

THE MILITANT

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

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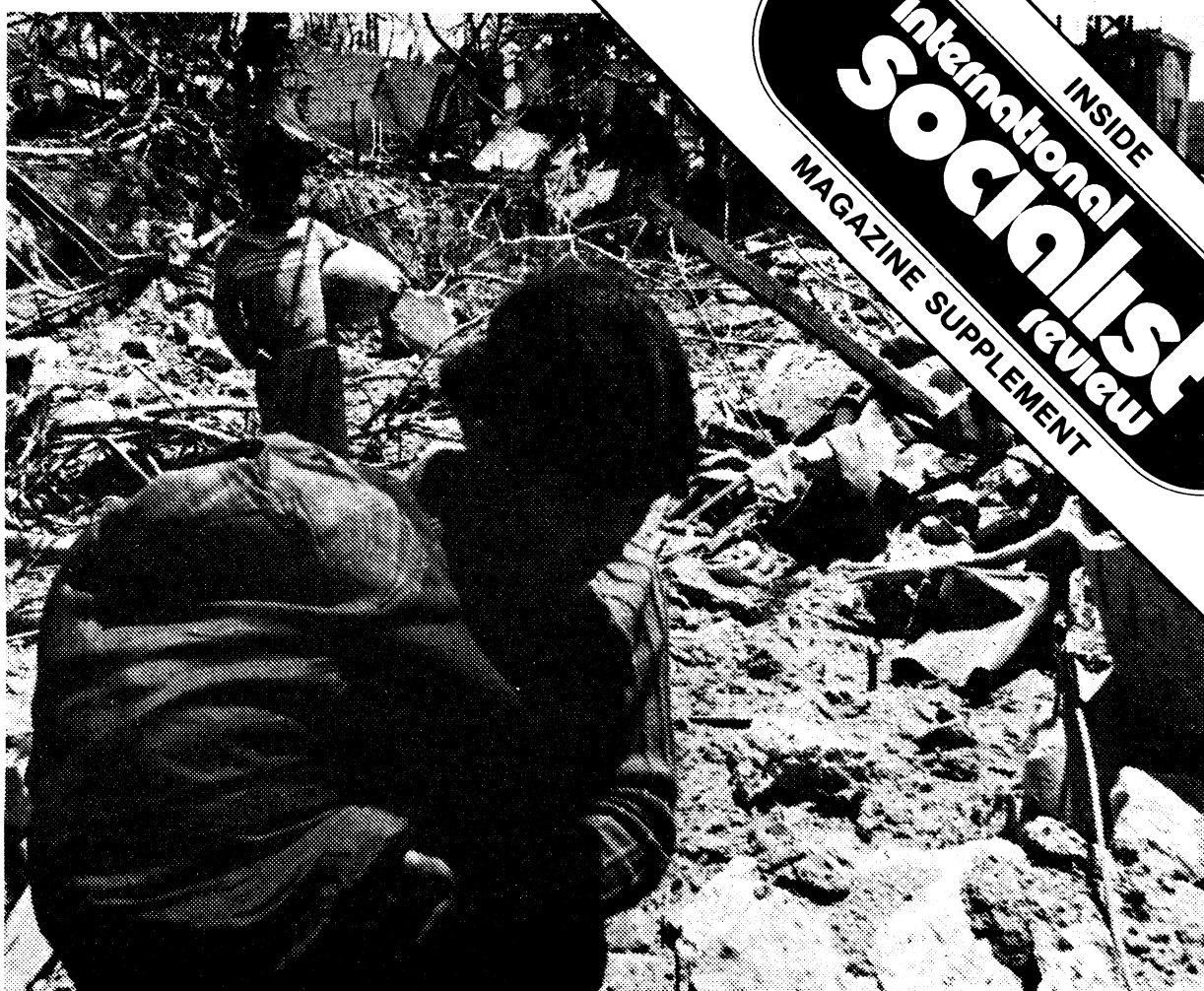
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COPS RENEW HARASSMENT OF J.B. JOHNSON: The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson is protesting the actions of three plainclothes cops who stopped and grilled Johnson for no reason while he was walking down a St. Louis street on December 16. Johnson is out on bail awaiting a new trial after being jailed for three-and-a-half years on frame-up charges of being an accomplice in the 1970 shooting of a policeman.

The recent harassment is nothing new to Johnson. When the Black youth was out on bond awaiting his first trial, cops arrested him five times and beat him once.

In an open letter to St. Louis Mayor John Poekler demanding an end to harassment, the defense committee stated: "We intend to publicize each and every successive incident of this type, and to inform the many black community and political leaders who support freedom for J.B. Johnson of the Police Department's activity."

'Militant' staff changes

Beginning with the new year, the *Militant* is making some new assignments. Staff writer Nancy Cole is moving to Washington to take over responsibility for our D.C. bureau. In addition to providing news coverage and analysis of national political developments, she will write the column dealing with the lies and machinations of "Their Government."

Cindy Jaquith, who established the Washington bureau a year ago, is returning to our New York office. She will coordinate plans for expanded coverage of the women's liberation movement and will write the "Women in Revolt" column.

Linda Jenness, who has written on the women's liberation and trade-union movements since joining the staff in 1973, is taking on full-time responsibilities as organizer of the new Lower East Side, New York, branch of the Socialist Workers party.

TIBBS DEMONSTRATION IN TALLAHASSEE POSTPONED: A national rally planned for January 6 in Tallahassee, Florida, to demand freedom for Delbert Tibbs has been postponed. The rally was to coincide with the presentation of oral arguments to the Florida State Supreme Court showing how Tibbs was denied his right to a fair trial. The hearing, however, has been postponed to an undetermined date.

Tibbs, a Black Chicago writer, was framed up and convicted by an all-white jury in December 1974 of raping a white woman and murdering her white male companion while traveling through Florida. He is now serving a life sentence for the rape conviction and faces the electric chair for the murder conviction.

FUENTES TOURS BAY AREA: "Our Right to Bilingual, Bicultural Education" was the topic of a series of recent meetings in the San Francisco Bay Area featuring Luis Fuentes, former superintendent of schools in New York's District One. The Student Coalition Against Racism sponsored several campus meetings and cosponsored a community meeting with the Latin-American Teachers Association (LATA).

At the latter meeting, attended primarily by Latino parents, teachers, and students, Fuentes said that without bilingual education, "From the very beginning, the child is abused, culturally and linguistically" and thus can't understand or communicate with teachers. Fuentes blasted United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker's racist drive against the bilingual programs in District One. He said that he supports teacher unionism and urges teachers to join the union and fight to change its policies.

Julio Jacamo, president of LATA, called for community pressure to force the implementation of a bilingual-bicultural education plan in San Francisco.

This is the last issue of the Militant before our holiday break. The Militant will not be published for one week. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue dated January 16, 1976.

1,000 ATTEND GAY ACADEMIC UNION CONFERENCE: The Gay Academic Union held a conference at Columbia University over the Thanksgiving weekend. The gathering drew 1,000 participants. In addition to presentations dealing with literature, sexuality, psychology, music, and other cultural matters, there were panels and workshops on gays and the military, gay student struggles, feminism and lesbianism, and the history of the gay movement in the United States.

PHILIP ALLEN RELEASED ON BAIL: Philip Allen, a twenty-two-year-old Los Angeles Black youth, was released

on \$25,000 bail December 12. Allen was convicted in August on trumped-up charges of killing a deputy sheriff and wounding two others.

Although Allen had been free on bail throughout his trial, the judge revoked the bond the day after sentencing in October when the prosecutor told him that Allen had made a speech denouncing his conviction as a racist frame-up.

This outrageous violation of Allen's right to free speech was protested by a wide range of groups and individuals. His attorney, Peter Young, filed an appeal. The American Civil Liberties Union also filed a brief urging that bail be reinstated. The protests apparently embarrassed the judge, who reversed his own decision and granted bail.

CoDEL ARGUES FOR SCRAPPING CALIFORNIA'S UNDEMOCRATIC ELECTION LAWS: Lawyers for the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) in California presented arguments in court December 19 for abolishing the prohibitive petitioning requirements for parties other than the Democrats and Republicans. CoDEL is representing La Raza Unida party, the Socialist Workers party, and several other smaller parties in the case.

California CoDEL Secretary Byron Ackerman explained at a December 18 news conference in San Francisco that in order to qualify for ballot status, candidates running for U.S. Senate from smaller parties must obtain 640,000 signatures—almost ten thousand times the number of signatures needed by Democratic or Republican candidates.

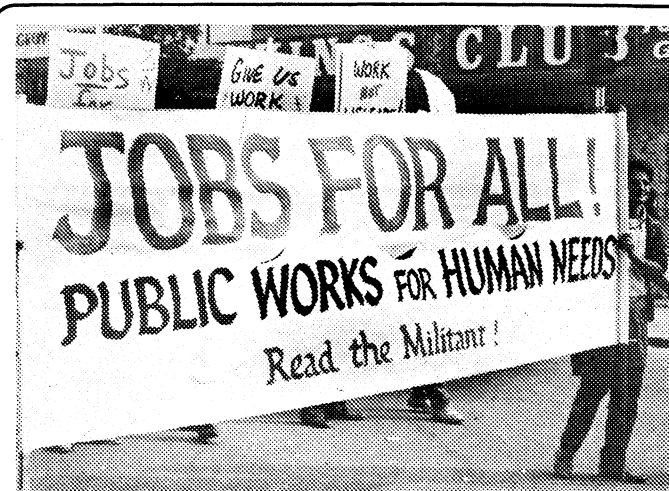
In a message to the news conference, Rep. Ronald Delums urged people of all political persuasions to support the fight against the "unconscionable burden these laws place upon political parties, and consequently, political views, that vary from the positions of the two major parties."

Nearly 100 supporters of the CoDEL suit attended the court session. Federal Judge Wollenberg said he will hand down his decision in a month.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN SEEKS RELEASE FROM D.C. DISCLOSURE LAW: On December 19 the American Civil Liberties Union filed a petition with the Washington, D.C., board of elections requesting that the board exempt the Socialist Workers party from disclosure provisions of the D.C. Campaign Finance Law. This follows a federal district court ruling that the campaign finance law may be unconstitutional as it applies to smaller parties.

Eugene McCarthy, whose suit against the federal campaign finance law is awaiting a ruling from the Supreme Court, issued a statement urging that an exemption be granted to the socialists pending a ruling in his suit, "especially in light of the government harassment of the party."

—Ginny Hildebrand



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Antiwar demands mount

Get U.S. out of Angola now!

By Nelson Blackstock

The country is now Angola. But in the background is Vietnam, as the danger of a Vietnam-type war on the African continent is widely discussed.

That possibility remains very real despite a setback for Ford and Kissinger in their plans for denying the peoples of Angola the right to determine their own affairs.

A dispute between the Ford administration and congressional critics resulted in a 54-to-22 Senate vote December 19 to deny a request for funds to finance the U.S. "covert" intervention in Angola.

The vote came on an amendment Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) submitted to a \$112 billion arms appropriation bill. None of the funds appropriated in this act "may be used for any activities in Angola other than intelligence gathering," the amendment stated.

Despite the senators' frequent and heated criticisms of the secrecy engulfing U.S. intervention, they themselves decided to conduct a major part of their debate behind closed doors, a highly unusual move.

But despite efforts by both the White House and Congress to settle the question behind the backs of the American people, the truth is coming out and antiwar sentiment is mounting.

The divisions over Angola policy in the highest U.S. ruling circles are themselves testimony to the depth of the popular opposition to any new imperialist adventures. This opposition is a legacy of the anti-Vietnam War movement and of the seemingly endless chain of disclosures of government lies and CIA conspiracies to overthrow foreign regimes. The American people are today rightly suspicious of the politicians running this country.

Congressional Black Caucus

Black opposition to U.S. intervention in Africa runs especially deep. Afro-Americans know full well that Washington is interested not in defending self-determination for the peoples of Angola, but in establishing U.S. control over the population and natural resources of that country.

Reflecting this sentiment, the Congressional Black Caucus met December 16 to prepare a statement demanding an end to U.S. intervention in the Angolan civil war. The caucus, composed of seventeen Black members of Congress, declared it was serving notice "that it will strongly oppose any request for additional financing" for Washington's interference in Angola.

The statement was especially critical of U.S. support for South Africa's role in the conflict. It demanded that the U.S. government "cease immediately all military-related assistance, direct or indirect, to any parties fighting in Angola."

On the same day as the Senate vote, the American Committee on Africa announced at a New York news conference that it had been in touch with many groups interested in protesting the U.S. role in Angola. The committee released new information concerning secret direct U.S. involvement in the fighting.

According to information made public at the news conference, U.S. planes have been flying surveillance missions and air-dropping supplies directly to South African troops inside Angola. Furthermore, U.S. mercenaries are arriving direct from U.S. army units, and officers are now recruiting other enlisted men interested in "volunteering."

These assertions were made by Sean Gervasi, an adviser to the Center for Strategic Studies. Several former intelligence officials, including Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, are associated with the center.

Gervasi also reported at the news conference that "a U.S. carrier task force has been placed on contingency orders and full alert" in preparation for air strikes into Angola.

Question not settled

The Senate vote by no means settles the question of U.S. intervention in Angola. The legislation still has to get through the House, where Ford has said he hopes to see the Senate action reversed.

the Total Independence of Angola), the administration pressured the Gulf Oil Corporation to withhold its payments to the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). The MPLA controls the area where Gulf's Angola oil operations are located. Gulf turned over \$116 million just in its quarterly payments last September and October to the MPLA. That figure more than matches what Ford said the Soviet Union has sent.

Gulf announced December 22 that it was halting operations in MPLA-held territory. The company said it will place further payments for its oil concessions into escrow until Angola has a "government that is in control of

align itself diplomatically with the Soviet Union.

This point of view was expressed in a December 17 dispatch from Michael Kaufman in Huambo, Angola, printed in the *New York Times*.

"Civil war is being waged in Angola by three competing factions that are divided more by tribal affiliations, regional loyalties and yearnings for power than by ideology," Kaufman reported.

MPLA leader Agostinho Neto "stressed that his plans include continued Western economic investment and no nationalization of property," wrote Kaufman.

'Do its utmost'

Possible future administration moves were indicated in an article by Bernard Gwertzman in the December 22 *New York Times*. "Kissinger has stressed in recent days his own conviction that regardless of the Senate vote," Gwertzman wrote, "the United States has an obligation as a big power to do its utmost to counter what he regards as an unacceptable Soviet intervention in Angola."

One likely course that Kissinger may take is to try to "enlist other countries to help out the factions opposed" to the MPLA.

Gwertzman discussed Kissinger's détente strategy. It operates, he wrote, "on two tracks, one soft and one hard." The "soft track" involves signing the various accords and avoiding frictions over "internal Soviet conditions."

"Less known to the public," Gwertzman continued, "is the 'second track' that Mr. Kissinger believes must be followed in parallel for the first one to succeed." It involves sometimes acting "a bit reckless." Gwertzman gave examples of this sort of behavior.

"In that category fall the alerts of 1970, when Syria, backed by Moscow, threatened to invade Jordan, and of 1973, when Soviet airborne units were ready to go into Egypt to throw back the Israelis."

Both these examples, it should be noted, involved the threat of nuclear war. During the Jordanian civil war in September 1970, Washington was prepared to launch an invasion and stationed a nuclear-equipped fleet off the coast. The 1973 Middle East crisis, which included a confrontation with the Soviet Union, also led to the deployment of nuclear weapons.

Gwertzman, finally, touched on what might happen if Congress does not approve the administration fund request and if the Soviet Union and Cuba continue their aid to the MPLA. "Ford must decide," he concludes, "how to follow up his public warnings that détente could be threatened."

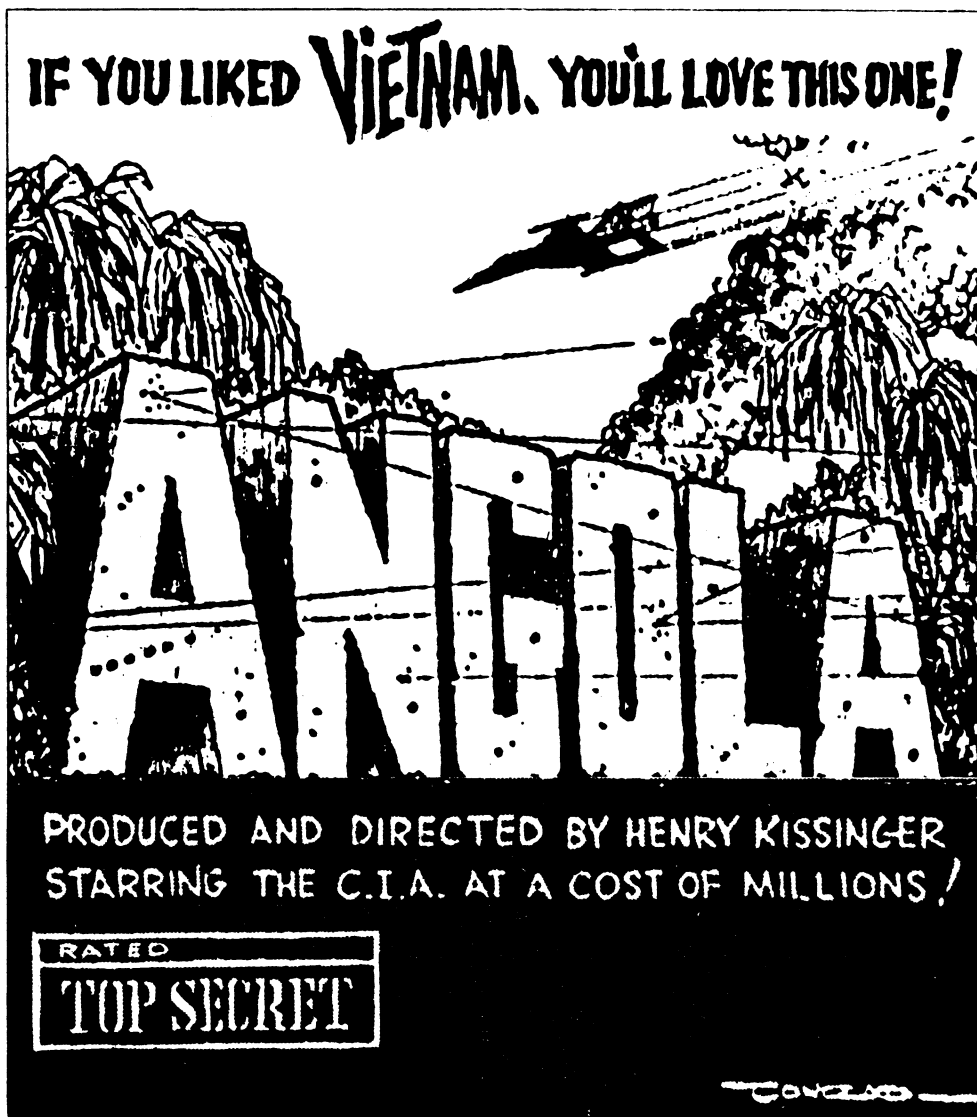
In other words, Ford's next move might be to act "a bit reckless."

It's now more important than ever for opponents of U.S. intervention in Angola to act in order to prevent an escalation into a Vietnam-type war—or worse.

The fear of a new antiwar upsurge has so far prevented Ford and Kissinger from massively escalating U.S. intervention into Angola.

The peoples of Angola must be allowed to settle their own affairs without U.S. interference.

What is immediately called for is a round of meetings, teach-ins, picket lines, and demonstrations. It is necessary to get out the facts on what the United States is doing. And it is essential to get a clear message to the war makers in Washington: Get out of Angola now!



After that, Ford still has the option of the veto. It appears likely that he will use it if it comes to that. Ford termed the Senate vote "a deep tragedy for all countries whose security depends on the United States."

The amendment itself specifically says that funds may be used for "intelligence gathering." That phrase is subject to broad interpretations.

The CIA has already spent \$26 million in Angola, with another \$7 million "in the pipeline." There is said to be \$3.6 million dollars in the CIA's contingency fund.

Furthermore, the CIA's suspicious methods of bookkeeping could multiply all these sums. This happened with \$17 million in military supplies already sent to Angola, according to Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.). "The posting was low," he said. "For example, they list a .45-caliber pistol at five dollars. So maybe the actual amount of arms was much higher."

Failing in its request to secure funds to aid the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for

the territory and population, and this government has been recognized by the world community."

Tactical differences

The debate in Washington reflects tactical differences within high government circles over what course will best serve the interests of American imperialism in Africa and on a world scale.

