an important victory because the Illinois campaign disclosure law, which is nearly identical to the federal law, contains no provisions requiring the board to hear such requests. Winning exemption in Illinois would set an important nationwide precedent.

The public hearings are slated to begin in Chicago March 19. Among those testifying will be Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago, and Morris Starsky, who was the target of an FBI "counterintelligence" slander campaign because of his socialist and antiwar activities. Supporters of civil liberties are urged to attend the hearings. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

Appeals court upholds Starsky on 1970 firing

By PHIL LEHRER

SAN FRANCISCO—The U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has upheld a 1972 district court ruling that the dismissal of socialist Professor Morris Starsky by the Arizona State Board of Regents was constitutionally invalid.

Starsky's original lawsuit against the regents alleged that the board's decision not to renew his contract in June 1970 violated his constitutional rights.

In the 1972 district court decision, Judge Carl Muecke had held that "the primary reason for the discipline of Prof. Starsky is grounded in his exercise of his First Amendment rights in expressing unpopular views."

Starsky, an active opponent of the war in Vietnam, had become the victim of a red-baiting campaign. He was fired by the regents in 1970 despite recommendations by the president of the university and two faculty committees that he not be dismissed.

The court of appeals agreed that Starsky should be reinstated and that a trial should be held to determine the amount of damages due him. But it also returned the case to the district court for a resolution of a secondary question. The lower court must now decide whether Starsky gave up his right to reinstatement and damages by accepting a sabbatical leave when he was fired. Starsky and his attorney, Alan Kyman, are confident that evidence they plan to introduce in the district court proceedings will eliminate this roadblock to a final victory.

CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS: "We don't have enough confidence—or trust—in our congressmen or senators to let them take out the garbage."

That was an example of the kind of comments Senator Glenn Beall (R.-Md.) received in response to a questionnaire he sent out to constituents. By a ratio of 2 to 1 they said they did not "have confidence in the ability of the Congress to deal effectively with today's problems," according to a report in the March 1 *Washington Post*.

"My current impression is that [Congress] provides lip service to the 'little man' at election time, but the remainder of the time is receptive primarily to the influential and affluent," replied one citizen.

"I think you are one of the better ones," a more sympathetic voter commented, "but that isn't saying much."

JACKSON STATE: The U.S. Supreme Court refused on March 3 to review a lower court decision that allowed state and city police to literally get away with murder in the 1970 killing of two Black students at Jackson State College in Mississippi.

The shootings occurred in the wake of a massive national student protest against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in May 1970. The cops invaded the Jackson campus and injured a dozen students, in addition to the two they killed.

The Justice Department had made no recommendation for prosecution to a federal grand jury, which ruled that the cops' firing of 150 rounds of ammunition into a group of unarmed students had been self-defense or an attempt to prevent a riot.

The Supreme Court declined to override the lower court's refusal to interfere with that grand jury decision. The victims of the cop attack, therefore, are unable to collect any damages.

EVERYTHING'S NOT NAILED DOWN: John Ehrlichman's stated desire to "do penance" for his part in the Watergate crimes by living among Native Americans in

New Mexico has apparently not met with an enthusiastic response among his intended neighbors.

According to a Feb. 24 *Associated Press* dispatch, Leo Watchman, an Indian member of the New Mexico House of Representatives, doesn't like the idea.

"Here's one Indian that would like to go on record as opposing this individual," Watchman said on the House floor. "I doubt if he can do any good for us, especially with the reputation he has now."

INVESTIGATING THE INVESTIGATORS: A "Citizens' Commission to Investigate CIA Spying in Morning-side Heights" opened hearings on spying in Manhattan's Upper West Side on March 1. The investigation was initiated by Marie Runyon, a member of the New York State Assembly.

Meeting in Riverside Church, the commission heard testimony from political activists in the area, including a former Columbia University member of Students for a Democratic Society, a member of the Communist Party, a representative of the Socialist Workers Party, and the editor of *Heights and Valley News*, a community newspaper.

Henry Fishman described how an FBI dossier detailing his activity in the Communist Party had blocked his application for a job at the post office in the 1950s.

Barbara Medoff spoke of illegal surveillance of SWP candidates in the recent New York elections and pointed to links between the CIA and the Cuban refugees who fire-bombed the socialist campaign headquarters in Los Angeles in 1970.

MORE SPIES: The *Washington Post* recently ran a three-part series on a little-known government spy operation that has an estimated 24,000 employees and an annual budget of \$1.2-billion! By comparison, the CIA reportedly has only 16,500 employees and a \$750-million budget. The name of the giant spy force is the National Security Agency (NSA). (The total U.S. intelligence budget is now estimated at \$6.2-billion. Fifty years ago the entire federal budget came to only \$2.9-billion.)

On whom is this agency supposed to spy? It was created 23 years ago by a still-secret directive from President Truman, so the American people can still not know for sure. But the main purpose of the NSA is supposedly to monitor the multitude of confidential messages sent by governments around the world and to decipher the secret codes in which these communications are relayed.

That is not all the NSA does, though, according to seven former employees interviewed by the *Post*. The NSA routinely listens in on and records telephone conversations of U.S. citizens making calls to other countries.

The NSA also had a hand in the "Huston Plan," the secret scheme that outlined a whole series of illegal operations to be conducted by U.S. intelligence agencies against opponents of government policies. Nixon admitted approving the plan in 1970 but says he changed his mind and canceled it a few days later. The plan's author, former Nixon aide Tom Charles Huston, told a congressional committee in 1973 that the NSA pushed harder for the criminal scheme than any of the other three intelligence agencies he worked with in devising the plot.

ADDING INJURY TO INSULT: Those plastic-wrapped supermarket meats look bad enough to the consumer, and the price labels look even worse. But they're also not very appealing to the supermarket workers who package them. A team of University of Oregon researchers found that the heating process used to seal the wrapping and affix the price label activates a noxious gas that is causing severe respiratory problems among workers, including deep coughs and chest pains.

The new occupational disease, called "meat wrappers' asthma," also induces running noses, sneezing, nasal congestion, sore throats, cramps, irritability, headaches, and a nerve-related tingling of the fingers.

The researchers found the symptoms sometimes continue for months and years after the worker quits the job, indicating that continued exposure can cause chronic, irreversible lung disease.

DALLAS RED-BAITING: The day after the probing demonstration in Boston last Dec. 14, antibusing forces held their own smaller rally. In an uninspired attempt to give a cover to their racism, they brought the professional "Black conservative" Clay Smothers all the way up from Dallas, Tex., to speak at their rally.

After he returned to Dallas, Smothers invited members of the recently formed Dallas Committee Against Racism to appear on his radio program. In a red-baiting column appearing in the *Oak Cliff Tribune*, a local newspaper, Smothers commented on the radio show and the new committee. "While I admit that there are some black people he is fooling," Smothers wrote in reference to Texas anticracist activist and Young Socialist Alliance member Rob Roper, "this writer would rather kiss a cotton mouth moccasin on the lips than consort with this young ungodly man."

— NELSON BLACKSTOCK

Coral describes right-wing terrorism & gov't repression in Argentina today

The following is an interview with Juan Carlos Coral, chairman of the national committee of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). It was obtained in New York March 2.

Coral is in the United States for two months speaking on repression and right-wing terror in Argentina. His tour is being organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The interview was conducted in Spanish. The translation is by The Militant.

Question: What kinds of activities are carried out by the right-wing terror squads, such as the Argentine Anti-communist Alliance (AAA)?

Answer: In the last year there have been all kinds of attacks by clandestine para-police groups. They have assassinated activists, bombed headquarters of political groups, and issued intimidating threats.

There have been days when dozens of bombs have exploded simultaneously in greater Buenos Aires and other important cities of the country.

The AAA issues public lists of those it intends to kill. The first list was issued in connection with a union election, and that was the first time that the AAA appeared publicly. Because of this, the list was seen simply as an intimidation, but when the executions began and other lists appeared there was a general panic among those threatened.

The AAA has issued a list composed of nationally prominent individuals, and many named there have gone into exile, gone into hiding, or are dead. My name was among those on this list.

In addition, the AAA has local lists, which they circulate in that area, university, or factory. For example, all seven *companeros* of the PST who were murdered had been threatened by the AAA.

These assassinations continue to this day, although the AAA in recent months has not claimed responsibility for them in its own name.

Q: What has the role of the government been?

A: In reality the armed actions by right-wing terrorist groups are only the most spectacular part of a whole offensive. When the clandestine gunmen are unable to accomplish their objectives, then the work is completed by the institutionalized terrorism of the government.

For example, in the case of the PST they were unable to force us into submission through intimidation, bombings of our offices, and assassinations of party members. So the government then tried to finish the job by raiding the national offices of our party and arresting a number of members.

Q: Last December, the Argentine government declared a "state of siege," saying it had to do this to fight left-wing guerrillas. What effect has this had on democratic rights?

A: Under the state of siege, they can detain you without even telling you why you are being arrested. You are simply arrested and the only possible escape is to ask the government to allow you to leave the country. Otherwise you can be detained without charges as long as the state of siege lasts.

Under these state of siege laws I was arrested in December. I was in



Demonstration to protest murder by right-wing terrorists of three Argentine socialists in May 1974

an apartment, participating in a staff meeting of our newspaper, with seven *companeros*. About three in the afternoon, they start banging on the door and yelling, "Open up! Federal police!"

So we looked through the peephole and there were 10 or 12 persons in civilian clothes, with machine guns, taking positions.

I identified myself and asked the police for their credentials. They answered, "No, we are in a state of siege, there are no credentials. We're from the police, Coral. Open up!"

So we kept the door shut and I called the minister of the interior, because until that moment we did not know if they were police coming to arrest us or terrorists coming to kidnap us.

They arrested us and took us to the police station in several cars with all the sirens blaring. And when we got there, they asked us to pardon the inconvenience and released us within two or three hours.

Q: How many political prisoners are there? Is torture being used?

A: There are probably hundreds at any one time, but it is impossible to obtain an accurate figure. There are large roundups, but many are released right away and most within a few days. Some are detained for a longer time. For example, four members of the PST who have been detained under the laws of the state of siege have been held for many weeks now, and no charges have been filed against them.

Torture is used by the government, but generally only against guerrillas or those it suspects of having information about guerrillas.

Q: How has the government's repression evolved?

A: Take the case of newspapers. One newspaper whose closing last year caused a lot of discussion was the daily *Noticias*, which reflected the views of the Montoneros. It was closed for that reason, for being the daily paper of a "subversive" group.

But the cases of *Cronica* and *La Calle*, which closed at the end of the year, are different. They are commercial newspapers. *Cronica* has a daily circulation of 800,000 copies in greater Buenos Aires alone.

So I want to point out the escalation. They started closing down the newspapers associated with guerrilla groups; but now they have gone over to closing some capitalist dailies.

And from the prohibition of rallies associated with the guerrillas, they've gone to the prohibition of rallies that have nothing to do with the guerrillas.

The last rally to be prohibited was scheduled for Feb. 26. It was a mass protest of the closing of *La Calle* and *Cronica*.

All kinds of groups were going to participate, including the Radical Party, which is the largest opposition party. Several legislators and representatives of other parties, including myself, were also going to speak.

But the rally was prohibited by the government on the pretext that, since it would be a concentration of 50,000 to 60,000 people, there could be confrontations between factions. So, in effect, all rallies are now banned.

Q: Major U.S. newspapers try to portray the situation in Argentina as a private war between extreme leftists and rightists, with the government trying to stop it. Has a similar version been presented in Argentina?

A: Of course, that was the same thing that Peron said when he was still alive. Each time they would question him about the violence, Peron would say that violence is a problem foreign to the government, that it was due to clashes between the ultraleft and the ultraright.

Now the government claims that the proof that it has nothing to do with the violence is that there are dead from both sides. And I have answered, even in meetings with the president, that yes, there are dead from both sides, but there are only prisoners from one side—the left. And that is what proves the government's complicity.

Q: What is the general situation in Argentina, what general conclusions does the PST draw?

A: The march to the right has been maintained and has been deepened, but there has been no qualitative change in the situation. It should be clear that this right-wing drive has been conducted within the framework of capitalist democracy.

Having made that clarification, that

there has been no qualitative change, it can be said that the drive to the right has been permanent. It has not been contradictory. There have not been any concessions to the left.

At this moment a turning point is being reached. On one side there are the ultrarightists, who want to govern without making liberal or democratic concessions; that is, they want to convert Argentina into another Chile.

On the other side are those who want to maintain the bourgeois democratic forms and curb the fascist excesses.

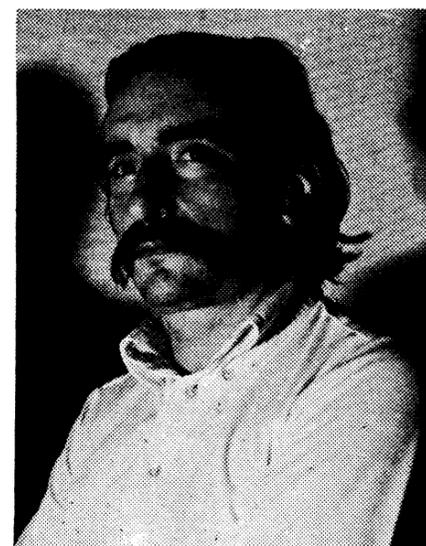
The PST is seeking in all possible ways to organize the broadest possible opposition to right-wing violence and to organize defense of democratic rights.

For example, the rally about the closing of the two newspapers was initiated by us. That the Radicals were willing to speak at such a rally in defense of democratic rights was an important development.

Q: Do you think that people in this country can have an effect on the right-wing drive in Argentina?

A: The Chilean experience has demonstrated the effectiveness of international mobilizations of solidarity. In Chile the torture and repression have diminished somewhat thanks to the activities of organizations like USLA.

In Argentina, we must work to prevent another Chile.



Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral has been 'sentenced' to death by right-wing terror squads.

Chicago mayor's race--'The issue is racism'

Willie Mae Reid answers 'law-and-order'

Following are excerpts from a speech given by Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, at a rally Feb. 7 at her campaign headquarters.

The rally was held to celebrate the winning of ballot status for Reid. Her campaign supporters collected 66,243 signatures to accomplish this, making the SWP the first independent party to appear on the ballot in the Chicago mayoral race since 1935.

By WILLIE MAE REID

One of the major issues in this campaign is racism. In the Democratic Party primary race all of the candidates talk about "law and order" as the major issue. All of them call for more police as the solution to crime.

When the politicians advocate more cops as the answer to crime, they are simply saying that poor people, especially Blacks and other oppressed nationalities who live in so-called high-crime areas, are just "naturally" criminal. The only thing to do is to lock them up, shoot them down, and further repress them. The idea of solving the problems that cause crime is never considered.

More cops won't solve the problem. More cops mean more crime—more police brutality. Notice that you never hear these politicians talking about police brutality.

The Democratic Party politicians' stand on crime fits right in with the stand they have taken on other issues where racism is involved.

It fits right in with the fact that none of them have ever mentioned the issue of Boston and the busing crisis there. It fits right in with the fact that all of them have gone along with the racist campaign against the so-called illegal aliens—the Mexican workers without papers, who are being rounded up and expelled on the grounds that they are supposedly taking away American jobs.

The Socialist Workers Party has been active in the campaign to defend the right of the Boston Black community to desegregated schools, and we have opposed the racist campaign against the undocumented workers.

We support the right of all workers without papers to have a job here.

And we say no cops have a right to be in the communities of the oppressed. They only increase the crime rate.

Let's take a look at the situation in a "high crime" area in Chicago. I'm sure the situation is duplicated in cities across the country.

Death traps

First of all the housing is poor. In one area you'll see blocks and blocks of apartment buildings that need major repairs very badly. Interspersed will be buildings that have been gutted by fire or decay, still standing open.

Then there are open lots filled with discarded belongings and tall grass. Each of these is a death trap for curious children at play and a haven for attackers.

In another part of the area, the housing stacks people up like caged animals, high in the air. Each family is locked away in its individual cubby-hole of concrete far from any grass or green.

One or two dimly lighted second-rate torture chambers, called elevators, move at a snail's pace from floor to floor. Their occupants are held captive between thick steel walls that lock in the aromas of human miseries, from piss to sweat. In early morning or late evening when 50 people from each floor are going to or coming from work, they are packed into these steel cans.

In the hours in between, a person waiting to reach a destination feels isolated and in a bit of a panic—afraid of what might be waiting on the other side of the door when it opens.

The people who live in these areas are the people with the lowest income and the worst jobs. They either cannot afford better housing or they don't "qualify" for better housing. They are the first people laid off when the economy tightens. Or they live month-to-month on lump-sum payments sent through the mail, like welfare or Social Security. The size of the payment is too small to do anything but subsist, but large enough to encourage burglary. The containers called mailboxes are rowed along the open walls, accessible to anyone and everyone. The second-rate food in the neigh-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Willie Mae Reid campaigning at Illinois State Employment Office. 'We aim at organizing the working people of Chicago to fight for protection against this rotten system.'

borhood grocery costs 10 or 20 cents more per item than elsewhere. Nearby the neighborhood school barely stands, and it's difficult to distinguish from a warehouse because it is so old and so many windows are boarded up.

Traveling by instinct

At night the street lights are either out or so dim that traveling is by instinct. Bus service is so infrequent that fear is a constant companion at the bus stop. If a subway services the area, the poorly lit open platforms invite the weather in along with attackers.

The communities on the periphery of these areas are a constant reminder that life can be better. They are often the well-off communities. But the facilities in these communities, such as the hospitals and clinics, are not open to the low-income residents. The stores and shops are inaccessible to "outsiders."

This situation creates the greatest human isolation, the greatest human alienation and desperation. And it's constantly aggravated by a vicious economy that demands a competition for survival—an economy that slams the door on hope unexpectedly, with its unpredictable highs and lows in available jobs.

Even though some live a few blocks or a few miles away from the "high crime" areas, we are all really just one step away. Not as victims of street criminals, but as part of a criminal, irrational system that victimizes us all.

Crime is only one symptom of the deep, deep problems of this society. It will take deep-going solutions to solve these problems. One of the first problems we have to solve is the problem of unemployment and inflation.

The Socialist Workers Party has a program for this. We call for reducing the workweek now with no reduction in pay. This would spread the work around so we could begin to put everyone back to work.

We also call for a massive public works program to build-quality housing, medical facilities, and day-care centers. People should be put back to work at union wages to build the things we need.

And there is money available to pay

for these things. Right here in Chicago millions, probably billions, could be available if the tax loopholes were closed and the profits of the large corporations taxed.

The federal government should help finance such projects. All they have to do is eliminate the so-called defense budget and they would have plenty of money. Instead of using the \$100-billion now used to meddle in the affairs of other countries, it should be used in Chicago and other cities to finance our social needs.

Inflation should be paid for by the people who cause it, and that's not us, not the working people. Cost-of-living clauses should be in all union contracts and should apply to all incomes such as Social Security, unemployment, welfare, and pension checks. We need this to protect us from continuously rising prices.

What about education? Over the past few months we've seen many studies on the schools of Chicago. Each one told us what we already knew—the schools are lousy, our children aren't learning.

The Socialist Workers Party calls for a crash program to build new schools and more classrooms. We need to immediately eliminate all schools that are broken-down and resemble jails. We need to drastically cut class sizes and hire all of those unemployed teachers.

We need more of our own teachers—Black teachers, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Native American teachers to train our children and ensure that there will be bilingual programs.

And in the communities of the oppressed it is the parents and students who should have the right to choose the principals, curricula, social programs, teachers, and all other administrators.

No accident

It is no accident that inner-city schools throughout this country are as bad as they are. It's not just an oversight. It's deliberate.

The schools in the Black community are the way they are because they are designed to turn out large numbers of unskilled workers—and the reserve army of unemployed, which the ruling class needs.

The rich, who control the decisions



'More cops won't solve the problem of crime. More cops mean more crime, more police brutality.'

politics

about what the priorities of this society will be, give the schools in working-class neighborhoods just enough funds to train the students for the tedious jobs they will be forced into.

It is only when we take the basic decisions about education out of the hands of big business that we will get the type of education that will truly help our children develop and grow.

Richard Daley's proposal to solve the problems of the schools is to put several businessmen on the school board. It's like putting the fox in charge of the chickens!

Sentiment for Black mayor

Over half the population of Chicago is Black and Latino. Given the fact that we are the most victimized by the social problems facing this city, there is strong sentiment for a Black mayor. Black people want someone to represent them who truly understands their problems and can help solve them.

Unfortunately, the Committee for a Black Mayor doesn't look at this sentiment from the point of view of the needs of the community. Its members sought to put together a package that could buy off that sentiment with a charismatic candidate and money from the State Street Council [an organization of Chicago businessmen].

Of course the Chicago big-money people wouldn't bite. They are perfectly happy with Mayor Daley and the status quo.

The only reason for them to back a Black mayor would be if the sentiment among Blacks was translated into a threatening struggle that could develop into a power base independent of their control. That isn't happening right now so there was no dough forthcoming from downtown.

Most members of the Committee for a Black Mayor ended up endorsing William Singer, a white candidate.

Independent campaign

If the committee had instead sought to build a strong base in the Black community, independent of the Democratic Party and the big business interests that control that party, the results would have been quite different.

A program addressing itself to solutions to some of the most serious problems in the Black community would have garnered broad support from the people. An independent Black candidate based on such a program could have amassed the finances and the energies needed to wage a powerful fight.

If that candidate didn't win this time, so what! A base would have been established, a base of independent Black political power. This would be the first real step toward change for Blacks as well as Latinos and other oppressed nationalities.

This is what my campaign is all about—to begin to organize a break with the Democratic and Republican parties, which are controlled by the ruling rich both here in Chicago and nationwide.

The Socialist Workers Party mayoral campaign aims at organizing the working people of Chicago—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, whites, students, women—the vast majority in this city, to fight for protection against this rotten system, to fight for real solutions to our problems.

We aim to inspire them with an alternative that can make Chicago work for us. And if our ballot victory is any example, Chicago can become our kind of town!

Reid vs. Daley

Socialists step up Chicago drive

By ANDY ROSE

CHICAGO—Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, is calling on all those who oppose "four more years of Daley's bossism, corruption, and police brutality, his antilabor policies and his racism" to vote for the socialist alternative on April 1.

Mayor Richard Daley, 72 and seeking his sixth term, won the Feb. 25 Democratic primary as expected, with 58 percent of the vote. Liberal alderman William Singer polled 29 percent of the Democratic vote, while Black State Senator Richard Newhouse tallied 8 percent. Former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan, who ordered the police murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in 1969, finished last with 5 percent.

Willie Mae Reid is the first independent candidate ever to appear on the ballot against Daley. Her campaign supporters gathered 66,243 signatures on nominating petitions to secure her ballot spot.

Although Daley is expected to dodge any debates or other confrontations with his opponents, as he did during the primary, Reid plans an aggressive final month of campaigning to take her program to the working people of Chicago.

On Saturday, March 1, campaign workers decided the 20-degree weather was warm enough to hold their first round of outdoor street rallies.

All four areas visited, three of them in predominantly Black neighborhoods, have been the sites of regular *Militant* sales, as well as of petitioning during the earlier phase of the campaign. As a result, many who stopped to listen to speeches, take literature, and talk with campaign workers, had already heard about the campaign.

"You're Willie Mae Reid? Right on, good luck!"; "Oh, yeah, I signed your petitions"; and "I got some of your literature a couple of weeks ago" were frequent comments.

One older Black woman said she had voted for Newhouse in the primary. Would she support Reid now against Daley? "Yes, I would. Definitely. We need more women in office."

A young white man, a student at the University of Chicago, felt about the same way. He had voted for Singer, but considered Reid "a worthwhile alternative. I'm glad that she's still in the race."

Much of Reid's brief talk was devoted to the problem of unemployment. "We have the right to a job," she declared, "a job at an adequate income, not just a minimum wage."

Nearly all of those who stopped to talk thought that this was the most important question. "The real important issue for the nation, man, is to get the economy together, you know," said Charles Odum, a young Black man. "We want anybody that can make it better. If Willie Mae Reid can make it better, cool, she's got my vote."

'A complete turnabout'

Both Odum and his friend Leonard Beck felt it was high time that Chicago had a Black mayor. Both had voted for Newhouse. They would "definitely" consider voting for Reid now. "For the simple reason that she's Black, and I think it's time now when there needs to be a complete turnabout," Odum said.

An older man, who had also voted for Newhouse, agreed that "poverty is the most important issue." What did he think about cutting out war spending and using the money to provide useful jobs for all?



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

REID: First independent candidate ever to appear on ballot against Daley.

"I can go along with that 100 percent," he said, "because the way I look at it—Cambodia's getting \$220-million. That's a lot of money, and then you got people walking around in this city starving every day. It doesn't make any sense to me."