One side is represented by Kissinger, who views the question of Angola primarily in terms of détente with the Soviet Union.

Kissinger wants to show the Soviet Union "that American will to meet world commitments" is still intact after Watergate and Vietnam.

On the other side of the dispute are officials who think the outcome of the fighting between the opposing factions is not crucial to Washington's interests and that the risks of political repercussions at home and abroad are too great.

The Soviet aid to the MPLA does not, they argue, mean that the MPLA poses a threat to capitalism. Nor does it necessarily mean that if the group comes out on top in the conflict it will

Imperial Valley organizing drive

Why Mexican farm workers back UFW

By Harry Ring

CALEXICO, Calif.—The Imperial Valley is one of the richest agribusiness centers in California. About fifty miles of reclaimed desert that stretches from the Mexican border north to the Salton Sea, the area is irrigated by water diverted from the Colorado River just before it gets to Mexico.

And most of the superexploited farm labor in the Imperial Valley is from Mexico.

Each day, several thousand workers, most of whom live in or around the Mexican border city of Mexicali, stream across the border to Calexico

where they are hired by the day to work on farms throughout the valley.

Next to Salinas, the Imperial Valley is the nation's biggest lettuce-producing area. There are also smaller growers in the area who raise vegetables, melons, and citrus fruits.

The lettuce growers, who dominate the valley, are largely the same ones who operate the big ranches in Salinas. Most of them are members of the well-organized, union-busting Western Growers Association.

Lettuce workers generally earn just under three dollars an hour. Before the United Farm Workers began organiz-

ing a decade ago it was a dollar an hour.

The work is grinding and intense, and the desert sun is fierce. The working life of a lettuce hand is even shorter than that of other field workers.

The impoverished *mexicano* workers permitted in on "green card" work visas—and those who slip across the border without them—are particularly vulnerable to exploitation by the labor contractors who hire them and by the foremen who sweat them on the job.

Over the years, recurring unionization efforts were smashed by the ranch owners and contractors.

In 1970, unionism got a base in the valley when the United Farm Workers won a contract at InterHarvest, the biggest lettuce grower in the country. Other growers quickly signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters at that time to keep the UFW out.

This year's harvest is the first since passage of California's new farm labor law providing for union representation elections by field hands.

Using this opening, the UFW is conducting a major organizing drive in the area. As was to be expected, it's a hard struggle. The growers remain determined to keep the Farm Workers out, and the Teamster hacks remain the growers' pliant stooges.

The peak lettuce harvest runs between mid-December and the end of January, and the major union representation elections will be held during that period. About a dozen elections have been held so far.

The growers and Teamsters are using all their usual crooked tricks to beat the UFW. There are wholesale

violations of the labor law, including intimidation, firings, and violence.

The difficulties are compounded for the UFW by the failure of the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board to properly enforce the law and ensure fair elections.

Despite all the obstacles, the UFW is leading in the elections held so far by a two-to-one margin.

At the UFW headquarters, a short block from the border, two of the union's staff took out time from a hectic schedule to provide a rundown on what has been happening.

Lisa Hirsch and Will Kirkland have both been on the union staff for several years. Hirsch is a staff coordinator in Calexico and Kirkland an organizer. Like the rest of the staff here they're up at 3:00 a.m. daily and, if they're lucky, make it to bed by ten at night.

Both agreed it's the most intensive organizing drive that they've experienced. They say it has already succeeded in involving an unusually large number of rank-and-file workers.

"They see our union differently than the Teamsters," Hirsch said, explaining that the workers view the UFW as a *mexicano* union.

In addition to being seen as a *mexicano* union, the UFW has the advantage of the contract it holds at InterHarvest. This offers workers in the area an example of what unionism can provide. It helps make clear that a union doesn't have to be like the Teamsters, which takes dues money but does nothing to protect the workers.

The current InterHarvest contract expired in September, they said, but is

Continued on page 30



UFW won ban on short hoe (above) in its 1970 contract at InterHarvest, five years before the backbreaking tool was outlawed in state. InterHarvest workers, who can testify to gains under UFW contract, are among best campaigners for union.

East L.A. march: 'Boycott scab grapes, lettuce'

By Harry Ring

EAST LOS ANGELES—Members and supporters of the United Farm Workers staged a march and rally here December 20.

Nearly a thousand people marched down Whittier Boulevard, the central shopping area in this, the nation's largest Chicano barrio. As they marched by, many people waved and dozens of cars honked their support.

The demonstration was the culmination of a week-long trek through Los Angeles County to promote the boycott of scab grapes and lettuce and Gallo wines.

Most of the participants were young, and a majority were Chicano. There were representatives from a half dozen unions as well as political and church groups. Chicano students at California State University at Los Angeles were particularly active in building the march, and there were also students from East Los Angeles Community College.

Supporters of Omari Musa, the Socialist Workers party nominee for U.S. Senate, participated in the march, as did campaigners for Tom Hayden, who is seeking the Democratic senatorial nomination.

The rally at Salazar Park heard UFW activists and a number of trade-union officials. These included William Robertson, executive secretary of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor; J.J. Rodriguez, president of the federation; Frank McKee, director of District 38 of the United Steelworkers; and Jerry Whipple, regional director of the United Auto Workers.

Members of the Communications Workers, the Longshoremen, and the American Federation of Government Employees also participated in the action. Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women were there as

well, carrying a banner.

Political figures who spoke at the rally included Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and state assembly members Art Torres and Richard Allatorre.

One of the demands made by the UFW was that the state assembly approve the allocation of \$10 million needed to continue the functioning of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board. The ALRB is charged with conducting the union representation elections among farm workers as provided for by the recently enacted California farm labor law.

The UFW is making this demand at the same time that it is voicing strong objections to the functioning of the board in a number of areas. The union is, in fact, vigorously demanding that Gov. Edmund Brown fire Walter Kintz, general counsel to the board, for his failure to prosecute violators of the labor act.

When the labor law was enacted last summer, it was agreed to by the growers and the leaders of the Teamsters union, who have joined together in an attempt to destroy the UFW. In the four months since the law went into effect, the UFW has consistently outpolled the Teamsters two to one in the union representation elections. This has been so despite the collusion of the Teamster officials and growers, amid acts of fraud, intimidation, and violence against the UFW.

Now, with the setbacks they have suffered, the growers and Teamster hacks are taking a new look at the law. At state assembly hearings where allocations of funds were being considered, representatives of both groups spoke against continued funding of the ALRB. Their stand has again exposed their lying claim that they favor the right of field hands to select the union of their choice.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

One thousand people demonstrated in East Los Angeles barrio December 20 to show support for United Farm Workers.

Dixon, journalist take on racist

TV debate in Boston: 'Issue is segregation'

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Tens of thousands of TV viewers here watched Maceo Dixon and Jack Cole confront racist television personality Avi Nelson on Nelson's December 14 talk show. Dixon is a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), and Cole is a well-known probing journalist.

Though Nelson ran the debate with a heavy hand, he was clearly discomfited by the refusal of Dixon and Cole to be cowed by his arrogant style and undemocratic conduct.

Nelson is one of Boston's most widely known antibusing spokespersons. At the beginning of the program, he demagogically insisted that he favors integrated education. But, he said, the "right to neighborhood schools" comes first.

"What rights are you talking about?" Cole pointedly demanded. "What Avi Nelson- or God-given rights are being violated by taking a child out of the school that is closest to his home and transporting him for purposes of desegregation another mile or two?"

The rights that are *really* being violated today, Cole continued, are "those of Black students to receive a desegregated education, which is a constitutional right—a right denied by the policy of segregation of the Boston

School Committee."

As Nelson tried to shift the discussion back to the "rights of white parents and students," Dixon hammered home the meaning of the desegregation struggle for the Black community. "Segregation means that all-white schools get the best of everything. Well, Black people pay taxes in this city. We pay for all the public facilities. And we have a right to access to all those facilities."

Dixon pointed to the widespread racist violence in Boston. "It is not safe for Blacks to walk in South Boston or go to certain beaches," he said.

Nelson hit the roof, repeatedly interrupting Dixon with "facts" about the "high crime rate in Roxbury," Boston's largest Black neighborhood. But Dixon wouldn't be intimidated.

"Your movement is not only an antibusing movement," he told Nelson, "it's an anti-Black movement. Just look at the graffiti on the walls in Charlestown and South Boston."

"It doesn't say 'We want quality education' or 'We want neighborhood schools,'" Dixon said. "It says 'This is God's white country,' 'Kill Zulus,' and 'Welcome niggers.'"

Dixon challenged Nelson to speak out against the December 10 fire



Militant/Ann Teesdale

From left to right: Nelson, Cole, Dixon. 'Your movement is not only antibusing, it's anti-Black,' Dixon told Nelson.

bombing of the Boston NAACP headquarters—an act of retaliation by racist night riders against Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity's decision the previous day to strip the Boston School Committee of its jurisdiction over South Boston High School.

Dixon quoted from an article in the South Boston *Tribune*, in which antibusing leader Dan Yotts threatened

violence against the NAACP just prior to the bombing. (See box on this page.)

"Do you support the arrest and prosecution of the bombers?" Dixon demanded. Backed into a corner, Nelson mumbled his half-hearted opposition to the bombing and quickly returned to his tirade against "Black crime."

Dixon said that when Black students have gotten into fights with white students, it is "because they have been attacked . . . they are defending themselves."

"Maceo Dixon," Nelson shot back, "you have a different set of standards for Blacks and whites. I contend that makes you a racist."

Cole responded to Nelson's insistence that "forced busing," not racism, was at the heart of the issue.

"The issue is segregation," Cole said. "It isn't busing that's wrong. It's segregation that's wrong. That was what was wrong in Topeka," he declared, referring to the groundbreaking 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, *Brown v. [Topeka, Kansas] Board of Education*.

"And that is what is wrong in Boston."

NSCAR demands investigation of terrorists

In the November 26 South Boston weekly *Tribune*, local antibusing leader Dan Yotts wrote, "Well, old gorilla-face Atkins [Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP] is at it again trying to stir up the chowder. Close Southie High, that's what mummy is spouting off. Well, if Garrity closes Southie and Atkins is not wiped out and NAACP Headquarters along with him, I'm going to be the most surprised and disappointed guy in Southie."

Yotts is a leader of ROAR, the major antibusing organization in Boston, and of the South Boston

Information Center, a beehive of racist activity in that all-white neighborhood.

On December 9, Judge W. Arthur Garrity placed "Southie" in receivership rather than close it, and Yotts's "prediction" was carried out about twelve hours later: the Boston NAACP office was fire bombed.

On the evening of December 16, Mike Ponaman, a white coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and a student government leader at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, also received a death threat.

Ponaman, who lives in East Boston—a racist stronghold—was telephoned and told to get out of "Eastie" if he wanted to keep on living. Earlier in the day, Ponaman had chaired a widely covered news conference in support of Garrity's ruling.

NSCAR has demanded that Boston authorities investigate these threats and their links to the terrorist attacks on the NAACP headquarters and the home of Black community leader Rev. James Coleman. —J.H.

Cleveland NAACP busing plan

Suit charges 30 years of deliberate segregation

By Shirley Pasholk

CLEVELAND—Court proceedings here on a desegregation suit against the Cleveland Board of Education began November 26. The suit was filed in December 1973 by the NAACP.

At the opening session, NAACP attorney Nathaniel Jones told Federal Judge Frank Battisti that for more than thirty years the board has "deliberately and purposefully made decisions that have resulted in segregated schools."

The suit recommends an extensive program of busing of Black students to predominantly white schools and white students to predominantly Black schools as the only possible remedy to this situation.

Fifty-seven percent of Cleveland public school students are Black. Ninety-one percent of these Black students attend schools that are more than 90 percent Black. Nonetheless, the board of education—including board President Arnold Pinkney, a prominent Black Democrat who lost in his race for mayor this year—adamantly opposes the use of busing to achieve desegregation.

The board members and school Supt. Paul Briggs admit that Cleveland

schools are segregated, but they insist the school system is not to blame for this situation.

Facts presented in the NAACP suit belie this claim.

For example, one-third of Cleveland's school buildings have been constructed since the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregated public education. Yet fifty-two of these sixty-one new buildings have opened as one-race schools. This has been the result of conscious board policy to place these schools in the center of segregated areas, attach them to segregated public housing projects, and gerrymander school boundaries to preserve all-white buildings.

The board has also taken measures to ensure that students from overcrowded Black schools are not transferred to nearby, underused white schools. For more than fifteen years, the board has used so-called relay classes—that is, two half-day sessions—to deal with the problem of overcrowding. Only 4 percent of the schools with relay classes are a majority white.

More recently, the board has resorted to purchasing fifty-one portable class-

rooms, rather than transfer students. Forty-four of these are in use at schools that are more than 90 percent Black.

Since the late 1960s, in response to Black community protests, there has been limited busing in Cleveland, but to relieve overcrowding, not segregation. In fact, under this plan many Black students are bused *past* underused white schools to more distant Black buildings.

In some instances, Black students were bused to white schools. These students were kept in separate classes with separate teachers. They were not allowed to use toilet facilities at the same time white students did, and they were denied access to school gyms.

Another flagrant example of the segregationist policies of the board involves Murray Hill Elementary School, which is located in an all-white neighborhood that borders the Black community. Unlike other city elementary schools—which offer grades one through six—Murray Hill offers all eight elementary grades. Why? So that its students can transfer to white, Catholic high schools without first attending nearby Black junior high schools.

Although Murray Hill is one of Cleveland's most underused schools, the board has refused to change its district lines to include adjacent Black neighborhoods, which suffer overcrowding.

Reading scores show that these policies have had a damaging effect on the educational opportunities of Black students. In the six Black schools, most students in the top quarter of their tenth-grade class read below tenth-grade level, while only one white school shows a similar low reading level for its top students.

Shortly before court proceedings on the NAACP suit began, a group of Puerto Rican parents requested that Judge Battisti allow them to enter the case.

They expressed their support for school desegregation, but were concerned that any court-ordered plan should consider the special needs of their children. They asked that no steps be taken to disturb the already inadequate bilingual-bicultural education programs offered in Cleveland schools. Judge Battisti turned down their request.

Cutbacks end open admissions at CUNY, may slash minority students by two-thirds

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK—The latest budget cutbacks imposed at the City University of New York will completely wipe out the gains in Black and Puerto Rican enrollment won through the open-admissions policy at CUNY.

That is the conclusion of a study prepared for the board of higher education by two sociologists at Lehman College and Columbia University.

Meeting on December 15, the board voted to cut \$55 million from the CUNY budget, as demanded by city and state officials and the state Emergency Financial Control Board.

Faculty will be forced to take a four-week payless furlough; libraries and other campus facilities will be shut down over the holidays; and an immediate \$13 million cut will be apportioned among the twenty CUNY schools.

In addition, students attending the summer session next year will have to pay their fees in the spring.

Most significant, however, was the board's move to restrict open admissions by requiring all entering students to pass a test showing they meet eighth-grade reading and mathematics standards.

In addition to reducing enrollment by some 10,000 a year, the new admissions standard will allegedly save \$30 million a year because CUNY will no longer offer remedial education programs.

The only dissenting votes came from the board's two Black members, one of whom, Franklin Williams, stated, "If this proposal passes I will consider taking legal action."

Several hundred people had gathered at the board meeting to voice their anger, including students, faculty, and community organizations. A representative of the NAACP expressed concern over the disproportionate effect the end of open admissions will have on Black and Puerto Rican students.

The board's own study shows that the new tests will cut minority enrollment in next fall's entering class by more than two-thirds and will eventually reduce the proportion of Black and Puerto Rican students to the same level as before open admissions.

Based on the record of students who



Recent protest outside board of higher education. Student leaders have called January 8 planning meeting to map out massive defense of open admissions.

entered CUNY in 1971, the study found that about 40 percent of applicants to CUNY would fail the test, and most of them would be minority students.

The policy that anyone with a high school diploma could enter CUNY was won in 1969 by massive campus struggles with active support from the Black and Puerto Rican communities. It is undoubtedly the most significant victory of the New York student movement in that period.

Under open admissions, minority enrollment rose from 14.8 percent Black and 4.0 percent Puerto Rican in 1969 to 25.6 percent Black and 7.4 percent Puerto Rican in 1974. (These figures are still far below the proportion of minority students in the city's public schools.)

In an article in the December 21 *New York Times*, education writer Iver Peterson revealed—whether intentionally or not—the racist disdain felt for these students by the CUNY academic hierarchy.

Minority students "were resented by

older faculty members who complained privately that open admissions dragged standards down," Peterson wrote. "People at cocktail parties seemed to know an English professor who claimed to spend his time teaching Dick and Jane level reading at City College. . . . Or a Chaucerian who hated having to teach the poetry of Langston Hughes."

The test scores cited in the board study are eloquent testimony to the quality of "education" offered in the New York City public schools—and even that abysmal level is now being dragged further down by other city school cutbacks.

The Democrats and Republicans who govern New York in the interests of the ruling class are now determined to close off CUNY as an avenue for Blacks and Puerto Ricans to get a college education and possibly better jobs despite the racist inadequacies of the public schools.

The board study also testified to the determination of these minority stu-

dents. It found that 44 percent of those CUNY entrants in 1971 who fell below the eighth-grade standards had, three years later, either graduated from two-year colleges or were still enrolled and working toward their degrees—a rate not significantly lower than the national average. These are the students who would now be barred from CUNY.

The testing process itself will be biased against Black and Puerto Rican students, charges Dr. Richard Trent, president of Medgar Evers College. In a letter to the head of the board of higher education, Trent protested the fact that Black educators were denied the opportunity to present their position against the tests. As summarized in the December 21 *New York Times*, he cited evidence showing:

• Test scores have a higher correlation with income than with the ability to succeed in college.

• Test anxiety is significantly more common among black students than white, with black scores sometimes 20 points lower as a result.

• Achievement tests are culturally biased and almost always reflect white, middle class standards."

Trent says the new tests will "probably wipe out" those CUNY colleges like Medgar Evers whose students' "primary characteristic is that they're all poor."

Along with the offensive against minority students, discriminatory firings are being used to wipe out Black and Puerto Rican faculty.

A newly formed Coalition of Black Faculty and Black State Legislators charges "wholesale black dismissals in the guise of retrenchment" and plans to file charges against CUNY with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

"We're talking about discrimination in hiring practices and the fact that the university has not come up with a viable affirmative-action plan," says James Malone, head of the coalition.

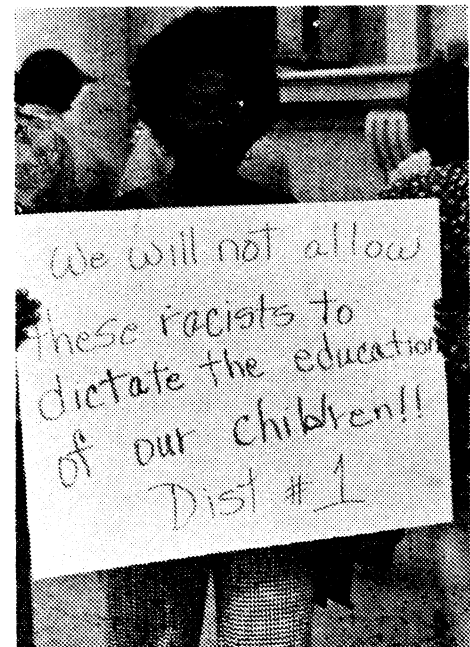
Black faculty were hired in growing numbers only after open admissions began to swell the numbers of Black students. Even then their proportion remained small. Blacks, who made up 5 percent of full-time faculty in 1970, were still only 7 percent in 1974. Those

Continued on page 30

Dist. 1 parents demand release of bilingual funds

By Juan Rodríguez

NEW YORK—Thirty angry parents and community activists from school District One in New York's Lower East Side went to the office of Hernán Lafontaine, director of bilingual educa-



Present school board in District One refuses to spend federal grant because they oppose bilingual-bicultural education.

tion for the city board of education, on December 17.

The group was demanding that more than \$300,000 allocated to District One by a federal grant for bilingual education be released and put to use immediately.

This money, badly needed for materials and to improve facilities, has been withheld by Leonard Lurie, the superintendent of schools in District One.

The group demanding that the money be released included the three members of the community school board elected on the Por los Niños slate. A representative from Mayor Abraham Beame's office was also present, as was Miriam Friedlander, a member of the city council.

Subsequently, the Association of Puerto Rican Teachers also protested the refusal to release the funds.

In response to the protests, Lafontaine said his office is seeking a written explanation from the board of its actions.

A letter from the Parents Association of Public School 134 and Concerned Parents of the Bilingual Program to the chancellor of the board of education explains why the money has been withheld:

"We have received several contradic-

tory accounts as to why the Federal Title VII funds allocated to District 1 (which includes P.S. 134), which amount to in excess of \$300,000, have not been dispersed. However, we are satisfied that the real reason is that the local school board refused to accept the allocation because of its opposition to the whole concept of bilingual-bicultural education. They have done nothing since their term began in September 1975 to establish and maintain viable bilingual programs for the district schools."

The effect of the school board's disdain for bilingual education was expressed by one parent at the meeting on December 17: "My child is not advancing this year. Last year she was able to read and write Spanish and English fluently, but this year she's not advancing."

Another reason for the school board's refusal to release the money is that the federal grant allows for parent participation in the program and must follow federal guidelines for implementation. The school board is afraid of these provisions.

The school board is currently dominated by six whites who were elected on the "brotherhood" slate last May.

The six—backed by the racist bureaucracy of the United Federation of Teachers—have no intention of improving bilingual education. The goal of the board majority is to stamp out the bilingual programs, which were won by the parents and community through several years of struggle.

Superintendent Lurie's intentions were shown the previous week, on December 10, when he arbitrarily removed two bilingual teachers from P.S. 63. Upon hearing of this action, 15 parents, along with many of their children, converged on Lurie's office demanding that the teachers be reinstated.

The parents and students refused to leave Lurie's office until the teachers were returned to P.S. 63. Lurie was finally forced to reinstate the teachers.

It was during this confrontation that many parents first learned of the \$300,000 being withheld from the bilingual-bicultural program.

The federal grant belongs to the District One community for the improvement of bilingual-bicultural education. The district office has no right to withhold the grant. It should be given to the community—with no strings attached.

Dragnet raids in 8 cities

French regime attacks soldiers' rights

By Steve Clark

In the early morning hours of December 15, French police raided the apartments and offices of individuals and organizations active in the movement for soldiers' rights.

The main targets of this repressive government dragnet were members of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), a left social-democratic current; the Organisation Communiste Révolution (OCR—the Communist Organization Revolution); and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

The raids were extensive, hitting Paris, Lyons, Montpellier, Clermont-Ferrand, Besançon, Cherbourg, Bordeaux, and Amiens. LCR leader and former presidential candidate Alain Krivine was among those arrested. After being questioned for several hours, Krivine was released. It is not yet known whether any charges will be brought against him.

Widespread arrests

This nationally coordinated roundup was the latest in a rash of arrests on the charge of "attempting to demoralize the army." Prior to December 15, at least thirty-four arrests had been made—mostly of soldiers, but including trade unionists and civilian members of the PSU and the LCR.

What's behind this sudden onslaught by the regime of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing?

On November 6 a group of soldiers at an army base near Besançon announced that they had formed a trade union under the auspices of the local unit of the Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail (CFDT—

bring with them into the barracks the radical attitudes and ideas that have plagued French capitalism since the May-June 1968 general strike.

That radicalization has accelerated during the past several years under the impact on French workers of the economic crisis that has hit all the advanced capitalist countries.

The miserable conditions facing draftees in the French armed forces exacerbate this general discontent. "Draftees live for the most part in old barracks, many of which were built before the 1914-1918 war," reports John Cadman in the *Christian Science Monitor*. "Despite a recent tripling of pay they receive a pittance of a wage—the French soldier's pay is the lowest in NATO at about \$200 a month."

One of the first of the recent explosions of antimilitarist sentiment in France occurred in the spring of 1973, when tens of thousands of high school and technical school students took to the streets week after week to protest a government measure that eliminated their military deferments.

During the spring 1974 French presidential election campaign, a petition—initially signed by 100 soldiers, and addressed to the candidates—was released to the public. This Appeal of the One Hundred, as it became known, called for a free choice of induction date until age twenty-five—echoing the high school students' demand of a year earlier; payment of the legal minimum wage; abolition of arbitrary discipline; and an end to military assignment beyond French borders.

The appeal also demanded the democratic right of soldiers to read what they choose and to express their political views freely on base and off.



French protesters demand release of soldier, political, and trade-union activists arrested in government campaign against soldiers union.

French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the second-largest French trade-union federation. They urged soldiers throughout France to join with them in creating "a soldiers trade union independent of the military hierarchy and linked to all other workers trade unions."

The French government swiftly declared the union illegal and launched an investigation into what it labeled an attempt to subvert national security. To conduct this witch-hunt, the Justice Ministry resurrected a long-dormant investigative panel called the Cour de Sécurité de l'Etat (State Security Court).

Breakdown of discipline

The vehemence of this reaction reflects the French government's growing worries about the breakdown of traditional military discipline among the 283,000 young draftees who compose the majority of its armed forces. These students and young workers

The appeal's reasonable demands rapidly gained popularity throughout France. By early 1975 it had been signed by more than 5,000 draftees.

Protest at Draguignan

In September 1974, a group of 200 draftees at a small military base in southern France marched through the streets of nearby Draguignan in support of the appeal. These soldiers, many of whom were Black draftees from the French Caribbean colony in the Antilles, also protested the rampant racism that infects every aspect of French military life.

A broad civilian movement in support of the Draguignan draftees stayed the hand of the French police until November, but eventually three soldiers were arrested and put on trial in connection with the illegal demonstration.

These arrests swelled the ranks of the civilian support movement, in which the French Trotskyists of the



September 1974 soldiers' demonstration in Draguignan supporting 'Appeal of 100' for higher pay, democratic rights for soldiers.

LCR played a leading role. Even the Communist and Socialist parties, both of which had taken their distance from the Appeal of the One Hundred, lent their backing to the defense effort. As a result, one of the draftees was acquitted and the other two received suspended one-year sentences.

In the wake of this successful campaign, demonstrations and news conferences in support of the Appeal of the One Hundred broke out among soldiers throughout France, as well as French soldiers stationed with NATO forces in Germany.

The Communist party—unwilling to support the Appeal of the One Hundred's demand for full democratic rights for soldiers—introduced a "Soldier's Bill of Rights" into the French National Assembly, attempting to capitalize on the issue while undercutting support for the appeal. This bill spelled out several reforms, while insisting on a "minimum amount" of discipline to ensure the strength of the armed forces.

The CP's attitude toward the French imperialist army was made crystal clear at the party's twenty-first congress by CP Political Bureau member Paul Laurent. "Democratic France," he said, "requires a policy of national defense and a military capacity appropriate to this endeavor."

The SP holds a virtually identical position.

Government aims

During the spring, summer, and early fall of this year, protest activity among draftees declined, raising hopes in government circles that the regime had ridden out the storm. These illusions, however, were shattered in November by the announcement of the Besançon soldiers union.

The government's repressive campaign since that time has not been limited to activists in that union, most of whom are sympathetic to the PSU. The government has taken the opportunity to go after other groups and individuals known for their opposition to French militarism.

Trying to raise the specter of a violent conspiracy, French authorities have played up an ultraleft leaflet calling on soldiers to prepare for the day when their guns will be turned against their officers. A cartoon in the Paris daily *Le Figaro* slanderously linked the French Trotskyists to this leaflet.

The government has also arrested a number of CFDT activists known for their support of soldiers' rights, including the head of the federation's unit in

the Gironde region of France.

These arrests led the CFDT national leadership to call an emergency December 5 demonstration to demand the release of the imprisoned soldiers and civilians. While CFDT head Edmond Maire does not support the Besançon union, and has condemned the antimilitarism of some soldiers, the direct attacks on leading members of his union made it almost impossible for him not to respond.

Mass defense effort

The December 5 demonstration quickly drew the support of the PSU, the LCR, and other individuals and organizations active in the movement for soldiers' rights.

The CP and SP, however, refused to support the protest.

The other major French trade-union federation, the CP-led Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor), also refused to participate. CGT leader Georges Seguy later told the CFDT that his organization would defend the imprisoned unionists only on the basis of a "categorical and explicit condemnation" of the "irresponsible militarists," and the total exclusion of these forces from defense activities.

Nonetheless, the CFDT demonstration in Paris drew 20,000 participants, and thousands more marched in other cities.

On the evening of December 15, a protest rally of 5,000 was held at the Mutualité, a well-known Paris meeting hall. The rally, which had been called prior to the nationwide roundup that morning, was one of the largest held there in several years.

It was sponsored by the newly formed Comité National pour la Libération des Soldats et des Militants Emprisonnés (National Committee for the Freedom of the Imprisoned Soldiers and Militants). This defense committee has drawn support from a large number of prominent French intellectuals and trade-union figures, and is backed by many soldiers committees, the PSU, the LCR, and other groups.

The first public statement of the Comité called the recent wave of arrests an attack on "the entire workers and democratic movement."

"The signers of this appeal demand a halt to the proceedings against the soldiers and worker militants and their immediate release," the statement declared. "They offer their support to all soldiers who struggle for the recognition of their democratic rights, including the right of association within the army."

Evelyn Reed on tour

Irish women fight church for their rights

By Rebecca Finch

From Intercontinental Press

DUBLIN—"We're from Sligo—that's in the west of Ireland, where W.B. Yeats lived. I saw you on television the other night. I've been in Dublin visiting for only a day and you don't know how good it is to meet you."

"I read your pamphlet *Abortion and the Catholic Church* not too long ago. Do you know about Constance Markievicz? She was a famous Irish feminist."

"You really gave it to them the other night. Irish women will really support someone like you."

Evelyn Reed and I had stopped at a tea shop in central Dublin. In the short time we were there, three people approached us to talk about Reed's appearance on station RTE's (Radio-Telefís Eireann) "Late Late Show." Produced and moderated by Gaye Byrne, the program is known as the one that "opens the debate on controversial subjects."

Reed, a leader of the American Socialist Workers party, is a noted anthropologist and author of the book *Woman's Evolution*. RTE had flown her to Dublin to appear on the show, and 1.25 million viewers saw her on November 29 explaining women's role in history. Ever since, both men and women had been coming up to her on the street to tell of their support for her ideas and about the struggle of Irish women for their liberation.

Irish law is strongly influenced by Catholic church doctrine. Students attend sex-segregated schools run by the church hierarchy. The church's position on contraception and abortion is written into law.

The sale or prescription of contraceptive devices is illegal, although individuals may import nonmedical contraceptive devices for private use. According to the Dublin newspaper *Irish Press*, 1,217 Irish women went to England for abortions last year, with the number of illegal abortions unknown but presumably higher.

The church hierarchy's attitude toward the family is inscribed in the 1937 Irish constitution, which enforces the view that women's place is in the home.

Husband's 'chattel'

This same constitution forbids divorce. In 1972, a court ruling found that a woman is still merely her husband's "chattel."

Groups like the Family League and the League of Decency campaign to keep these laws on the books. When public meetings are called to gather support for the right to contraception or other rights for women, these groups use disruptive tactics to try to break them up.

The obvious need for a strong



Militant/Jon Flanders



During recent tour of Ireland, Evelyn Reed, author of 'Woman's Evolution,' talked with broad range of activists about growing women's liberation movement.

movement of women for their liberation has not gone unanswered in Ireland. During her five-day visit to Dublin, Evelyn Reed talked with a broad sector of Irish feminist activists about the growing women's liberation movement.

On November 30, Reed spoke at the Royal Dublin Society, a prestigious academic institution. About 175 feminists, students, and academicians heard her lecture on "Feminism and Women's Biology." Within ten minutes of the end of the meeting, the twenty-five available copies of *Woman's Evolution* and eighteen copies of *Problems of Women's Liberation*, also written by Reed, had been sold.

After the lecture, a reception attended by fifty persons was held at the AIM Women's Center. AIM is a women's group organized to work on legal and social welfare matters related to women and the family.

We talked with June Levine, one of the organizers of these meetings and a founder of the first women's liberation group in Ireland, called the Irish Women's Liberation Movement.

1971 train event

Levine is a researcher at RTE for the "Late Late Show" and helped organize Reed's television appearance. She described one of the first demonstrations of women in Ireland for the right to contraceptives—the "Contraceptives Train Event" of May 1971.

"The demonstration was a protest against the law that at the time made not only the sale but also the importation of contraceptives illegal," Levine said. Forty women, single and married, went by train from Dublin to Belfast (where contraceptives are legally sold) and bought them in bulk. They returned later that day, openly showing their purchases to customs officials

(they were not impounded) and held a rally attended by 300 supporters.

The struggle for the right to contraception has been carried on by two campus women's liberation groups, which also sponsored meetings for Reed. The University College of Dublin Women's Group invited Reed to give the opening speech at its Women's Week on December 1. One hundred students attended the lecture. Other speeches that week were to cover such topics as abortion, sexuality, and the family.

On December 3, the Trinity College Women's Group invited Reed to hold a question-and-answer session about the women's liberation movement. The 110 students attending were primarily interested in the need for autonomous women's groups that could plan action campaigns on such issues as the right to contraception.

One activist told us, "Trinity was the first college in Ireland to admit women. But that good record is marred by the fact that today there are only three female professors out of a staff of sixty-three."

One of the main activities of this group is putting up posters throughout the city advertising the student government's voluntary contraceptive services. An article in the *Irish Press* reported that the response was so overwhelming that the contraceptives had to be immediately restocked.

Necessary prerequisites

The fight for free and legal contraceptives is a focus for Irish Women United, a Dublin women's group that sponsored a meeting for Reed on December 2 at the Powers Hotel. Speaking to an audience of 125 persons on "Women's Evolution and Human Nature," Reed explained during the

question-and-answer period that she thought the availability of contraception and abortion were necessary prerequisites for women's liberation, and encouraged women to join the organized feminist movement in Ireland.

After the meeting, Reed spoke with Anne Speed, an activist in the group and also a member of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (Irish section of the Fourth International). Speed told us about two recent actions in the campaign for the right to contraception.

'Right to Choose' rally

On November 12, Irish Women United sponsored a "Right to Choose" rally of 400 persons for free and legal contraceptives. Some weeks before, 110 men and women picketed a bishop's home to protest an antiabortion, anti-contraception pastoral letter that was read in all the churches. "The main themes of the picket line were 'Separation of church and state,' and 'A woman's right to choose,'" Speed said.

Reed was also interviewed by reporters from the *Independent* and *Irish Press*, and her lecture at the Powers Hotel was reported by the *Irish Times*.

I asked Reed at the end of the tour what she thought about the prospects for the feminist movement in Ireland. "Irish women have a special problem—the very strong dominance of the Catholic church," she said.

"In many respects, church and state in Ireland are not separate. To answer the church's claims of being the 'guardian of morality,' women here must convince others of the greater morality of saving women's lives through the legalization of abortion and contraception. That's a big task, but one I know the growing Irish feminist movement is equal to."

FBI letter targeted Jane Fonda

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The FBI, in a 1970 attempt to discredit antiwar activist Jane Fonda, sent a poison-pen letter to a Hollywood gossip columnist claiming she had threatened to kill Richard Nixon.

The FBI hoped that the letter, which was signed with a fictitious name, would discredit Fonda and "detract from her status with the general public."

The letter was to be sent by the FBI's Los Angeles office, but was approved by J. Edgar Hoover himself. It was apparently part of the notorious Cointelpro operation, the admitted aim of which was to "disrupt and neutralize the 'New Left.'"

The idea for the letter arose when

Fonda was to appear at a fund-raising rally for the Black Panther party. According to the FBI memo released December 15, the letter, signed "Morris," falsely claimed that Fonda had led a chant of "We will kill Richard Nixon and any other motherfucker who stands in our way."

At Hoover's insistence, the bureau protected itself by sending the letter in such a way as to bar discovery of its true origin.

The letter never appeared in print. The columnist to whom it was to be sent told reporters he didn't remember seeing it, but he wouldn't have printed the assertions anyway unless he could independently verify them.

Fonda denounced the letter as "totally fabricated for the purpose of slan-

dering me and making me appear to be a violent and irresponsible person."

The FBI documents were uncovered by Sen. Frank Church's Select Committee on Intelligence.

Fonda has filed a \$2.8 million suit against the government, charging invasion of her privacy. Her attorneys, Mark Rosenbaum of the American Civil Liberties Union and Leonard Weinglass, argue that this latest revelation proves that the FBI has far more extensive files on Fonda than it has admitted previously.

In a press statement, Rosenbaum asserted that the letter proved beyond any doubt the falsity of the FBI claim that its interest in Fonda related strictly to "legitimate" law enforcement needs.

35,000 Montreal workers march against wage controls

[On October 13 Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced a sweeping program of wage controls affecting 4.3 million workers. The total of wage increases, cost-of-living protection, and fringe benefits in new contracts is limited to 8 to 12 percent in the first year and less in subsequent years.]

[The following article on the fight of Québec workers against the wage controls is reprinted from the December 15 Labor Challenge, a biweekly socialist newspaper in Canada.]

By Al Cappe and Richard Thompson

On Nov. 26 some 35,000 enthusiastic Quebec workers braved sub-zero temperatures and marched on Montreal's city hall to protest the wage-control programs of the Trudeau and Bourassa governments.

The marchers came from almost all the regions of greater Montreal and there were also delegations from Hull, Sherbrooke, Valleyfield, St. Hyacinthe and other areas of Quebec. Striking postal workers, other striking workers, workers who were locked out or unemployed, welfare recipients and students marched for more than two hours in the streets of Montreal. At the head of the demonstration were trade-union leaders and several prominent members of the Parti Quebecois, including PQ deputies Claude Charron and Camille Laurin.

The marchers chanted slogans and carried banners demanding: "No to the wage controls," "No to the inflation of the profiteers," "No to the power of the monopolies," as well as slogans against land speculation and the recent transit fare increases. They demanded: "Yes to the measures of justice outlined by the unions," which include a \$165 weekly minimum

wage, indexation of wages to the cost of living, rent controls and greater pensions and benefits. "The wage freeze will not last the winter," they proclaimed.

The demonstration was organized by a common front of the three main trade-union centrals in Quebec: the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Teachers Federation. It was also supported by the National Association of Quebec Students.

The demonstration was the culmination of a week-long series of protests throughout Quebec. Outside Montreal, 12,000 workers participated in various actions. During the week teachers, hospital workers and other public-sector workers who are currently negotiating with the Bourassa government staged walkouts and demonstrations. The public-sector workers are directly threatened by Bourassa's Law 64 which imposes the federal wage controls on them.

The march culminated with a massive rally outside the city hall where there were a number of speakers from participating organizations. Teachers federation president Yvon Charbonneau stated: "We will never agree to bear the burden of a crisis caused by capitalism"

"We are determined to fight to the end to defeat Trudeau's Bill C-73 and Quebec's carbon copy Law 64," declared QFL president Louis Laberge.

Jack Johnson, president of the Protestant Teachers Association, said that the teachers were ready to firmly fight the wage controls and that this struggle must involve all workers.

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Seattle socialists demand disclosure exemption

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—Socialists here are demanding a hearing before the city's Fair Campaign Practices Commission (FCPC). At such a public hearing, they say, they could convincingly present their case for an exemption from the Seattle ordinance requiring disclosure of financial contributors to the Socialist Workers party campaign committee.

Speaking to a well-attended news conference called by the American Civil Liberties Union December 11, Patricia Bethard, SWP candidate for city council in the last election, said the campaign committee would request that police files be subpoenaed as part of the hearing process.

"There has been a pattern of harassment, intimidation, and surveillance of the Socialist Workers," ACLU attorney David Stobaugh told reporters.

"We want the board of ethics to subpoena the Seattle Police Department and the Washington State Patrol intelligence files so it can learn for itself what the police have been doing and the kinds of information they have gathered." (The board is the parent body of the Fair Campaign Practices Commission.)

It was recently disclosed that the Seattle Police Department kept files on Blacks active in the civil rights movement, antiwar activists, socialists, and others. And, in October of this year, cops admitted that the department continues to maintain an active file on the SWP.

Bethard said the socialists were refusing to name financial contributors because "we cannot trust the authorities" not to harass political dissenters in this country.

"We know from bitter experience that disclosing the names of those who



Banner at November 26 protest reads 'No to Trudeau-Bourassa measures.'

N.Y.C. NOW discusses ERA fight

By Ginny Hildebrand

NEW YORK—One hundred twenty-five people attended a December 17 forum here titled "Future and Strategy of the ERA in New York State in 1976." The meeting was hosted by the advisory council of the New York National Organization for Women.