Several people brought up another thing that they like about Reid's campaign. "What first caused me to notice her was that she was a young woman standing up for something," an older Black woman said.

"Yes, yes, I would support her," a woman electrical worker said. "It's time to mix it up anyway, and I think females would do a great job in this kind of field."

While campaign supporters accompanied Reid on the street rallies, others fanned out across the city for *Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales. By the end of the day, 2,100 copies of the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People" had been passed out and 400 *Militant's* and *YS's* sold.

Election results

Daley's victory in the Democratic primary has been widely interpreted as showing the invincibility of his political machine. The system of graft and patronage, built up over many

years, includes the bulk of the area's trade-union officialdom and a strong apparatus in the Black community.

At Daley's disposal is an army of 43,000 city employees, who are expected not only to vote for the machine candidates, but also to mobilize their friends, relatives, and neighbors to vote—or else.

But if ever there was a chance to unseat Daley, the commentators had said, this was the year. Some of his closest associates have been indicted for having their hands in the public till. Daley's age and failing health were cited against him.

Facing opposition in the Democratic primary for the first time in 20 years, Daley ignored his challengers, spoke only to audiences of machine loyalists, and insisted he had made Chicago "the greatest city in the world."

The election results were not without signs of opposition to racist politics. Hanrahan's dismal showing proves that despite his efforts to soften his anti-Black image, Chicagoans have little stomach for the killer-cops.

And in the city's Black wards, Daley, for the first time, failed to pull a majority. He took 47 percent of the Black vote, while Singer and Newhouse combined got 51 percent. The machine is far from dead in the Black neighborhoods, but it is running into trouble.

There is more involved in Daley's victory than the power of the machine, considerable though that is.

Daley's unprecedented failure to win the endorsement of the three major Chicago newspapers reflects some uneasiness in the ruling circles about whether the "Daleygate" scandals and ill health are beginning to impair his effectiveness.

But on the whole the area's industrialists and business executives saw no compelling reason to replace Daley: he was looking after their interests well and keeping the city under control. Why rock the boat?

On the other hand, to ensure their acceptability to the ruling rich of Chicago, neither Singer nor Newhouse challenged the system of politics Daley represents.

What do Singer and Newhouse have to offer now that the primary is over? Newhouse says to wait until he runs again in 1979. Singer, on primary night, hastened to offer his "congratulations."

Continued on page 26

The Republicans' woes

CHICAGO—The victor in the Republican mayoral primary was less than elated. In fact, he was downright bitter.

"The Republican Party is dead," John Hoellen stated, informing the media that he wanted to withdraw from the race.

Hoellen had agreed to be the Republicans' sacrificial lamb for butchering by Daley, but, wanting to stay in politics, he also ran to retain his aldermanic seat, the only one held by a Republican. In that race he was beaten by a "machine" Democrat.

Hoellen volunteers begged the Republican leaders to give their candidate more support so that he could be persuaded to remain in the mayoral race. (In Chicago, the big Republican money and backing goes to Daley.)

They warned that if no Republican was on the ballot, the party would not get the 5 percent of the vote required for automatic placement on the ballot. If that happened, the Feb. 28 *Chicago Daily News* wrote, "The party in 1979

would have to go through the elaborate procedure of amassing an almost prohibitive number of signatures on petitions to qualify as a 'new' party. Most such efforts have failed, although this year the Socialist Workers Party did qualify and is running Willie Mae Reid for mayor."

The message got through. A few days later the Republican attorney general of Illinois, William Scott, addressed a conference of 100 other Republican leaders.

According to the March 2 *Chicago Tribune*, "He warned that if the Republican Party does not have a viable mayoral candidate who can get 5 percent of the April 1 vote, Republicans will cease to be a legal party in the second largest city in the nation, and the Socialist Workers Party will be No. 2."

"Scott called that a 'ridiculous' situation," the *Tribune* wrote, "and pleaded for help for Hoellen or some other capable candidate."

On March 3 Hoellen relented and agreed to run. —A.R.

Camejo, in Washington D.C. tour, fields questions on Israel, busing, 'profit motive'

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON—Why the capitalist "profit motive" won't work, how socialists view the busing struggle in Boston, and the nature of Israel were topics of discussion in meetings held here for Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

Camejo, who toured the area from Feb. 26 to March 4, addressed hundreds of college students both in Washington, D. C., and Baltimore, met with prisoners in Virginia, and was the featured speaker at a March 1 campaign meeting here.

'Incentive under socialism'

At Towson State College in Baltimore, a student asked Camejo, "Don't we need the profit motive to keep this society running? What would you give workers under socialism as an incentive to produce?"

"Right now we're living under the profit motive, and look what's happening," answered Camejo. "We're producing less—not more—because it's more profitable for the capitalists not to produce. We're not producing new schools, hospitals, or food, because it's not profitable. There are eight million unemployed saying, 'Let us work,' but they're not being hired because it's not profitable."

"What we socialists say is let's make these decisions democratically, not according to the wishes of a tiny minority. The majority would never vote for eight million unemployed or for 12 percent inflation. If this country were run in the interests of working people, instead of in the interests of profit, there would be a genuine incentive to work and contribute to the creation of a humane society."

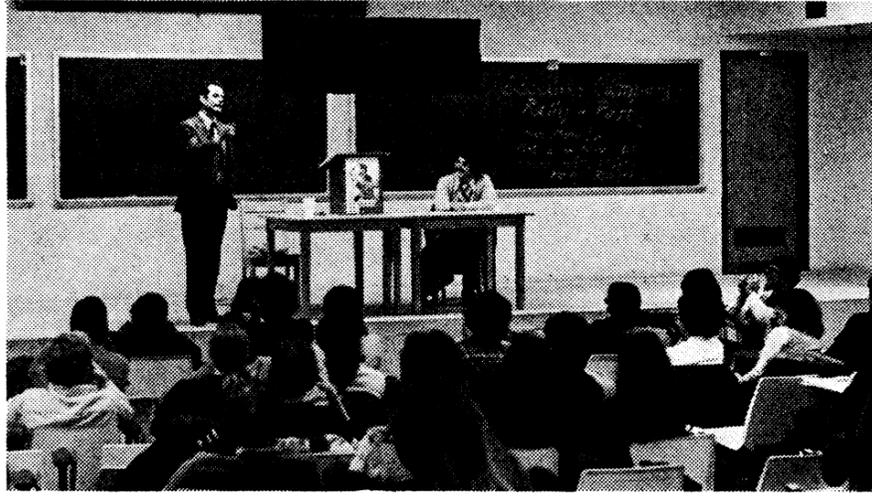
Another student at the same meeting said, "You've talked a lot about racism, but you haven't mentioned the racist attacks against Jews."

"We are against anti-Semitism wherever it occurs," Camejo replied, "but let's look back into history to see who the real anti-Semites are."

"When the Nazis were carrying out genocide against the Jewish people," he explained, "the United States government refused to help. Hundreds of thousands of Jews wanted to come to the U. S., but our government closed the doors. We in the SWP campaigned for opening the doors to the Jews."

"At the end of the war, many of the Jewish survivors wanted to come to the U. S. They were refused this right once again."

"Why? Because the Democrats and Republicans who rule this country are anti-Semites, and if you don't believe that, just listen to the White House tapes, where Nixon talked about how the arts are controlled by the Jews. These capitalists are all anti-Semitic—and they're all for Israel."



Peter Camejo addressing students at University of Maryland at College Park

"The capitalists are for Israel because they want to use the Jewish people as the front-line soldiers for the struggle against the colonial revolution in the Arab world. They have established the Israeli state as a beachhead for imperialism in the Mideast, driving out the Palestinian people."

"The Socialist Workers Party gives unconditional support to the right of the Palestinians to return to their land. We favor the establishment of a democratic secular Palestine," he concluded.

Camejo's largest meeting on campus was at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County Campus. Recently, in nearby counties, there has been a wave of cross-burnings and fire-bombings directed by right-wingers against Blacks. (See story on facing page.)

One hundred thirty students attended the meeting. During the discussion period, there was an exchange between Camejo and a member of the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the youth group of the Revolutionary Union (RU), over the busing issue in Boston and how to deal with racist attacks against Blacks.

Camejo contrasted the SWP stand in support of Black students in Boston to the RU's opposition to the busing of Blacks to achieve desegregation.

"The Revolutionary Union even had as a headline on its paper: 'Smash the Busing Plan,'" he explained. "The RU put the symbol of the racists—a stop sign—on its leaflets."

"We believe in uniting with other groups on everything possible," said Camejo, "but we can't unite with you on this. You're on the wrong side—the side of the racists. I hope you reject this position and come to Boston on May 17 for the demonstration called in support of busing by the NAACP. I hope you march with us,

instead of with the racists."

"But this busing plan helps no one," protested the RSB member. "It's just being used by the ruling class to divide Black and white workers. This is what we're trying to explain to the whites in South Boston."

"Your talk of a plot by the ruling class shows just how ignorant you are of the events in Boston," replied Camejo. "Why, the Black community has been fighting for years and years and years to end segregation in Boston. There were demonstrations as early as 1965 against the segregated schools. Were those a 'plot'? Was the whole civil rights movement a 'plot'?"

Black-white unity

"You say the busing plan 'divides' Blacks and whites. The point is that the ruling class has *already* divided us through racism. There can be no Black-white unity based on telling Blacks, 'Hold back your struggle until we've won over the whites.' No, the only basis for alliances between Blacks and whites is the unconditional support of whites for the right of Black people to equality."

The issue of racism in education was also a theme of the March 1 campaign meeting here where the 135 people present pledged \$2,200 to build the SWP campaign. In addition to Camejo, the audience heard Erich Martel, newly announced SWP candidate for the D. C. school board.

Martel, a teacher at Cardozo High School and a member of the Washington Teachers Union, has been active in the recent struggle with city officials over a new contract. He called for a crash program to fund education in D. C. and proposed a Bill of Rights for students and teachers. These rights would include:

- The right of Blacks and other minorities to use any means, including busing, to achieve an equal education;
- The right of democratically elected committees of teachers, students, and parents to control curriculum, hiring, and firing;
- The right to bilingual education;
- The right of teachers and other public employees to strike; and,
- The right of teachers to a cost-of-living escalator clause.

Greetings were presented to the meeting from a number of activists in the Black community, peace movement, and labor movement. Several teachers also attended the meeting.

Greetings from UFW

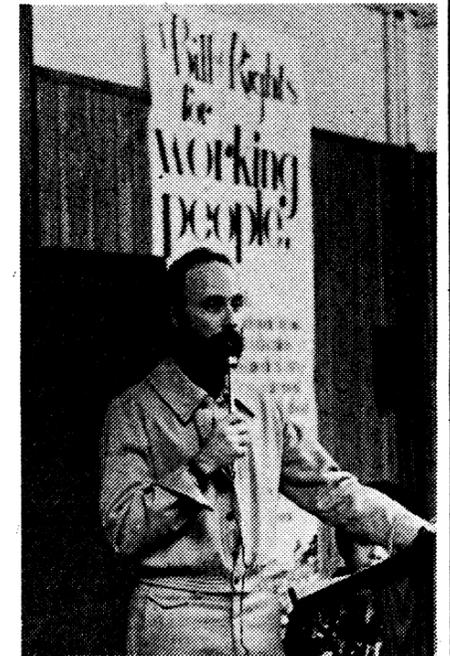
Gil Padilla, secretary-treasurer of the United Farm Workers, opened his remarks to the meeting in Spanish. "I started out this way," he told the audi-

ence, "because it's a real pleasure to be able to communicate with a president of the United States in Spanish. I'm always happy to be here at your meetings because there are friends here who are helping us in our struggle. It's like one of our rallies in California."

Greetings were also presented by Patrick Harvin, vice-president of the student government at Cardozo High School and an activist in building the May 17 march on Boston. Marc Strumpf, president of the student government at the University of Maryland in College Park, also spoke. Strumpf described the struggle brewing on that campus against budget cutbacks, and noted that "the Young Socialist Alliance has been very active and a great help in this fight."

Greetings were also heard from Helen Gurewitz, co-coordinator of the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition, and Joe Butler of the D. C. Statehood Party.

In his speech, Camejo traced the history of social struggles in the U. S. from the first American revolution to the present.



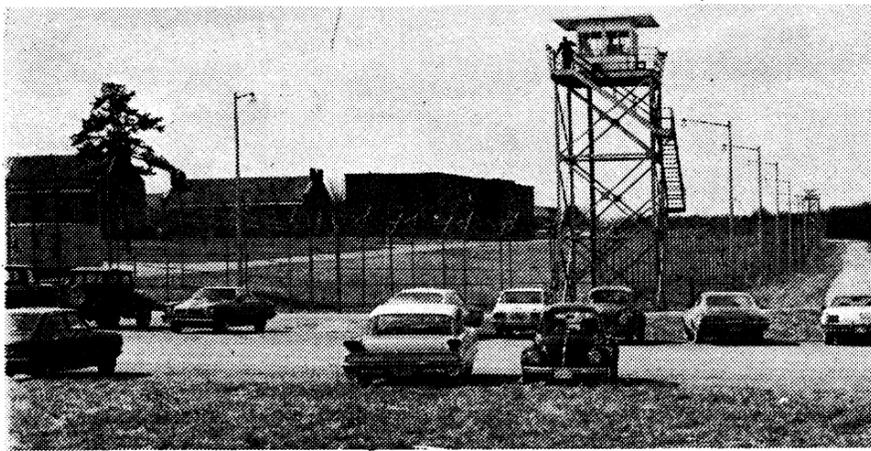
Militant/Afroditia Constantinidis
Erich Martel is SWP candidate for D.C. school board.

"Just as the abolitionist movement began with only a handful of supporters, but was able through slow, patient work to win over the majority on the question of slavery, we today are patiently working to build a socialist alternative to capitalism, and we urge you all to join with us," he said.

Camejo also took his campaign to prisoners at the Lorton Correctional Complex in Virginia. The socialist campaign was invited by inmates there to participate in a day of activities sponsored by Lifers for Prison Reform.

Prison officials refused to allow Camejo to take any campaign literature or copies of *The Militant* into the prison with him. However, the socialist candidate was able to discuss prison conditions with several inmates, who asked him to publicize their demands for job training, higher wages, and the right to visit their families at home.

Camejo also toured the Adams-Morgan section of D. C., a Black and Latino community. There he campaigned in both English and Spanish, distributing copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" and talking with residents about the problem of inflation and unemployment.



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Prison officials at Lorton, Va., refused to allow Camejo to distribute campaign literature to prisoners.

Wave of racist terror

Nazis in death threat on socialist candidate

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON—An emergency news conference was held here March 5 to protest the rise of racist terror in the Washington metropolitan area. The conference was called after a death threat was made against Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, who was touring the area.

The threat came in the form of spray-painted slogans in the walls of a meeting room at Federal City College (FCC), where Camejo was scheduled to speak March 4. FCC is a predominantly Black school.

The slogans, discovered an hour before the meeting was to start, said: "Death to socialisam [sic]" and "Reds." A swastika was sprayed on the speakers podium.

The death threat comes in the wake of a series of recent attacks by Nazis and other right-wingers against Black activists and socialists in the D.C. area and around the country.

On Feb. 4 a powerful bomb was exploded outside the Los Angeles SWP headquarters. Only by sheer luck did the 25 people inside avoid injury or death. A Nazi group, the National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF), openly took responsibility for the attack.

The NSLF has offices near here in Arlington, Va. Recently, the group mailed a racist, anticommunist leaflet to the SWP office here.

In Houston, armed Ku Klux Klansmen staged a public show of force outside the SWP hall Feb. 20.

On the Georgia State University campus in Atlanta, campaign posters of the Young Socialist Alliance for the upcoming campus elections were found plastered with Nazi leaflets March 5, proclaiming "Hitler was right," bearing swastikas, and signed by the National Socialist White People's Party.

The night before that, the campaign headquarters of Cleveland SWP mayoral candidate Robert Bresnahan was broken into and burglarized. The intruders left files of campaign supporters in disarray.

Solidarity messages

Leading community activists here sent solidarity messages to the March 5 news conference, expressing their grave concern over the threat against Camejo in light of the wave of racist violence in the area and in light of the recent terrorist assaults on the SWP.

Support statements to the news conference linked the attacks on the SWP to the nationwide attacks on pro-segregation forces. Washington, D.C., city council member Julius Hobson

said in his statement that he wanted "to condemn right-wing attacks by opponents of the Boston school movement against the Socialist Workers Party.

"This is to call for and reaffirm the right of members of the Socialist Workers Party to free speech and to express themselves wherever and whenever they please without an abridgment of their rights. This is also to commend the Socialist Workers Party and its members for the vigilance it has maintained over the years in this area," Hobson said.

FCC student government president Joseph Gattling also issued a statement deploring the threat.

Josephine Butler, a leader of the D.C. Statehood Party and representative to the Central Labor Council for the Office and Professional Employees International Union, appeared at the news conference with Camejo. "The SWP was with us when we marched against repression in North Carolina, they were with us all through the antiwar movement, and they've been to Boston with us two or three times," she said.

"I know they'll be with us again in Boston May 17, helping to organize the demonstration for busing called by the NAACP. Anytime people are threatened, the SWP is always there."

A message also came to the conference from Reverend Wilbur Driver, a Black minister whose Glen Burnie,



Militant/Jon Hillson

One target of Nazis was this entryway to Boston SWP office. SWP has been active in support of school desegregation in Boston.



Right-wingers burned these school buses in Prince Georges County, Md., March 1

Md., home has been fire-bombed twice in the last month.

Driver is one of more than a dozen victims of cross burnings and fire-bombings in the Anne Arundel County, Md., area since Jan. 17.

Driver said he believes the violence is coordinated. "We feel now that a plan has been made to drive Black people out of this area," he said. "But we intend to stay and fight for what is rightfully ours."

Bus burnings

Terrorists have also burned school buses in Prince Georges County, Md. The local antibusing group there, Citizens for Community Schools, has just announced that it will cohost the national antibusing march on Washington scheduled for March 19.

Racist activity has also occurred in Fairfax County, Va., where Nazi posters have been pasted up in the schools in the past few weeks. The posters say, "Boating, not busing. Back to Africa."

In his statement to the news conference, Camejo said, "There's a direct link between the appearance once again of racist mobs shouting, 'Kill niggers,' and the fact that the Nazis and the Klan are again coming out of the woodwork. Moreover, these ultrarightists have been given a blank check by President Ford, who says he too opposes busing, and by the refusal of Democratic and Republican officials to enforce the law in Boston." Camejo told reporters that although

the threat on his life was reported to the D.C. police, they have made no attempt to investigate the incident, much less arrest and prosecute the criminals.

"If this were Bentsen's campaign or Jackson's campaign or Ford's," he charged, "these threats would be treated seriously. We demand the right to campaign freely, on an equal basis with the other candidates, without harassment from right-wingers or from the FBI."

Camejo pointed out that the FBI has admitted spying on and infiltrating the socialists' campaign committees.

"And we know from Watergate that the FBI also has agents inside the very same groups that are now threatening the lives of socialists," he said.

"Through the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is supporting our lawsuit against illegal government spying, we are pressing for an end to this official harassment, which serves to create a climate where racists and terrorists feel they can attack us with impunity."

HOUSTON, March 6—Local supporters of Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo today demanded that the city council and the FBI provide protection during Camejo's speaking tour, which begins here March 8.

The supporters cited a federal law prohibiting threats and intimidation against campaign workers in a federal

Continued on page 26

AIM: target of new government assault

By GREG CORNELL

MINNEAPOLIS—The U.S. government appears to be launching a full-scale assault against the American Indian Movement (AIM).

Twenty people associated with AIM were jailed in three separate incidents March 1 and 2 in South Dakota and Colorado.

Among those arrested were Russell Means and Richard Marshall, who have been charged with "shooting with intent to kill."

Means denies any knowledge of the shooting incident. In a separate set of arrests in Hot Springs, S.D., seven people were held by a county sheriff on "criminal syndicalism" charges. In Denver, five people were arrested on narcotics charges, including Bill Means (Russell Means's brother) and

an AIM official.

Kenneth Tilsen, an AIM attorney, said the weekend of arrests "smacks of the same kind of dragnet arrests that were used in the Palmer raids and used at times against the Black Panthers."

He charged that the arrests were "a coordinated effort to attack the American Indian Movement."

The arrests come at a difficult juncture for AIM, which is currently hamstrung with a series of frame-up trials stemming from the take-over at Wounded Knee, S.D., two years ago.

Dennis Banks, an AIM executive director, is facing trial in Custer, S.D., on trumped-up charges that could put him in jail for life. Means and others are on trial in Phoenix, Ariz., on a frame-up involving gun transporta-

tion charges. A trial of other AIM defendants is scheduled in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and the government is appealing last fall's federal court decision in St. Paul to drop charges against Banks and Means.

In the latest arrest, Means was dragged from a car in South Dakota on a Sunday morning and accused of shooting a man in Scenic, S.D.

According to AIM, sheriff's deputies clubbed Means with a gun butt, causing a three-inch gash under his right eye that took 12 stitches to close. Means was being held on a \$50,000 bond. Marshall was being held on a \$5,000 bond. Five other people with Means were also arrested and jailed, but have since been released.

The seven who were jailed in Hot Springs, S.D., are accused of crim-

inal syndicalism, possession of explosives, and "suspicion of possible possession of machine guns." They are being held on \$5,000 bond.

The arrests occur at a time when there have been several ominous incidents on the Pine Ridge reservation.

On Feb. 27 Bernardo Escamilla, a Wounded Knee defendant, and three of his attorneys were beaten on the Pine Ridge reservation. On March 3 night riders fired a series of shotgun blasts into the home of Matthew King, an Oglala Sioux leader. Bureau of Indian Affairs police found 18 bullet holes in his house.

Means and Tilsen believe the new wave of arrests of AIM supporters is part of an effort to cover up the latest incidents of vigilantism on the Pine Ridge reservation.

Socialist candidate hits racism

Pasadena cops launch anti-Black dragnet

By ANDREA BARON

PASADENA, Calif., March 1—Outrage is growing in the Black community here over the cops' latest racist offensive, known as "Operation BAD" (Burglary Abatement Detail). More than 240 Blacks were stopped by the Pasadena police in the first four days of the new campaign.

"Operation BAD" consists of intensified patrolling of the predominantly Black and Chicano Northwest Pasadena community, with cops arbitrarily stopping and photographing residents for permanent police files.

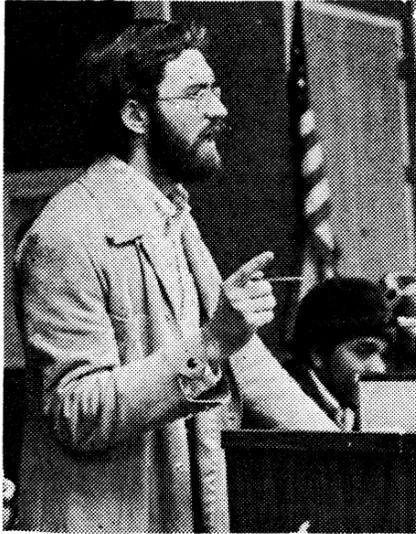
Field interrogation cards are filled out and, along with the photographs, become permanent police records, whether or not the person was doing anything illegal.

The racist procedure in Pasadena has been met with community protests, and the local American Civil Liberties Union is seeking an immediate restraining order against the racist dragnet.

According to the cops, "Operation BAD" quadruples the number of police in the Black community. This means that almost half of all on-duty cops in Pasadena at any given time will be in Northwest Pasadena.

This campaign follows closely on the heels of "Operation Sweep," aimed supposedly at picking up truants, but in reality directed against all young people in Pasadena.

Several Black community organizations responded to the cop offensive by sponsoring a Feb. 24 demonstration in front of the police headquarters. While 30 people picketed outside, inside the cops were releasing a report that stated that during the first four days of "Operation BAD" there were 243 Blacks among the 274 people stopped. Despite the picketing, the report also claimed that there had been "no indication of adverse public relations" due to the dragnet.



Militant/Harry Ring
Socialist school board candidate Tim Mallory speaks at meeting to protest racist police dragnet.

Community leaders also organized a Feb. 28 meeting, attended by 100 people, to plan further protests. The meeting was chaired by Paul Jones, director of Project JOVE, a community service organization.

"I had heard about Operation BAD and couldn't believe the stories I had heard," Jones said. "But today when I left my office, I saw four or five police cars and two unmarked cars harassing several young Blacks on the street."

Marque Hutcherson, a job counselor at the Pasadena Community Services Commission, commented that two young Blacks coming to his office to look for jobs were picked up by cops, fingerprinted, photographed, and taken to the police station, although they were innocent of any crime.

Attorney Charles Johnson, area representative of the NAACP, spoke in

defense of the Black community and condemned "Operation BAD" as unconstitutional. "We will sue the board of directors, the police chief, and any officer who touches a Black child," he vowed.

Johnson explained that detention and arrest records effectively cripple Black youth for the rest of their lives.

Michael Zinzun, of the Pasadena Community Information Center, and several other activists proposed further protests to demand an end to "Operation BAD." A picket line in front of the police headquarters was scheduled for March 6.

School board campaign

Among those speaking in support of this protest was Tim Mallory, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board in the March 4 election. Mallory's campaign has been focused on the fight against racism in general and in particular in support of the demand that the court-ordered Pasadena desegregation plan be implemented.

The three racist members of the Pasadena school board who are up for recall in the election have openly stated that "busing is the main issue of this election." The school board has spent thousands of dollars from the school budget to fight the court-ordered desegregation.

Last summer, four of the five board members were found in contempt of court for appointing top administrators without an adequate search for minority applicants.

Two of the posts on the board, which governs the majority Black and Chicano schools, are being contested in a regular election. In addition, 60,000 signatures were gathered to place the recall of the remaining three members on the ballot.

While the organizers of the recall originally billed it as an "antiracist"

campaign, their three candidates, known as the "Community Together" slate, have refused to take any position on the busing plan. The "Community Together" slate has even pledged to continue the suit against the busing plan to "let the courts decide."

Mallory and his supporters have hit on the implementation of the desegregation plan as the key issue in the campaign.

The three board members up for recall issued a campaign brochure that features the same stop-sign symbol that appears on the literature of the antibusing groups in Boston. The Pasadena version says, "Stop forced busing, stop the militants, stop the recall."

'Militants & malcontents'

The brochure charges, "There are irresponsible militants and malcontents who are backing this recall." Right below are two photos of a demonstration held in Pasadena in support of desegregation.

What the racist school board members are opposed to is actions like the upcoming May 17 demonstration that will be held here in solidarity with the protest in Boston on that same day. The local action was called at a recent conference of the Committee Against Segregation in Education.

The Socialist Workers campaign has been helping to organize these activities and is publicizing them as the most effective way to fight the racists.

In the final weeks of his campaign, Mallory has spoken to hundreds of people at four high schools, at Pasadena College, and at a food stamp center.

At a rally outside Pasadena High School he told 50 Black students that "the racist policies of the school board are totally tied to the racism of the police and the city board of directors."

Boston activists call abortion rights rally

By DIANA TRAVIS

BOSTON—A protest rally will be held here March 20 around the theme "Defend Dr. Edelin—Defend Abortion Rights."

In response to the Feb. 15 conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin on charges of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion, representatives of groups supporting abortion rights met at Boston University on March 2. The meeting discussed plans to defend Dr. Edelin and to begin an organized and sustained response to the escalating attacks by "right-to-life" forces on the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

The meeting, initiated by the Committee to Defend Abortion Rights, drew representatives from Catholics for the Right to Choose, Crittendon House (an abortion clinic), Massachusetts Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws/Constitutional Defense Project, Natick-Framingham Women's Health Project, Socialist Workers Party, women's liberation groups from Northeastern University and the University of Massachusetts, and the Young Socialist Alliance. Also attending the meeting were Dr. Barbara Roberts, a leading activist in the abortion-rights movement, and Marcia Codling, a national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

One immediate result of the Edelin conviction, according to Roberts, is that "no woman who is 20 or more weeks pregnant can get an abortion in this city. Doctors simply won't do

them after what happened to Dr. Edelin."

Edelin's conviction was viewed by the women at the meeting as a prelude to introducing further restrictive abortion legislation in Massachusetts and other states. They felt that supporters of abortion rights must begin organizing all over the country to defeat the "right-to-lifers."

Roberts said, "We need to organize this as a national fight again, just as we did before the Supreme Court decision. And women need to use every weapon at their disposal to beat back the fetus fetishists."

Susan LaMont of the Socialist Workers Party pointed out that the same racist forces who are trying to block the desegregation of the schools in Boston are the ones behind this attack on Edelin, who is Black, and the right to abortion. "This means," she said, "that it is especially important to involve groups and individuals in the Black community, where there is overwhelming support for Dr. Edelin, in the defense activities."

At a news conference held here Feb. 20, Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, told the media that "the weight of evidence in this case was so overwhelmingly on the side of the doctor that we can only explain the verdict as having been motivated either by religious bias, racial bias, or both." He called on NAACP chapters around the country to protest Dr. Edelin's conviction.

The meeting agreed that every effort



Militant/Jon Hillson
Boston demonstrator protests conviction of Black doctor for performing legal abortion.

should be made to involve a broad spectrum of women's groups, Black organizations such as the NAACP, abortion-rights groups, and others in the March 20 protest rally.

Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston school committee, issued a statement protesting Edelin's conviction. "The so-called right-to-life groups have been trying to cut back on the gains won by the women's movement for abortion. The conviction of Dr. Edelin is their first victory, and we must make sure that it is only a temporary one.

"It is no coincidence that women's rights are being attacked here in Boston. Edelin's conviction grew out of the racist hysteria whipped up here against school desegregation. The same forces that oppose the rights of women are leading the attacks on the rights of Black students to attend any school they choose.

"The Socialist Workers Party pledges its support to defending Dr. Edelin. As a candidate for the Boston school committee I will speak out at every opportunity to win more of Boston's residents to support for this cause."

State's case 'shaky'

Two on trial for murder in Attica frame-up

By KURT HILL

BUFFALO—The frame-up trial of Attica Brothers John "Dacajewiah" Hill and Charles Pernalice began here Feb. 24. The two Native Americans are charged with killing prison guard William Quinn during the September 1971 rebellion that left 43 men dead.

It is the first major trial in the 42 indictments charging 62 present and former prisoners with crimes stemming from the rebellion. Of two other trials, one ended in dismissal and the other in acquittal. Twelve men have had their cases dropped for lack of evidence.

In his opening statement to the jury, prosecutor Louis Aidala claimed that Hill struck "a vicious blow" to Quinn's head with a wooden object during the early moments of the rebellion. He charged that Pernalice then joined the attack, which resulted in Quinn's death two days later.

These claims were vigorously contested by defense attorneys Ramsey Clark and William Kunstler. They charged that the state is attempting to make scapegoats of the defendants to obscure the real criminal activities of state officials and police.

The Attica trials, in fact, have been grossly weighted against the prisoner-defendants. No police, guards, or prison or state officials have been named in the indictments by the grand jury, which is still in session.

In one case naming five men for murder, state prosecutors revealed evidence in early February that a prisoner who is now dead committed the two murders for which the five men are blamed. The judge for the case, which is in a pretrial stage, has, however, stubbornly refused to drop the charges.

The jury selected to hear this case includes no Native Americans, and only two Blacks. No Native Americans were included in the jury pool. Some jurors have friends or relatives who are police or prison guards. The prosecution used its preemptory challenges against eight of the 10 Black potential jurors.



Attica Brothers Charles Pernalice and John Hill

Attica News

The defense announced its intention to call Nelson Rockefeller (New York governor during the rebellion) as a witness to determine what information he has concerning Quinn's death, and where he acquired that information.

In his public statements, Rockefeller has consistently maintained that Quinn was thrown from a second-story window. He repeated this statement under oath during his vice-presidential confirmation hearings in Washington, D. C. But no windows in Attica

are large enough for a man's body to fit through.

State Supreme Court Justice Gilbert King on Feb. 25 ruled irrelevant and inadmissible all defense testimony or questioning about the murderous police assault that ended the five-day rebellion on Sept. 13, 1971.

The ruling brought Kunstler to exclaim: "Then what are we here for, Your Honor?"

"Your Honor, are you saying we may never refer to the events of the 13th?"

"That's right, they're not relevant," King replied.

The state's case has so far been shaky. A chief prosecution "eyewitness" contradicted his grand jury statements on the stand and was argumentative and foggy on details.

"You never actually saw Mr. Quinn get hit, did you?" Kunstler asked the witness, Donald Melven.

"I never seen the man swing the board, but I heard the thud," he replied.

"You never saw him get hit, did you?"

"I did not. No."

"Do you remember testifying before the grand jury under oath, when you were asked: 'Did you see the board strike him?' and you answered, 'Yes, on the upper forehead.' That was not a true statement, was it?"

"That was true to the point where I saw the contact! I seen him follow through with the damn hit! And that's it!"

"I'm afraid that's not it, Mr. Melven," Kunstler said. "All I'm asking you to tell is, was that statement true when you made it?"

"I wish you'd rephrase what the hell truth is," Melven said angrily.

Under cross-examination, Melven admitted he had a "slight" doubt about his identification of Hill. It was further learned that two state investigators filed a report in 1971 stating that Melven had even retracted his identification of Hill.

The report, as yet, has not been admitted into evidence.

Another state witness, Leland Spear, a former Attica prisoner, testified he saw Hill strike a guard with a "2-by-4," but failed to identify the guard.

"It is utterly impermissible to admit this witness's testimony unless he can be shown to have seen the defendant striking Mr. Quinn," Kunstler charged.

Spear is one of four prisoners of the state's original six witnesses. In the past the defense has shown that prisoners' grand jury testimony was obtained through threats of indictment.

Boston Blacks recount 'Southie' school days

By REBA WILLIAMS

BOSTON—Cynthia Wade is a tenth-grade student who is bused from Columbia Point, a Black neighborhood, to Hart-Dean Junior High School, an annex of South Boston High School.

South Boston has been the scene of white violence against Black students bused to schools there under a federal school desegregation order.

Part of the racist opposition to busing has been a boycott by most white students of Hart-Dean and other schools in the area. One offshoot of this white boycott was that Cynthia Wade was elected student body president of Hart-Dean.

On March 1, I had an opportunity to interview Cynthia along with her mother and two brothers, John, 24, and Ben, 23, about the school desegregation situation.

John works for the New England Telephone Company and Ben is unemployed. Both attended Hart-Dean more than 10 years ago. They explained how the school is different today.

John said, "I went to school in South Boston for about a year or so. That was when they had buses that would come out in front of the projects and pick up the kids and take them over to Hart-Dean." Hart-Dean is about a mile away from Columbia Point.

"At that time there were quite a few Blacks going to Hart-Dean," John continued. "During that time I never really experienced anything like it is here now. There was name-calling, but it wasn't nothing like it is now. We even walked through South Boston. But now if you tried to go over there, they'd surround you and try to kill you. They've been busing for years but it wasn't half as bad as it is now."

Ben explained, "We could go over to South Boston. When we went to school we got along with the white kids. There were no racial problems that everybody could see. Unlike today, when we left school and went across the street to the store they'd serve us. We'd buy our candy and cakes and we'd come back. We could even walk down the middle of South Boston."

Cynthia feels that the trouble in her school has subsided for awhile. The whites still call the Blacks names, but there aren't many fights. In other schools, such as Hyde Park, however, this has not been the case.

Donna Wade, Cynthia's sister, was one of the students at South Boston High who have been victimized by white students' provocations. She no longer attends South Boston High. Her family explained the circumstances.

"Donna was coming into the school in the morning and three white girls kept calling her things like 'Oh, you Blackie,' and other kinds of names," Cynthia said. Donna got into a fight with them one day. She had earlier had a fight with one of them.

"Ever since then this white girl kept threatening Donna," Cynthia continued, "saying, 'I'm gonna get you.' Every time she would walk down the hall they would say, 'That's the Black girl we're gonna get. We're gonna get you sooner or later.'"

According to Mrs. Wade, Donna was suspended from school and taken to court for assault and battery on the three white girls. She was placed on probation for one year.

I asked the Wades if there were any other cases of Black students being victimized for defending themselves. Cynthia pointed to the charges being brought against James White for allegedly stabbing a white student who attacked him one day at South Boston High. White recently pleaded innocent to the charges.

When asked if they thought federal troops should be brought in to protect Black students implementing the desegregation order, Cynthia said, "I definitely do."

Mrs. Wade said, "I think they should

have brought those troops in here when school first opened."

John added, "They should have capped on the situation when it first started. They should have put a lid on it in the beginning. They should have had troops in here in September. If they would have done that the situation wouldn't have gotten out of hand."

Cynthia feels that the Black students now in desegregated schools should organize in their own defense if the violence recurs. She urged all Black students to help the National Student Coalition Against Racism in organizing support in the high schools.

Finally I asked the Wade family what they thought of the call by Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, for a national march on Boston on May 17 to demand desegregation of the schools and to demand the end to racist attacks against Black students.

Mrs. Wade replied, "It's about time for somebody to stand up and do something about this. I'm for it 100 percent."

Support for the May 17 protest is being organized by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Its address is 720 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02215. Telephone: (617) 266-9665.

Int'l Women's Day

International Women's Day—March 8—comes at a time of major battles around the world for women's rights.

In Italy, following a police raid on an abortion clinic and the arrest of two abortion-rights advocates, a campaign to force a referendum for the abolition of all laws against abortion is gathering strength. In Britain, a movement is growing to fight back against attacks on the liberal 1967 abortion law. In Germany, thousands protested the West German Constitutional Court's decision to strike down a law permitting abortions on request during the first three months of pregnancy.

Defense efforts on behalf of women political prisoners are being coordinated in numerous countries. Petitions, rallies, and teach-ins have publicized the plight of women in Chile, the cases of Lidia Falcón and Genoveva Forest in Spain, Ines Romeu in Brazil, and Lolita Lebrón, the Puerto Rican nationalist imprisoned in the U.S.

Here in the United States, antiwoman, reactionary forces are attempting to reverse many of the gains women have won in recent years.

•A dangerous victory was scored by the so-called right-to-life forces through the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Boston physician charged with manslaughter for having performed a legal abortion.

On March 20, a rally will be held in Boston to "Defend Dr. Edelin—Defend Abortion Rights." The rally, called by a coalition of Boston groups supporting abortion rights, can be the first step in an urgently needed national campaign to mobilize support for women's right to choose abortion.

•The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) has been defeated so far this year in four out of the five state legislatures that have voted on it. With only four more states needed to ratify the ERA before it becomes law, powerful, reactionary lobbies have intensified their drive to stop it. Women's organizations and other supporters of equal rights will have to intensify their efforts, also, to push through the ERA.

•The economic crisis, which has led to massive layoffs, is undermining the gains made by women in the past few years through affirmative-action plans. The practice of "last hired, first fired" has chopped women out of jobs in massive numbers. The layoffs are being used as an excuse to replace preferential hiring with preferential firing.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is taking the lead this March 8 in defense of the gains made by women on the job. CLUW is also uniting with other union organizations in demonstrations demanding "Jobs for All!"

The United Nations has designated 1975 as International Women's Year. It will be a year of struggle—struggle to defend rights already won, and struggle to gain new ones.

U.S. get out!

"I think we have to hold the line somewhere. . . . This is . . . in the interests of the peace of the world."

Adlai Stevenson, U.S. representative to the UN, June 27, 1965.

Ten years after the massive U.S. escalation of the war in Vietnam, the criminals responsible for continuing the slaughter in Indochina are still talking about "the integrity of our alliances," "national security," and the "threat" of communism in order to justify new requests to Congress for arms and money to back their clients in Southeast Asia.

The U.S. rulers took over from French imperialism in the 1950s by sponsoring the puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in Vietnam—one of a long line—and invoking the sacred commitments they had made to their own creature. The coup that brought Lon Nol to power in Cambodia in 1970 was also made in Washington.

During the 1880s the imperialist powers justified their colonial wars as civilizing missions. Today they talk about bringing the benefits of freedom and democracy to the less fortunate. Only the rhetoric is different.

Behind the cant about the "free world" are Saigon's and Phnompenh's torture chambers and the disregard of the imperialist rulers for the vast majority of people in the U.S. and the world who have clearly demonstrated their disgust with the butchery in Indochina.

The real issue remains Washington's attempt to crush the irrepressible struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia for national independence, land reform, and social progress.

Not one more dollar for Washington's slaughter in Indochina!
U.S. get out of Southeast Asia and stay out!

Bill of Rights

I recently went to a contract ratification meeting of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 1707 to pass out copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

The union membership had authorized a strike if their demands (the most important of which was a cost-of-living allowance) were not met. The workers were angry, since the last contract they were offered, two years ago, called for a measly 4 percent wage increase and they were expecting a similar proposal this time. Indeed, they were asked to sacrifice the cost-of-living clause in exchange for "fringe benefits."

Most people had no confidence that their leadership could carry out a strike and wound up voting for the contract out of frustration.

The frustration they felt at the inadequate proposal for a settlement made them quite receptive to the Socialist Workers Party proposal for a "new Bill of Rights for working people." Many of them commented, "It's about time" or, "This is what we really need" as they took a copy.

I'm sure that when they compare what their union leadership was proposing and what the Socialist Workers campaign has to offer, many of them will see the socialist alternative as one they would rather work for.

Michael Lux
New York, N. Y.

Dynamite

A couple of us went last week to the McDonnell Douglas strike picket line in Santa Monica, Calif., with the Socialist Workers pamphlet "A Bill of Rights for Working People." The response from those mostly older white male workers was fantastic.

One man in his sixties said, "I'm about ready for a revolutionary party." A younger Black worker, a Vietnam veteran, told me, "Just the party I've been looking for. What we need is a third party, a workers party."

That Bill of Rights is dynamite!
Betsy McDonald
Venice, Calif.

'New' wage index

We know about the moves to dilute an already understated Consumer Price Index—to "broaden" it to "all" consumer groups, including the petty-bourgeois classes with their spendings on luxuries, and to add "quality improvement" factors.

There have also been some rumblings about creating a "new, improved" wage index as well. Work is now being done on this by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Of course, the "improved" wage index "shows" just what they want—wages "rising faster" than the present payroll index for production and non-supervisory workers.

In an article which initiated a three-year program for developing the "improved" index, Norman Samuels had this to say:

"The ideal measure should be a single measure that covers all employees, includes all forms of compensation, and is free of the effects of fluctuations in the amount of premium pay for overtime, shifts in employment between low-wage and high-wage industry, and changes in the mix of occupations."

In other words, add the managers, supervisors, lawyers, salespersons, and others who have been "justly

compensated"; add all the stock options, club fees, and the like going to these managers and supervisors, as well as the pensions and other "fringe benefits," which the workers often never see; and cover up the fact that workers are increasingly being driven into part-time jobs and low-paying service jobs. And, surprise, out comes the "new, improved," model.

Walt Snyder
Albany, N. Y.

Color line

W. E. B. DuBois said that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line. It is clear from the current "saber rattling" of Ford, Kissinger, and Schlesinger that DuBois's declaration is still the reality within which America chooses to operate.

The Arab oil barons, in the most oft-practiced traditions of capitalism, are charging—just as the American multinational oil companies are doing—what the traffic will bear. How ironic that the Arab leaders are depicted as venal blackmailers, while the Seven Sisters [the largest oil companies] get off with hearings at which they defied Congress and the American people.

Kissinger's statements are an attempt to provide a scenario to justify American involvement in still another war.

The cycle must be broken. This talk of war must be nipped in the bud or we will once again be led off to the holocaust.

Lloyd Daniels
Mattapan, Mass.

'Official' votes

The Feb. 21 issue of *The Militant* states that, in 1972, the Socialist Workers Party candidates were ruled off the Tennessee presidential ballot. That is 97 percent correct. However, in three counties, the county clerk either rebelled or didn't understand what he was supposed to do, and in those counties the Jenness-Pulley ticket appeared on the ballot.

The three counties (Crockett, Hardeman, and Madison) officially reported 138 votes for the Jenness-Pulley ticket, but Tennessee state election officials refused to show these votes in the printed election returns.
Richard Winger
San Francisco, Calif.

Bill Walton

The ideas of the present radicalization have spread far and wide. Bill Walton, three-time All-American center while at UCLA, recently told a *Los Angeles Times* interviewer some of his current thoughts.

On the salaries of professional athletes: "I think athletes are underpaid. The largest group of professional athletes are big-time college football and basketball players and, at best, they get only a few thousand dollars a year (through scholarships). Through circumstances, a few of us make very large incomes. Still, we wouldn't be paid these salaries unless the owners felt it was in their best interest. . . . Unfortunately, the people who participate in sports, who generate all this income, are not receiving the profits."

Are some people making money at the expense of others? "That's the way it is in the whole so-called 'free world.' People are making money

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Mormon church vs. ERA

LOGAN, Utah—1975 has seen the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) by legislatures in five states—Oklahoma, Arizona, Nevada, Georgia, and Utah. In addition, bills have been introduced in both the Texas and New Mexico legislatures to rescind their ratifications of the ERA. Tennessee and Nebraska have already voted to rescind their ratification.

Whether or not a state can rescind its ratification is being debated in the courts, but whatever the outcome, these attacks on the ERA are serious and part of a major right-wing offensive to stop the ERA.

The fact that three-fourths of the states must ratify the amendment is undemocratic to begin with. As it stands now, two-thirds of the states have ratified the ERA—North Dakota brought the number to 34—and these states account for the vast majority of the population of the United States. The reactionaries are counting on the lightly populated and largely rural states to override the majority's clear desire to extend full democratic rights to women. They are zeroing in on states with especially conservative legislatures.

A good case in point is Utah. A poll taken toward the end of 1974 showed that 65 percent of the Utah public supported the ERA. This poll, as well as the verbal support that Governor Calvin Rampton gave the amendment, was encouraging to supporters of the ERA. It looked as if the ERA would pass in Utah.

Then, on Jan. 11—a few days before the state legislature was convened—the Mormon church publicly declared its opposition to the ERA in an editorial in "Church News," a weekly supplement to the church-owned *Deseret News*, one of Utah's two statewide

newspapers.

The Mormon church is one of the—if not *the*—most powerful economic forces in the state, with vast land holdings, large financial investments, and control of many corporations. Many state legislators are Mormons.

"Over a period of many decades," said the "Church News" editorial, "women have been accorded special protection and the status properly due them. More recently, these include equality of opportunity in political, civil and economic spheres. . . . But all of this will not change the fact that men and women are different, made so by a Divine Creator. Each has his or her role. One is incomplete without the other."

The editorial ends with the threat that if the amendment is ratified, the result will be mass "unisex."

In a state where 70 percent of the population is listed as Mormon, the editorial had a strong effect. A new poll showed that public support for the ERA had dropped to 49 percent, and many legislators reversed their support.

Although the ERA was defeated—for the second time—in Utah, Utahans for the ERA have not given up. They are calling for a unified fight for passage of the ERA, independently of the legislature.

"We must place our confidence in the people of this state," they write in a leaflet appealing for support. ". . . we can build a popular movement of massive, visible support to the Equal Rights Amendment. . . . Our perspective is to continue to build support for the ERA until it becomes the law of the land."

off other people's labor. And that's not right. People who work should be the ones who get paid. . . ."

On his own salary: "First, my supposed money, like that of most highly paid athletes, is spread out in deferred payments over the years. Given the economic situation, no one knows what the paper money will be worth by the time I see it. It may be next to worthless. . . ."

Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, Calif.

Most influential

I am writing this letter in regard to the Bill of Rights for all working people.

I am a reader and a constant follower of the events published in *The Militant* newspaper, and the topic of socialism should indeed be expounded upon. I am an inmate in a federal institution, and I am well aware of the functions the capitalistic laws are based on.

I am a believer in the concept of life, which is equality for all the masses. This is why I accept some aspects of socialism.

I think even true socialism has its faults. Yet being a realist, and with the knowledge that I have to accept some form of government, socialism is my choice. I hope to read more about socialism.

I must add that *The Militant* to me is the most influential and the most factual paper out there. Continue revealing the truth, for truth brings about a change.

A prisoner
Connecticut

Boston conference

There were a few inaccuracies in the Feb. 28 *Militant's* generally excellent coverage of the National Student Conference Against Racism.

Cynthia Wade, who is the student body president at the Hart-Dean Annex of South Boston High School, was the Black student who spoke at the Friday night teach-in. Wade won the election for president after the white students boycotted the election.

Joette Chauncy, who was elected a new national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, did not speak Friday night, as *The Militant* reported, but led a workshop on high school students Saturday morning.

You misspelled the name of another new coordinator. This was Annell (not Anell) Bond, who was elected Sunday following her nomination by Matty Berkelhammer of the Young Workers Liberation League.

In describing the two structure proposals that were debated on Sunday, *The Militant* described one as having been put forward by the five coordinators. In fact, this proposal was submitted by only four of the coordinators: Marcia Codling, Maceo Dixon, Paul Mailhot, and Ray Sherbill. Robert Harper did not sign the structure proposal.

Peter Seidman
Boston, Mass.