The meeting was the first public gathering here where pro-Equal Rights Amendment forces have evaluated the November defeat of the state ERA referendum. This evaluation is part of a national discussion on strategy involving trade unions, women's groups, and other supporters of the ERA.

NOW advisory council member Clara de Miha introduced the panelists at the December 17 meeting: Sidney

Abbott, a member of the NOW advisory council and coauthor of *Sappho Was a Right-on Woman*; Carol DeSaram, president of New York NOW; Clare Garrity, past president of Business and Professional Women; New York NOW member Dianne Feeley; Marie Scheer, a leader of Brooklyn NOW; and Irene Van Sycle from the Brooklyn ERA Coalition.

Panelists discussed the serious threat confronting ratification of the federal ERA. A few days before the meeting, Phyllis Schlafly, who is heading a reactionary national anti-ERA drive, told the *New York Times* that a campaign is planned to rescind ERA ratification in a dozen states, including New York. To date, thirty-four states have ratified the ERA. Thirty-eight are needed by 1979.

In her remarks, Abbott expressed concern that pro-ERA forces this fall had not mounted an effective media campaign to counter the well-publicized anti-ERA arguments. She said that demonstrations are needed now to focus public attention on the ERA fight and to win support from all layers of women.

Dianne Feeley spoke on plans for ERA actions in several states. She reported on a recent NOW Eastern Regional Coordinating Conference held in Connecticut, where women discussed mobilizing supporters from the East Coast to participate in a national ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, on April 14. The NOW national board has set the Springfield action as a top priority.

Also, Feeley said, the NOW board in Philadelphia has passed a resolution urging ERA supporters across the country to hold actions on International Women's Day, March 8, as the start of a national ERA campaign leading up to a July 4 national march, possibly

in Philadelphia.

Feeley discussed the need to organize coalitions that involve a broad spectrum of organizations in ERA actions.

In Georgia, for example, Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Coalition of Labor Union Women are among the supporters of a January 10 pro-ERA demonstration in Atlanta.

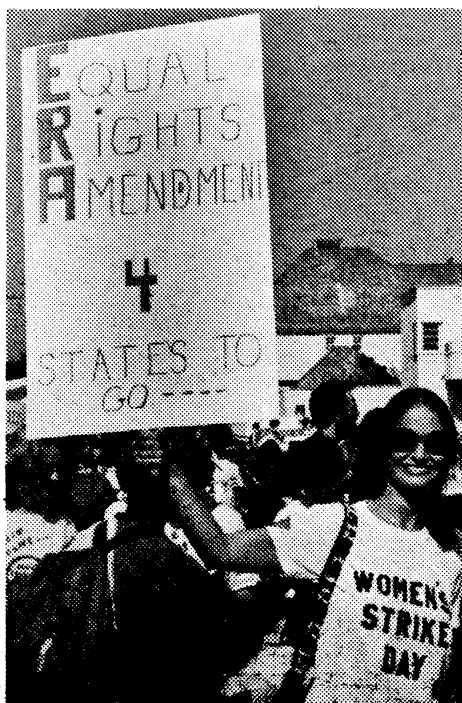
Nationally, Feeley noted, CLUW decided at its recent convention to launch a "mass-action and educational campaign" to win the ERA. AFL-CIO President George Meany sent a telegram to the convention pledging support to the ERA fight, calling it "a priority matter to the entire trade-union movement."

Unfortunately, at the meeting there was not a thorough discussion of strategy, nor were any definite plans set for beginning to mobilize the broad ERA support that exists in New York.

Other panelists at the meeting concentrated on refuting arguments raised by the right wing against the ERA. This discussion continued into the question-and-answer period.

Many women expressed a need for more information to aid them in explaining the importance of the ERA and in answering the spurious charges against the amendment. Many questions were asked, including: What impact will the ERA have on the draft? On protective legislation? On the family?

The discussion showed the need for arming activists with the facts that will enable them to cut through the lies and confusion sown by the anti-ERA forces. An educational campaign combined with picket lines, rallies, and marches could mobilize majority support behind the ERA—in New York and nationally—and defeat the right-wing drive against women's equality.



Nationwide action campaign is needed to win passage of state, federal ERAs.



BETHARD: Outraged that Seattle election commission threatens socialists with prosecution.

have contributed money to socialist campaigns exposes them to government intimidation, and we see no indication that the government is going to change its behavior."

The socialist campaign committee decided to demand a public hearing after the FCPC threatened to prosecute it for failure to comply with the city's disclosure ordinance.

"I am particularly outraged that Seattle's commission is threatening us with prosecution at a time when we are challenging similar state and federal laws in court," Bethard said.

"We are not in violation of these laws. We are challenging their constitutionality under the First Amendment right to free speech and association."

In Our Opinion

A time for solidarity

[The following statement was issued December 23 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

This Christmastime, the politicians' tired promises of "good-will" toward all people sound especially empty to the tens of thousands of our brothers and sisters in prison. For them, the holiday season is a time to endure a renewed flood of hypocrisy about "love" and "brotherhood" from the mouths of the prison wardens and the self-righteous judges, prosecutors, and parole boards who administer the system of American "justice."

But this time of year can have meaning if it becomes the occasion to transform the hypocritical spirit that surrounds Christmas into a real spirit of solidarity with those behind bars. The spirit we are talking about has nothing in common with the sanctimonious appeals for "charity" that are filling the pages of the capitalist newspapers this week. No, it is a recognition of the elementary *duty* of those of us who are outside capitalism's jails, to those who are on the inside.

Many of you will be receiving holiday appeals for support from the defense committees that are working on behalf of prisoners and defendants in upcoming trials. We urge you to do everything you can to aid these groups in their work.

We can't, of course, list here all the organizations and individuals who need your political and financial backing. But we want to call attention to some of them:

- Philip Allen, a Black youth convicted in Los Angeles for a murder he didn't commit;
- Hurricane Carter and John Artis, still held in New Jersey prisons despite overwhelming evidence of their innocence;
- J.B. Johnson, facing another trial in Missouri on a frame-up charge of murder;
- Joanne Little, back in prison because her appeal of the original breaking-and-entering charge has been turned down;
- Russell Means and Dennis Banks, two leaders of the American Indian Movement, facing a battery of charges as part of the government's effort to destroy AIM;
- Ray Mendoza, a young Chicano, convicted on phony charges of murdering two off-duty cops;
- Martin Sostre, a Black Puerto Rican, jailed in New York since 1968, despite growing appeals for his release;
- The San Quentin Six, Black and Latino prisoners on trial in California on charges of instigating and participating in the 1971 San Quentin prison shoot-out;
- Delbert Tibbs, a Black man caught in the snare of a racist frame-up for murder and rape in Florida;
- Robert F. Williams, a Black leader who recently returned to North Carolina to fight kidnapping charges against him;
- The five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners, vindictively held in U.S. prisons since the 1950s for their actions in support of the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

There are many, many others. There are the Attica defendants, and the thousands of war resisters for whom Ford's "amnesty" was a cruel joke. And there are the political prisoners in other countries—in the torture chambers of Chile, in the Spanish prisons, and in the labor camps and psychiatric wards of the Soviet Union.

The victims of capitalist justice locked in the cages of American prisons are the poor, the exploited, and the oppressed. They are in their majority Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos. They are the rebels and fighters who have fought against oppression, and refused to accept the tyranny of the few over the many.

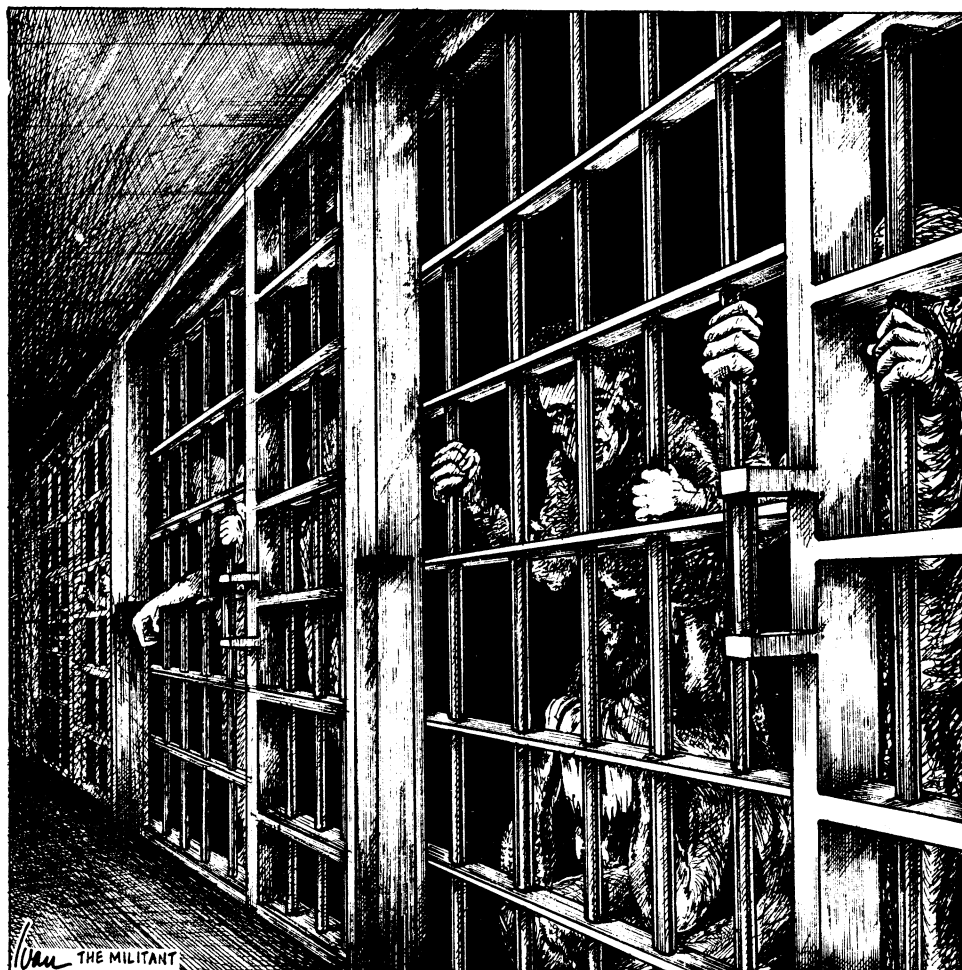
Throughout history, those who have resisted oppression have been faced with the dungeons of the ruling class. And throughout history, rebels have learned that the road to freedom often runs through prison.

As one of the founders of the American socialist movement, Eugene Debs, said: "Some go to prison for stealing, and others for believing that a better system can be provided and maintained than one that makes it necessary for a man to steal in order to live."

We are fighting to build that better system. We are fighting for an idea that can batter down the bars that hold our brothers and sisters, and crumble the prison walls to dust.

Our party is committed to the fight for a socialist society, a society based not on defending the privileges and wealth of a handful, but on defending the interests of the majority, the working class.

And, as Eugene Debs put it, "Socialism and prison are antagonistic terms."



Christmas USA, 1975

Letters

S.1

As a new subscriber, I am grateful for the existence of the *Militant* and greatly appreciate the viewpoint it offers.

Would it be possible to present the text or a summary of Senate Bill 1, along with its full implications? I find considerable ignorance around the bill, and information is surprisingly difficult to obtain.

Willard Brickey
Columbus, Ohio

[Editor's note—An analysis of S.1 appeared in the November 28 *Militant*. Back issues may be obtained by sending twenty-five cents to: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

The course of history

Please renew my subscription. I peruse the *Militant* quite thoroughly; the supplement is especially informative. I pass my copies on to as many cons as possible with appropriate sections marked in red.

I was recently able to obtain a copy of *My Life* by Leon Trotsky. It was so interesting that I urged several friends of mine to read it. The course of world history—in particular Russian history—would undoubtedly have been more beneficial for the common man if Leon Trotsky, rather than Stalin, had assumed leadership of the party.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Pleasantly surprised

A few days ago I was given a copy of the *Militant* by a friend. I was hesitant to read it because I thought it to be "just another newsweekly" published for profit rather than for truth. I must admit to being surprised by the content and insight of your articles. I wish to congratulate your staff on publishing what I feel is one of the best political and economic publications found in the United States today.

I found the *International Socialist Review* segment of your paper especially refreshing.

I am incarcerated in the Michigan penal system. Needless to say, it is difficult to find any worthwhile literature in this particular environment.

I cannot afford to pay for a subscription to the *Militant*. I would like to receive it and would settle for back issues if it is not possible that current ones could be sent.

A prisoner
Michigan

Real reason for cover-up

William Safire, in his article "Orchestrating Outrage" (*New York Times*, December 8), concludes that the reason Democrats and Republicans alike suppressed their knowledge of government spying, from Roosevelt to Nixon, "was the fear that a false claim that 'everybody did it' might make it impossible to hound Mr. Nixon out of office."

This fact, revealed through Pathfinder Press's recent publication *Cointelpro—The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, which Safire cites, proves that Democrats and Republicans are of the same ilk.

The conclusion Safire should have come to is that they covered up so people would not become disillusioned with the two-party system and seek an alternative.

As for me, "Give me socialism. . . ."
Sam Chetta
Catskill, New York

Antiunion raid

Larry Fox, organizer of striking Local 1199 (National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees) workers at several local nursing homes, was forced from his home in his bathrobe and arrested by police on December 16.

The police, who had no warrant, were seen by union director Robert Muehlenkamp to grab Fox, slam him against the wall, and drag him out to a waiting paddy wagon. Police claim they went to question Fox about

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international socialist review

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By Leon Trotsky
- **Gandhi Coup: Turning Point for India**
By Ernest Harsch and Malik Miah



Israeli artillery, 1973 war

A Debate: Is Zionism Racist?

On KTVI (ABC) television in St. Louis, the program 'Face to Face' sponsored a debate November 23 on the topic: Is Zionism a form of racism? Opponents were Peter Seidman, St. Louis organizer for the Socialist Workers party, and Harold Jacobs, president of the St. Louis Zionist Federation. We present the debate here edited for grammatical smoothness.

Moderator. Good morning. I'm Gene Randall, and this is "Face to Face." The United Nations, by a vote of 72 to 35, with 32 abstentions, branded Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. Since that vote, criticism has been both bitter and loud, both inside and outside Israel, against whom the resolution was aimed. Our UN ambassador, Daniel Moynihan, called it "an infamous act . . . symbolic amnesty for the murderers of six million European Jews."

Those who pushed the resolution through claim that to be against Zionism does not make one anti-Semitic. Harold Jacobs is president of the St. Louis Zionist Federation. He finds the mainly Arab arguments to be "absurd."

Peter Seidman is the St. Louis organizer for the Socialist Workers party, which agrees with the resolution on racism. His party's paper, the Militant, says to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism "is an attempt to smear and discredit the Palestinian struggle and its supporters." And, for the next thirty minutes, Peter Seidman and Harold Jacobs will be "Face to Face."

[commercial break]

Welcome back. I'm Gene Randall; the program is "Face to Face." The issue is the United Nations resolution which said Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. Mr. Seid-

man, your party, the Socialist Workers party, said that was a good idea. Why?

Seidman. Because as a result of the Zionist policies that led to the creation of the state of Israel, a million and a half Palestinians who lived in that country were driven off their land and have been subjected to racial discrimination and oppression by the Israeli government. Israel was never a land without people, waiting for a people without land, which is the contention that was made by the Zionists to justify the creation of the Israeli state.

Therefore, for the UN resolution to point out

Continued on page ISR/3

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Events in Portugal

World attention continues to be riveted on Portugal. Two major events occurred over the past six weeks whose lessons and implications point both to the growing dangers and to the continuing revolutionary possibilities before the Portuguese working people.

One event was the November 25 attempt at "insurrection" by radical military units. It was aimed at protesting a series of purges of left-wing commanders and rank-and-file soldiers by the military hierarchy.

Contrary to the hopes and expectations of the soldiers, the working people of Lisbon did not come out into the streets in support of the rebellion; instead they were passive observers.

The government responded by arresting scores of radical soldiers and imposing a state of siege for six days. All recent wage increases won by workers were suspended. The ruling military junta took advantage of the isolation of the radical soldiers to initiate a crackdown on political rights of all those in the military.

The November 25 rebellion exposed the futility of looking for revolutionary leadership from any of the generals of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). For example, one of the aims of the rebellion was to support the demagogic Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who had recently been ousted from his post in the course of a shake-up in the military. But after the rebellion was crushed, and its leaders jailed, it was none other than Carvalho who stood demonstratively behind President Costa Gomes as he announced the state of emergency and later the state of siege.

Fundamental responsibility for the setback that resulted from the adventurist coup attempt does not lie with the radical soldiers who were drawn into it. Rather it lies with the treacherous policies of the Communist and Socialist parties in blocking the independent struggles of the masses and thus breeding frustration and desperate action by militant workers and soldiers.

On November 25 the radical soldiers were misled by the Communist party. The Stalinists encouraged this adventurist show of force as part of their pressure tactic in bidding for more cabinet posts in the government.

The soldiers were also misled by the ultraleft campaign of centrist groups such as the PRP (Revolutionary party of the Proletariat), which had for weeks been openly calling for insurrection against the Azevedo government. The events surrounding November 25 demonstrated once again the deadly danger of the perspective of these groups, which are organized in the Front for Revolutionary Unity (FUR). The logic of their positions is that a socialist revolution can be achieved by a tiny minority—through the action of an armed "vanguard," in conjunction with radical soldiers. This is

combined with illusions that the CP leaders will live up to their fake revolutionary demagoguery and support such actions.

The objective effect of the minority action that the soldiers were led into on November 25 was to aid those who want to push back the struggle for socialist revolution. It lent credence to right-wing claims that a socialist revolution is a minority action imposed on the great majority of the population.

To the contrary, a revolution to overturn capitalism must be an action of the majority. It can only succeed as the natural outgrowth of the struggles of the masses themselves, through their own organizations, around their own deeply felt needs.

The continuing potential for such mass revolutionary struggle in Portugal was indicated in the huge antigovernment protests on November 12 and 16.

On November 12 some 70,000 construction workers demonstrated outside the presidential palace in Lisbon, a large section of them refusing to leave until, thirty-six hours later, the government gave in to their demands for a 40 percent wage increase. This action was part of a nationwide strike supported by an estimated 80 percent of Portugal's 300,000 construction workers, who are among the lowest-paid workers.

The construction workers' victory was followed on November 16 by a demonstration of 100,000 called by the unions and workers commissions of Lisbon.

This antigovernment action was one of the largest, if not the largest, demonstrations in Portugal since May Day. It showed that the construction workers' action had captured the sympathy of, and linked up with the feelings of, wide layers of Portuguese working people. The rally took on the character of a united protest against the austerity program of the capitalist government.

These actions showed that the masses of Portuguese workers are ready for radical action against the capitalist rulers around their own concrete, burning needs. It spotlighted the power of actions by the masses of workers themselves, a power that in this case was able to sweep aside all the previous calculations of the generals and other elements in the government.

Despite the setbacks following the November 25 coup attempt, the mass workers organizations in Portugal have not yet been dealt a decisive defeat.

For nearly two years, since the overthrow of the Salazarist regime in April 1974, the Portuguese workers have been in almost continuous ferment and upsurge, attempting to push forward to socialism. The central obstacle before this unfolding struggle has been the policy of the Socialist and Communist party leaderships, which have remained within the framework of upholding capitalism. Even when these parties support strikes or street demonstrations, they do so only as a pressure tactic in their bid for a more favored position in the capitalist government.

As participants in the successive provisional coalition governments, the CP and SP have taken responsibility for enforcing capitalist stability—calling for austerity and sacrifice by the working class and supporting the suppression of democratic rights.

The protests inspired by the construction

workers' strike demonstrated that masses of workers are ready to move into determined struggle when they see a chance to exert their united power in a fight for their own basic needs. These hundreds of thousands of workers are seeking a leadership that will lead the class struggle, not practice class collaboration. They are seeking a new leadership that, unlike the CP and SP, will fight for alternatives to the capitalists' "solutions" to the economic and political crisis—solutions that begin not from the needs of the capitalist system, but from the needs of the workers, small peasants, and rank-and-file soldiers.

Such a revolutionary socialist party would fight for united-front actions by all the workers parties and organizations around the burning economic and social issues and in defense of democratic rights. This is the way to maximize the strength of the working class and its allies in fighting for common needs.

This united-front perspective would include the demand that the CP and SP, the major workers parties, live up to the mandate they received in the Constituent Assembly elections last April by breaking their pact with the MFA and taking governmental power in their own hands.