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.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



How wages can catch prices

The cost-of-living allowance (COLA) is a feature of many union contracts and a negotiating demand of nearly all unions. The purpose is to compensate for inflation by keeping wages fully abreast of rising prices. It is not intended to raise the standard of living, only to reimburse workers for losses suffered from price markups, rent hikes, and tax increases.

A variety of ways are currently used to compute COLA, none adequate. Of the five million workers now protected by wage escalators, less than three million receive adjustments quarterly. Most others are partially compensated annually for the ravages of inflation, some semiannually. Many agreements fix a "cap" on adjustments, limiting wages to a specified hourly or weekly rate regardless of how far or fast prices advance.

Usually the method of computing COLA is deliberately complicated, as in the 1974 agreement between the New York Telephone Company and the Communications Workers of America. It reads:

"1. Effective August 3, 1975, an adjustment will be made in basic *weekly* [emphasis added] rates in each wage schedule. The amount of the adjustment shall be 50¢ plus .6% of the scheduled rates applicable during the first year of the agreement, rounded to the nearest 50¢ for each full percent increase in the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS] National Consumer Price Index (1967=100) for May 1975 over May 1974. A partial percent increase shall be applied proportionately." This is an annual adjustment.

Such contract language makes COLA a mysterious element in the wage settlement. It is never clearly explained.

Workers who expect protection from it find their wages frozen during the year while prices continue to rise. The adjustment, when it comes, is measured according to the BLS Consumer Price Index (CPI), which does not accurately reflect the increased cost of commodities bought with the weekly paycheck.

And, in the example of the telephone workers, the adjustment is partially related to a percentage of the base pay so that the lowest-paid workers get the smallest compensation even though they pay the same high prices as all others.

The simplest and most nearly accurate COLA formula is in the United Auto Workers (UAW) contract. Like most others, it uses the BLS Consumer Price Index as the measure of inflation. Workers receive 1 cent an hour for every 0.3-percentage-point

rise in the index, or 3.3 cents for each 1-point index jump.

In September 1973, when the present auto contract was signed, the index was 135.5. It rose to 154.3 in November 1974, an 18.8-point jump. The total hourly increase over this 14-month period was 62 cents. Adjustments are made quarterly.

This formula removes the mystery from COLA, adjusts wages at shorter intervals, and compensates all workers equally. It has no top limit. It is also used in steel and some other industries, and can serve as a working model for the development of a basic COLA formula for all wages, unemployment payments, welfare payments, and pensions.

But the UAW's formula for COLA, while it is the best currently in use, still falls short of doing what it is supposed to do: correct the imbalance between wages and prices resulting from continuing inflation. Some improvements should be made.

The period of adjustment should be shortened from quarterly to weekly, eliminating most of the "lost money" factor caused by the time lag between price increases and pay raises.

The other necessary change is in the accepted measurement of inflation. The BLS Consumer Price Index does not show the full effect of inflation on the working-class family budget.

A list of 20 common food items checked by price watchers from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37 shows an increase of 48 percent from January 1972 to January 1975. The BLS index shows a 26 percent increase in all items during this same three-year period. AFSCME says "When food goes up 48% . . . as against a general CPI rise of 26%, it is the working class and lower earners generally who are hit hardest."

A new price index based on those items workers buy weekly, constantly checked by union and consumer price watchers, is the only honest way to measure the effect of inflation on wages. This is the necessary basis of a fully protective COLA clause in every union contract, a formula for the continuous upward adjustment of all low incomes.

The union movement needs to fight for a standard COLA formula to protect all wages and benefits. Every union should make such a formula a top demand in contract negotiations.

12,000 angry hard hats demand steps to end unemployment in N.Y.

By STEPHEN BLOOM

NEW YORK—Twelve thousand construction workers marched on City Hall here Feb. 27 to demand that the city do something to relieve unemployment in the construction industry. The demonstration was called by the New York City Building and Construction Trades Council.

The purpose of the action was to protest the cancellation or delay by the city of construction projects around New York that would provide much-needed work for the unemployed union members. As many as 21,000 of the 95,000 building-trades union members in New York are now out of work. Many of those attending the demonstration told *The Militant* that they had not worked in months.

The anger and frustration of the demonstrators was apparent. They shouted epithets at New York's Mayor Abraham Beame. There were scuffles with police when several hundred demonstrators broke through police barricades and tried to storm the back of City Hall.

Toward the end of the demonstration protesters threatened to overturn Beame's car as he was leaving City Hall for a speech in Brooklyn. Earlier, several hundred demonstrators had blocked traffic on the Brooklyn Bridge for three hours.

The unions held no organized rally at the demonstration. Consequently, the workers spent much of the time simply milling about in the vicinity of City Hall. The demand for jobs, however, was strongly expressed in the chants of the crowd.

"We want work," and "Jobs now," they shouted.

Unfortunately, the placards that had been printed by the unions did not focus on the announced purpose of the demonstration. Instead, the signs had reactionary slogans such as "Jobs for Americans instead of illegal aliens" and "Stop illegal aliens from taking American jobs."

The decision by the union officials to raise such demands at the demonstration plays directly into the hands of the employers and the government, who are currently trying to whip up racist hysteria against undocumented immigrant workers by making them the scapegoats for unemployment. Rather than falling for this ploy by attacking these workers, who are superexploited, the labor movement should be demanding a job for everyone at union wages, regardless of their citizenship status.

Furthermore, the unions should be



Militant/Martha Harris
Jobless construction workers in Feb. 27 demonstration at New York's city hall

calling for full citizenship rights for all undocumented workers. That is the only way to build a united struggle of all workers against those who are really responsible for unemployment.

The slogans against the "illegal aliens" only served to let the capitalist politicians, like Beame, off the hook.

Beame has been on a campaign to cut costs by firing some city workers and making others give up benefits they have gained through their union contracts. The Beame administration also claims that there are insufficient funds to continue various city-financed construction projects.

In fact, there is plenty of money available to the city government. The problem is that the top priorities are not the needs of city workers or the many construction projects that could benefit the people of New York.

A leaflet passed out at the demonstration by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees exposed the real priorities of the Beame administration and the New York City government.

"Right now 1/6 of New York's budget goes for debt service [payment on municipal bonds held by banks]," the leaflet stated. "One third of the current deficit is for payment of interest and principal on debts. In three years the debt service has risen over 75% as a proportion of the total budget. At the same time, labor costs have remained the same as a proportion of the total budget."

The size of the demonstration, despite the meager organizing efforts of the leadership of the building-trades unions, is a significant expression of the sentiment of the union members. It demonstrates the potential for a powerful campaign to demand that the city, state, and federal governments launch a massive program of public works to provide jobs for all construction workers, including undocumented workers, at union-scale wages.

The union officials responsible for organizing this demonstration, however, are currently more interested in their reactionary crusade against "illegal aliens" than in leading such a campaign.

Strikers stand firm at U. of Michigan

By MARGARET THOMAS

ANN ARBOR, Mich., March 1—At a Feb. 26 meeting more than 500 members and supporters of the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) at the University of Michigan reaffirmed their commitment to the strike here by some 2,200 teaching and research assistants. The walkout began Feb. 11.

Graduate employees here teach about 40 percent of undergraduate classes, yet are among the lowest-paid of any at major universities.

After nine months, negotiations remain deadlocked, with the union rejecting the university's latest "final offer." This includes a no-strike clause and rejection of an agency shop (recognition of the union's right to bargain for, and collect dues from, all those in the bargaining unit).

A fact finder has been appointed by the Michigan Employment Relations Commission, and open hearings are scheduled to begin March 3. The fact finder is Patrick McDonald, who has an antiunion background as a member of the Detroit school board.

The union hardly expects McDonald to be sympathetic, but has reluctantly agreed to fact-finding in an effort to make some progress in the negotiations.

Unfortunately, the GEO bargaining team has also requested binding arbitration, which the university refuses. The GEO bargainers mistakenly believe that an arbitrator would be "impartial."

The university will be closed for spring break March 1-8. By stalling negotiations as long as possible, the university is trying to isolate the union by attempting to blame the GEO for the students' missed classes. The university is also claiming that the GEO's demands would raise tuition.

Despite these tactics, many students are supporting the strike on the picket lines and by boycotting classes. Some professors have scheduled classes off campus. An undergraduate support committee has been set up.

One major decision of the membership at the Feb. 26 meeting was to hold firm on the agency shop demand and to stay on strike until the union wins full bargaining rights for all graduate student assistants.

The university claims that in an academic institution it is unfair to require all graduate student assistants to pay a fee to the union.

"The key issue is not money but union security," answered union negotiator David Gordon. There is strong sentiment among the strikers to reject the university's appeal to "professionalism."

While some students have been returning to their classes, union support for GEO has increased. Both Teamsters and AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) delivery trucks have honored the picket lines at loading docks. The United Auto Workers (UAW), which represents the university's 3,200 newly organized clerical workers, has pledged legal and other support.

Other labor endorsements include the Michigan Education Association, the Huron Valley Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO, the UAW and AFSCME international unions, and the Washtenaw County chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Unions set April 29 march for jobs

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEW YORK—April 29 has been tentatively set as the date for a march on Washington, D.C., by New York City trade unionists protesting mounting unemployment, spokespersons for District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) told *The Militant*.

The date is expected to be finalized at a mid-March meeting of representatives of unions backing the demonstration.

New York municipal workers have been threatened with massive layoffs, and AFSCME has taken the lead in projecting the Washington demonstration.

The Feb. 28 issue of *Public Employee Press*, newspaper of District Council 37, reported that the march will demand "an end to financial support of the war in Viet Nam and

Cambodia—with the funds going instead to help our own economy."

"The March will focus attention on the responsibility of the President and the Congress to 'get the recession off the backs of workers,'" the newspaper stated, "and will demand immediate specific legislation to put the unemployed back on jobs, ease the tax burden of workers, reduce interest rates to stimulate the economy, adopt Federal standards for unemployment insurance with a minimum of 75% of regular pay for at least one year and a National Health Security program."

The march will also back a bill providing funds to cities to prevent further layoffs of public workers, the AFSCME paper reported.

The demonstration appears to be drawing broad union support. The United Auto Workers took part in a Feb. 21 planning meeting at District Council 37 headquarters. "Among the

other unions present," according to the *Public Employee Press*, "were the Transport Workers, Electrical Workers, Communications Workers, Postal Workers, Furniture Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Hotel, Motel and Club Workers, Steelworkers . . . Distributive Workers, Jewelry Workers, Teamsters, Hospital Workers, Movie Projectionists, Fur and Leather Workers, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and Amalgamated Meat Cutters."

Additional unions have since expressed interest in joining the march, AFSCME representatives told *The Militant*.

Edward Maher, associate director of the 110,000-member District Council 37, told all local union officials to prepare for "one of the biggest operations in our history, moving thousands of members to Washington," according to the AFSCME newspaper.



Spiraling job crisis. Thousands jam city hall in Chicago seeking public service employment.

Why can't everyone have a job?

By Fred Halstead

In the richest, most productive country in the world there should not be, there need not be, any person who wants a job and cannot find one. But in January 1975 the government reported there were 7.5 million workers unemployed in the United States. This is the largest number of jobless since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Someone once said "life strikes the weak." That's the way it is with unemployment. It strikes most heavily at the groups that can least afford it, at the people who, for one reason or another, are in the least privileged positions even when there is work.

These include the unorganized and unskilled; Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers; women; older workers; and the very young, who find it hard to get their first job and cannot really start living until they do.

12 million need jobs

The official figure tells only part of the story. When you add in those who can only find part-time work and those the government says have given up "actively" looking for work, the total is more than 12 million.

Fewer than 6 million of these are collecting any unemployment compensation at all. The rest are not eligible or have already run out of benefits. This means millions of families without any income at all, dependent on relatives, welfare, or charity.

It means unpaid bills piling up, insurance and medical policies lapsing, repossession of things bought on time. It means the abandonment of

plans for a little something better out of life for millions of people, and the sinking feeling that they are sliding into poverty with not much they can do about it.

In more and more cases it means actual hunger and malnutrition.

After the depression in the 1930s, government and business leaders promised that such a disaster would never happen again. Modern economics, they said, had learned how to smooth out the old boom-and-bust cycle capitalism had always gone through in the past.

Yet today we are in the sixth recession since World War II, and by far the worst. It's more like a depression for growing numbers of us. Many people think we are sliding toward unemployment levels like the 1930s, and the economic "experts" can only shrug and say, maybe so. They just don't know.

Causes of unemployment

President Ford's economic report predicts a slow recovery later this year, but even so it admits there will still be 8 percent or higher unemployment at the end of 1975. Ford's economists have now redefined "full employment" to mean 5.5 percent unemployment, but they say even that target won't be reached for years to come, maybe never. It means more than 5 million of us permanently out of work. Why?

One basic cause of unemployment is automation. New technology is always being introduced, increasing the productivity of labor. The use of new and more advanced machinery means that every year workers can produce more goods per hour.

If the economy were rationally organized to meet society's needs, this would be a blessing. Increased productivity would mean a higher standard of living for everyone and shorter hours of work. But the private owners of industry don't introduce new machines to benefit workers or society.

They automate to make higher profits by saving money on wages. So instead of benefiting everyone, automation is steadily throwing workers out of their jobs and into the ranks of the unemployed.

In fact, the industrialists hold that a certain level of unemployment is all to the good, because it pits workers against each other for jobs, making it easier to keep wages low and enforce speedup.

On top of this "structural" unemployment caused by automation comes the massive job loss of an economic crisis like we are in now. Every time this happens the voices of big business find something "exceptional" to blame it on—anything but their own greed for profits. This time they are trying to make the Arab peoples the scapegoats, pretending that higher oil prices—which were engineered by the giant U.S. oil monopolies to start with—caused the slump.

The truth is that crises and mass unemployment will be with us as long

as the big industries of the country are privately owned and operated only for profit. To beat out their competitors and boost their profits, companies expand, automate, and throw huge quantities of goods onto the market. But production is anarchistic and unplanned. And while the capacity of industry to produce grows, the purchasing power of the majority of people does not keep up with it.

At a certain point markets are glutted, goods can't be sold. When companies can't make the maximum profit operating at their full capacity, they begin to lay off workers. But if people are laid off, they are not able to buy as much as they could before, let alone more. A chain reaction sets in. Layoffs multiply, and soon masses of workers must do without—because they have produced too much. It is a cruel, wasteful, and destructive cycle.

Plenty of wealth

There's plenty of wealth in existence. It's just that the wealth gets concentrated in the hands of the very rich. And despite their disgusting show of extravagant living (sales of yachts and Cadillacs are booming), they are so rich they can't even begin to spend most of their income for personal consumption. Instead they put most of their wealth into investments, to make profits.

And they won't allow their capital—money, factories, machines, raw materials—to be used unless doing so will make them even richer.

Continued on next page

...socialist proposal for a way out

Continued from preceding page

American industry has the capacity to provide a decent, even abundant, standard of living for everyone. Few would question that. But right now, the government estimates American factories are only producing 74 percent of what they *could* produce if fully utilized. Why? Only because it is not profitable to produce more.

There are plenty of human needs unfilled in this country. For example, there are still 40 million people in the U.S. living below or barely above the official government poverty line. These 40 million don't have much money to spend. Workers generally don't have enough to spend, even when they are employed.

The corporations say that the only way to get the economy operating at full capacity is to make it profitable for them. President Ford agrees. And there is no disagreement with this in Congress. A minimum tax rebate has been proposed amounting to only a hundred or so dollars for most working people.

Some Democrats and Republicans quibble over some of the details and fiddle with the exact figures, but basically what they offer is only a drop in the bucket.

If you look at the history of this country since the depression, the only times the economy has been spurred to anywhere near full production have been during wars.

It took huge government spending for arms for World War II to pull the country out of the depression. It got out of the 1949-50 recession with increased armaments production for the Korean war. The long economic boom of the 1960s was spurred by pouring billions of dollars into the war in Vietnam. This solution, with its criminal waste of human lives, is no longer acceptable to the American people.

The entire \$100-billion-per-year "defense" budget is all waste, worse than waste. It goes to prop up corrupt dictators—like those in Cambodia and South Vietnam—who are hated by their own people and kept in power only by U.S. arms. Untold billions go to the CIA's spying and subversion around the world.

Ford and Kissinger talk about "national security" and "fighting Communism." But this spending contributes nothing to the security of working people in the U.S. or anywhere else. It only brings us closer to a nuclear holocaust that could wipe out humanity.

War spending is also the major cause of inflation. The Vietnam war spending temporarily picked up the economy, but it also brought on today's soaring prices. Because inflation takes



Militant/Dennis Scarla
'We need work in order to eat.' Crisis strikes hardest at those who can least afford it.



'Millions of people have the sinking feeling they are sliding into poverty with not much they can do about it.' Above, waiting for food stamps in Nashville, Tenn.

a huge bite out of our paychecks, it worsens the effects of the recession.

Admitting that government deficit spending causes inflation, Ford says it's time to cut back—but not the war budget. The Pentagon's billions are sacred. Instead Ford wants to cut back on education for children, food stamps for the hungry, health care for the sick, and Social Security for the aged. What kind of a system is it that spends 100 times more for war destruction than for occupational safety and health?

All that Ford offers to deal with the economic crisis is the paltry tax rebate plan, extending unemployment compensation a few weeks, and providing a handful of public service jobs.

None of these measures will come anywhere near putting the unemployed back to work. But that doesn't worry Ford and his advisors. After all, they are not unemployed. Their personal lives haven't been upset by a sudden loss of income. Their time payments aren't beginning to lapse. Maybe they'd take a different attitude if they had to support a family on unemployment insurance.

So Ford's real program comes down to this: It's OK to put people back to work, but only if the rich can get richer out of the process. And while Ford is trying to set that up, the unemployed will just have to wait.

Union leaders wait

The trouble with most of the top union leaders, like AFL-CIO President George Meany, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, and Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, is that they too are waiting. They are depending on Ford or the Democrats to handle the unemployment problem, instead of getting the unemployed and employed workers mobilized to fight for a solution.

This policy is stupid and dangerous. It is stupid because the Democrats in Congress have just about the same attitude toward unemployment as the Ford administration. With their eyes on the 1976 elections they make lots of speeches about how concerned they are about unemployment, but they aren't going to do anything effective about it unless they are forced to. They don't represent us; they represent the employers who pay for their campaigns.

It is dangerous because if the unions don't come quickly to the aid of their jobless brothers and sisters, the corporations will try to use the unemployed to undermine union wages and conditions, and possibly as strikebreakers. Already many workers are being

forced to accept lower wage increases—in some cases even outright wage cuts such as a four-day week at four days' pay—under threat of being laid off if they protest.

Organized labor and the unemployed have common interests. Both want decent living standards and job security.

Employed workers know that they can be thrown out of work tomorrow, and that conditions on the job get worse when a long line of jobless is waiting outside. They therefore have a big stake in fighting unemployment and raising jobless compensation and welfare allotments.

On the other hand, jobless workers, because of their involuntary idleness, are able through demonstrations and picket lines to put pressure on the politicians to pass legislation that will benefit all workers.

But leaders like Meany, Woodcock, and Fitzsimmons have so far refused to make effective use of this source of strength, solidarity, and mutual aid.

Organize the unemployed

In self-interest, the unions should take the initiative in organizing the unemployed. They should suspend dues and maintain full membership rights for laid-off union members. They should make union halls, finances, mailing lists, and other facilities available so that their unemployed members can meet, set up unemployed committees in every local, and democratically elect their own officers to conduct the work of these committees.

They should encourage and help the unemployed to bring these committees together on a local and national basis so they can exert the maximum political pressure on the government. They should enlist the support and participation of all unemployed workers, including those who never belonged to unions before.

What a powerful force for good such a movement would be!

Jobless union men and women can help create such a movement. They can go down to their local union halls and meetings and tell the union officers that they want to have an active unemployed committee and that they want to have a voice in what it does. If they go about it correctly, if they appeal to the sense of solidarity and justice of the rank-and-file union members, they can get the ball rolling.

They don't have to wait indefinitely if the union officers drag their feet or turn a cold shoulder on their requests. They can organize themselves infor-

mally, without union facilities if necessary, and begin to carry out the functions of an unemployed movement while continuing to pressure the officers to sanction an official unemployed committee.

There are many things an unemployed committee can do. It can help the jobless to get the compensation and relief benefits they are entitled to. It can arrange to stop evictions and repossessions. Through inexpensive social functions, children's parties, and so on, it can make life a little brighter for the unemployed and their families, and give them the feeling that they are not alone. And such activities can be just a beginning.

Time for action

While the top union leaders are afraid to fight for any measures the Democrats won't go for, there is growing pressure from the ranks of labor to change this policy. Some demonstrations against unemployment have already been held, and there is talk of more and bigger actions, including mass marches on Washington. If there was ever a time when the labor movement needed to organize mass protests in the streets, it is now.

What sort of demands can such protests raise that will really help the unemployed?

Full compensation

To begin with, the jobless must have enough unemployment compensation to prevent their sinking into poverty. Simple justice demands that workers thrown off the job through no fault of their own should not have to suffer cuts in their living standards. If the employers can't or won't hire people who are able and willing to work, then the employers are the ones who should be penalized, not the workers whose toil and sweat and brains built this country.

In a country as rich as this one, the government should provide jobless compensation at *union wage rates* for the *full duration* of unemployment.

When is the right time to tell a family they can go on welfare or starve? After 39 weeks? After 52 weeks? There is never a right time.

Nowadays working people face a double squeeze on their standard of living: unemployment and soaring

of crisis facing working people

prices. More and more unions are demanding cost-of-living escalator clauses in an effort to keep wages abreast of price increases. It is evident that the government is not going to control prices or "whip inflation." Extending such cost-of-living clauses to all wage agreements is the only way we can protect ourselves against the ravages of inflation.

But the unemployed, the disabled, and the aged have to pay the same high prices as everybody else. There should be effective escalator provisions in unemployment compensation, Social Security, veterans' benefits, pensions, and welfare too.

And we can't rely on the government's Consumer Price Index. The unions should take the lead in setting up independent consumer committees that would report on prices, so we know what the real rate of inflation is in setting cost-of-living increases.

When the unions and the unemployed begin to demand measures such as effective escalator clauses, the Democratic and Republican politicians will start screaming that they would cost too much.

But strangely enough, the politicians who yell the loudest about "welfare bums" and "government handouts" are the same ones who are eager to pour billions more into Thieu's regime in South Vietnam and into building more missiles, bombs, and tanks. They're the same crooked politicians who have voted billions of dollars' worth of tax loopholes and hidden giveaways to the corporations and the rich.

The Democrats and Republicans aren't really opposed to spending money. They're just opposed to spending it for what people need instead of for war and for helping the rich get richer.

Most people (except for the rich, who are the real idle parasites) would rather have a job than a dole. If the government started seriously taxing the corporations and banks and eliminated war spending, it could provide useful jobs at union wages for all the unemployed.

President Ford's new budget provides for creating no more than 280,000 public service jobs this year, and those at starvation wages. Other proposals in Congress talk about 700,000 jobs, one million at most, and Congress seems in no hurry to pass any of these programs.

Public works program

What we urgently need in today's crisis is an emergency program of public works to put all the unemployed—not 700,000, not one million, not two million, but all who want jobs—to work on socially useful projects.

This would kill two birds with one stone—provide jobs, and take care of the country's crying need for better schools, low-rent housing, medical facilities, child-care centers, modern mass transit systems, parks and recreational facilities, and so on. The very highest priority should be given to providing jobs and funds to the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, where the need for rebuilding and providing new facilities is greatest.

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

Shorter workweek

So far we've talked about immediate, emergency steps to alleviate the plight of the jobless. Can't something be done about the long-term problem of unemployment as well?

There certainly can, and the answer lies in one of the historic goals of the labor movement: to win a shorter workweek with no cut in weekly take-home pay.

More than 20 years ago the United Auto Workers (UAW) made famous the slogan of "30-for-40"—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. This is a sound proposal, benefiting both the unemployed and the employed and therefore capable of arousing their united support.

It would put people back to work by increasing the number of jobs available. It would make the lives of the employed workers easier to bear by giving them more leisure time to develop new interests and talents and spend more time with their families—just as the 40-hour week did when it was introduced many years ago.

If the UAW mobilized in action and won a 30-hour week, then, all other things remaining the same, it would take one-third more workers to produce the same number of cars. So even at today's depressed production levels, all the auto workers now laid off would be rehired.

But all other factors would not remain the same. Workers always tend to be more efficient when they aren't so beat from having to work such long hours, so the quality of goods would be improved and more would be produced. And if all auto workers were employed and drawing full pay, consumer purchasing power would rise and others of the unemployed could go back to work.

If a shorter workweek were introduced throughout U.S. industry, all the unemployed could get back to work, and the overwhelming majority of people would benefit from the change.

Big business objections

Of course, the corporations, the owners of industry, the big stockholders, would have their incomes reduced because they would be paying out more in wages. They and their political representatives in Washington would strongly object.

Their reasons for opposing a shorter workweek are not sound economic reasons, however much they talk that way. It's just that they put their own profits above the welfare of the unemployed and working people generally.

The corporations will argue that the reason they aren't operating at full capacity now is because profits aren't high enough. (In 1974 profits were "only" an all-time record high of \$141-billion.) If they have to grant more wages on top of this, they'll say they



Militant/Dennis Scarla

have to raise prices drastically or they won't have any incentive to keep the plants open at all.

A reasonable answer would be to demand that the corporations' financial books and records be opened up for inspection by committees of unionists, consumers, and the unemployed. Instead of taking their word that they can't afford to employ everyone at decent wages, we should find out for ourselves.

In the books of the giant corporations will be found proof of their superprofits, creation of artificial shortages, price fixing, fantastic executive salaries and bonuses, tax swindles, millions for false advertising, huge sums to buy politicians, and deliberate manufacture of shoddy and unsafe goods.

But what happens if the corporations refuse to operate the plants at full capacity because they can't get richer out of the process?

The workers in each plant and industry should be able to elect committees to oversee production and make the decisions about work speed, automation, hiring and firing, promotions, and health and safety standards. Industries should be taken over and managed according to a democratically decided national plan that would eliminate the causes of recessions and use the full capacity of American production.

That is the socialist answer to the long-term problem of unemployment, depressions, and poverty in the midst of plenty. Socialists are confident that in time the majority of people will

become convinced of the need for such a change. As a step in this direction workers and unemployed can fight for practical measures to protect themselves in today's crisis: full unemployment compensation, cost-of-living escalator clauses, a massive public works program, a shorter workweek, and control over health and safety measures.

Fight against discrimination

Imagine what things would be like if the unemployment rate today were twice as high as it is; if the number of unemployed were 15 million instead of 7.5 million.

Well, that's the way it really is—not in imagination, but in fact—in the Black community, where one out of every seven workers is unable to find a job. In the big urban ghettos the picture is much worse. There 25 percent or more of Blacks are unemployed, and 40 or 50 percent of Black youth. The situation facing Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other minorities is just as bad.

Proportionately a third more women than men are unemployed, and the figures don't even count the millions of housewives who would work if they could.

Throughout the 1960s minorities were promised that if they would stay

Continued on next page

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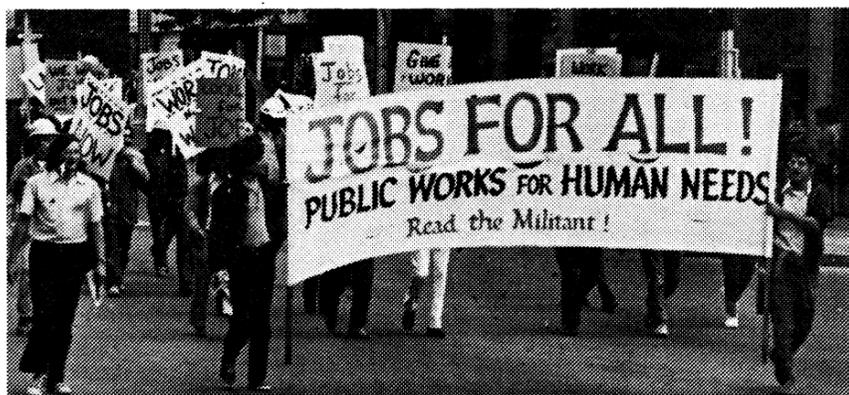
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Militant/Dennis Scarla

...how labor mov't can win jobs for all

Continued from preceding page within "the system," American capitalism would gradually provide full economic and social equality—slowly, but surely.

Now we see what the system really has to offer, and nobody talks about the old promises very much any more. The slim gains that were made in education, hiring, and upgrading are being rolled back. The old dictum "last hired, first fired" is used to keep the victims of past discrimination from ever getting a fair chance at jobs. Affirmative-action programs, preferential hiring, and quotas against discrimination are all under attack by the employers and their conservative mouthpieces in the union movement.

And in Boston and other cities, racist mob violence has erupted to try to block school desegregation—a first step toward wiping out all the gains of the civil rights movement. This same racism was responsible for the conviction of a Black doctor (Kenneth Edelin) for performing a legal abortion, thus threatening the gains of the women's movement.

A program against unemployment, if it is to have real meaning for those hardest hit, must include a fight to guarantee that no layoffs will be used to reduce the percentage of women and oppressed nationalities on the job.

Just as the seniority system prevented bosses from picking and choosing who to lay off, we must now prevent them from using preferential firing to beat back the gains the most discriminated-against workers have made over the last few years.

This is a matter of self-interest for all workers, regardless of color or sex. If some of us try to preserve our jobs at the expense of minorities and women, it will only play right into the bosses' tactic of "divide and rule." They would like nothing better than to see workers fighting among themselves over a dwindling number of jobs, rather than waging a united fight against the boss for laying off anybody.

A lie is being spread right now by the employers, and unfortunately many union leaders have fallen for it. The lie is that immigrant workers without papers—the so-called illegal aliens—are to blame for unemployment because they "take away American jobs."

The purpose of this lie is to get the employers and the government, who are really to blame for the economic crisis, off the hook, and to divert workers into a reactionary campaign against the most exploited of their

fellow workers.

Most of the workers without papers are Mexicans living in the Southwest, but there are also West Indians, Latin Americans, Asians, and some Europeans. All are mercilessly abused and cheated by the employers, in connivance with the Border Patrol, and used to keep wages down. But the only reason they can be superexploited in this way is because of their "illegal" status, because they live in constant fear of deportation and are intimidated from organizing and fighting for better conditions.

The only way the unions can turn this around is to organize the workers without papers, recruit them into the unions, and demand that they be given the same rights as citizens.

When the labor movement begins to stand up for the rights of these oppressed and superexploited immigrant workers, it will find them to be among the best and most militant fighters for the union cause.

Use labor's power

The labor movement has the power to have unemployment outlawed and abolished. Organized labor is really the most powerful political force in the country today. It may not look that way considering how labor's demands are shelved by the Democrats and Republicans. But that's only because the labor officials don't use the power labor has.

They tell us to elect more Democrats and rely on the Democrats. But that hasn't gotten labor anywhere because the Democrats figure that the union leaders will tell us to vote for them no matter what they do.

Millions of workers took part in the demonstrations of the civil rights movement and the antiwar movement. Those struggles showed how change is really brought about in this country: not by relying on the promises of Democratic and Republican politicians, but by mobilizing our own power independently to fight for our own needs.

The antiwar marchers started out as a small minority, led by students, and eventually won the support of the majority. By staying independent, staying in the streets, they eventually forced Nixon to withdraw the U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Just think what the organized labor



Militant/Dennis Scarla
Supporters of socialist candidates march in 'Jobs for All' demonstration in Washington, D.C. Comejo and Reid offer alternative to big-business-controlled Democratic and Republican parties.

movement, 20 million strong, together with all the unemployed and unorganized who would gladly join in, could mobilize right from the start!

George Meany has been complaining that the "friends of labor" that the unions spent so much money to elect last year aren't doing anything for the workers, and he's right.

The fact is, both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by the rich. They are not responsible to the workers or the unemployed. We need our own party—a labor party.

There are more working people in this country than anybody else. Right from the start many of them would vote for a union-backed labor party that had a program to solve the problems of all working people, oppressed nationalities, women, and youth. This would be a giant first step toward a government that places human needs above the employers' profits—a workers government.

The 1976 presidential race has already begun. Workers need an alternative to throwing their vote away on candidates beholden to big business.

The Socialist Workers Party is offering such an alternative by running Peter Comejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. Comejo and Reid are campaigning for the ideas we have described here. They believe that working people have a right to a job, an adequate income, and secure retirement. They believe that workers have a right to know the truth

about economic and political policies that affect our lives, and a right to decide economic and political policy. They are championing the rights of women, oppressed minorities, and all working people.

Unlike the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties, Comejo and Reid give full support to the strikes, marches, rallies, and other actions working people are taking to protect themselves from the economic crisis.

The unemployed want to go back to

Reprints of this special Militant feature, "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" are available for distribution: Cost: 500 or more, 4 cents each; 100-499, 5 cents each. Order from The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

work. The tools, the machinery, the raw materials are waiting. If the nation's capacity were fully utilized, if everybody had a job, we could produce an additional \$100-billion worth of whatever we needed this year alone. That would be enough to replace very slum dwelling in this country with a brand new home.

The only thing preventing it is the greed of those who already have too much. So why can't everybody have a job? We can if we all fight together for it.

Support the socialist alternative in '76

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

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

The socialist candidates are bringing this proposed new Bill of Rights to working people across the country, presenting an alternative to the Democratic and Republican candidates.

The socialist candidates are available to speak before unions, on campuses and in high schools, and at community events.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

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

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

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

Please send me one copy free of charge () in English; () in Spanish. Enclosed is \$_____ for () copies () in English; () in Spanish. () I would like to set up a meeting for one of the socialist candidates. () I endorse the Comejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

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

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

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.

Detente vs. world revolution

Vietnam: origin of the current detente

Last of a series

By CAROLINE LUND

In earlier articles we have noted that each of the previous detentes has come at a time of great difficulties for the capitalist rulers.

In the economic crisis of the 1930s, the imperialists turned to Stalin to help preserve capitalism in the face of revolutionary upsurges in Europe, as exemplified in the Franco-Soviet pact.

Again after World War II British and American imperialism enlisted the aid of the Stalinists in keeping the postwar upheavals in Europe from going over into socialist revolution.

In the 1960s the imperialist rulers once more found themselves in deep trouble. The Vietnam war accentuated all the economic, social, and political problems facing U.S. imperialism, the chief imperialist power.

The huge U.S. military budget exacerbated inflation, leading to new unrest among American working people as well as the undermining of the international capitalist monetary system.

A massive antiwar movement arose in this country, extending even into the armed forces. The movement reached a high point of mass action in May 1970, with the protests against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the killing of the Kent State University students.

The terror of the U.S. rulers at the sight of this antiwar upsurge was expressed in a statement by Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy: "Not only must there be no new incursion of Americans across the Cambodian border, but nothing that feels like that to the American public must happen again. . . . Any major action of this general sort . . . would tear the country and the administration to pieces. . . . The chances of general domestic upheaval would be real."

Mood among masses

The U.S. antiwar movement found an echo throughout the world. In addition, powerful workers' struggles arose in Europe, epitomized by the May 1968 general strike in France. The mood among the masses of all the imperialist countries was not at all favorable to military interventions against oppressed peoples abroad.

Nixon and the U.S. ruling class saw that direct U.S. intervention in Vietnam had to be ended. But at the same time they wanted to prevent a socialist revolution in South Vietnam, which would be an inspiration to colonial peoples everywhere.

Thus the imperialists in Washington decided on a major readjustment of their strategy in fighting the world revolution.

And again, as in previous periods of crisis, the Stalinists in the Kremlin—and this time also in Peking—came forward as more than ready to help the capitalist rulers extricate themselves from some of their problems, in return for some concessions.

In the current detente, Washington set aside for the time being the perspective of "containment and rollback of communism." It agreed to recognize the existing boundaries of the workers states, including diplomatic recognition of China, and to provide trade and technology to the Kremlin and Peking.

The U.S. imperialists were interested in such trade in order to expand their markets and improve their position in relation to their imperialist competitors in Europe and Japan.

Moscow and Peking were interested in trade and technology from the West in order to be able to appease the demands of their own people for a higher standard of living while maintaining the hierarchy of privilege that their rule is based on.

In return for these concessions, the Stalinists were to use their influence to help keep the struggle of workers and peasants around the world—especially in Vietnam—from breaking out of the bounds of the capitalist system.

The deal reached on Vietnam was never made public. But bourgeois reporters were given enough details to make the outlines of the Stalinist betrayal crystal-clear.

would Moscow and Peking do in the face of Nixon's brutal escalation of the war?

Only three days after Nixon's announcement of the blockade, the Kremlin gave its unequivocal answer. The Soviet foreign-trade minister in Washington appeared at the White House for a highly publicized "courtesy call." Asked whether the Nixon-Brezhnev summit was still on, he replied, "I don't know why you asked this question. Have you any doubts?"

The Maoists had already proved themselves loyal to the detente during Nixon's visit to Peking in late February. Just like Brezhnev, Chou En-lai had demonstratively ignored

Vietnam. Nor did it bring peace to other powderkegs of the world. In fact, the detente meant a sharpening of the war danger in the Middle East and Cyprus crises of 1973 and 1974. It means that every confrontation threatens to draw both detente partners into the conflict.

Detente in Europe

The detente encompasses not only the U.S., but Europe as well. European capitalism is facing even sharper economic and social problems than the U.S. Broad mass upsurges and social ferment accompanied the fall of dictatorships last year in Portugal and Greece. Massive workers' struggles continue in France, Italy, and Spain. A continuing crisis brews in Ireland.

In this situation, when masses of working people could be brought into anticapitalist struggle, the Stalinists act as if the role of communists were rather to pitch in to help make capitalism work.

Thus the Italian CP is offering to make a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democratic Party if the CP is allowed to enter the capitalist government of Italy. Stalinist leader Enrico Berlinguer warns that without the CP's help, Italy will face "unavoidable economic disintegration."

In Portugal the CP played a key role in blocking the mass struggles that broke out following the fall of the Salazarist dictatorship. *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Ray Vicker wrote in a Feb. 20 article that sometimes, CP leader Alvaro Cunhal "sounds so moderate that you have to recheck his history to make sure he doesn't belong to some middle-class party. He talks of seeing a place for private enterprise in Portugal's future. He discourages strikes, mutes any criticism of NATO, avoids vitriolic propaganda and extends a hand toward America."

The capitalist-controlled press has been marveling over the "moderation" of the European CPs in the face of the great social unrest. Paul Wohl, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* last December, for example, said, "Although the West is presently undergoing a difficult economic recession, the Soviets seem determined to tread lightly and not exploit this instability."

Wohl cites public speeches by Soviet leaders as evidence that "apparently they believe the capitalist economy and the existing order in the Western capitalist societies must be preserved. For how else can they get the economic and technical assistance from the West that they are so eager to obtain?"

New York Times Moscow correspondent Christopher Wren wrote in a similar vein on Feb. 24 of this year: "While the Russians gloat over reports of falling Western industrial output and rising unemployment, they have shown no appetite for urging the Communist parties of Western Europe to take advantage of the economic disarray to advance their ambitions for power."

The correspondent continued: "The Soviet Union has invested four years in a policy of accommodation with the West that is producing an infusion of advanced Western technology to help patch over some basic Soviet economic flaws. Western economic difficulties now threaten these tangible dividends of detente."

The Stalinists have given up all thought of achieving world socialism. Instead they place their hopes for even

Continued on page 26

DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1972

Thousands Across Country Protest the War

By BERT SHANAS

Thousands of antiwar demonstrators here and around the country continued to make themselves heard yesterday, in some cases clashing with police on campuses and streets, in national monuments and public buildings.

Hundreds of students and antiwar activists were arrested, and hundreds more were injured, although in New York the demonstrations were peaceful for the most part. By 3 p.m. only one person had been arrested in the city's demonstrations.

17 Sit in UN
Seventeen protesters from local colleges chained themselves to seats in the United Nations Security Council, and remained there several hours, finally unchaining themselves and leaving voluntarily.

Fifteen members of another group tried to scale the fence of the UN building, which had been closed to visitors. They clashed with UN guards, who rounded up the protesters and turned them over to the city police. One UN employee, a mother

of demonstrators gathered in Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza across from the UN, where they heard attorney William Kunstler and others tell them to make their voices heard because Nixon and the Congress were destroying the country.

"Now is the time to get in the streets," said Kunstler, who called the President "a dictator who has every bit the power of an Adolf Hitler." The group disbanded quietly following the afternoon rally, many moving on to a demonstration in Times Square. Others waited for a delegation of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, who announced they would chain themselves to the UN's gates on First Ave.

Earlier, an ad hoc group of college students backing the President voiced their support for the



Flourishing signs, demonstrators march past 43d St. on Broadway. (News photo by Vincent Ruff)

DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1972

It's All Smiles as Nixon, Russians Talk

Courtesy Call Shows Trip Is Still On

By STAN CARTER

Washington, May 11 (NEWS Bureau)—President Nixon had a cordial meeting with a visiting Soviet cabinet minister today, and the White House said plans for his summit visit to Moscow were going ahead.

After several days of doubt, the indications were that Kremlin leaders had decided not to let events in Vietnam interfere with the bigger fish they hope to fry at the scheduled summit May 22 to 29. A Soviet government denunciation of Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese harbors was regarded here as exceptionally mild.

Accompanied by Ambassador



Economic adviser Peter Flanzan; Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin; Foreign Trade Minister Nikolai Patolichev; President Nixon; Commerce Secretary Peter Petersen and presidential aide Henry Kissinger meet at White House.

These two articles appeared in the *New York Daily News* on May 12, 1972, at the height of Nixon's bombing and blockade of North Vietnam. Great potential existed for massive antiwar action, but Nixon-Brezhnev summit undermined movement in defense of Vietnamese.

Writing in the Feb. 13, 1975, *New York Times*, columnist Anthony Lewis cited Marvin and Bernard Kalb's account of the deal in their biography of Kissinger. Lewis wrote: "Mr. Kissinger told [Soviet] Ambassador Dobrynin [in 1969] 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 detente: 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."

The essence of the deal had become clear in the spring of 1972, when the Vietnamese liberation fighters launched their powerful offensive that shattered Nixon's myth of "Vietnamization" of the war.

As the Saigon armies crumbled, Nixon responded by ordering the most intense bombing in history, sending B-52s for the first time against Hanoi and Haiphong. When that didn't break the will of the Vietnamese, Nixon ordered the mining and blockade of North Vietnam's harbors—only two weeks before he was scheduled to hold a summit meeting with Brezhnev in Moscow.

As the terror bombing continued against the people of North Vietnam, antiwar forces around the world turned to watch for the response from Brezhnev and Mao. What

the stepped-up bombing of the Vietnamese while posing for cameras as he socialized with the war criminal Nixon.

Later, during the Christmas 1972 bombing, Moscow and Peking made only routine criticisms, while pressing the Vietnamese to come to Nixon's terms on a negotiated "settlement."

Aiding the imperialists

Vietnam again made clear that for the Stalinists "detente" does not simply mean relaxation of tensions between states. It does not simply mean diplomatic recognition and trade for the workers states—which all revolutionists should support. It means aiding the imperialists in deceiving and crushing the struggles of the oppressed, struggles that threaten to go over into socialist revolution.

In Vietnam it meant helping the United States to achieve the goal that Washington proved unable to accomplish through its own direct military might—preservation of a proimperialist regime in South Vietnam.

The Vietnam war laid bare at one and the same time the irrepressible strength of the colonial revolution, the grave problems plaguing U.S. imperialism, and the fundamental obstacle that the Stalinist detente policy represents for humanity's struggle to break out of the brutality of the capitalist system.

The detente didn't bring peace to

9,000 subscriptions sought

Militant opens campaign for new readers

By PAT GALLIGAN

Militant supporters across the country launched two campaigns with the Feb. 28 issue: the spring circulation drive and the campaign to build support for the May 17 national march on Boston, called by the Boston NAACP.

Twenty-one of the 37 areas reporting on the week's efforts made the single-copy sales goals they have set for the campaign. In all, 10,368 copies were sold, including 1,222 sold by the Young Socialist teams.

The response to the headline "NAACP calls for march on Boston" indicates the potential that the May 17 march has for mobilizing support for Boston's Black community.

The Militant's coverage of the bus-ing struggle boosted sales to 184 single copies and 32 new introductory subscriptions in Black neighborhoods in the Oakland/Berkeley area. *Militant* hawkers in the Brooklyn communities of Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville report that interest in the plans for May 17 was so keen that the issue sold itself.

In many areas, *Militant* salespeople made special efforts to begin getting out the word about May 17 to Black people. Nationally, Black community sales totaled 3,800 copies, or 37 percent of the week's street sales.

A record number of 215 *Militants* were sold in Milwaukee, getting the sales campaign there off to a good start. Sales director Delfine Welch attributes this success to Saturday sales. Eighty-two copies of *The Militant* were sold on Saturday, along with 80 copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Many sales directors agree that solid Saturday sales are a good way to open the week and are often a major step toward making their goal. In Houston, supporters set aside the hours between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. for sales exclusively. In St. Louis, 21 salespeople braved a snowstorm on Saturday to sell 147 *Militants* out of their week's total of 418 copies.

Saturday sales were combined with Socialist Workers Party campaigning

in Chicago and Philadelphia with excellent results. Three hundred twenty *Militants* were sold in Chicago as the Willie Mae Reid for mayor campaign shifted into high gear. Campaign activists spread out across the city telling Chicagoans about the socialist alternative to "Boss" Daley and selling copies of *The Militant*.

In Philadelphia, after a news conference announcing the campaign of Terry Ann Hardy for mayor, socialist canvassers hit the streets with campaign literature and newspapers. By the end of the day, a total of 240 *Militants* and 120 *Young Socialists* had been sold.

In response to the current economic crisis, plant gates, union meetings, and unemployment centers are being targeted for increased sales this spring. A total of 581 copies of the Feb. 28 issue were sold at these locations.

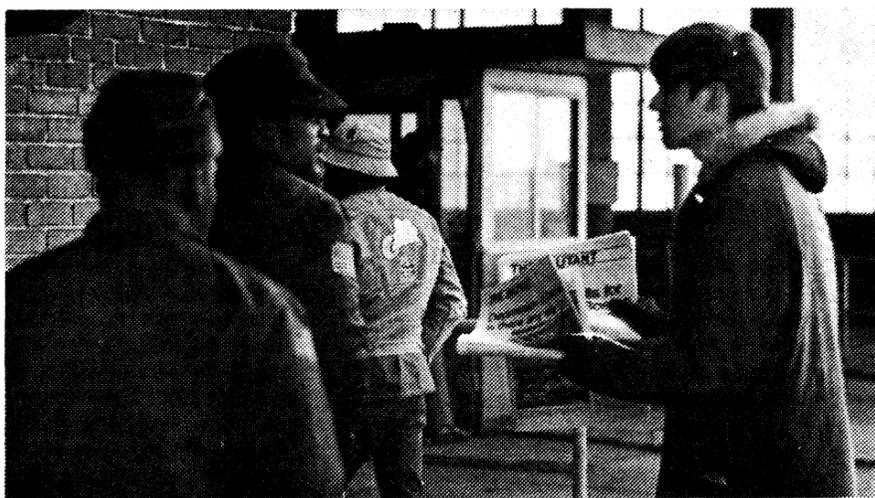
Employees at Western Electric in Chicago bought 30 *Militants*. The Central-East Los Angeles SWP branch sold 30 copies at a social workers union meeting. And 20 *Militants* were sold at a meeting of the Graduate Employees Organization in Ann Arbor, Mich.

In conjunction with our efforts to meet a goal of selling 9,700 single copies of *The Militant* weekly, we are also on a drive to obtain 9,000 new subscribers. To date, 1,279 subscriptions have been received by the business office, which is 14 percent of the goal.

The March 2 weekend marked the first national blitz of the subscription drive. Figures are still incomplete, but initial reports indicate that at least 1,000 more subscriptions were obtained during the weekend.

New York supporters sold a total of 420 subscriptions. Ninety-nine people visited campuses in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, signing up 315 new readers in the tri-state region on Sunday alone.

A full report on the progress of the subscription drive, including a scoreboard showing the number sold in each area, will appear next week.



Militant/Dick Roberts

Selling 'The Militant' at Ford's giant River Rouge plant. Interest in socialist answer to job crisis boosted sales at plant gates across country.