Through such a course, a revolutionary party would begin to expose the treacherous policies of the reformist CP and SP leaderships before the masses of workers who still mistakenly put their faith in them. Such a campaign could show in life that the program of the CP and SP is in conflict with the aspirations of the Portuguese masses. This is the way to win the working people, soldiers, and small peasants to a mass revolutionary party that can lead them in a real fight for socialism.

U.S. Out of Angola!

A wide-ranging public debate has erupted over Washington's secret intervention—along with the white-supremacist South African regime—in the Angolan civil war. The swiftness of the response reflects the deep impact of another war on American society: the American people want no new Vietnams. The debate in Congress over the amount of funds for U.S. intervention in Angola can be seen as part of the continuing impact of the mass anti-Vietnam War demonstrations of the 1960s and early 1970s.

But Washington continues to press ahead in its attempts to determine the future of Angola. Kissinger and others have opened up a barrage of anticommunist propaganda to try to get the American people to accept U.S. involvement in the war. They have gone so far as to try to shift the charge of "colonialism" in Angola onto the Soviet Union.

What hypocrisy! It is Washington that has for decades been giving financial and military aid to Portuguese colonialism in Africa, backing up Lisbon's genocidal wars against the national liberation movements. Now that Portugal's colonial empire has broken up, the U.S. imperialists want to move in directly to bolster their own interests, which have nothing to do with the interests of the majority of the American people.

Meetings, rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations are needed, calling for:

Self-determination for the peoples of Angola! U.S. and South Africa out of Angola now!

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Israeli flag raised in Syria in 1973 war (left); Palestinian refugees arrive in Jordan after 1967 war.

...A Debate: Is Zionism Racist?

Continued from page ISR/1

that this is not the case is to take on the misrepresentations of facts which have been put forward by the Zionist organizations for many years, and does a great service. And I say it does a great service because, in my opinion, the Zionists' arguments that they speak for all Jews in supporting the state of Israel in fact does a disservice to the fight of the Jewish people against anti-Semitism. The assertion that the state of Israel is the best defender of the Jews, and that that is where their interests lie, in fact puts the Jewish people in an alliance with the government of the United States, which is one of the worst enemies that the Jewish people have had—instead of with the natural allies of the Jewish people, the people of the Middle East, the Palestinian people, and others who are oppressed by Washington around the world.

Moderator. Mr. Jacobs? I know you have a sharply divergent point of view on that resolution.

Jacobs. Yes, I do. I think that one of the keys to this question as to Zionism and racism is to understand what Zionism really is. In the first place, Zionism originated in the year 70 A.D., right after the Romans destroyed Jerusalem. I say that because from then on, Zion and Jerusalem and the country have always been a part of our prayers. I won't go into the details of just what is said in our prayers, but I've always believed that to really know a people, look to their prayer book.

Moderator. Are you saying, then, that you can't separate the idea of an Israeli state from the idea of Jews?

Seidman. Of course, this historically is not correct.

Moderator. Mr. Jacobs, is that correct?

Jacobs. I would go further and say that you cannot separate the Jewish religion—Judaism—from the land of Israel, as we call it.

Seidman. Well, first of all, six-sevenths of the Jews in the world live outside of Israel. There are more Jews in the United States—in fact, there are more Jews in New York City and Los Angeles—than in all of Israel. So to say that you cannot separate the Jewish religion from Israel, and more importantly, from the Zionist policy that upholds the Israeli state—with its army and its police forces oppressing the Arabs in that area and occupying territories in Egypt and

Jordan and in other countries—is to disaffiliate six-sevenths of world Jewry from their religion.

More importantly, from a historical point of view, the truth is that the policy of espousing the state of Israel was not the official position of the Zionist movement until 1942.* Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern-day Zionism in 1897, first thought that the country the Jews should go to to establish a homeland was Uganda, not even the present country of Israel. So what Mr. Jacobs has said is simply not a fact in terms of the history of Zionism or the feelings that most Jews around the world have about the state of Israel.

Moderator. Mr. Jacobs, are you espousing non-facts?

Jacobs. No, I'm not. As a matter of fact, I think that Mr. Seidman is losing sight of some background material that might add a little light to his remarks. In the first place, it may be true that most of the Jews in the world are dispersed in countries other than Israel. But the fact that we do have a homeland coordinates and brings us together into a more cohesive group of people than if we did not.

Now, so far as the origin of Zionism is concerned and with respect to Herzl and Uganda, it is true that suggestions were made that we should settle in Uganda, and that was turned down for the simple reason that the country of Israel is the country that the Jews have prayed for and wanted through these generations.

*The evolution of the Zionist movement and its official positions is discussed by Maxime Rodinson in his book *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* (New York, Monad Press, 1973).

Rodinson explains, "In general, Zionist policy presented two faces, both growing out of a situation in which the Zionists found themselves established as a minority of colonists surrounded by a hostile population and under the authority of an outside power."

While proceeding in practice to build up the infrastructure that would enable them to establish an exclusive Jewish state in the future, the Zionist Organization officially disclaimed any intention of setting up a state ruled by the Jewish settlers alone. Rodinson cites Arthur Ruppin, a leading Zionist and a well-known historian, who wrote: "The Zionist Congresses of 1921, 1925, and 1929 expressed a desire to cooperate with the Arabs and recognized the principle that neither nationality in Palestine must dominate the other or be dominated by it; it must be a state in which Jews and Arabs can live side by side as two nationalities with equal rights. . . ."

However, as soon as the Zionists felt strong enough, they repudiated this position. In May 1942 the American Zionist Organization adopted the "Biltmore program," calling for the establishment of a Jewish state throughout all of Palestine, the creation of a Jewish army, and unlimited immigration under the control of the Jewish Agency alone. This program was approved by the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem in November 1942, becoming the official stand of the world movement.

"From now on," writes Rodinson, "the program calling for a balanced binational state, which a decade earlier had appealed to a rather large minority of the *Yishuv* [the Jewish community in Palestine], became outdated and only a few small groups of idealists and groups on the far left still supported it."

It is this program that is raised by the Palestinian resistance movement today in its demand for a democratic, secular Palestine.—ISR

Moderator. Mr. Jacobs, how about the argument that to create the state of Israel it was necessary to expel hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs?

Jacobs. I was coming to that. Now the fact is—and this is a documented fact that is available to anyone who wants to check it—the original settlers in Palestine before the state was formed, the pioneers if you please, bought the land that they occupied. Not only that, but they bought the land for the most part from absentee owners. Furthermore, they paid what is now considered an exorbitant price for that land.

Rather than to say that we displaced the Palestinians who were living on the land, it is more accurate to say that through the agricultural progress that the Jews brought to the land, they improved the plight of those Palestinians who remained in the land. Now remember, I am going back before 1948, explaining some of the background to. . . .

Seidman. Let's look at some of the things that Mr. Jacobs just said. First of all, it is true that much of the land that originally was secured by the Jewish immigrants to Palestine in the beginning of this century was purchased. To say that that means there was no racism involved in the creation of the state of Israel is to say that because the Dutch purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for twenty-four dollars means there was nothing racist involved in the relations between the settlers from Europe who came to the United States and the Native American peoples here. It's no argument at all.

I think it's very interesting what Mr. Jacobs said about how Israel is important because, in his opinion, it holds together the Jewish people, gives them a sense of identity, and is a part of their religion. This is true for some Jewish people, although I'm Jewish, and it's not true for me, and it's not true for many other Jews. Just the same, the aspirations that any one group of people may have, which justify acts like the expulsion of one-and-a-half-million Palestinians from their land, the expansion of Israel into a militarist state, the occupation of the West Bank, of the Sinai Peninsula, and so forth, that is a classic example of what I call a racist justification.

It's when one group sets itself up, apart from and above any other, on the basis of its own religion and its own ethnicity, to justify its actions at the expense of another people. That's what racism is; that's what the UN resolution pointed out.

Moderator. Mr. Jacobs, are you troubled hearing Mr. Seidman, as a Jew, talking the way he is talking?

Jacobs. No, I'm not troubled. I'm not troubled because I've heard it all before. Let—May I

answer some of these—

Seidman. Please.

Jacobs. When I say that a homeland of Israel is a cohesive factor among the Jewish people, I don't in any way want to imply that it is the only thing that keeps the Jews together around the world. Judaism, our religion, does that. But what I am saying is, just as the Arabs dispersed around the world have their homeland, just as the Irish dispersed around the world have their homeland, and it means something, so does a homeland mean that much to the Jew who is dispersed. Now, I'm talking in the general sense. Of course I can't include all Jewish people.

With due respect to Mr. Seidman, and he's certainly entitled to his viewpoint, I think this is a good illustration of what you will find in the state of Israel. There are many Israelis who, if not anti-Zionist, do not buy all of the Zionist principles. They are first-class citizens; we do not deny them a voice in the running of the country, no more than we deny a voice to the Palestinians or the Israeli Arabs. They occupy positions in the Knesset.

Moderator. Mr. Seidman, I see you don't agree.

Seidman. Four [Arab] members in the Knesset. We have Senator Brooke in the United States Senate. Does that mean that this country is not a racist country? We can point to Black athletes on television, and see Sammy Davis, Jr., on television. Does that mean this is not a racist country?

I would like to return to the question of our—

Moderator. We'll return to all of this after we take a break.

* * *

Moderator. Mr. Seidman, you were about to make a point, I believe.

Seidman. Yes. The Palestinians have as their stated position that they are in favor of a democratic, secular state in Palestine. Now what they mean by that is a state where, whatever your religion, be it Islamic or Jewish or Christian, or whatever religion you have, you should be free to live in the area known as Palestine without any exclusive measures being taken by the government against you because of your religion. That is, they are for a change in the present government away from its policies of Zionism, which are exclusive, which allow any Jew to become a citizen of Israel, while Palestinians who lived there are not allowed even to reenter the country—

Moderator. How do you undo a state, Mr. Seidman? How do you undo what is called Israel?

Seidman. Let's just finish this point, and then I'll come to that too. That is the Palestinians' position. That is no obstacle to any Jew anywhere in the world who wants to come to Palestine and participate in that kind of just society.

That is not what the Zionist movement stands for. The Zionist movement has set up a garrison state, a military state. Forty percent of its budget is devoted to arms. In the next five years the U.S. is giving them \$15 billion, that is, twice as much as all the aid the U.S. government has given to Israel since 1948. And those arms and weapons are aimed against the rights of the Arab people. That is an entirely different proposition than what some Jews, because of their religion, may want to have in Israel.

If the Palestinians' slogan of a democratic, secular Palestine was enforced in that country, it would mean that any Jew could live there for those religious reasons. But that is not what Zionism is all about. And that is exactly why it has been branded as a racist policy—and not simply a religious policy—by the vast majority of countries at the United Nations.

Moderator. I'd like to talk about that vote, too, and specifically about the nations that voted for the resolution. Mr. Jacobs, you have some time to respond.

Jacobs. Yes, I would like to. So far as the

comment relating to the armed garrison of Israel—Israel spending so much money and devoting so much of their gross national product to the purchase of arms, to arm themselves—I might ask the question, Why? And I would answer it. The reason is that they want to survive. It's not that they are using it against the Palestinians.

Seidman. What is the threat to their survival?

Jacobs. The threat to their survival is the 1948 war, when after the partition the Arab League, refusing the partition, opened up terrorist activities and war. We had to defend ourselves. You come right on up—in 1956, why did we go down through the Sinai attempting to—

Seidman. Because Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which was a part of Egypt. Right?

Jacobs. The Suez Canal, but through the pressure of the United States we pulled back, even though Britain and France were part of that drive. 1967, Nasser had his troops right up to the—right up past—

Seidman. Why is Israel at odds with its Arab neighbors? Why is there a constant threat of war in the Middle East?

Moderator. Let him finish, please.

Jacobs. And it was obvious that we had to defend ourselves. Well, when you go through experiences such as this, you've got to be in a position to defend yourself—to, as we are hoping for, to have secure borders in the true sense of the word. Now, we recognize Arab countries, but no Arab country recognizes us.

Seidman. Why?

Jacobs. The reason why? I can't speak for the Arabs, but the reason why, in my opinion, is that the Arab countries—Egypt, for example, has a constitution that says Islam is the religion of the state. I believe Syria has the same thing. Many Arab countries have that. And knowing a little bit about the Koran, and what is taught under Islam, they simply cannot be dominated by anyone who is not a member of the Islamic faith. That's number one. Number two, as the officials of these Arab countries witness the tremendous progress that the Israelis made in developing the land, and compare that with the illiterate state of most of the people in many of the Arab countries, this was something that was untenable.

Moderator. Mr. Seidman.

Seidman. This is precisely another example of the racist mentality of Zionism—the colonialists, who come from Europe and come into a country full of Arabs and begin to talk about how their superior technology is playing a civilizing role, that that's why the Arabs were defeated in the war, and so forth and so on. It rings just like something out of *Fort Apache* in the United States. It shows how Zionism is an ideology, a set of ideas that are designed to apologize for the oppression of a people.

Why can't Mr. Jacobs answer my question? Why are the countries in the Arab East opposed to the state of Israel? Why are even the Arabs within the state of Israel held as second-class citizens in that country? It's because an injustice has been done. No government in the Middle East—no Arab government in the Middle East—could admit for one minute that it was acceptable for a European people to come in, drive the Palestinian people off their land, and hope to survive in front of its own people. Because an injustice has been done.

And it is the Zionists' attempt to cover that over which leads them to make the kind of slanders they have made—that anyone who opposes the policies of Zionism is anti-Semitic. Surely the fact that a million and a half Arabs were driven off their land by the Zionists should be enough to make it clear that one can oppose the policies of Zionism without being against the interests of the Jewish people.

In fact, in my opinion, the Zionist policy—which speaks in the name of all the Jews for this injustice against the Palestinians—helps foster

reactionary, anti-Semitic currents within the Arab world and in other parts of the world. And the existence of the state of Israel does nothing to eliminate the danger of anti-Semitism here in St. Louis or anywhere else in the world. It exists in the world, with or without Israel, because its causes have nothing to do with the existence of the state of Israel, and its elimination has nothing to do with whether or not Jews have a supposed "haven" in Israel, which pits them, 3 million, against 100 million Arabs.

Moderator. Mr. Seidman, why do you suppose there has been a chorus of criticism, which boils down to the term "anti-Semitism" when these critics talk about the UN vote?

Seidman. My opinion is that there are a number of factors. One of them is that a growing number of Jewish people around the world are becoming disillusioned with the state of Israel and with the position put forward by the Zionists that it is the homeland for the Jewish people and their haven against anti-Semitism.

I think one of the important turning points in this was the support Israel gave to the policies of the United States government during the war in Vietnam. Consider this classic example of a genocidal war against another people—twenty-six-million craters. And the Israeli government supported that war. Many young Jews, including myself, began to see that this didn't make sense, and they began to reexamine the reality of Israel. Why is it that such a country—that is supposed to be a haven for progress and democracy—allied itself with reaction?

Moderator. Mr. Jacobs, let me get your reaction to the overwhelming vote in the UN for this resolution.

Jacobs. Well, in the first place, I know for a fact that many of the African countries voted for this not knowing what Zionism was. Secondly, they voted for this because of pressure from the Arab countries with respect to oil and other economic promises. And thirdly, I believe that they were just strong-armed. Many of them were just strong-armed into doing this.

Now, I have a reason for saying that, Gene. We were in the East African countries—Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, and talked to people there, and even at that time they were beginning to resent the fact that promises from the Arab countries were not being kept, and they were beginning to resent the strong-arm pressures that were imposed on them.

Moderator. Is it too strong a criticism to say that Hitler would have been comfortable with the UN vote, as some have charged?

Jacobs. I think that is too strong. I really do. Your first reaction is to agree with this; I think Hitler would have been comfortable with it. But to say that he would have been delighted—who can say this, because Hitler's strategy was his own. I can see the reason for that reaction, but—

Moderator. Before we go to a break, you have about thirty seconds, Mr. Seidman.

Seidman. Well, coming from Daniel Moynihan or Gerald Ford, notorious "antiracists" in this country, the charge that this resolution was an obscene act should not give particular concern, I think, to most people. The real racists, the backers of racism around the world—in the White House—were opposed to this resolution. And, in fact, it was U.S. government policy during World War II—when they refused to let any Jewish refugees from Europe into this country—that was one of the worst sources of anti-Semitism and the death of Jews before the formation of the state of Israel.

Moderator. Gentlemen, we will be back in just a minute with more of "Face to Face."

* * *

Moderator. If you have ideas for future programs here on "Face to Face," we would like you to send those ideas to us at "Face to Face," TV Television, 5915 Berthold Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63110.

And this morning we're talking about the UN resolution on racism and racial discrimination. Mr. Jacobs you had a point you wanted to make.

Jacobs. Yes, I'd like to make a counterpoint to what Mr. Seidman said with respect to the Palestinians being driven out of the state and the implication of Israel's support to the United States with respect to Vietnam.

I'd like to emphasize once again that the Palestinians were not driven out, either during the time of the pioneers nor during the '67 war. During the '67 war they were given every opportunity to stay where they were, as many of them did in Haifa, as many of them did throughout the country. Where else would we have gotten our Israeli Arabs, our Arab Israelis, as you might want to put it?

So far as Israel's support of the United States being proof that because the United States was racist in its Vietnam policy, and Israel supported it—I disagree with that vehemently, because from a political standpoint, Israel I don't believe has any alternative. Remember, Israel has only one source of economic aid, of arms, of any help in the world—the United States.

Seidman. That's exactly the deadly logic of supporting Zionism in Israel for Jewish people, because they think that their interests are tied to the support coming from the U.S. government, a government that is the upholder of the world economic system of capitalism, which is the real source of anti-Semitism. If you think Nixon—when he sat in his room taping things with Haldeman and Erlichman and making nasty jokes about the Jews—was an aberration, then you're wrong. Those people are the potential menace of a new anti-Semitism in this country, and we cannot rely on the U.S. government or its wars in Vietnam or against the Arab peoples and the threat of sending U.S. troops to the Middle

East as any support or safety for Jews. Our road forward lies in allying ourselves in a struggle with Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans in this country against the U.S. government for fundamental social change.

Moderator. Gentlemen, let's sum it all up in about twenty seconds each. Why was the resolution right and proper?

Seidman. I would like to sum up by quoting from the Al Fateh organization, which describes the true dilemma of Jews in modern times. And then I'll stop.

Moderator. You'll have to be quick.

Seidman. Okay. "Jews contributed men, money, and influence to make Israel a reality and to perpetuate the crimes committed against the Palestinians. The people of the Book, the men of light, the victims of Russian pogroms, of Nazi genocide, of Dachau and other Polish concentration camps, shut their eyes and ears in Palestine and changed roles from oppressed to oppressor. This is the Jewish dilemma of modern times."

Moderator. Mr. Jacobs, in about twenty seconds.

Jacobs. I think that the resolution is wrong in its concept and in its effect in what it is going to do to the United Nations and the world. In the first place—

Moderator. No, the only place—We'll have to stop. I'm sorry. We'll accept what you say—your view that it's wrong. Thank you, Mr. Jacobs, and thank you, Mr. Seidman. I'm Gene Randall, and I wish you all a good day.

FURTHER READING

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism

By Peter Seidman

An answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's attacks on left opponents of Zionism, including a chapter on the little-known record of the U.S. government in closing the door to Jewish refugees from Nazi terror.

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A New Year's Discussion on Art

In this fictional dialogue, never published before in English, Leon Trotsky contrasts two views of art—psychobiological versus social-historical. He also contrasts art exhibitions in capitalist society—which he calls 'concentration camps of paints and beauty'—to what art could be in the socialist future—'beauty not shut up in special institutions, but permeating all our existence.'

When he wrote this article at the end of 1908, Leon Trotsky was a twenty-nine-year-old refugee from Russian tsarism living in Vienna.

In 1906 a tsarist court had sentenced him to the equivalent of life imprisonment because of his role as president of the St. Petersburg workers council (soviet) in the 1905 revolution. En route to Siberia he escaped and eventually made his way to Vienna, where he lived until World War I began.

There he published a paper called Pravda (Truth), which was smuggled into Russia. He also lectured and wrote for other publications of the working-class movement.

To earn his living he became a cultural critic, writing under a pseudonym for a liberal journal in the Ukraine, Kievskaya Mysl (Kiev Thought). The following article was published in No. 358 of Kievskaya Mysl, dated December 30, 1908. The translation is by Ian Fraser.

Since the journal was published under conditions of tsarist censorship, Trotsky could not use explicitly Marxist concepts. But as this article indicates, despite the need to use "Aesopian" terminology, he was able to present a powerful critique of conventional theories of art and an alternative perspective for art liberated from the distortions of an exploitative society.