Sales scoreboard

AREA	Sold			Washington, D.C.	400	360	90
	Goal	Last Week	%				
Cleveland	350	434	124	Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	306	77
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	458	115	Twin Cities, Minn.	300	231	77
Pittsburgh	375	432	115	Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	325	76
Philadelphia	400	452	113	L.A. West Side	375	250	67
San Francisco	450	484	108	Bellingham, Wash.	10	6	60
Milwaukee	200	215	108	Lawrence, Kans.	25	15	60
Oakland/Berkeley	600	640	107	Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	20	11	55
St. Louis	400	418	105	L.A. Central-East	375	179	47
Bloomington, Ind.	100	105	105	Boston	400	176	44
Nashville, Tenn.	40	42	105	East Lansing, Mich.	50	21	42
Denver	350	365	104	State College, Pa.	15	6	40
Chicago	600	618	103	TOTAL	9,700	9,146	94
Detroit	600	610	102	YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS			
Atlanta	475	481	101	Michigan/Indiana	100	145	145
Portland, Ore.	325	325	100	Northern Calif.	100	137	137
San Diego	275	275	100	Missouri/Kansas	100	124	124
Columbus, Ohio	25	25	100	Northwest	100	105	105
Amarillo, Tex.	10	10	100	Ohio/Kentucky	100	104	104
Greenville, N.C.	10	10	100	Texas	100	104	104
Champaign, Ill.	5	5	100	Southern Calif.	100	103	103
Syracuse, N.Y.	5	5	100	Mid-Atlantic	100	100	100
Houston	500	495	99	Pennsylvania	100	85	85
Baltimore	75	74	99	Southeast	100	80	80
Seattle	275	250	91	Illinois/Wis.	100	75	75
Louisville, Ky.	35	32	91	Rocky Mountain	100	60	60
				TOTAL	1,200	1,222	102

Antideportation conference held in L.A.

By NICOLAS ROSNER

LOS ANGELES—A statewide conference on the deportation of *mexicanos* and *latinos* was held at California State College at Los Angeles Feb. 22-23.

It was sponsored by the MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) Unity Committee. The committee is composed of six MECHA chapters in the Southern California area. The conference drew 400 participants from across the state.

Keynote speakers were: Bert Corona, a founding leader of the antideportation organization CASA; Arturo Rivera of the New York-based Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña; Maria Durazo of the Oakland Alianza Pro-Unidad Obrero-Estudiantil; and Native López of the Los Angeles Comité Estudiantil del Pueblo.

The turnout of 400 underlined the widespread concern with deportations and the willingness of activists to work on the issue.

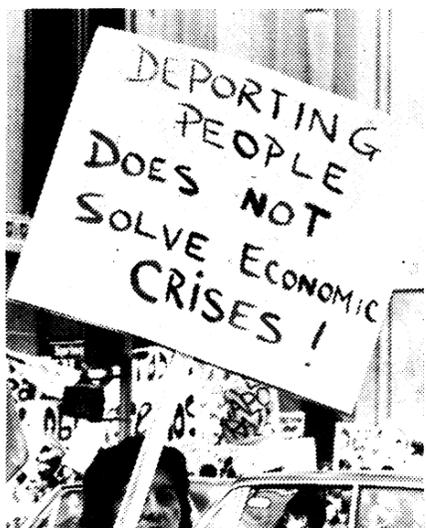
But unfortunately the conference offered little in terms of concrete measures for organizing a mass antideportation movement.

This was particularly disappointing since the principal organizers of the conference were activists in the Committee to Free Los Tres. Los Tres

activists are also the dominant influence in CASA.

Last August, Los Tres made an important contribution toward building a CASA-initiated antideportation demonstration that was very effective. Several thousand people marched down the streets of East Los Angeles in the first major demonstration there since the bloody police attack on the August 1970 Chicano Moratorium.

But the present conference did not



Militant/Walter Lippman

focus on ways to build a mass movement against the deportations. Instead there was a sectarian emphasis on "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric and "the struggle against imperialism."

Marx and Lenin certainly taught the need for struggle against imperialism. But they also taught that such struggle was meaningful only if it was concrete and if it was designed to mobilize broad masses—including those who have not yet reached an anti-imperialist consciousness.

A proposal was passed at the conference for a mass antideportation demonstration. However, it was decided to hold it on May Day, which falls on a Thursday this year. Realistically, there is no way that significant numbers of working people can be expected to turn out for a weekday demonstration. What will probably result will be a relatively small turnout of movement activists by themselves.

The combination of sectarian rhetoric and the lack of a positive program had a negative effect on many of those who attended the conference. This was underlined by the fact that while 400 people came the first day, the attendance the second day was well under 200.

Another disturbing feature was the

restrictions and bureaucratic interference with the distribution of movement literature.

Groups such as the Young Socialist Alliance that are active in the antideportation movement were denied the right to set up literature tables at the conference—either inside or outside the hall. The claim was that only literature of the sponsoring committee would be displayed. However, several Maoist groupings that were involved with the planning committee had their own literature tables.

Perhaps most scandalous was the interference with the distribution of literature outside the conference.

This was carried so far that conference "security guards" stopped a student from distributing leaflets of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The leaflets announced the tour of Juan Carlos Coral, the Argentine socialist leader, who is in the United States to speak about political repression in his country.

By their previous work, Los Tres activists have won respect in the Chicano movement and the radical movement generally. Experiences such as this conference, though, do not add to that respect.

World Outlook

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

MARCH 14, 1975

'The people do not support us'

Washington tries to stave off collapse in Cambodia

By Peter Green

The Lon Nol regime is on the verge of collapse. A creation of Washington from the start, it has throughout its existence been totally dependent on U.S. military and economic aid. But it seems even that is not enough to save it now.

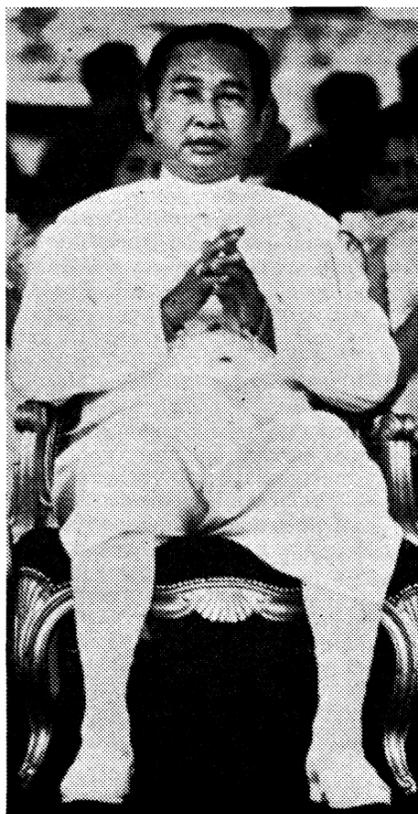
A tricky problem thus confronts White House strategists—how to evade responsibility for what they consider an imminent disaster. President Ford, Kissinger, and other holdovers of the Nixon crew, recognizing that their Cambodian puppet has come to the end of the road, are attempting to throw the blame for “losing” Cambodia onto Congress with its huge Democratic majority.

Dilemma for Congress

By forcing Congress to vote on his request for \$222 million supplementary military aid for Pnompenh, Ford is presenting them with a dilemma. If they vote against the aid, Ford can claim that Congress and the Democrats were responsible for the “loss” of Cambodia. But to pass the buck back to Ford by voting for the aid would anger the great majority of the American people, who have shown they will not tolerate a new escalation of the Indochina war.

Pentagon chief James Schlesinger stated February 23 that Cambodia would “absolutely” fall into Communist hands if Congress declined to approve the additional aid. He added that in his opinion the “domino theory” had been “overly discredited.”

Ford chimed in February 25, saying that without the aid, Lon Nol would be forced to surrender “within weeks.” At



LON NOL: Reaching the end of his rope?

a news conference the same day, Kissinger echoed these sentiments.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* argued February 27 that the main problem was to show no sign of “irresolution” to smaller countries around the world. They pointed to the “boldness” of the Arab governments in imposing an oil embargo as one consequence of past “irresolution.”

Pnompenh is “likely to fall,” they said, “but it will be one thing if it falls despite American efforts, and quite another if it falls because its army runs out of ammunition by vote of the U.S. Congress.

“... if the U.S. cannot supply funds to allies under attack, the rest of the world cannot but see it as a useless ally indeed.”

The *New York Times* reported February 27 that Schlesinger and Kissinger had privately given up on Cambodia, and were banking everything on saving South Vietnam. According to the account, Schlesinger believes Cambodia will fall no matter what course Congress follows, while Kissinger estimates Lon Nol's chances of survival as wavering between zero and 50-50.

On March 1 Lon Nol made what appeared to be an offer to resign. At least, that was how John Gunther Dean, U.S. ambassador in Pnompenh, interpreted the following statement by the puppet ruler:

“I was brought to this high office by the institutionalized organization [the U.S.-backed coup], but for the peace of my country and for the welfare of my

country I would do whatever is possible and necessary so that peace and the welfare of my people can be achieved.”

“This means,” said Dean, “the President will step aside if he is a barrier or stands in the way of a peaceful settlement.”

That, of course, raises the problem of finding a suitable successor. Washington appears to already have a candidate in mind.

Sihanouk Makes Offer

Bernard Gwertzman pointed out in the March 1 *New York Times* that while Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted by Lon Nol, has refused to negotiate with the Pnompenh regime, he has offered “reconciliation” with Washington if Lon Nol is dropped.

The following day, the *Times* ran in its editorial pages a statement it had solicited from Sihanouk himself. Sihanouk posed “only one condition to the United States”—the dropping of Lon Nol.

The problem is becoming urgent for the White House and Congress, since the military position of the Lon Nol regime is deteriorating rapidly.

The Mekong River remains blockaded. A major amphibious operation to regain control over some of the river bank between Pnompenh and the South Vietnamese border was abandoned February 17, with Lon Nol's troops retreating in disarray. An attempt by the navy to run the blockade ended in disaster February 23 when two patrol boats and a larger gunboat were sunk by mines.

Neak Luong, the regime's last major post on the river, “is under increasing pressure and could fall,” the February 27 *New York Times* reported. Catholic Relief Services, the only agency trying to feed the town's starving population, evacuated its team February 24. According to relief agency officials, thousands of persons are in danger of dying of starvation in the town.

Rebel Successes

In addition to the insurgent successes on the Mekong, gains were also made in other parts of the country as the small Lon Nol enclaves were removed one by one. The district capital of Muang Russei was taken February 18. Along with the town, the insurgents captured 2,000 tons of rice. Oudong, the former national capital twenty-one miles north of Pnompenh, fell on February 25. Prek Luong, a town on the east bank of the Mekong less than five miles from downtown Pnompenh, was captured February 28.

Pnompenh airport is under constant attack from rebel rockets, and the rapidly expanding emergency airlift

run by Washington has become increasingly vulnerable. The government forces launched a drive February 28 to push the rocket emplacements out of range of the airport. But a preemptive attack by the rebels against the town of Tuol Leap, twelve miles from the center of Pnompenh, stopped that effort and the rockets are now even closer.

The continuing military setbacks heightened the unrest both among the troops of the puppet armed forces and the population of Pnompenh itself. Sydney H. Schanberg reported in the February 27 *New York Times* that there were “indications that a process of demoralization has begun. . . .”

“An air of haplessness can be detected from top to bottom in the Cambodian bureaucracy. . . . Meanwhile, Government and military corruption remains rampant, prices continue to rise at an annual rate of at least 250 per cent and hundreds of thousands of people are going hungry, with many of them, mostly children, dying of starvation and related diseases.”

Low Morale

Army morale is low in the field, according to a February 26 Associated Press dispatch. “They are told to fight, but their uniforms are torn. They have no shells,” said one officer as his battalion retreated from a village in northwest Cambodia. Some of the soldiers are barefoot. “Our equipment is sold to rich villagers for their defense. The people do not support us. It is better to stop fighting,” he said.

“We are losing the battle,” a sergeant in the battalion said. “We have armor, artillery and airplanes,

Continued on page 21



Captured rebel soldier is 'interrogated' by Pnompenh troops.



Children waiting for rice in Pnompenh

A victim speaks out

Canada's racist immigration policy

[Rosie Douglas, a Black activist from the Caribbean island of Dominica, is currently fighting deportation from Canada. He has been declared a "risk to national security" by the Canadian government, which also imprisoned him for seventeen months for participating in a sit-in against racism at Sir George Williams University in 1969. The following is excerpted from his remarks at the Vanguard Forum in Toronto on January 31, as reported in *Labor Challenge*, the newspaper of the Canadian League for Socialist Action-/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.]

When we began to speak about racism back in the mid-1960s, nobody was listening. When we began to pose the question of racism in this country everybody thought, and many people on the left said: "You are sectarian, you are a chauvinist." We were called all kinds of names. But the question of racism had to be exposed.

It had to be exposed because this country was founded upon the premise of racism. This country came in as a colonial appendage of British capitalism, and very early it was made abundantly clear by the British that there were two types of colonies. There were settled colonies and conquered colonies. Britain delegated the conquered colonies to be those countries where nonwhite people, Black people, lived. These people were considered to be conquered and deserving no political rights. The settled colonies had the people who came from Britain, who were white Europeans. They "deserved" political rights and accordingly they were granted representative government.

Roots of Racism

From very early, then, the roots of racism were firmly implanted in the constitutional and historical structure of this country—firmly implanted. It was nothing invented by us. We were only giving vent to it in the 1960s

when we began to speak about it.

If we look at the immigration laws in this country, we find a situation in which from 1898, when W.D. Scott was superintendent of immigration under Clifford Sifton, who was the minister of immigration at the time, we find a series of incidents beginning to happen then which show that official Canadian policy was to keep Black people out of Canada.

'Undesirable Influx'

In 1910, the Winnipeg Board of Trade passed a resolution saying, and I quote: "Up to a few years ago there were practically no Negroes here. Then a few families arrived. These found the climatic conditions congenial and sent back for their friends. It is hoped that the Dominion government might devise some means of stopping this undesirable influx." That was the Winnipeg Board of Trade in 1910.

W.B. Scott wrote a letter to W.L. Banstead in 1914 and told him, as immigration agent in Halifax, that when you deny Black people the right to come to this country you need not mention in the form that you're denying them entry because they're Black. That is understood in Ottawa, you don't need to put it down.

This is the letter from Scott to Banstead: "Sir, I notice in a number of Board cases the cause of rejection include the statement that the person rejected is a Negro, and that instructions have been received to prevent the entry of Negroes in every possible way. While it is true that we are not seeking the immigration of colored people I do not think it is advisable to insert any notice of the policy or instructions of the Department in a Board decision, or other correspondence beyond stating in a proper place that the person is a Negro. I'm sure you will appreciate the view I have expressed and will understand the reason thereof."

These are concrete documented examples of the racism that has existed within this department.

We go on further. In 1947 [Prime Minister] Mackenzie King said: "The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation and vigorous administration to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such persons as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy. With regards to the selection of immigrants much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make it abundantly clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a fundamental human right of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege, it is a matter of domestic policy."

Item 1, Section 61 of the 1947 Immigration Act, which expired in 1956, gave the governor-general-in-council [federal cabinet] permission to make regulations prohibiting the admission of persons by reasons of nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, and geographic area of origin. This law was brought in, in 1947.

Two Categories

What they did in 1947, in fact, is that they designated two categories. They said there would be preferred immigrants and nonpreferred immigrants. The preferred immigrants are the people who would come from Britain, the United States, France, Ireland, Australia, and South Africa—whites, of course. And the nonpreferred immigrants are the people who would be coming from Africa, from Asia, from Latin America—Black people. That is why the disparity still exists.

In 1952 they introduced the domestic scheme whereby Black women from the Caribbean had to come here as second-class citizens and work as domestics in order to work in this country. Many of them, still today, work for wages of less than \$100 a month.

In 1967 they introduced the point system whereby they set up five categories. They said: "If you get fifty points, ten in each category, you will be allowed to come in." But even with the point system the discretionary power of the Immigration officer again remained paramount.

Mobilize Black Workers

The time has come to recognize, therefore, that if 90 percent of Black workers are nonunionized, then we have to move to unionize them. We have to mobilize them around their basic interests so that when they're moved against by the Immigration department, when they're moved against by people like [Immigration minister] Andras, when they're moved against by the Western Guard, when they're moved against by the vampires of capitalist society, the landlords, the racketeers, the financiers, and all these people, they will be organized and able to take care of themselves. We see that struggle as an integral part of the anti-

imperialist struggle the world over.

When we took a position at Sir George Williams University we weren't taking a position against a professor. What it was, more than anything else, was a confrontation between Black students, with some white supporters, and the ruling class in this country. Because the people on the board of governors at Sir George Williams University were the very same people that control the economy of the Caribbean.

We moved at Sir George in a very small thing—over racism in courses. That goes on in all universities, as any Black student can tell you.

I believe that wherever racism is, and wherever injustice is, it must be dealt with. And any country like this which preaches democracy but practices racism against members of the population has to be exposed. Not later or next year, it has to be exposed now. And that is the position we took at Sir George. It was an uncompromising position.

We took that position and we're paying the price for it. In my case there is a possibility that I may be deported to Dominica, and might be able to live for awhile, although the laws that have been passed there now are parallel to the anti-Communist law



ROSIE DOUGLAS: 'Canada, in its own right, is into the Caribbean and engaging in imperialist activity.'



Montreal demonstrators protest deportations

ans coming down there to retire. He owns a number of hotels throughout the islands.

We have people like Bronfman. Bronfman owns Seagrams. Seagrams owns Appleton Rum in Jamaica and other distilleries in the Caribbean.

We have people like Peters of Alcan Aluminum. I don't need to tell you anything more about people like Alcan. And Nathaniel Davies, the president of Alcan Aluminum. These are the people on the board of governors at Sir George.

And because of our class position we took a position against that. We ended up being hounded, ended up going to jail.

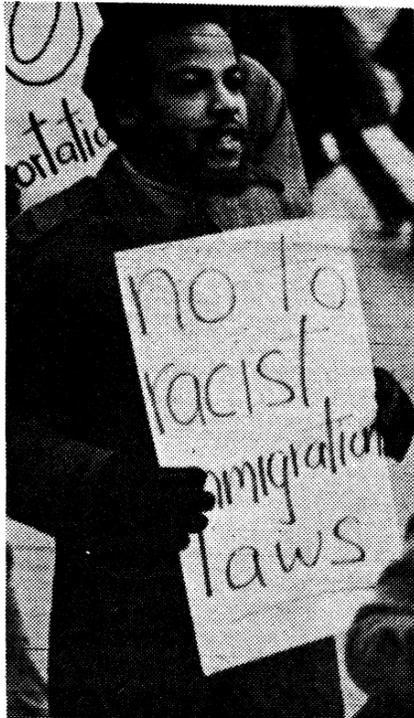
For myself, I've been in this country for twelve years. I was in this country for four years and eleven months when the deportation order was issued against me. Judge Choquette came out in court here in Toronto and said he was completely against the pressure that was being put on him by the minister of immigration to have a deportation order issued against me. That was said openly and reported in the bourgeois press.

They went further than that. Because of the twenty-seven Caribbean students involved in the incident, everybody had a deportation order against them. The orders were dropped because they figured they were well behaved. They figured that in my case the immigration order might also be dropped, so they issued a certificate on top of the deportation order saying I'm a risk to national security. Right?

'National Security'

So we appealed and went to the Supreme Court and we said that issuing a certificate calling a man a risk to national security is contrary to the Bill of Rights. It's against the rule of law. The minister of immigration and the solicitor general are not even obliged to bring evidence. They could pick up any one of you and say you're a risk to national security and not have to bring any evidence. The Supreme Court said they were operating within the Canadian constitution. A ruling came out two days ago that it is within the Canadian constitution to issue a certificate against anybody calling them a risk to national security and they need not bring any evidence to prove it.

It's not good enough to say that Canada is a junior partner of imperial-



Labor Challenge/Darrel Furlotte

ism. Canada, in its own right, is into the Caribbean and engaging in imperialist activity. The Canadians have got about \$1 billion invested in the Caribbean out of which they pull in a profit of about 20 cents on the dollar every year. That's close to \$200 million a year in profit from an impoverished area.

They give \$25 million in aid every year, with all kinds of strings and rubber bands attached. They give you some money to build a school. You get Canadian engineers, Canadian materials, Canadian this and Canadian that, and you pay them back in ten years with interest. That is the extent of Canadian aid.

The Canadian military trains in Jamaica every year. They say it is to acquaint themselves with tropical conditions in case they have to fight with UN emergency forces. They train in Jamaica every year, in an explosive situation. They recognize that the revolutionary potential of the Jamaican people is increasing.

They control most of the hotels. They control 70 percent of the banking. Even if they say that the United States cannot control more than 5 percent of Canadian banking, they control 70 percent of ours and say it's all right. And if you talk about it you're a militant, a radical, you're a Communist. That is the situation that we face.

land. A crowd of 3,000, mostly students, attacked Chinese businesses and homes.

Sporadic violence also broke out in Pnompenh as students roamed through the streets, smashing Chinese shops and stalls. Pnompenh officials were fearful that the anti-Chinese rioting "could signal a more widespread breakdown of order in the cities," according to a report in the February 28 *Washington Post*.

On February 22, the right-wing president of the National Students Association of Cambodia issued a strong statement denouncing the regime as corrupt. He demanded that Lon Nol cease the repression against student and teacher associations.

Meanwhile, on February 14 the U.S. embassy, which had already evacuated dependents of embassy personnel from Pnompenh, urged some of the 350 remaining Americans to leave for their "own safety and welfare."

World news notes

German court rules against abortion

In a 6-to-2 decision, the West German Constitutional Court ruled February 25 that the right of women to abortion violated the right to life. The court, in overturning a law passed last June that legalized abortion during the first three months of pregnancy, defined fetuses as human beings on the fourteenth day after conception. The only exceptions allowed by the court were in cases of rape, danger to the mother's health, when there was a prospect that the child might be born deformed, or when the birth could cause "grave hardship."

Thousands of demonstrators in Karlsruhe, Munich, Hamburg, and other German cities protested the reactionary decision. The court's hypocrisy was indicated in its recollection of the "bitter experience" of the Nazi period, which, the judges claimed, showed the necessity of giving the protection of human life absolute priority over other considerations. However, the Hitler regime rigorously enforced laws against abortion and considered it a serious crime.

Far from protecting human life, the court's anti-abortion ruling is designed to subordinate the needs and desires of women to those of the state and reactionary religious ideologies.

Yugoslav dissident gets seven years

The crackdown on dissidents in Yugoslavia, which has included the dismissal of eight professors at the University of Belgrade and the tightening of press censorship, continued February 28 with the sentencing of Mihajlo Mihajlov to seven years at hard labor. Mihajlov, who was accused of spreading propaganda hostile to the state, said in court, "According to our constitution, a Yugoslav has a right to express his own opinion. But if that were so, I would not be here now."

An entire class from the University of Novi Sad's law school was invited to hear the sentencing, which the presiding judge characterized as a warning, "both personal and general."

The sentencing of Mihajlov, who was also forbidden to engage in any writing, public speaking, or broadcasting for four years after the completion of his jail term, followed the closing of the dissident journal *Praxis* after eleven years of publication. Without officially banning the magazine, the Yugoslav Communist party ordered its units in the various printing establishments not to publish it.

The Yugoslav authorities tried to close *Praxis* in 1974 by withdrawing an annual subsidy to the Croatian Philosophical Society and the Yugoslav Union of Philosophers, which published the magazine. However, the magazine's editorial staff at Zagreb University and its contributors decided to work without pay, and *Praxis* continued to appear.

The bimonthly magazine, which first appeared in 1964, has frequently criticized the Yugoslav CP and the Tito regime from a socialist standpoint. The contributors to *Praxis* were predominantly university professors in Zagreb, Belgrade, and Ljubljana, many of whom were former CP members.

The last issue of *Praxis* carried an article by Dobrica Cosic, one of Yugoslavia's leading novelists and until 1968 a member of the Central Committee of the Serbian Communist party. Cosic's article criticized the cultural restrictions in Yugoslavia.

5,000 students protest in Spain

A demonstration of 5,000 university students and a consumer boycott that left most of the city's food stores empty of customers took place in Madrid February 20.

The students, who were protesting the government-ordered shutdown of the University of Valladolid, assembled at the University of Madrid. The protest was broken up by police, who fired submachine guns into the air. It was the first time the police had come onto the campus with such weapons.

The food-store boycott was called to protest inflation. There were signs of its effectiveness in both middle-class and working-class neighborhoods.



Opposition to Franco dictatorship has been growing steadily stronger. Above, students at the University of Madrid flee police attack during earlier demonstration.

...Cambodia

Continued from page 19

but we will lose the war because the high-ranking officers do not know tactics. They are busy making money."

Unrest is also increasing among sailors forced to undertake suicidal missions on the Mekong. Ten who refused were reportedly charged with mutinous conduct and put in jail. Others have deserted after receiving orders for service on the Mekong.

The rising discontent at soaring food prices found an initial outlet in attacks on Chinese merchants, who have often been made the scapegoats during past crises. In Battambang, Cambodia's second largest city, riots broke out February 21 after the insurgents cut the city's road and rail links with Thai-

The threat of U.S. intervention in Portugal

In an editorial February 17, the *New York Times*, an authoritative voice of American ruling circles, threatened U.S. intervention in Portugal.