Trotsky's later, more developed, and uncensored views on art can be found in the book Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art (Pathfinder Press, 1972).

By Leon Trotsky

Vienna. The Herrengasse. The Café Central. Silvesterabend (New Year's Eve). Prosit Neujahr! (Drink to the New Year!) All the rooms are filled to bursting. Lights, noise, ladies' hats, exhausted waiters, punch and grog. Prosit Neujahr!

Behind a long table a few members of parliament are playing tarok. Looking at these people, no one would have said that the burden of the foundations of the state was resting on their shoulders. They play at cards every evening and they do not see in the coming of the new year any reasons to break with established order. Beside them is a group of gutter-press journalists with ladies only half dressed; half-drunk glasses of wine, rounds of witticisms, and correct salvos of grateful laughter from the women. Commotion. Arrivals and departures. Prosit Neujahr! Everyone is wanting somehow or other to mark the fact that the earth has gotten 365 days older.

In a corner, beside a fountain that was not working, sat three men—a German doctor, a Russian journalist, and a Russian émigré of the seventies—and two women—a Hungarian artist and a Russian musician. They had been sitting for a whole hour already, and the conversation now widened, now narrowed, touching on the Turkish parliament, spending a while at the ruins of Messina, and after another couple of

zigzags stopping at painting. They were asking each other about the Russian artists' exhibition.

"Good God," exclaimed the doctor, turning to his Russian interlocutors, "What have you given us now, gentlemen? You have gone through so much in recent years in your astonishing country—who then should renew art, if not you? I admit that I went to that ugly building on the Karlsplatz with great expectations. And what? You have brought us just what we see here every year in the Sezession¹—only in smaller quantity and, if you will forgive me, in worse quality. In your whole exhibition there is nothing of your own, except maybe for a pair of not very important drawings of Bilbin. Isn't that so?"

"I fully agree!" said the émigré, supporting the doctor. "To judge from the newspapers, the 'national element' is insistent twitter in all the decadent cafés. And the result is the most international products, of less than average market quality . . . Coloristics for its own sake, an internally empty impressionism, one only in its adolescence at that, and one that lacks conviction, besides, for it is all borrowed.

"It's remarkable! The homeland of impressionism and stylization is Paris; not only we

1. The Sezession was an annual art exhibit held in Vienna by a group of artists of the same name that formed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It included architects, painters, sculptors, and others who sought a new art freed from the old forms. Sezession (Secession) meant a withdrawal from, or reaction against, the naturalistic art of the preceding period.



'Le Moulin de la Galette' by Auguste Renoir

'Impressionism would be unthinkable outside the culture of large towns. For this painting you need cafes, cabarets, cigar smoke, finally the transformation of night into day thanks to electric light, which deadens all colors . . . The peasant will not understand this art!'

Russians, but even you Germans, have been and are feeding on French inspirations. But nowhere does impressionism occupy such a modest corner in art as in France. There it has hardly come into circulation. But in any Charlottenburg [a famous residential area] in the suburbs of Berlin you have to enter the most wretched alehouse through a stylized door. Why? Because the Germans are incomparably poorer than the French in aesthetic culture, artistic traditions, conservatism of forms. And their power of resistance is less.

"And as far as we Russians go, in that respect you can twist us round your little finger. 'I am a German in Germany,' wrote Dostoyevsky once about the Russian intellectual, 'a Frenchman in France, a Greek with the ancient Greeks; and thereby I am a real Russian and I best serve Russia.' Something like that . . . But Dostoyevsky was fatally wrong, like all our originals. That universal personality that he thought he was, was only a historical lack of personality. And this showed itself very distinctly when the old compact way of life started to shake and fall to pieces. It came time finally for the intellectual to show his national physiognomy, but alas, it turned out to be only a blackboard completely covered with ready-made foreign writings.

"I, as you know, have been living abroad for thirty years, and I have been continuously observing the Russian intelligentsia from afar. Here is my unshakable conclusion: You've come too late, my dear! This intelligentsia will not create a national physiognomy—not in any field."

At the last words the old émigré had gone over from the German language to Russian.

"Struve, for example, is now blowing the horn of slavophilism,"² he said, turning to the journalist, "but look a little closer and you see he's slavishly copying the German national liberals; with the single difference that he replaces the Gothic alphabet with Cyrillic. Benois³ demands that the St. Petersburg cabarets no longer be called cabarets, or *überbrettel* [German for cabaret], but that 'the old Russian word *balagan*' be used, and he swears that if only this national reform were carried out, 'quite different music would be heard.'"

The journalist nodded affirmatively. The

musician made a motion as if to say something, but she checked herself. The doctor sucked on his Virginia cigar and wrinkled his forehead indeterminately; it was evident that he had not caught the thought.

"It's the same thing at this exhibition. Even on Rerikh, with his Slavic primitivism, nationality sits like a cardboard mask, under which the decadent cosmopolitan can be sensed. There isn't even anything to be said about the other ones!"

"But all the same," began the doctor, "there is at the exhibition one national feature, if you wish, of your intelligentsia that stands out sharply: its extreme nervous instability. This is for me, as a psychiatrist by profession, inexhaustible material. I stopped with attentive wonder in front of many paintings. What is one Anisfeld with his blue statue worth! And then Mr. Yakulov and Mr. Milioti . . . The philistine will shrug his shoulders and say: 'This man has made up a great bucket of blue paint and smeared a huge headless statue with it. What is his purpose? Obviously, to *épater le bourgeois* [to shock conventional people], to knock me off my feet!' But that is rubbish.

"I am not an admirer of the artistic productions of your Anisfeld, but I say: The reason for his abuse of blue is to be sought, not in his ill will, but in his abnormal optic nerve. He *sees* that way, that's all. And if he has admirers, that means his disease is typical. Who knows, perhaps in this abnormality lies the source of new aesthetic discoveries. It is a prejudice to think that our eyes are unchanging; they develop by selecting expedient abnormalities. The whole question is only whether a given abnormality of the optic nerve is on the main path of our psychophysical evolution or not."

"Excuse me, doctor," protested the Hungarian woman, "but what you are doing is just reducing art criticism to neuropathology!"

"To the advantage of both, I venture to think," answered the doctor. "Take the impressionists:⁴ striking, almost unbearable combinations of colors in some; just as striking a coloristic

miserliness in others. Do you know what is concealed behind this? *Daltonism*—color blindness! Don't shake your head ironically . . . True, this question has had relatively little work done on it; but in all cases that I have personally managed to investigate, I have always discovered organic or functional abnormality of the eye or ear as the source of new artistic forms and aesthetic experiences. In essence the development of all art—note this—goes by way of the strengthening and generalizing of fortunate individual abnormalities."

"That means our eyes and yours, doctor, suffer from Daltonism?"

"Inasmuch as colorist devices corresponding to that gain our attention—undoubtedly. In one degree or form or another. There's no need to be afraid of words: *abnormality* becomes the *norm* when it is caught up by the current of development and fixed as common property."

"It may be that all this is true," the journalist responded for the first time, "but your theory as little explains the evolution of painting as does chemistry by giving the formula for the decadents' paints. You leave unanswered the basic question: Why is it precisely now that the 'impressionist' mode of perceiving painted surfaces has triumphed? Or to use your words: Why is it precisely *these* abnormalities and not others that have become fixed? The answer is to be sought in the social circumstances, in the conditions of historical development; not in the structure of the eye, but in the structure of society.

"And here I say to you without any hesitation that impressionism, with its colorful contrasts and also with its coloristic anemia, would be unthinkable outside the culture of large towns. For this painting you need cafés, cabarets, cigar smoke, finally, the transformation of night into day thanks to electric light, which deadens all colors . . . The peasant will not understand this art!"

"You say that he won't understand any kind? Let us admit that. Let us take an educated peasant, let us take a peasant of genius—our Tolstoy. I do not know the structure of his eye, but I know the structure of his soul—and I say that he will turn away from this art . . . Even if it were irrefutably proved to me that the Russian intelligentsia has some sort of big shortcomings in its nerve centers, or that it has abnormal eyes and ears, this would teach me nothing about such questions as the sudden explosion of erotic aestheticism, as in the work of Andreev,⁵ or even

4. Impressionism is a school of painting that arose in France in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, best represented by Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir and Camille Pissarro. What characterized their paintings was an attempt to extend the quest for realism into the area of light and color. These painters moved out of the studio and away from traditional "picturesque" subjects to paint scenes from real life in the open air, including unconventional landscapes, city street scenes, and social life. Instead of painting careful detail and smooth shading, they used bold colors, strong contrasts, and quick, seemingly unfinished brush strokes to try to capture the visual experience of light and color.

2. Slavophilism was an ideology that promoted Slavic, and especially Russian culture as opposed to that of the West.

3. Aleksandr Nikolaevich Benois (1870-1960) was a Russian artist and art critic of French descent. He was a theoretical spokesperson for a group of innovative Russian artists at the turn of the century. After 1926 he lived and worked in Paris.

5. Leonid Andreev was a Russian writer whose work after 1905 was dominated by erotic and aesthetic motifs.

the work of these people—Anisfeld and Yakulov. You have to take the intelligentsia not by the ears—though maybe it would do no harm to take it by the ears too!—but by the soul. But its soul is social, conditioned by its historical fate . . . Even our dreams draw their content from the social milieu: cobblers dream of shoe trees and lasts; hangmen dream of ropes. All the more so for the 'dreams' of poetry and painting!"

Two points of view, the psychobiological and the social-historical, were in conflict, and each sought mastery for itself, not accepting compromise. Further argument had become inevitably fruitless and therefore annoying. And as always it was the women with their intuition who were first to realize this, though also, as always, they had taken almost no part in the argument.

"Have you been to the Kunstschau?" the musician asked the journalist.

"No! And I won't go unless my work strictly obliges me to."

"Why so?"

"Well, visiting art exhibitions is terrible violence against oneself. This mode of aesthetic enjoyment expresses terrible, capitalist, barracks-like barbarism. Even a single painting," continued the journalist, half-joking and half-serious, "involves a whole series of internal aesthetic contradictions, and an exhibition all the more so. You don't agree? Just consider a landscape—what is that? A piece of nature, arbitrarily cut out, put in a frame and hung on a wall. The connection between these elements—nature, the canvas, the frame and the wall—is completely mechanical; a picture cannot be infinite—traditions and practical considerations have fixed a rectangular form for it; so that it won't crumple and warp it is put in a frame, and so as not to let it lie on the floor a nail is hammered into the wall, a cord attached, and the picture hung on it; and then when all the walls have been hung—sometimes in two or three rows—they call it a picture gallery or an art exhibition. And we have to take all that—landscapes, genres, frames, cords, and nails—in at one gulp . . ."

"Well, now, this is starting to sound like Tolstoy's criticism of the opera . . ."

"What do you really want?" asked the artist. "To abolish painting? Or only exhibitions?"

"More than that—and also less. I am very far from Tolstoyan rationalism. I want painting to reject its absolutism and restore its organic connection with architecture and sculpture, from which it once separated itself. It wasn't wrong to separate, oh no! Since that time it has made an enormous and useful excursion, conquered landscape, become internally mobile, intimate, developed striking technique.

"Now, enriched with all these gifts, it must return to the bosom of its mother, architecture . . . I would like a picture to be linked not by a cord, but by its artistic meaning, to the walls, to the dome, to the intention of the building, to the nature of the room—and not to hang like a hat on a hook.

"Picture galleries, those concentration camps of paints and beauty, serve only as the deformed completion of everyday drabness and ugliness. Forgive the comparison, which at first may seem quite crude, but my thoughts turn to it involuntarily. Our culture knows yet another kind of concentration camp: the building where love is concentrated. People go there from time to time, burdened down by love, and pay to get in—as we run to exhibitions, burdened by the need for colors and forms. A time for concentrated love, a time for concentrated beauty.

"Such a distorted accumulation of pictures, statues, epochs, styles, colors, intentions, moods, could be created only by our cursed age of gray cubical houses, factory smoke, and black top hats. If flowers grew on the asphalt of our streets, if tropical birds alighted on the iron balconies of our houses, if emerald waves lapped at our windows, if in the evening the sun set in the sea, instead of disappearing behind the Gerngross sign—picture galleries would be impossible.

"I am not calling for a retreat; oh, no! Flowers, birds on the asphalt—none of that exists nor will it. Nor will we reject the asphalt of civilization, as Tolstoy hopelessly demands. But we do have another possibility: to struggle for a great synthetic beauty of the future . . . We have effaced the primary riches of colors and forms in order to replace them with new artificial ones—which, it is my strong conviction, are incomparably more perfect. But this new beauty does not yet exist today; it is scattered in fragments, splinters, and hints. And I take the view that the piece of nature put in a wooden frame covered with gilt is only a temporary and crude surrogate."

"Just a minute, just a minute . . . Aren't your constructions arbitrary? You reject what is—Where do you see the elements of the new art, where are your fragments and hints?"

"Everywhere! What is impressionism? The last word of 'independent' painting, that is, painting to hang on the wall. In its method, impressionism is the same as a mosaic, only not with colored stones but with coloristic spots and stripes. By doing away with lines and outlines, by decomposing colors into their component parts, the new art is dealing a mortal blow to the independent picture and at the same time opening the way from painting to architecture.

"I shall not name the whole series of impressionists whom the new technique has pushed onto the path of decorative painting; you know them better than I do. But take those same Anisfelds, Miliotis, and Krymovs; they are all longing for decorative goals, for the categorical imperatives of architecture.

"Here is a 'nocturne' in green, there a 'pre-historic landscape.' These are not pictures, just as a glass fragment from the window of a gothic cathedral is not a picture. They are simply pieces of canvas on which the artist has tried out various combinations of colors; a model for a dome perhaps, or for a window shutter . . . You will say that these artists are not a command-

ment. True. But take an indisputably great name: Turner. I looked at him again and again a few months ago in London, at the Tate Gallery. His *Winter Star*, his *Waterloo*, are not paintings, but waves of the most tender colors, illuminated by a secret light. There are no lines. All the objects are in a golden haze. Turner is too incorporeal for picture frames; he waits and looks for a noble architectural setting. In my extreme judgment, Turner is the destroyer of independent painting, as Wagner is the destroyer of absolute music . . ."

"Excellent," said the doctor, who was quietly sucking on a cigarette, as if in foretaste of the blow he was going to deal. "But do you know—and this is a fact established beyond doubt—that Turner was astigmatic. For him lines did not exist, only colored surfaces . . . Here again is the abnormality of the eye as the basis of artistic individuality!"

"That does not concern me, doctor. If there is a Turner on a canvas before me I enjoy it. That means there is something in common between me and him. Something apart from Turner and his malady. Something extrapersonal, social. Some kind of social and aesthetic link."

"And you yourself are not astigmatic?"

"No-o . . . I don't think so."

"Excuse me, but I am not convinced of that. Come and see me tomorrow and I'll take a look at your eyes."

Everybody laughed. The doctor had taken his revenge, and the conversation, which had been leaning to one side a little, reestablished its equilibrium.

"There is a lot of paradox in my friend's words," said the old émigré, smiling, "and a journalist can be forgiven that. But his basic thought seems to me completely correct. A synthetic art of the future! Beauty not shut up in special institutions, but permeating all our existence. A noble combination of nature, architecture, and painting. New *syssitia*⁶ as the Spartans had, but in conditions enriched with all the wonders of technology. Music as an accompaniment to thinking and acting. Life—out on the open forum—as art, as the highest form of creativity.

"But, gentlemen, synthetic beauty can be envisaged only on the basis of synthetic social truth. Humanity must become the collective smith of its own fate. Then people will be able to throw the main burden of labor onto the backs of mechanical slaves, overcome the elemental force of the unconscious in their own souls, and concentrate all their efforts on the creation of new, beautiful, sculptural forms of cooperation, love, companionship, communality . . . People need leisure, 'the right to idleness!'"

"Gentlemen, let us drink to that carefree, happy, brilliant idler of the future! Prosit Neujahr, my friends!"

6. Communal dining institutions in ancient Sparta.

Gandhi Coup: Turning Point for India

Last summer's dictatorial coup by Indira Gandhi was a dramatic example of the worldwide trend toward destruction of democracy under capitalism. The Indian ruling class feared growing discontent and rising protests by the Indian masses.

By Ernest Harsch and Malik Miah

"The president has proclaimed [an] emergency. This is nothing to panic about."

With these words, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi opened her June 26 speech announcing the declaration of a state of emergency throughout

India, the suspension of democratic rights, and her assumption of personal dictatorial rule.

She claimed that such drastic measures were necessary to protect the country, that antidemocratic and antisocialist elements were threatening India's democracy. "The actions of a few are endangering the rights of the vast majority," she proclaimed. "Any situation which weakens the capacity of the

national government to act decisively inside the country is bound to encourage dangers from outside. It is our paramount duty to safeguard unity and stability."

Even before her voice came on the air, the first phase of Gandhi's carefully plotted coup was set in motion. In the middle of the night, the police, following lists of names drawn up several days before, made lightning raids on the homes

of Gandhi's major political opponents, of both the left and the right.

Within weeks, as many as 80,000 political activists, students, teachers, trade unionists, and "lawless elements" were rounded up and thrown into Gandhi's jails and prison camps. The police and armed forces were mobilized "to maintain public order." Meetings, marches, and demonstrations were banned. The publication or distri-



Demonstration in Calcutta demanding food

bution of literature "likely to cause disharmony amongst different sections of the community" was outlawed.

In early July, Gandhi banned twenty-six religious and political groups. Regional offices of some of the groups were raided, hundreds of leaders and members arrested, and files confiscated.

From the first day of the coup, a tight censorship was clamped on the Indian press. Foreign journalists who refused to comply with Gandhi's censors were expelled. Even quotes of such leaders of the Indian independence struggle as Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Mahatma Gandhi are now subject to censorship.

A series of constitutional amendments was rushed through Parliament to place the state of emergency—as well as the offices of the prime minister, president, vice-president, and speaker of the house—beyond the jurisdiction of any court. The amendments were made retroactive, thus absolving Gandhi of any criminal charges placed against her.

Historic Turning Point

Gandhi's suppression of democratic rights in India constitutes an important turning point in the country's history.

Although the bourgeois democracy that functioned in India for close to three decades was feeble and corrupt—directly involving only a small percentage of the country's vast population—it nevertheless made it easier for the toiling classes to carry out political activity than would have been possible under a military or civilian dictatorship. The democratic rights that existed in India had been won by the Indian masses during their long struggle for independence from Britain, making the conquest a particularly precious one.

Limited though it was, India's democracy provided certain safeguards and allowed accurate information to appear in the press. Most workers were able to unionize and strike. Political groups could legally publish their newspapers, hold demonstrations, and participate in elections.

With one sudden move, Gandhi has swept away most of these hard-won rights. While it is possible that

the state of emergency will eventually be lifted and some democratic rights partially restored, it is clear that bourgeois democratic rule as it existed in India before June 26 has been permanently altered.

Gandhi herself has indicated that some form of authoritarian or dictatorial control will be maintained for the foreseeable future. "There can be no return to the pre-emergency days of total license and political permissiveness," India's new Bonaparte declared. "Political liberties and political rights can exist only so long as order remains."

Because of the strong democratic traditions in India, however, Gandhi was forced to portray her coup as the opposite of what it actually was, to claim that she was defending the best interests of the masses from an unruly and "undemocratic" minority. "I am sure you are all conscious," she said in her June 26 speech, "of the deep and widespread conspiracy which has been brewing ever since I began introducing certain progressive measures of benefit to the common man and woman of India."

It is not necessary to dig very deep to discover the real nature of this "conspiracy." The conspirators themselves, tens of thousands of them, carried out their activities publicly. Their demands—for an end to unemployment, inflation, famine, corruption—found a positive response among wider and wider sections of the population. Gandhi's ruling Congress party was beginning to be seen as responsible for the country's deteriorating economic condition. The possibility that the "conspiracy" might acquire truly massive proportions was what prompted Gandhi to take action before it was too late.

One recent indicator of the Congress party's declining support was the election of a new state assembly in Gujarat two weeks before the emergency was declared. From the commanding position it won in the state in 1972, when it gained two-thirds of the assembly seats, the Congress party slipped to a parliamentary minority, losing to a bloc of four opposition parties. It was also the first time the Congress had lost a statewide election in Gujarat.

As the election results were

coming in, Gandhi suffered yet another major setback. On June 12 the High Court of Allahabad, her home town in Uttar Pradesh, found Gandhi guilty of illegal campaign practices committed during the 1971 elections. The charges had been filed against her in April 1971 by Socialist party leader Raj Narain.

Opposition figures and parties stepped up their campaign to force Gandhi's resignation, holding demonstrations of tens of thousands and calling mass civil disobedience actions. Gandhi, however, decided not to wait for the outcome of her case. Instead of following Nixon's example in a similar situation and resigning, Gandhi threw her accusers into prison.

The Roots of Dictatorship

For years, the bourgeois propagandists in the United States and other countries extolled India as a capitalist showcase—"the largest democracy in the world." Brushing aside the massive poverty and suffering of the Indian masses, the Western editorialists and columnists repeatedly stressed that the population of India was better off than that in totalitarian China. Of course, this argument was greatly undercut by the enormous economic advances achieved in China since the revolution, advances made possible through socialist planning and despite the hindrances of repressive bureaucratic rule. But India remained the best example, at least in the political realm, of what capitalism had to offer the semicolonial world.

The Gandhi coup demolished this theme. It provided fresh evidence of a general trend that has become increasingly obvious since the turn of the century: the growing incompatibility of capitalism and democracy on a world scale. This has become clear even in such a bastion of capitalist democracy as the United States, where virtually every week there are new exposures of Washington's efforts to subvert democratic rights, from the illegal surveillance and harassment of domestic opposition groups to the overthrow of foreign governments.

But it is in the neocolonial world, where the ruling classes are particularly weak, that this phenomenon is currently the most generalized.

Although Gandhi's immediate

motivation for ending democracy in India was to save her throne, she was supported in her turn toward totalitarianism by the Indian bourgeoisie as a whole. The Congress party's wealthy backers knew that if they abided by the rules of their own bourgeois democratic system, and allowed Gandhi to fall, their political hold on the country could be seriously weakened.

The Indian bourgeoisie's hostility to democracy was evident from the early days of the independence struggle.¹ In 1937-38, for instance, while India was still a colony of Britain, the Congress party accepted posts in provincial governments. Although it had previously held demonstrations demanding an end to Britain's repressive legislation, it made full use of it when the Indian capitalist and landlord classes were threatened. It employed the Criminal Law Amendment Act in Madras against the Dravidian nationalist movement and in the North-West Frontier Province against peasant struggles. In Bombay it enacted the 1938 Bombay Trade Disputes Act, which curtailed the right to strike, and in Ahmedabad it used the notorious Section 144 of the British penal code against strikers.

When India won its independence from Britain in 1947, the Congress party, under the leadership of the "socialist" Jawaharlal Nehru, incorporated the repressive legal code of the British into the Indian constitution. The head of state was invested with the special emergency powers that made it possible for Gandhi to carry out her coup within the legal framework of the constitution. Those democratic rights that were institutionalized were won under the pressure of the Indian masses, who played an active role in the independence struggle.

From 1947 until Gandhi's June 1975 coup, the Indian rulers used their repressive powers frequently, when it was politically possible to

1. For a Marxist history of the Indian independence struggle, with particular emphasis on the limitations imposed by its bourgeois nationalist leadership, see A.R. Desai's *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (1948) and *Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism* (1960). Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

do so. There was a continual erosion of democratic rights as political power became more and more centralized in New Delhi.

When threatened with an uprising, the regime in New Delhi would declare the affected region a "disturbed area" and move in troops, as it did against peasants of the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh in the late 1940s and against the Naga and Mizo nationalist rebels in the northeast from the early 1950s until the present.

The first time a state of emergency was declared in India, during the 1962 border war with China, hundreds of members of the Communist party of India (CPI) and other leftist groups were arrested and detained to prevent a breach of "internal security." In December 1964, more than 900 members of the Communist party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)), which was formed after a split in the CPI earlier that year, were rounded up throughout the country.

Elected state governments that were in political opposition to the federal government were occasionally ousted and President's Rule imposed, which placed the state under direct federal control.

In areas where the Congress party's electoral position was weak (and even in those where it wasn't), countless forms of electoral manipulation, intimidation, fraud, and bribery were employed to gain votes or to hinder the opposition. The use of common thugs against political activists became a standard practice.

Beginning in the late 1960s, New Delhi launched a major campaign against the various Maoist groups, particularly against the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist).² Hundreds of alleged members or sympathizers of the CPI(ML) were killed by police and paramilitary forces, often "while trying to escape." Tens of thousands, especially in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, and Andhra Pradesh, were thrown into the country's antiquated and crowded prisons. There have been frequent reports that torture was used against them. Many of the political prisoners have spent years in jail without being brought to trial.

New Delhi has also struck out with repression against struggles of oppressed nationalities, such as the independence movements of the Nagas and Mizos in the northeast. India is made up of dozens of different nationalities, some of which (the Assamese and Dravidians, for example) have exhibited strong opposition to federal control. A successful struggle for national self-determination could have an explosive impact throughout India. In fact, it is a violation of the Indian constitution to advocate national self-determination.

One of the reasons New Delhi intervened in the national liberation struggle in Bangladesh in 1971 was to prevent the East Bengal example from spreading across the border to West Bengal.

Closely linked to New Delhi's inability to solve the country's complex national question is the continual outbreak of clashes between Hindus and Muslims. The creation of the predominantly Mus-



Within weeks, Gandhi ordered the arrest of 80,000 dissidents

lim country of Pakistan in 1947 did not end the religious strife, since Muslims still constitute a large minority in India.

In addition to national and religious divisions, large sections of the population are still oppressed on the basis of their relation to the rigid Hindu caste structure. In recent years, however, the lower castes, so-called untouchables, and *adivasis* (tribespeople) have begun to organize against caste discrimination.

Although the country faces gigantic economic problems, New Delhi has managed to allocate larger and larger sums to strengthen its police and military. A report released in 1974 noted that the budget for the Central Reserve Police had tripled in five years and the one for the Border Security Force had doubled in the same period. In 1969, the Central Industrial Security Force, a special police force to guard government property, was set up. Within four years it had tripled in size. The police expenditures for 1974-75 were set at \$200 million, compared with \$115 million for health and \$74 million for education.

Nor has New Delhi ignored its army, which is now the fifth largest in the world, composed of 830,000 troops (1.1 million including the Border Security Force). The Gandhi regime has launched a drive to achieve self-sufficiency in arms production and has already begun manufacturing tanks, aircraft, artillery, destroyers, and missiles. With the explosion of a "peaceful" nuclear device in 1974, New Delhi proved its ability to build an atomic bomb.

A Record of Poverty

From the ruling classes' perspective, the increased repression and the more frequent use of dictatorial powers—culminating in the June 26 coup—were necessary. The extreme poverty that has persisted throughout the twenty-eight years of Congress party rule has bred widespread unrest in both urban and rural areas. In many respects, the economic conditions of large sectors of the population have actually deteriorated.

About three-fourths of all Indians have no secure work and earn less than fifty dollars a year; about half of them earn less than forty dollars a year. Real wages today are actually less than they were in 1947.

India's stagnant industrial sector cannot absorb the millions of

persons entering the labor market each year. According to some estimates, as many as fifty million workers are unemployed. In addition to the most destitute sections of the working class, the skilled layers have also been hard hit, with unemployment among the educated increasing 20 percent each year; of the sixteen million youths who graduated from colleges in 1974, one-third cannot find any work. Underemployment in India is also a chronic problem.

The stagnation in the rural areas has been even more pronounced. Because of the bourgeoisie's ties to the wealthy landlord class, no significant land-reform measures have been carried out.

About 38 percent of the peasantry are agricultural workers, owning little or no land. Another 45 percent own small plots of land or work as tenant farmers. The remaining 17 percent own more than half the cultivated land in India, which they either rent out at exorbitant rates or have worked by landless agricultural laborers. An estimated forty-five million landless peasants, most of whom are "untouchables," are in almost continual debt to landlords or moneylenders. In some areas semifeudal property relations still exist. Unemployment in the countryside has risen 600 percent in the past two decades.

Because of the "overpopulation" in the countryside, relative to the amount of work available, millions of peasants have flocked to the cities in search of jobs. Finding none, they have been forced into the hundreds of slums and squatter settlements that proliferate in most major Indian cities.

In addition to all the other daily sufferings, the Indian masses still face the periodic danger of famine. For the poorest layers, in fact, it is a continual threat. Because of the agricultural and industrial stagnation of the capitalist economy, the country cannot produce enough food to keep its population alive, nor can it afford to import enough to stave off the threat of starvation.

The much-touted "green revolution" of the late 1960s did nothing to improve the situation. Only the wealthy farmers could afford the special hybrid seeds and fertilizers necessary to increase farm productivity; those farmers grew even wealthier as a result. Nor could the "green revolution" prevent large-scale farmers or hoarders from limiting production or withholding grain from the market to artificial-

ly boost prices.

The average consumption of food per person in the early 1960s stood at 480 grams a day; today it is down to 418 grams. Average meat consumption has dropped from three kilograms a year to less than two.

The inability of the bourgeoisie to develop the country economically is particularly glaring when India is compared with China. In 1947, China was as underdeveloped as India was, if not more so. With the introduction of planned production after the Chinese revolution it was possible to increase agricultural and industrial productivity and eliminate the danger of famine, which had been a common occurrence before the overthrow of capitalism. Today, China's gross national product is between two and three times that of India.

The Gujarat Example

Indira Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress party have tried to avoid responsibility for India's deteriorating conditions. Claiming to be "socialist," they demagogically pose as defenders of the poor and as sworn enemies of the corrupt and the wealthy. In the 1971 elections, for example, the Congress party won a landslide victory on the slogan of "Garibi Hatao" (Abolish Poverty). In reality, the Congress party is backed by the most powerful sectors of the Indian bourgeoisie, such as the monopoly interests controlled by the Tata and Birla families.

By early 1974 the Congress's "socialist" image had become totally tarnished and the party was beginning to be identified by ever broader sections of the population with the same corrupt and wealthy interests that it claimed it was against.

The first significant indication of this mass disillusionment with Congress party rule came in Gujarat, which was considered one of the most developed and economically stable states in the union. In January 1974, protests by students against inflation quickly led to large demonstrations against food shortages in the government-run ration shops in the state. Other sectors of the population joined the protests on a massive scale. The demands soon escalated to a call for the ouster of the Congress party's corrupt chief minister for Gujarat, Chimanbhai Patel, and the dissolution of the Vidhan Sabha (State Legislative Assembly).

Ahmedabad, the state capital, was paralyzed January 10 by a general strike called by the Fourteenth August Shramajivi Samiti, a united-front organization led by the leftist trade unions. A successful statewide general strike was held January 25. New Delhi responded to the upsurge by sending in federal troops and killing more than eighty-five persons. Patel, however, was forced to resign February 9 and to suspend the state assembly. But the protesters were not satisfied by this concession. They held demonstrations and strikes demanding the dissolution of the assembly and the holding of new elections. On March 16, the assembly was dissolved.

The upheaval in Gujarat was unprecedented in the history of postindependence India, touching virtually every city and town in the state. It reflected a wide discontent with conditions in Gujarat, which

2. The CPI(ML) was formed in 1969 after a pro-Peking split in the CPI(M). Members of the CPI(ML) are often called Naxalites, after the 1967 peasant uprising in Naxalbari, West Bengal.



Periodic famines still plague masses of India. The highly touted 'green revolution' only aided the wealthy farmers.

were similar to those in many other states. Significantly, the populations in the cities—students, workers, and slum dwellers in particular—took the lead in the protests. The upsurge as a whole was not under the control of any established political party, whether of the right or the left. New organs of struggle, such as the Nav Nirman Samitis (New Order Committees), arose.

The example of Gujarat quickly spread to Bihar, one of India's poorest states. In March 1974, students in Bihar staged protests against food shortages, inflation, corruption in the state government, and unemployment. On June 5, about 500,000 persons marched through the state capital, Patna, demanding the dissolution of the Vidhan Sabha.

As in Gujarat, federal troops were sent in, killing more than eighty persons. Home Minister Dixit justified the repression by claiming that the unrest was a "fascist" attempt to stifle democracy.

In April 1974, Jaya Prakash Narayan, an old disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, emerged from retirement and proclaimed himself the leader of the mass movement in Bihar. With his populist image and radical credentials,³ J.P., as he was popularly known, became a rallying symbol for forces opposed to the Congress party. In alliance with various right- and left-wing parties, Narayan had a strong influence on the political direction of the Bihar movement.

As the unrest in Bihar developed, India was hit by a countrywide general strike of railway workers, the first such strike since 1960. Demanding recognition as industrial workers, an eight-hour day, and

a minimum wage, the railway workers paralyzed India's transport system for twenty days. Gandhi broke the strike by arresting tens of thousands of railway workers. One of the principal leaders of the strike, George Fernandes, the head of the Socialist party and a leader of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, later allied himself with Narayan.

Narayan tried to extend the base of the Bihar opposition movement to other states, with the aim of building a viable political bloc capable of opposing the Congress party at the federal level.

The first significant step in this direction was a demonstration of 100,000 in New Delhi March 6, 1975. The protest was supported by the reformist Socialist party, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD—People's party of India), the Peasants and Workers party (PWP), the Hindu-chauvinist Jan Sangh, the Socialist Unity Centre (SUC), the Revolutionary Socialist party (RSP), the conservative Organisation Congress (Congress [O]), the Forward Bloc, the Marxist Communist Centre, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK—Dravidian Advancement Association), and other opposition parties. The CPI(M) later supported actions called by this bloc.

Among the points in the Charter of Demands presented to Parliament March 6 were: a minimum wage for all; controlled prices of basic necessities; full employment; land reforms; full political and trade-union rights for workers in commercial and industrial enterprises in the public sector; an end to corrupt electoral practices; lowering of the voting age to eighteen years; educational reform; and an end to such repressive legislation as the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Defence of India Rules.

For their own political purposes, the opposition leaders tried to weaken the radical thrust of these demands by couching them in

mystical Gandhian terminology.

One of the focuses of the campaign by the opposition parties was to expose corrupt government figures. By the time of the coup, Gandhi herself had become the chief target of the anticorruption campaign. As with Nixon's Watergate scandal in the United States, the charges of corruption against Gandhi were but a reflection of a deeper social crisis in the country as a whole.

The most influential of the opposition parties in the anticorruption movement appear to have been the Socialist party, the BLD, Jan Sangh, and Congress (O), which emerged from a right-wing split in Gandhi's ruling Congress in 1969. In an effort to exploit the volatile political situation for their own ends, these opposition parties tried to ride out the wave of unrest in the country and to channel the "dangerous" mass protests in a safe electoral direction. They scored an initial success when the Janata Morcha (People's Front), a coalition composed of these four parties, won the Gujarat state elections in June.

Gandhi used the participation of the rightist parties in the protests to brand the mass movement as a whole as "reactionary" in an attempt to deflect attention from her own policies.

However, the most important aspect of the movement was not its present leadership, which is primarily right-wing, with some reformist influence, but its mass character. It was not a tool created by the opposition parties to use against Gandhi, but arose spontaneously as a result of the desperate economic conditions facing the Indian masses. Significantly, most of the demands raised by the March 6 demonstration in New Delhi were either democratic or in the economic interests of the peasants, workers, and petty-bourgeois layers.

The rightist bourgeois opposition parties were forced to demagogically raise these demands or lose their political influence. The Indian capitalists, in their overwhelming majority, continued to support the Congress party because of their fear that Narayan and his right- and left-wing allies would not be successful in controlling the mass movement. Demands such as those raised at the March 6 demonstration, even if they are put forward by thoroughly reactionary organizations, could inspire the masses in other parts of the country to press for similar demands on their own, possibly leading to new "Gujarats" that could pass beyond the control of the traditional political leaderships.

It was to head off such a possibility that the Indian capitalists backed Gandhi's efforts to crush and demobilize the mass movement.

CPI: 'Strengthen Gandhi's Hands'

The failure of the two main Stalinist parties in India, the CPI and CPI(M), to provide any leadership for these mass struggles made it possible for the rightist forces to fill the vacuum to a certain extent and to gain some political influence over the mass movement. The orientation of both the CPI and CPI(M) is toward popular-front electoral maneuvers. Neither has the perspective of mobilizing the Indian masses against the capital-

ists or of organizing independent working-class struggles. When they do stage mass demonstrations or other actions, it is in support of their class-collaborationist policies.

Although both Stalinist parties advocate allying with the "progressive national bourgeoisie," they differ in their attitude toward the Gandhi regime. The CPI follows the foreign policy line of the Soviet Stalinists, who back Gandhi. The CPI therefore considers Gandhi's wing of the Congress party part of this "progressive national bourgeoisie." The CPI(M), which is aligned with neither Moscow nor Peking, does not.

The CPI's support for the ruling bourgeois circles has made its role particularly treacherous. In Bihar, for instance, it became the strongest defender of the Congress party state government in opposition to the demands of the anticorruption movement for its dissolution. "Blood will flow in the streets if the Legislative Assembly is dissolved," the CPI warned. On November 11, 1974, it organized a mass demonstration against the "rightist offensive" of J.P. Narayan. One CPI slogan has been "Strengthen the hands of Mrs. Gandhi to fight the combined reaction."

At the CPI's tenth national congress in February 1975, Chairman S.A. Dange said that India faced two main dangers: imperialism and the "fascist movement" of Narayan. At the same congress, the Stalinist party called for the installation of CPI-Congress coalition governments in all of India's twenty-two states.

When Gandhi staged her June 26 coup, the CPI tried to give the suppression of democratic rights a left cover. It claimed that Indian "reactionaries" had "put forward their plans for subverting democratic institutions at a time when U.S. imperialist circles threaten the independence, security, and unity of India by setting up military bases in the Indian Ocean and encouraging the splitting of Indian and [encouraging] counterrevolutionary forces."

The CPI's position was an echo of the position taken by its mentors in Moscow. The June 27 *Pravda* stated: "The measures taken by the president and the government are aimed at defending progressive gains and frustrating plans of the reaction."

The CPI has a long history of defense of bourgeois and even imperialist rule, following the twists and turns initiated in Moscow. During the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Moscow and the CPI opposed Britain's efforts to mobilize its Indian colony in support of the war effort. After Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, however, Moscow did an about-face and backed the Allies. The CPI then supported Britain's—and India's—participation in the imperialist war, coming into direct conflict with the Indian independence movement, which launched a massive noncooperation campaign in 1942 demanding that the British "Quit India." While the British imperialists arrested independence fighters on a wide scale and banned the Congress party, the CPI was legalized as a reward for its dutiful aid.

Jawaharlal Nehru exploited this treacherous line of the CPI in order to strengthen the Indian bourgeoisie's control over the nationalist struggle. In an October 24, 1945, speech, Nehru declared that "the

3. Narayan was a well-known leader of the Indian independence struggle. In 1934 he was a founder of the Congress Socialist party, a Social-Democratic formation within the Congress party. In 1952, after leaving the Congress party, he helped found the Praja Socialist party.

role of the Communist party had made all nationalists its 100 percent opponent," and that "when thousands of Indians staked their all for their country's cause the Communists were in the opposite camp, which cannot be forgotten." He also noted that "the cause of Communism had suffered most at the hands of the CPI."

By 1962, when the border war between India and China broke out, the CPI supported the capitalist Nehru regime against the Chinese workers state. A draft resolution adopted by a CPI National Council meeting in November 1962 was entitled "Unite to Defend Our Motherland Against China's Open Aggression." Although Moscow initially took a "neutral" position on the war, it later added its backing to the Nehru regime.⁴

Since the mid-1969 split in the Congress party, which culminated in Gandhi's victory over the Morarji Desai wing, the CPI has consistently backed the Gandhi regime. This was also in line with Moscow's foreign policy objectives.

Moscow's main interest in the Indian subcontinent is to gain diplomatic leverage against both Washington and Peking. Soviet support for Gandhi became particularly evident in 1971 during the Bangladesh independence struggle and the war with Pakistan. The same year, the Indo-Soviet "friendship" treaty was signed. During Soviet Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India in November 1973, a fifteen-year "economic development" agreement was signed, providing for increased trade between New Delhi and Moscow and Soviet participation in India's iron, steel, and oil industries. Moscow also promised to supply SAM-6 anti-aircraft missiles.

The CPI's continued backing to Gandhi was part of this Moscow-New Delhi deal. In case the CPI had any doubts about the role assigned to it, Brezhnev met with CPI leader Dange, advising him to support Gandhi and not to encourage strikes. Since Dange is also

4. The CPI leadership sided with Moscow in the Sino-Soviet dispute as early as 1960. That dispute, plus the CPI's total support to Nehru during the 1962 war, precipitated the 1964 split in the CPI, which led to the formation of the CPI(M).

general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, one of the largest union federations in India, this piece of "advice" was particularly helpful to Gandhi.