The editors claimed that the danger of a Communist party "takeover" in Portugal had been increased by the prospect of elections in April:

"If, as pledged, these turn out to be Portugal's first free elections in a half-century, polls suggest that the Communists will do poorly. Having failed in their efforts to force postponement of the elections, the indications are that they will now encourage more leftist violence and intimidation in hopes of altering the outcome or even the preparing the way for a coup."

While raising a hue and cry over the alleged possibility of a Communist party-backed coup, however, the *New York Times* gave its blessing to the actual attempted coup by General Spínola in September 1974:

"At the time of the military revolt last April that overthrew the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship, the Communists, as the only organized political opposition in Portugal, secured key posts as advisers to some of the rebel military leaders. They bid successfully for influence in local governments, and obtained controlling positions in the news media, student organizations and labor unions, which they have since strengthened."

"In September, Gen. Antonio de Spínola was forced out of the Presidency when he sought to resist this trend."

'Communist Steamroller'

Since Spínola's ouster, the editorial continued, the parliamentary conservatives and even the "democratic left" have also gone down under the Communist steamroller. "Last month, in a second major crisis, the Communists prevailed upon the military—over Socialist opposition—to approve a law providing a single labor confederation. Their control is assured in advance, since they already run most of the federations that will be joined."

"Through Communist maneuvers, Socialist protest demonstrations have been banned; leftist street violence has been used to break up the organizing convention of the country's main

conservative party."

A publication with the news-gathering staff and resources of the *New York Times* could not be unaware that the demonstrations against the so-called Social Democratic Center party in Oporto were not backed, but were in fact opposed, by the Communist party. That, apparently, is why it used the vague phrase "leftist street violence." However, this was put in a context that would give the impression that these demonstrations were part of a Communist party offensive.

The fact seems to be that the Communist party's bureaucratic and class-collaborationist method of defending its positions in the trade-union movement simply provided a handy means to the capitalists for portraying it as a dangerous power machine.

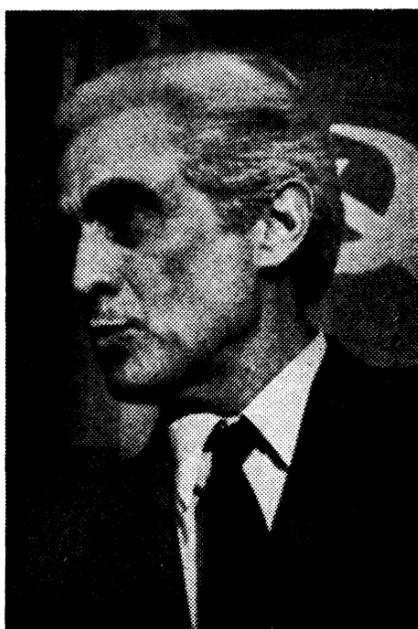
What the U.S. capitalists actually think about the Portuguese Communist party is probably much more accurately reflected in the *Wall Street Journal*, which is written specifically for business circles. In an article in the February 20 issue of this publication, staff reporter Ray Vicker wrote:

"In Portugal, Italy, France and Greece the Communists no longer threaten revolution, promote violence, advocate political strikes....

"Sometimes Mr. Cunhal [the CP general secretary] sounds so moderate that you have to recheck his history to make sure he doesn't belong to some middle-class party. He talks of seeing a place for private enterprise in Portugal's future. He discourages strikes, mutes any criticism of NATO, avoids vitriolic propaganda and extends a hand toward America."

"Moreover, he doesn't take a dogmatic position on the nationalization of industry. 'Certain sectors such as transport already are nationalized,' he says, 'and perhaps in the future those elements in basic industry also should be state-controlled. At the moment, however, the government policy is to seek economic stability, and this involves continuation of the private sector in operation of factories. We support that policy at this time because we favor economic stability.'"

As for Communist party influence in the trade-union movement, Vicker indicated that its effects were not all



STALINIST LEADER CUNHAL: 'Discourages strikes, mutes any criticism of NATO.'

bad from the capitalist point of view:

"Currently the Communist Party even preaches moderation to unions. The annual inflation rate is estimated at 30%, and demands for raises have generally been exceeding that level. The Communists say that raises should be held below 30%, but they don't commit themselves to any figure. Mr. Cunhal shakes his head over demands that might strain the economy. 'The strike weapon,' he says, 'is most efficient if it isn't used too often.'"

The vague references of the editors of the *New York Times* to "leftist" street violence, however, are an indication that any mass actions that "go too far" will be interpreted by U.S. ruling circles as part of a Communist party "coup" to block the elections. And even after the vote is held, they will not be reassured:

"The military junta, with Communist encouragement, shows less and less inclination to yield its present supervisory role and is expanding its powers. These trends have led the Popular Democratic leader, Francisco Sa Carneiro [Carneiro], to argue that elections will be academic if the centers of power are 'occupied' beforehand."

'Intolerable Dangers'

Such Communist party influence in the junta, the *New York Times* said, was giving rise to "intolerable dangers." It invoked the familiar "domino theory":

"These [dangers] go beyond the obvious strategic threat of a Soviet ally athwart the American naval lifelines to the Mediterranean and NATO Europe. A forcible Communist takeover in Portugal might encourage a similar trend in Italy and France; create problems in Greece and Turkey; affect the succession in Spain and Yugoslavia and send tremors throughout Western Europe."

The editorial in this way echoed the themes sounded by capitalist representatives when they opened the cold war and again when Washington intervened in countries like Korea and Vietnam.

"Détente, of course, would be the first casualty, as Moscow should note, if the close relationship between the Portuguese Communist party and the Soviet Union—which maintains a large, active embassy in Lisbon—is a factor in promoting a forcible takeover.

It would not be in the interest of either the Russian or the Portuguese people to have the popular will in Portugal denied free expression." (Emphasis added.)

In present conditions, U.S. ruling circles are not likely to relaunch the cold war. However, direct or indirect intervention in Portugal is all too likely. A much gentler warning was issued by the *New York Times* to the Allende government after the March 1973 elections in which the right was defeated. Such an intervention could, however, generate international tensions; and, in order to justify it, the Western capitalist powers would have to resurrect the "Communist menace" to some extent, with some implications for relations with the Soviet Union.

In the context of the détente, this warning serves the purpose of putting the Soviet Union on notice that the White House will not accept significant CP influence in any West European governments, no matter how well-behaved the CPs in question may be. It puts both the Portuguese government and the CP on notice that if they cannot keep the mass movement within what the United States considers acceptable limits, dire consequences will ensue.

It is essentially the mass upsurge in Portugal that frightens the U.S. capitalists, not the CP. This is indicated by the formulation that puts all street demonstrations and labor actions under the general heading of an alleged Communist party-planned coup.

The Case of Chile

The same type of thinking was evident in the case of Chile. It was not the Allende government and the Communist party as such that prompted the violent U.S. intervention through a brutal military coup and wholesale massacres of workers; it was the inability of these forces to restrain the mass movement, which was carrying out more and more seizures of factories and big estates and undermining the basis of capitalist property and bourgeois society.

What really worries U.S. ruling circles is peasants seizing estates despite the Communist party's appeals to them to wait for government action, and in particular, armed forces units showing solidarity with leftist demonstrators. It was the beginning of left-wing organization in the armed forces in Chile, for instance, that most directly sparked the decisive confrontation there.

Chile, moreover, was only the most recent of many examples of the dangers of trying to prevent a mass upsurge from going to the point where it can effectively defend itself against counterrevolution. The fact that the Communist party was in effective control of the Allende government and a united trade-union movement did not enable it to defend itself against the reactionary coup.

While U.S. ruling circles are trying to intimidate the Portuguese left into pulling back the mass movement, these threats simply prove that the only way to "defend democracy" is to mobilize the Portuguese masses and the ranks of the armed forces into a power that can defeat any intervention.

And that is possible only if the masses take full control of the economy and root out the material basis of reaction.



The 'Three Marias'—fighters for women's liberation in Portugal in the underground days. Two of them, Maria Velho da Costa and Maria Isabel Berrêno—were each interviewed in Lisbon by Gerry Foley as part of his reporting on the Portuguese revolution for *Intercontinental Press*.

The two interviews were typical of the material to be found in *Intercontinental Press*, along with searching analyses of major international events. To keep up with world developments, read *Intercontinental Press* every week.

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Evelyn Reed's 'Woman's Evolution'-- panorama of human history unfolds

Woman's Evolution, from Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family by Evelyn Reed. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. New York, 1975. \$15, paper \$4.95.

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

Since the new rise of the women's liberation movement began at the end of the 1960s, Evelyn Reed has been one of the most popular and widely traveled speakers on women's history and the struggle for women's liberation. As a Marxist, a feminist, and an anthropologist she has been uniquely qualified to discuss and bring answers to the questions being posed by women today.

The thousands of women who heard her in the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere asked her for answers to the most complex questions concerning the origins of human society, the role of women, and the source of women's oppression. Often her answers were tantalizing, and exasperatingly brief—just enough to indicate a direction of thought and stimulate one's curiosity. And then she would add, "When my book is published, you'll see. It will answer your question."

She was right. *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* fully measures up to the high expectations that preceded it.

Delving into *Woman's Evolution* one experiences the same sense of excitement and discovery that accompanies a first reading of Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, or George Novack's essay "The Long View of History."

The whole panorama of human history unfolds before you. Previously inexplicable contradictions fall into place, understandable for the first time. Whole new vistas are open for exploration. As you finish the last chapter you start drawing up the list of things you want to read or reread in the light of your newly expanded horizons—the Greek tragedies, studies of ancient mythology from the Celtic and Norse tales to the Hindu and Chinese legends, the Bible, classics of anthropology, Engels . . .



'Woman's Evolution is a guide to women reconstructing their past in order to understand the road to future freedom.'

Woman's Evolution is a unique work from three distinct but interrelated perspectives: as Marxist analysis of history, as a contribution to anthropological theory, and as a guide to women reconstructing their past in order to understand the road to future freedom.

Evelyn Reed's starting point is the materialist conception of history. She starts with the assumption that nothing is static, that all things change. While this change is contradictory, while chance and causality intermingle, the change is lawful and understandable. Stages of evolution are discernible. To understand history the social scientist must proceed as any other scientist, by searching for and establishing the laws that govern social evolution.

From this materialist foundation, Reed proceeds to examine the twin pillars of all human society, production and procreation. In the beginning that meant food and sex. She follows these two interrelated lines of evolution, as best they can be traced or deduced, over a million-year span of prehistory, showing how through productive activities the earliest forerunners of our species transformed themselves from animals to humans, how cooperative labor—that is, human society—was born. She traces this social development from its lowest stages of savagery to the dawn of civilization.

In this, Reed has made one of the most significant contributions to advancing the understanding of social origins since the pioneering work of Engels and Marx almost a century ago.

Marx and Engels based themselves on the findings of the earliest anthropologists, into which they integrated their own economic and historical studies, developing a comprehensive theoretical framework for human evolution. While Victorian moralists were registering their shock and outrage, Marx and Engels immediately grasped the revolutionary implications of the findings of Lewis Morgan, who spent 40 years studying Iroquois society, uncovering, describing, and explaining its matriarchal clan structure.

How strongly Marx and Engels felt about the importance of Morgan's work and its implications can be seen in the considered judgment Engels drew at the end of his life, some seven years after the first publication of his study, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

Engels commented: "The rediscovery of the original mother-right gens as the stage preliminary to the father-right gens of the civilized peoples has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology, and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy." (Preface to the fourth edition, 1891; Pathfinder edition, page 36.)

It is no wonder that bourgeois anthropologists drew back from advancing along such a path.

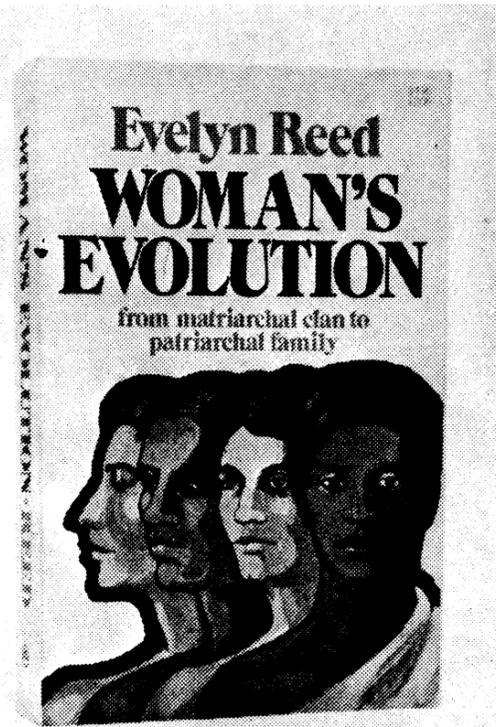
Far ahead

As on virtually every other question, Marx and Engels were so far ahead of their contemporaries that today, prodded by a new rise of women's struggles, even many revolutionary Marxists are scrambling to catch up with and reassimilate what the founders of scientific socialism explained so lucidly a hundred years ago.

Despite the unavoidable errors that resulted from the paucity of information available to Marx and Engels and the nineteenth-century anthropologists, their insights were remarkable. It is a great testimony to the historical materialist method they applied that they were able to grasp the essentials and point in a correct direction in their search for replies to what were as yet unanswerable questions.

As Engels continued after the above-quoted comparison: "Clearly, this opens a new era in the treatment of the history of primitive society. The mother-right gens has become the pivot around which this entire science turns; since its discovery we know in which direction to conduct our researches, what to investigate and how to classify the results of our investigations."

Unfortunately, in the subsequent 85 years, few



'One of the most significant contributions to the understanding of human origins since the work of Engels and Marx.'

Marxist scholars have taken up where Engels and Marx left off.

Prevailing anthropological orthodoxy soon came to deny the prior existence of the matriarchal clan structure, with the result that most students of human origins were rendered incapable of even asking the most searching questions, much less illuminating the answers.

Robert Briffault's monumental three-volume work entitled *The Mothers*, published almost half a century ago, was one of the notable exceptions.

Reich's approach

One of the few Marxists who tried to answer some key questions was Wilhelm Reich. In the 1920s and early 1930s he approached the same topics as Engels, but from a different point of departure—a search for the sources and roots of the mass sexual neuroses that plague men and women in capitalist society. In pursuit of an answer to the question "What interest has society in sexual repression?" Reich explained:

"Finally I came across Marx and Engels, who enabled me to understand much of the mechanism of our material existence, and I was amazed that I had attended secondary school and university without ever having heard of them. Later I understood why." (*The Invasion of Compulsory Sex-Morality*, preface to the first edition, 1931, Noonday edition, page xxi.)

Using some of the same anthropological materials as Reed, Reich took up one of the most difficult problems: How did the transition from matriarchal to patriarchal family take place and in what way was this linked to the transition from communally owned property to private property and the rise of class divisions in society? Why did women lose their esteemed social position in this same process? He arrived at many of the same answers as Reed, focusing on the bride-price institution as a crucial link in this development.

Reich was a determined opponent of the Stalinist corruption of Marxism, and his contributions consequently suffered the same eclipse as most other Marxist works of that period. It was not until the radicalization of the 1960s that the works he wrote during the time he was still a Marxist began to find a wide audience. *The Invasion of Compulsory Sex-Morality*, for example, appeared in English for the first time only in 1971. Reed was not familiar with it until she was in the final stage of

Continued on next page

... 'women were the social as well as

Continued from preceding page

editing her book—in which she places the partially correct answers of Reich in a much broader and more historically comprehensive framework.

Seen in this perspective, Reed's contribution takes on its full significance. Based on more than a hundred years of anthropological investigation and research, and more than 20 years of work by Reed herself, the careful scholarship and thorough documentation—more often than not from sources hostile to her own basic premises—have produced a powerful study.

Even when presenting theories that if baldly stated would seem rather "far out"—like the fact that the male of the species was the first wild animal domesticated by women—Reed develops her case so thoroughly and patiently that in the end even the skeptical will find her presentation convincing.

The least we can say is that *Woman's Evolution* is a landmark in Marxist historical analysis. Subsequent contributions to the study of human origins by historical materialists will have to situate themselves in relationship to it.

Doubtless, further investigation and information will prove Reed wrong on some points and will confirm her analysis on others. Even among Marxists her theses will evoke wide discussion, even controversy, a development that can only enrich our understanding of the issues and problems involved. *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review* will carry contributions to this debate in the coming months.

The anthropology debate

As well as being an addition to Marxist historical analysis, *Woman's Evolution* is a contribution to the science of anthropology in particular. The theoretical innovations or extensions developed in the 492 pages are numerous, overturning some of the most widely and firmly held assumptions of anthropology, psychology, and other related sciences.

Most important are the central theses of the book:

- That the crucial hurdle that advancing hominids had to surmount was extending cooperation to assure production (adequate food) and reproduction;
- That to achieve even the beginnings of social organization they first had to place restrictions on the most readily available food supply (each other);
- That this necessary restriction on killing and eating each other was registered by means of a food taboo, which was the most elementary law of savage society;
- That derived from the cannibalism taboo was a sex taboo, until now universally and falsely interpreted as an incest taboo, but which in reality had no relationship whatsoever to any modern conception of incest;
- That the sex taboo stemmed from the violent nature of sex in the animal world and the need to protect the young;

● And finally, that the women of the species, the female animals, led and organized this entire process of socialization and humanization (albeit unconsciously) because they, unlike the male animal, were biologically capable of banding together in the first cooperative maternal broods.

(Of course, these few paragraphs have just attempted what Evelyn Reed always prudently refused to do—to summarize her basic thesis and present it in simplified outline form. But the job of the reviewer is not the same as that of the author. The purpose of a review is to assess the work and interest the reader in turning to the book itself. In that context, abruptness, even simplification, serves a purpose.)

Development of sexes

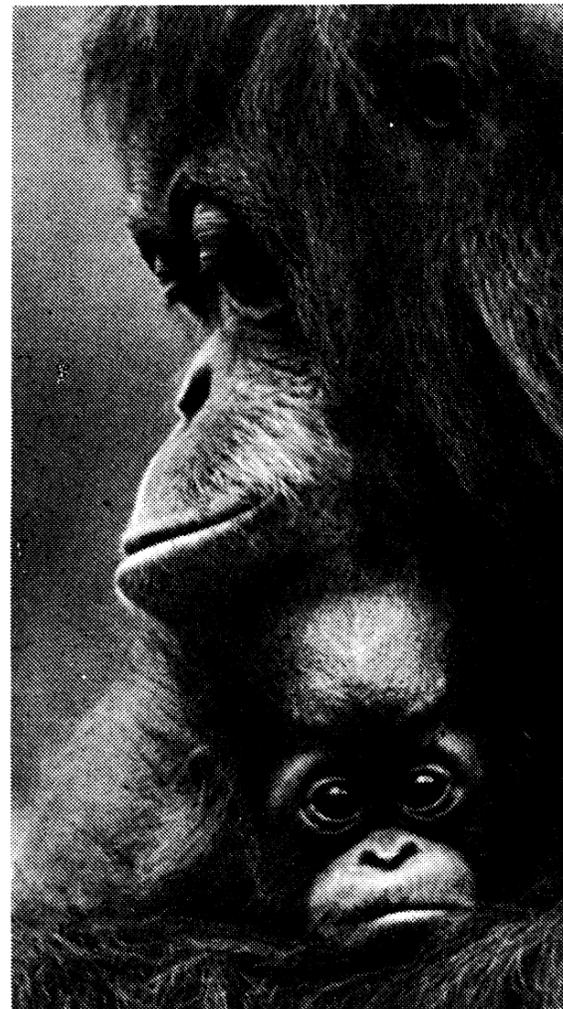
There are a good many other innovations and extensions of anthropological theory developed by Reed. Among the more important are the theory of the uneven development of the sexes, with particular reference to food and sex disparities; a re-examination of totemism and taboo in light of the cannibalism theory; an examination and explanation of the dual organization in the matrilineal and dual forms of extending kinship; an explanation of the "rights of passage," the origin of blood revenge, and the origin of marriage; an analysis of the interchange system that preceded barter and exchange; a re-examination of the erroneous assumption of "royal incest" in Egypt; and a new look at the major works of classical Greek drama as reflections of the historical clash between the dying matriarchal system and the rising father-family institution.

We can only regret that Reed did not add a final chapter expounding some of the more obvious things to be said about the mythology of the Bible, the origins of Jewish and Catholic dietary prohibitions; the origins and symbolic nature of communion rites; even the survival of the mother's brother at the very center of Christianity's Holy Trinity of the father, the son, and . . . the holy ghost.

(Perhaps this "missing chapter" will be written as a subsequent essay, especially if readers demand it.)

Most of the theoretical innovations and extensions developed by Reed will be controversial among students of anthropology, provoking lively debate. But even more importantly, *Woman's Evolution* will undoubtedly draw heavy fire precisely because it qualifies as a strong entry in the 100-year battle that has divided the anthropological profession.

Reed knows she is taking on the overwhelming majority of academic anthropologists who, whatever their differences among themselves, subscribe to one or another of the antihistorical, antievolutionist schools by denying that the matriarchal clan system historically preceded the father family, by denying that the development of human society can be arranged in any chronological and lawful sequence of stages.



'Females led in the transition from animal to human because they were biologically capable of banding together in cooperative maternal broods.'

Unlike the anthropologists Reed polemicalizes against, she does not subscribe to the view that the battle between the evolutionists and antievolutionists has been "one of the most heated and useless discussions in the history of the social sciences." As in all the sciences, it is a fundamental discussion.

The attempt to deny the evolutionary development of human society is as untenable as the futile attempt by some rearguard reactionaries and religious fundamentalists to deny that the human species evolved from our ancestors the apes.

The controversy between evolutionists and antievolutionists, historical materialists and antimaterialists, is not unique to the science of anthropology, however. It should surprise no Marxist to see the antihistorical schools so tenacious and vociferous. The powerful vested interests of class society stand behind them.

For example, the debate over whether nature is dialectical divides almost all the natural sciences. Political economy is divided between those who accept the labor theory of value and the nature of surplus value, and those who reject it. A chasm separates the school of sociology that recognizes the reality of classes and class struggle from those that deny even the existence of class divisions.

The absurdity of the antievolutionist position is humorously illustrated by Evelyn Reed in a current polemic published in the March 1975 issue of the *International Socialist Review*. She points out that different modes of transportation, from the horse-drawn buggy to the automobile to the space ship, are not simply alternative modes of transportation, even though all of them could exist at the same time in the same geographical area. They also represent an evolution in the forms of transportation. They developed in a very definite historical sequence as our technological and industrial capacities advanced.

To attempt to deny that such an evolution took place, to assert that the order in which they appeared is unimportant, or to claim that all one really needs to know is the comparative descriptions and functions of the three vehicles is, to say the least, unscientific as a general method of analysis.

A hundred years from now our descendants will look back on the decades-long antihistorical, antievolutionist derailment of the science of anthropology with as much wonder and amazement as we today learn of the medieval scientists who categorically refuted the theory that the earth travels

Reed: a fighter for 30 years

Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*, has been an active fighter for women's rights and a member of the Socialist Workers Party for more than 30 years.

She started work on her just-published book in 1950, beginning with research into the primitive sex taboo. She went to the Royal Anthropological Institute Library in London to study their collection of materials, and concluded that a "hunch" she had was correct—the so-called incest taboo was really a taboo against cannibalism.

From that starting point, her study of prehistoric society expanded, and the result of this work is *Woman's Evolution*.

During those 25 years, Reed has done much more than simply study anthropology. She has been an active socialist and a frequent contributor to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. Many of these articles have been republished in books and pamphlets.

Several of her *ISR* contributions are contained in *Problems of Women's Liberation*, which has sold more than 40,000 copies in six printings in the English language and has been translated into seven other languages, ranging from Dutch to Persian.

A number of her articles from *The Militant* have also often been republished in permanent form.

The collection *Feminism and Socialism* includes Reed's "In Defense of Engels on the Matriarchy," which first appeared in *The Militant* four years ago.

Reed has not only written about the women's liberation movement, she has participated extensively in the movement. As one of the founders of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, Reed took a leading part in the campaign against anti-abortion laws that set the stage for the historic January 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision. She is coauthor of the pamphlet *Abortion and the Catholic Church: Two Feminists Defend Women's Rights*.

Reed is internationally known as a spokeswoman for women's liberation. She has conducted speaking tours in Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

In recent years, Reed has spoken at 100 colleges and universities throughout the United States and Canada. She has appeared in discussions and debates with such other well-known feminists as Kate Millett, Marlene Dixon, Dr. Barbara Roberts, and Professor Eleanor Leacock.

Although the official publication date of *Woman's Evolution* is March 8, prepublication orders were so extensive that a second printing was necessary to fill them all.

the biological mothers of humanity'

around the sun. It will seem as strange as the theories of Lysenko and his followers, who in the name of "socialism" thoroughly "refuted" the laws of genetics.

For women

The third perspective from which the contribution made by *Woman's Evolution* will be appreciated is that of the growing number of women who are today coming to understand their oppression as women and are searching for the road to their liberation. It is here that Reed's book will receive its warmest and most heartfelt reception.

Women who are trying to comprehend themselves and the society that has shaped them will recognize *Woman's Evolution* for what its author meant it to be: a contribution designed to help us arm ourselves historically, theoretically, and politically; a work intended to help us understand our past and the origins of our oppression in order to better prepare us for our future struggles; a study of our history that will help restore our confidence and pride in being women.

It is on the first part of the book, devoted to the matriarchy and analyzing the decisive role and contributions of women in primitive society, that the author has obviously expended the greatest "loving care." The sections dealing with the fratricide and patriarchy are no less carefully reasoned. Yet the warmth, richness, and humor that breaks through repeatedly in the first part of the book especially transmit the author's real sentiments—her own sense of female identification with these creatures she affectionately dubs "the feminids," the humanizers and socializers of us all. The pride is contagious. Every woman will sense it.

Woman's work: 'all else'

To cite just one example, I would point to the chapter that really should have been entitled "All else . . ." after the words of a Kurnai aborigine in Australia who explained that man's work was to hunt, spear fish, fight and then "sit down," while woman's work was to do "all else."

That the high status of women in primitive society was directly related to their productive labor could scarcely be more amply proven than by the book's documentation of women's contributions as the first farmers, industrialists, scientists, doctors, nurses, architects, teachers, artists, linguists, and historians—the social as well as the biological mothers of humanity.

Woman's Evolution is first and foremost a book about human origins. It is a book about the kind of social system women created and why it had to be what it was. Two-thirds of the book deals with this social system and how it evolved over a million-year history.

Toward the end of this period, which spanned 99 percent of human existence, a qualitative change took place—the destruction of communal property and its replacement by a system based on private ownership of the means of production; the rise of social divisions where some exploited and profited from the labor of others; the destruction of the maternal clan system and the rise of the father family; the reduction of women to second-class status, completely subordinate to men, and their domestic enslavement.

Woman's Evolution is not primarily a book dealing with this transition from preclass patriarchal clan society to the class-divided patriarchal family society. But within the framework of the subject matter it sets out to cover, *Woman's Evolution* deals with the question that has troubled most feminists seeking to understand the social status imposed on them. How did men gain the power, come to control the wealth, and rise to exercise the dominion they have wielded since the dawn of recorded history?

If this state of affairs has not always existed, if it is not due to any innate biological inferiority of women, then how did it come about? If neither sex oppressed the other in preclass society, why did men and not women come out on top in the transition to class society?

Reed carefully traces the main lines along which the transition took place in the period between 6000 and 1000 B. C. She explains the economic foundations for the changes—the birth of agriculture and stock raising; the mastery of metal crafts; the possibility for the first time in history that human labor could produce significantly more than necessary to assure survival; the resulting profitability for some to exploit the labor of others; the increasing division of labor; the beginning of exchange and commerce.

Reed also outlines the internal contradictions that emerged within the "divided family" with loyalties split between the old blood line of the matriclan and the new bonds between husband, wife, and children. She shows why these had to be resolved in favor of the new patrilineal organization precisely because the old matriclan structure no longer corresponded to the most efficient organization of human labor and reproduction. It had become an obstacle to further progress.

But the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy was not primarily a struggle between women and men. It was a struggle between two contending groups of men, the brothers and the husbands, representing two irreconcilable social forces, two incompatible social systems.

The husbands stood on the side of human progress and the brothers on the side of stagnation, reaction, and decline. The outcome was inevitable. Those tribal societies that succeeded in making the transition survived and flourished. Those that failed to make the transition declined and disappeared.

Woman's downfall

It was this confrontation of vast social forces that brought with it woman's downfall. The rise of class society based on private property and the patriarchal family brought slavery and the exploitation of men by men as well as the purchase and domestic enslavement of women. They became valued not for their productive skills but for their capacity to produce children, especially male children, and as labor power that could be exploited to produce greater surpluses, greater individual wealth.

The family, and even the word itself, which meant a man, his children, his wife, and his slaves—emerged at this late date in human history as an economic and social unit, not a biological one.

The birth of class society was a great historical advance for humanity as a whole, opening the way to the colossal progress of the past three thousand years. At the same time, as Engels explained, it inaugurated "that epoch, lasting until today, in which every advance is likewise a relative regression, in which the well-being and development of the one group are attained by the misery and repression of the other."

Thus, "the first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male." (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, p. 75.)

These are the themes carefully, if briefly, sketched by Reed in the final section of *Woman's Evolution*.

They lay the basis for developing a perspective on the road to women's liberation. If women's oppression is rooted in the rise of class society and is essential to its very social structure, then the liberation of women can only come about through the abolition of class society, going beyond it to a new and higher stage of human evolution for which the economic foundations already exist. Thus women's liberation and the socialist revolution are closely intertwined.

Today women and humanity as a whole stand at a great historical turning point not unlike that which took place several thousand years ago. Irreconcilable class forces and social systems are contending on a world scale. Whether humanity will advance or be annihilated is a real, not hypothetical, question. Then, as now, women's fate will be decided by the outcome of this class struggle. Then, as now, women will play a crucial role in determining that outcome.

Unlike our female ancestors, though, today we can understand the perspective before us and consciously participate in making our own futures, in opening the way toward a new historical era that will eliminate the oppression of women, as well as war, racism, poverty, and the economic exploitation of men and women by a tiny handful of men who control the wealth that all humanity has collectively produced. We can consciously fight to end that era in which every advance for some is made at the expense of others.

In this respect Evelyn Reed's personal history and example is as instructive as the contribution she has made in the pages of *Woman's Evolution*. As a conscious feminist she has spent more than 30 years as an active member and leader of the Socialist Workers Party doing everything possible to bring closer that day when the working class will seize power and collectively reorganize society to place human needs above private profit, thereby opening the door to the future of the human race and the liberation of women.

The publication of *Woman's Evolution* could hardly be more timely. It could not have been written and published without the political enlightenment that accompanied the new rise of the feminist movement. But in return for the inspiration she received from this historical development, Evelyn Reed has made a significant contribution to placing the feminist movement on a solid materialist foundation. She has swept away some of the cobwebs of obscurantism and reaction so long used to help keep women "in their place" by denying them real knowledge of their own history and the history of class society.

Woman's Evolution fully measures up to its dedication: "To Women—on the way to liberation."

Tour sparks discussion among women

Evelyn Reed's book *Woman's Evolution* is becoming a new focus of discussion in the women's liberation movement, prompting many women to probe deeper into the origins of women's oppression.

Reed herself is in the thick of this discussion. As soon as her book appeared (official publication date is March 8), she embarked on a five-week, seven-city speaking tour to discuss and debate the ideas in *Woman's Evolution*.

In the course of the tour Reed has spoken at 14 campuses, as well as at women's liberation events and symposia. Her appearances have received major coverage in several daily newspapers.

One of her most recent meetings in Los Angeles was a symposium on her book by women professors specializing in anthropology, psychology, and animal development. The discussion, attended by 200, was held at the Woman's Building March 1.

Dr. Annette Ehrlich, associate professor in the psychology department at California State University, joined Reed in pointing to the fallacy of citing the animal world to justify the "naturalness" of the nuclear family, male leadership, and sexual divisions of labor.

Dr. Hilda Kuper, professor of anthropology at UCLA, argued against Reed's evolutionary view of the development of human society.

Director, producer, and writer Francine Parker aimed her remarks at showing how the real history of women has been ignored and hidden. The symposium was chaired by Dr. Gloria Lothrop, associate professor of history at California

Polytechnic University.

Evelyn Reed, in her talk, welcomed the diversity of disciplines and viewpoints represented by the speakers.

Reed was also the featured speaker at California State University's International Women's Week program sponsored by Sisters United and the Associated Students.

In San Diego Reed addressed a meeting of 175 people at San Diego State University. In her first television appearance since the book came out, Reed was interviewed by Alicia Sandoval on KTTV's "Let's Rap" show. Listeners phoned in questions during the last part of the 30-minute program.

Pacific radio station KPFK broadcast a 25-minute interview with Reed, and the station plans to play the tape of the Woman's Building symposium. Interviews with Reed also appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* and the *L. A. Free Press*.

At each of her tour stops, the interest aroused by her appearance has brought increased sales of *Woman's Evolution*. In Los Angeles, bookstores and wholesale outlets ordered nearly 400 copies of the book.

Reed's tour will culminate in a New York reception welcoming the book in conjunction with celebrating International Women's Day. Speakers at the March 9 event will be Evelyn Reed, Puerto Rican feminist Ana Rivera, playwright Myrna Lamb, film critic Joan Mellen, Dr. Barbara Roberts, and the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate in 1976, Willie Mae Reid.

Calendar

ATLANTA

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN THE DEKALB SCHOOLS. Speakers: Ronald Irby and Regina Marble, student leaders at Columbia High School; Roger Mills, legal counsel for Concerned Parents of Columbia High School. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS 1975 CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for school committee. Candidate for mayor to be announced at rally. Sat., March 15, 6 p.m.: social hour; 7 p.m.: smorgasbord dinner; 8 p.m.: rally. 655 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$4 for entire evening; \$1.50 for rally only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CLEVELAND

THE GOLDEN YEARS: MYTH OR REALITY? Speaker: Almeda Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

HOUSTON

EXPLODING THE MYTH OF FEMALE INFERIORITY. Speakers to be announced. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEW YORK CITY

THE FIGHT FOR BLACK LIBERATION TODAY. Speaker: Tony Thomas, national committee member, Socialist Workers Party, and editor, *Black Liberation and Socialism*. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m. New York University Catholic Center, 58 Washington Square South. Donation: \$1.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Five two-part classes: *What is Socialism; Maoism in Crisis; Marxist Economics; Socialist strategy for the labor unions; and The Early Civil Rights Movement*. Sat., March 15, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. NYU Loeb Student Center, Washington Square South and La Guardia Place. Donation: \$5.00 per class, \$2 for weekend. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

TO SERVE THE PEOPLE: HEALTH CARE DELIVERY IN MODERN CHINA. Speaker: Dr. Victor Sidel, Albert Einstein School of Medicine, chairman, department of social medicine, Montefiore Hospital. Sat., March 15, 2:30 p.m. Gouverneur Hospital Auditorium, 227 Madison St., (between Jefferson and Clinton). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Chinatown Health Clinic. For more information call (212) 732-9545.

PHILADELPHIA

SOUTHEAST ASIA: WHAT PEACE? TWO YEARS AFTER THE ACCORDS. Speaker: Harvey McArthur, antiwar activist, Young Socialist Alliance; *The Post-war War*, NARMIC slide show. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

RELIGION, SOCIALISM, AND SOCIAL CHANGE. Speakers: Molly Rush, director, Thomas Merton Center; Meg Ann Root, Grail Society; Howard Beck, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call 682-5019.

SAN FRANCISCO

BEHIND THE PG&E RATE HIKES. Speakers: George Gilmore, Toward Utility Rate Normalization; Jim Shoch, Electricity and Gas for People. Fri.,

March 14, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Sat., March 15, 5:30 p.m.: refreshments; 6:30 p.m.: dinner; 8 p.m.: rally announcing 1975 municipal candidates; party to follow rally. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$4.50 for banquet and rally; \$1 for rally only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON TEACHERS UNION UNDER ATTACK. Speaker: Erich Martel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...Reid

Continued from page 5

lations to Mayor Daley," praising his "life of public service for Chicago."

Many Singer campaign workers responded with boos and hisses. "Save it, pal," someone shouted.

A real independent campaign against Daley means a campaign against the whole corrupt system he represents. It means a campaign for a different kind of politics—politics based on the needs and interests of working people and the Black community. It aims to inspire and mobilize them with a program of fundamental change, not token reform.

It can't be done by trying to outlaw-and-order the racists, by trying to buy a piece of the machine, or by placating the Democratic Party bosses. It can't be done within the Democratic and Republican parties at all.

That is why the campaign of Willie Mae Reid is the real alternative to Daley on April 1.

...threat

Continued from page 7

election. The Ku Klux Klan has attempted to intimidate Camejo's supporters here during recent weeks.

Hooded Klansmen held an armed demonstration outside SWP offices Feb. 20.

Andrea Cordes, a campaign worker, found a Klan leaflet posted on the door to her home Feb. 27. The leaflet said, "This has been a friendly visit from the Ku Klux Klan. Next time do you want a real visit?"

Michel Font, a known Klansman, paid two visits to Cordes's home on March 3. He spoke with Cordes's nine-

year-old son, inquiring of his mother's whereabouts. Last summer Font introduced himself to Cordes as someone interested in socialism, but during the discussion revealed himself as a Klansman.

A police detective, who acknowledges that Font is "dangerous," believes he may be guilty of trespassing. So far, though, cops have refused to arrest Font.

...detente

Continued from page 17

their own economic progress on prospects for stability of world capitalism.

But the Kremlin's hopes for stability notwithstanding, this is a time of crisis and instability for the capitalist rulers throughout the world. Their system is coming apart at the seams, revealing itself to be unable to meet the needs of humanity. Capitalism is producing mass famine, destroying the environment, and creating sudden breakdowns and shortages of the necessities of life. The world is crying out for economic planning and elimination of the anarchy of capitalist production for profit and the irrational conflicts across national boundaries.

But instead of providing leadership for the anticapitalist struggles that continue to burst forth, the Stalinist policy, both in Moscow and Peking, is to use their influence over such struggles as bargaining chips in trying to achieve diplomatic deals with the imperialist powers—deals that history has proven to be both reactionary and utopian as far as bringing the world closer to peace.

The Stalinist parties are no longer leaders of the rebel masses, seeking to mobilize the full power of the workers to fight for their interests. These parties have become nothing but lobbyists for the narrow diplomatic aims of the privileged bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking.

The bureaucratic rulers in the Soviet Union and China react with fear and hostility to genuine revolutionary upheavals anywhere in the world, because such mass action gives inspiration to the workers of their own countries to fight against the privileged hierarchy and for democratic rights.

Each of the major historical tests of detente has proven it to be the road to terrible defeats for the struggle of the exploited and oppressed. Each

time the imperialists have agreed to forms of detente with the Stalinists, that agreement has been used by the imperialists to help their system survive its own crises and the revolutionary movements it brings forth. As soon as the capitalist rulers were able, they turned against their detente partners with new ferocity.

A new revolutionary socialist leadership must be built throughout the world based on the strategy of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks—a leadership with the aim of leading humanity out of the anarchy and brutality of the capitalist system into the socialist future.

...dossiers

Continued from back page

two decades of systematic terrorist acts by Nazis, Ku Klux Klanners, Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles, and other ultrarightists, the police have shown a truly remarkable incapacity to solve any of these crimes.

In recent months there was the murderous bomb attack on the Socialist Workers Party headquarters. This was preceded by a tear-gas attack on a rally demanding reopening of the Rosenberg case and was followed by a bomb attack on the Unidos bookstore in East Los Angeles and the setting off of an explosive in the studio of KCET-TV, which was showing the Cuban film *Lucia*. Noxious gas was used at a showing of *Lucia* at Cal State Los Angeles, and a lethal bomb was discovered outside the door of the *Palestinian Voice*, a community paper.

In none of these cases have those responsible been apprehended.

In relation to the bombing of the SWP hall the police did nothing until widespread national protests to Mayor Bradley seemed to have an effect, and there now appears to be an active investigation.

In relation to the current revelation regarding the police files, Ramona Ripston, director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), said the ACLU will file suit to permanently enjoin the police from maintaining such dossiers.

She said it was apparent that such files are not for the purpose of law enforcement but constitute a political weapon against those deemed to be dissidents. Use of such files, she said, is contrary to the First Amendment and should be stopped.

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BOSTON

New England conference on prospects for socialism

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 8 p.m.: PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Speaker: BARRY SHEPPARD, national organization secretary, Socialist Workers Party. BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF NURSING AUDITORIUM, 635 COMMONWEALTH AVE.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m.: IMPERIALISM AND WORLD ECONOMY. Speaker: DICK ROBERTS, author of MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. IMPERIALISM, staff writer for THE MILITANT. 2 p.m. and 4:30 p.m.: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: ITS HISTORY AND LESSONS FOR TODAY. Speaker: TONY THOMAS, editor, BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM, staff writer for THE MILITANT. 11 a.m.: Workshop: WOMAN'S EVOLUTION: THE MYTH OF FEMALE INFERIORITY. Led by EVELYN CLARK, founding member, Female Liberation. GEORGE SHERMAN UNION, 775 COMMONWEALTH AVE. Donation: \$1 per session, \$3 for entire conference. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

l.a. socialist campaign banquet

Speakers:

Ed Heisler Cochairperson, Socialist Workers
1976 National Campaign Committee

Donald Freed Author of 'Executive Action'
& Los Angeles Socialist Workers
candidates

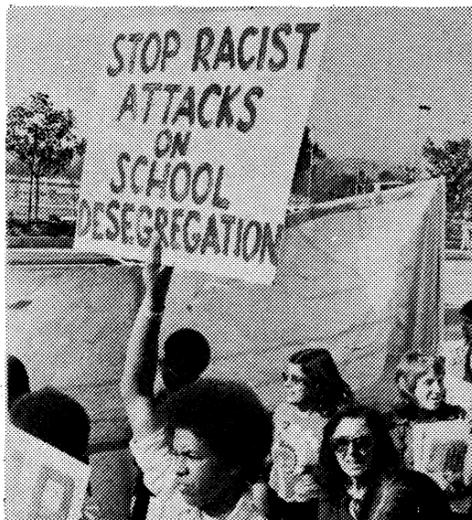
Saturday, March 15

230 Broadway, Santa Monica

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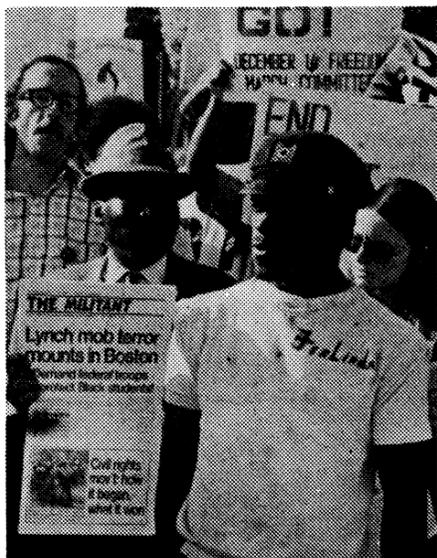
FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 8 p.m. Keynote speaker: TONY THOMAS, national committee member of Socialist Workers Party and editor of 'Black Liberation and Socialism.' NEW YORK UNIVERSITY CATHOLIC CENTER (58 Washington Sq. South) Donation: \$1.

Socialist Educational Conference

SATURDAY, MARCH 15. Five two-part classes. 11 a.m.-1 p.m. and 2 p.m.-4 p.m. WHAT IS SOCIALISM, MAOISM IN CRISIS, MARXIST ECONOMICS, SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR THE LABOR UNIONS, and THE EARLY CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. NYU LOEB STUDENT CENTER (Washington Sq. South & La Guardia Place). Donation: 50 cents each for classes, \$2 for weekend. Ausp.: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

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THE MILITANT

Thousands of citizens targeted

L.A. secret police spy files exposed

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Mayor Thomas Bradley and Police Chief Edward Davis have admitted that for more than 40 years the Los Angeles police department (LAPD) has maintained massive secret intelligence dossiers on tens of thousands of citizens as well as a wide variety of organizations.

The admission came Feb. 26 after a broadcast by Art Kevin of radio station KMPC. Kevin reported he had learned that a member of the civilian police commission found that there was a dossier on his wife, who is active in Women For, a liberal grouping concerned with social issues.

According to Kevin's sources, the commissioner demanded that the file on his wife be destroyed and was backed in this by police commission President Sam Williams.

Davis reportedly responded that if they pressed the demand he and his top aides would resign.

When Kevin reported this development, Bradley and Davis immediately summoned a joint city hall news conference where they denied the particular story but did admit the existence of the files.

At the same time, massive destruction of the files was begun.

In an interview, Art Kevin said that according to his sources, some 25,000 dossiers have been destroyed. Four van loads were dispatched to a commercial shredder or to be burned.

Thousands of activists

Kevin said he had reported only the case of the wife of the commissioner because it was the only one he has been able to double-check so far. But he said that according to his sources, the dossiers include thousands of public figures, attorneys, and others, mainly of a liberal bent, who have

associated themselves in any way with a political issue or cause.

At the news conference, Bradley and Davis said the police commission has been reviewing the files in order to develop guidelines for their use.

They said the review has been going on since 1973.

As part of the "review," they said, some of the files have been destroyed recently, mainly as "obsolete."

Both Bradley and Davis refused to divulge what organizations or individuals are included in the files. They said it would be "inappropriate" and "unethical" to disclose the contents of the dossiers.

Police commission President Williams said that at the outset he was "suspicious" as to how the files were being used, but that after study he was persuaded that "the organizations we are collecting information on ought to be monitored."

Davis pointed to the current wave of terrorist bombings as a justification for maintaining the dossiers, although they have apparently been of little help since the police have thus far done nothing to stop the bombings.

Fear legal action

According to sources, the hasty, massive destruction of files is stimulated by a fear that legal action will result in a court order to divulge their contents.

Bradley, a former police lieutenant with an apparent taste for delicate formulations, referred to the compilation of the secret dossiers as a matter of "public information gathering."

However, it has already been well established that in good measure these dossiers are compiled by secret police informants and agents provocateurs who penetrate political and community organizations under the direction



Damage from Nazi bombing of L.A. Socialist Workers Party office last month. Cops claim to be spying on right as well as left, but they have done nothing to apprehend rightist terrorists.

of the until recently secret Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) of the LAPD.

This extensive political police apparatus functions in collaboration with the FBI, CIA, and other secret-police agencies.

A corner of the curtain on CCS activities was lifted in 1971 by Louis Tackwood, who publicly revealed he

had functioned as an informant and agent provocateur within the Black movement for the CCS.

Tackwood said he had helped set up a 1965 police attack against the Nation of Islam temple here. He said that he had acted as a police intermediary to the cultural nationalist group US, which conducted gang warfare against the Black Panthers, leading to the gunning down of two Panthers in 1969.

Tackwood also filled in the picture on the systematic police campaign to literally destroy the Panthers here.

'Alpha file'

Nor have secret-police methods been directed solely against activists. It was recently revealed that the LAPD secret dossiers include an "Alpha file" containing the names of young people deemed to be potential "troublemakers." The lists, mainly of Black and Chicano youth, are compilations of names turned in by school bus drivers and others the police deem competent to determine who is a potential troublemaker.

The history of the LAPD makes clear that its massive secret files are intended as a right-wing political weapon against Blacks and Chicanos, and against political activists.

Police surveillance and dossiers are allegedly all-embracing, including the right as well as the left. Despite nearly

New rightist bomb attack in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Right-wing terrorists here have planted still another bomb. This time the target was the *Palestinian Voice*, a monthly community newspaper.

An anonymous caller told *United Press International* the bomb had been placed "to serve as a warning to all enemies of the Jewish people."

By a stroke of luck, a major disaster was averted. The explosive, wrapped in a plastic bag, was placed outside the door of the paper's Hollywood Boulevard office the afternoon of Feb. 16. The building manager came along and, assuming it was trash, picked the bag up and carried it down a flight of stairs to the street.

He then looked into the bag and, realizing it was a bomb, placed it

by the curb and notified a nearby cop who immediately summoned help.

The bomb squad, which has been working overtime here in recent weeks, arrived and an area of several blocks just off the busy intersection of Hollywood and Vine was cordoned off for two hours. The bomb squad placed the explosive in a vault-like container and carried it off.

In an interview, Mustafa Siam, editor of the *Palestinian Voice*, charged that the attack was the work of the right-wing Jewish Defense League (JDL).

Siam said police told him that the bomb was a lethal one consisting of three large sticks of dynamite. If it had gone off it could have destroyed the building.

He said one of the policemen told him that the bomb seemed similar to the type used against the Lebanese consulate here.

At the consulate, a staff member said they have been the victim of two major bomb attacks and that the JDL took credit for both.

The first explosion, in June 1973, virtually destroyed the consulate offices, the spokesperson said. The second, in July of last year, did extensive damage to the entrance and surrounding walls.

No arrests have been made in either case.

Mustafa Siam said he considered it outrageous that such murderous attacks could be conducted with apparent impunity and expressed the hope that authorities would finally take action.

— H.R.

Continued on page 26