On December 19, 1973, shortly after Brezhnev's visit, Gandhi tried to allay the uncertainties that some Congress party leaders had about her alliance with the CPI. Speaking to a meeting of Congress members of Parliament from Uttar Pradesh, she said that the CPI alliance had "helped to contain communism" in India, rather than strengthen it.

The CPI leadership may face problems as it becomes clear to their rank and file that the Gandhi coup was directed not only against "right reaction" but also against the left. In addition to providing a left cover for Gandhi's policies, the Stalinist CPI is laying the groundwork for future attacks against itself.

The 'Opposition's' Lukewarm Response

Some protests and demonstrations were staged immediately after Gandhi declared the state of emergency.

In early July, in the southern city of Madras, in Tamil Nadu, the ruling party in the state, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, organized a protest rally of 100,000 persons. In Gujarat, a number of protests were staged against the state of emergency by the Janata Morcha coalition regime. A rally of 10,000 persons was held July 26 after a week of nonviolent civil-disobedience actions, or *satyagraha*.

The rally and earlier actions organized by the Janata Morcha were much smaller than could have been held. The coalition leadership consciously limited the size of the protests for fear of losing control of them. Chief Minister Babubhai Patel of the Congress (O) explained: "We have to see to it that we don't lead people into violence or destruction of property. But public feeling has to be given expression, though in a restricted way."

The mass protests in the spring of 1974 had taught these "leaders" of the opposition some lessons. They had lost control of the masses and were only able to reassert their

influence when things cooled down. To maintain their "opposition" status, however, a few protests against Gandhi's coup were required—but only token ones.

Protests were also reported in New Delhi, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, and Haryana. In Amritsar in the northern state of Punjab, 300,000 Sikhs reportedly demonstrated July 9.

The Maoist Naxalites are continuing their past suicidal course of propagating guerrilla warfare as the main road to a socialist India. They denounced the coup and viewed it as having been engineered by "Soviet social imperialism." According to Satyanarayan Singh, the leader of one faction of the CPI(ML), the coup now makes it "easier to convince people of the necessity of armed struggle."

The CPI(M) is capable of organizing mass protests, even though it has suffered the arrest of several of its top leaders and thousands of its members. But it has so far staged only a few token demonstrations in the state of Kerala. From all indications, the Stalinist leaders of the CPI(M) are hoping that the state of emergency will be declared unconstitutional by the courts.

Gandhi's Smoldering Volcano

The default of the main opposition leaderships has made it easier for the Congress party and its CPI allies to portray Gandhi as a woman on a white horse fighting off internal reaction and external subversion.

But the Indian bourgeoisie realizes that opposition to the government will grow unless some of the worst effects of the economic crisis, such as uncontrolled inflation and widespread food shortages, are eased. Gandhi's twenty-point economic program, announced July 1, was designed to limit corruption, hoarding, and black-marketeering and to give the appearance of moving on the broader social and economic problems facing the masses.

The twenty-point program is little more than a rehash of earlier Congress party promises. It pledges the distribution of some surplus land to landless peasants, an end to bonded labor, legislation

to limit the size of land holdings, the liquidation by stages of peasant debts to rural moneylenders, tax relief in the cities, a "crack-down" on smuggling and the hoarding of essential commodities, and the institution of price controls.

The implementation of such a program would be a major step forward for the country's impoverished millions. But the Congress party has no intention of carrying it out. The rural bourgeoisie and the landlords, along with the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie in the cities, are the principal backers of the Congress party. They would not tolerate such measures.

Gandhi's real economic program is to increase production through the strict disciplining of the rural and urban working class. Shortly after announcing the twenty-point program, Gandhi banned all strikes and other labor actions under the guise of preventing "economic chaos." She attempted to enlist the aid of the trade-union bureaucrats—most of whom support the Congress party or the CPI—in this effort.

The "socialist" rhetoric in Gandhi's program and the limited actions against black-marketeers, smugglers, and hoarders were designed to win some support from the poor peasants and urban slum dwellers. The inability of the opposition parties to expose Gandhi's "progressive" facade helps her perpetuate these illusions for a while longer and hinders the organization of a working-class response to her antilabor actions.

Because Gandhi's economic program cannot close the vast gap between the country's rich and poor, her antidemocratic measures will inevitably lead to greater opposition by workers and peasants to the regime. The bottling-up through repression of India's class tensions will only make the future social explosions more powerful and on a broader scale than those before the coup.

New "Gujarats" are on the horizon; the Indian ruling classes and their agents cannot prevent them from developing. Gandhi's future as Empress of India will be a shaky one.

Two Readers Comment on the 1976 Resolution of the Socialist Workers Party

The November *ISR* was a special issue devoted to the SWP resolution 'The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution.' We have invited readers to send us their comments, criticisms, or questions on this document. Here we print two initial contributions, and urge readers to continue to send us their comments.

The 'New' Volunteer Army

By a GI, Ft. Sill, Okla.

Editors: The SWP resolution "The

Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution" rightly counts GIs among the allies of the proletariat, but oppression has silenced and isolated GIs. I feel that conditions are right for the beginnings of a soldiers movement and the time has come for serious discussion among socialists

of the course for soldiers to follow. The problems are obvious and the experience of veterans of social movements can help clarify solutions.

The military is in a crisis even greater than that of other institu-

tions in this society. This is reflected in the special media aimed at the military, and is obvious to soldiers. The military more than any other institution was shaken by defeat in Vietnam, and no one seems to be able to give rational direction toward a recovery. The only efforts have been toward

cosmetic changes; and the volunteer army is almost identical to the conscript army.

Professionalism is a goal that the new, volunteer army professes as its watchword. The ideal seems to be a highly trained army of mercenaries who kill effectively out of habit. Perhaps this is necessary when wars are no longer voted on, and it becomes harder and harder to put over the notion that this country is ours.

It would be a task indeed to convince soldiers—serving under the first nonelected commander in chief (appointed by a criminal who was a master at subverting democracy) that they are fighting for democracy. We live in an era when people are realizing they've been duped and that the government is not theirs. Secret diplomacy and CIA armies have been implementing policies that the people catch glimpses of only when renegades from the government like Daniel Ellsberg or Philip Agee air the nation's dirty laundry for us.

* * *

As the country moved deeper into the recession, military sources announced the "success" of the volunteer army. All services were meeting 100 percent of enlistment quotas month after month.

But the success must be a hollow victory for them. Far from being a highly disciplined fighting force, the military is rapidly becoming a battlefield itself. Increasingly, commanders are relying upon the heavy hand of military "justice" to keep even the appearance of order. Almost to a man in the lower ranks, soldiers readily proclaim that they wouldn't fight in another Vietnam—or in a Middle East war either.

Coupled with this is an erosion of the soldiers' standard of living. Real pay increases were implemented as enlistment incentives during the transition to the volunteer army, but severe reductions in benefits are a characteristic of the recession army. The Vietnam-era GI Bill ends this year, and it is doubtful that even the economic conscripts of today's army would have volunteered without the selling point of educational benefits.

Ford recently imposed a 5 percent lid on pay increases throughout the military as an austerity measure, and promises to continue the lid next year. This comes as a bitter blow to all soldiers who had been led to expect that the meager 8.6 percent increase proposed by Congress would easily pass. This "austerity" measure is in keeping with Ford's attack on the living standards of the workers of this

country.

Since the volunteer army was initiated, two strikes by GIs have been covered by the capitalist media. One in Germany raised issues of democratic rights, including the right to elect officers. Another strike by Black soldiers raised demands for equal treatment for Blacks in the community. These spontaneous eruptions are indicative of a far-reaching rebelliousness among all soldiers.

By far the most terrifying issue to the military and civilian rulers today is that of unionization. When an official of the public employees union revealed that his union was "considering" organizing soldiers, a hot debate was touched off in the military press that continues from month to month. The Pentagon feels so threatened that it has seen fit on several occasions to issue statements declaring its total opposition to unionization.

The existence of unions in other armies, such as the Dutch army, adds gravity to the situation; and reports on unionized armies have filtered into the capitalist media. Many American soldiers resent the fact that the U.S. Army continues to enforce inane rules—haircuts, salutes—while unionized armies have been forced to scrap such nonsense. Soldiers in these armies receive overtime pay for extra duty, and have the union as a means to fight for democratic rights.

That there will be no serious attempts to unionize the military in the near future is almost certain. The challenge this presents to the government and the new life it could add to the labor movement will be significant issues for the socialist movement in this country.

A soldiers union would by nature deal with political issues—war, democratic rights of soldiers—and could play a part in nudging labor to a course of independent political action.

In the meantime, soldiers toil under a system that becomes more repressive with the availability of an army of unemployed. Order is maintained by the threat of unemployment on the outside. The number of bad discharges increases each year as disillusionment with and contempt for the system cause more and more soldiers to clash with it, in spite of the certainty of harassment and victimization.

There are numerous obstacles to soldiers who want to organize—the continual transfers from location to location, isolation from civilian radical movements, continual overturning of personnel. A realistic look at the problems renders little hope of a mass organization arising from the efforts of soldiers

alone. The assistance of those experienced in organizing and defending other movements is needed. Bridges must be built that break the isolation of soldiers.

The Portuguese revolution should serve as a cue to socialists that soldiers can play a progressive role in proletarian movements. Effective organizing in the ranks now could help to ensure that in the future revolution, soldiers would act in concert with workers to set up a workers government.

Another Oppressed Minority

By Almeda Kirsch

Editors: The Socialist Workers party resolution published in the November *International Socialist Review* is a thorough, painstaking, precise document. It investigates every nook and cranny of our society, examines and analyzes the economic forces, the political currents and crosscurrents, and leaves virtually no stone unturned.

However, there is one group of people that I think deserves further treatment. This group—another oppressed minority—is the elderly, aged, old, senior citizens, retirees, those over sixty-five, or whatever they might one day choose to be called. This group suffers the same kind of bigotry, economic deprivation, and job discrimination that is suffered by other oppressed minorities. Just as the oppressed nationalities, women, small farmers, students, middle classes, and GIs are, as noted in the resolution, potential allies of the working class, so are the elderly.

This is a sizable group and one that is getting larger. Thanks to science and technology the peoples of the world are surviving longer. Statistics tell us that there were 19 percent more elderly people in 1970 than there were in 1940, producing a total of twenty-three million over sixty-five. This group extends across all class lines—as do women—and comes from all sectors of society. The aged minority is unique in that it is a group that the whole population—barring sickness and accident—can look forward to entering.

The oppression of the elderly has many similarities with the oppression of Blacks and other nationalities. As a group it has no positive identity. There is no preparation in our society for the elderly state. Books, radio, and television pay little attention to older citizens.

When age is dealt with it is either ridiculous, evil, a failure, unhappy, or just a big joke. Nearly always something to be shunned.

As a group the elderly have also been left out of the history books, along with women, leaving no past to identify with.

The aged also suffer their own special discrimination in housing. Housing for the old, especially public housing, is fought against in many communities. On the other hand, there is shameful and shocking profiteering in the nursing-home business as well as the so-called sun cities of the West and the low-cost housing communities of Florida and other parts of the country.

Housing—which is very often paid for with the whole Social Security check after a down payment of life savings—has been found to be flimsy, small, inadequately furnished, and segregated in isolated places where tenants can be stuffed away out of sight. Old-age ghettos are developing all over the country with the exploitation that goes along with them.

Lack of employment also oppresses those over sixty-five. Even though many retirees would prefer to be working, employers in many instances require retirement at sixty-five or even earlier. This is an oppression that equals the "last hired, first fired" of the Blacks or the sexist "women's place is in the home." There are laws that prevent age bias in hiring, but none that protect those over sixty-five.

Employers discriminate against the older workers in much the same way as they discriminate against women and ethnic minorities—they are pigeon-holed and stereotyped. Reasons for not hiring include being unproductive, not strong or fast enough, absent too much, more prone to accidents, inflexible, can't get along with younger workers—all generalizations that ignore individuals and are not borne out by statistics.

A by-product of this bias and mandatory retirement is to place a heavier and heavier tax burden on the younger generations. Already this is beginning to create a division in the working class. Fear has been expressed that the increased voting power of the elderly will be used to exploit youth in the form of higher Social Security taxes. One sociologist has recommended a maximum voting age. This division of generations becomes one more weapon in the hands of the bosses.

Like students, those retired have no direct specific relationship to production. They are not exploited or superexploited, but unlike students they are simply cast aside. This is a real pariah status, and a very real oppression.

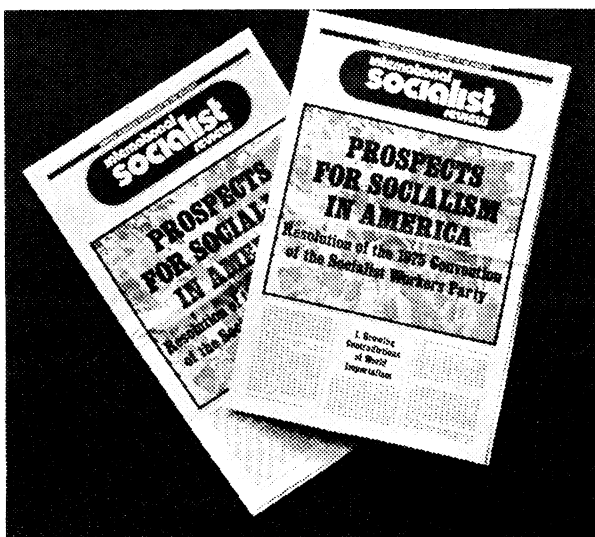
More and more the elderly are behaving as other minorities have, and are making themselves heard. A White House spokesperson estimates that six million senior citizens have joined activist organizations. There have been marches on Washington; in Michigan traffic has been stopped. In Cleveland an elderly activist group succeeded in winning concessions from Pick-N-Pay and Kroger's food stores in the form of discounts.

This is an oppressed minority that needs to be discussed by revolutionary socialists. The elderly pariahs of our society will be among the allies of the working-class struggle for socialism.

Still Available...

Copies of the Socialist Workers party resolution, "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution," are still available. If you want a copy for yourself or some to distribute to friends or co-workers, order now.
10 cents for a single copy
4 cents each for 10 or more

Order from: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014



Continued from page 10

alleged attacks on strikebreakers and that Fox punched one of the officers. Police also say they didn't touch Fox except to "help" him into the paddy wagon.

Ten witnesses at the home, including Muehlenkamp, say Fox never punched the cop. As usual, the victim is accused of being the criminal, and Fox was charged with assault and resisting arrest.

That night the local labor council held a support rally for Fox and his union. Council head Rudolph Miller attacked the police action as "Gestapo tactics." Fox, who by this time was out on bail, also spoke at the meeting.

The Lakeshore Nursing Home has been on strike almost two months; negotiations have broken down. While the home has taken in some scabs, they have had to move out some patients, and they won't let reporters in to see the conditions. The workers have recently been joined in their strike by workers at other local nursing homes.

David Brandt
Rochester, New York

Illogical proposal

Mr. James Phelps, a syndicated capitalist columnist, recently made an outrageous proposal to deny voting rights to all welfare recipients by a constitutional amendment. He also suggested that they all should be fingerprinted to avoid so-called welfare cheaters. Here is my reply in a letter to the editor:

In a recent "Today's Logic" column, Mr. James Phelps made a vicious, mean, and cruel attack on so-called welfare cheaters.

By following Mr. Phelps's "logic," farmers, corporations, and even Social Security recipients would be denied voting rights, since they all receive government handouts. Depriving welfare recipients the constitutional right to vote strips away their last bit of dignity.

Perhaps a big welfare voting bloc would demand jobs, training, and a chance to succeed, instead of wanting bigger welfare payments. I suggest that Mr. Phelps look elsewhere for scapegoats. Cluttering up the U.S. Constitution with useless, ridiculous amendments won't do. I think his column should be renamed "Today's Illogic."

J.B.
Chicago, Illinois

Correction

The November 28 *Militant* reported that Wisconsin Young Socialist Alliance team members organized a debate on the topic "The role of the Democratic party in changing society" with a University of Wisconsin professor who is a Fred Harris supporter.

This was really just an informal discussion between the professor, a team member, and about ten students in the professor's home. It is true that several Harris supporters are interested in the socialist alternative and will be attending the YSA convention. They had planned to do this before the discussion, not as a result of it.

Jane Harris
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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



Time to plan for the future

The world crisis of the capitalist economy has hurt many employers, especially those involved in the manufacture of consumer goods; and it is a catastrophe for millions of workers, especially those without jobs. Under these circumstances it seems logical to most of today's union officials that labor and management ought to get together in a joint effort to end the crisis. If this is so, where does the cooperative effort begin?

This is the question that General Secretary-Treasurer Jacob Sheinkman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers failed to answer in a talk he gave recently at a labor-management conference in Buffalo, New York. It wasn't entirely his fault. Some important sectors of the employing class that once accepted the idea are no longer convinced that labor-management cooperation serves their purposes.

The conference faced the fact that business is bad all over, but New York and the entire Northeast are in the grip of what Sheinkman sees as a "long-range decline in manufacturing."

The trouble is lack of long-range-planning, according to Sheinkman. He said, "On a national level our failure to plan has led to the worst drop in output in forty years, the greatest unemployment in thirty-five years, the steepest inflation in a generation, the largest peacetime budget deficits, the worst energy shortages, and the gravest crisis in municipal finance."

He thinks better labor-management cooperation is needed. "It is my hope and expectation," said Sheinkman, "that, as concerned citizens representing two major segments of our economy and society, this conference will make a contribution to the long-range planning which is required for the realization of the mutual goals and objectives of both those segments."

This is typical. Talk of class collaboration goes round and round and gets nowhere. Union officials are full of hopes and expectations these days. They hope for the best and expect that the employers will hit upon some scheme to bring back prosperity. Whatever it is, they will support it and call it labor-management cooperation. But that is not creating any jobs at the moment. Nor does it lower rents or the cost of food.

One reason for the poor standard of living of working people today is too much labor-management cooperation in the past. The employers are actually quite skilled in long-term and short-term planning for their own needs. It just happens that their needs are different from those of the workers. The bosses always need high profits, and that means low wages. A good example of this is the garment industry, where labor-management cooperation has been practiced for more than three decades and wages border on the poverty level, often dipping below it because of part-time work and piecework rates.

What the workers in this and other industries need is some planning on their own part through their unions to promote their own interests for a change. They can do this better *without* the cooperation of the employers, employer-dominated government agencies, and other political institutions of the employers, such as the Democratic and Republican parties.

At the present time workers would have a better chance of improving their conditions if they planned for a general wage increase and demanded some protection against rising prices through an escalator clause in their next union contract to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices.

They should also plan to force the federal government to launch a massive public works program to provide useful work at union wages for everyone who is unemployed.

All this comes under the general heading of planning. It is planning to meet the needs of the vast majority of people, the only kind worthwhile. But the employers and their political agents oppose this because they see no profit in it for themselves.

These plans require independent political action by the unions against the Republican and Democratic parties. So working men and women ought to plan now to build their own labor party, to elect working-class representatives to public office who will put these plans into government practice.

It is a good way to start the new year. The old labor-management schemes of the past ought to be left behind as reminders to the union movement of self-defeat.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Third National Institute-II

"No," Basil Paterson replied to a question, blushing. "Blacks have never made an impact on a presidential convention of the Democratic party."

Paterson, the Black vice-chairperson of the Democratic National Committee, was speaking at a workshop at the Third National Institute for Black Elected Public Officials in Washington, D.C., December 11-13. His admission underlines the hopeless predicament of Black elected officials (BEOs) in trying to significantly influence the policy and practice of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The theme of the institute—actually a conference—was "Politics and the Black Economic Condition."

The gathering, which was rife with partisan digs and barbs, was designed to show BEOs prescribing a remedy for the malady afflicting Black America. But there was very little discussion addressing Black needs.

With the gathering occurring only a few months before the Democratic primaries and the Democratic convention, observers instead could detect a good deal of energy being spent in closed-door skull sessions, where BEOs discussed Democratic presidential candidates, internal party affairs, and various schemes to enhance their positions as brokerage agents for the Black vote in the Democratic party.

It was reported that Gary, Indiana, Mayor Richard Hatcher was disappointed that the gathering did not agree to endorse a Democratic presidential candidate or develop an overall Black strategy for 1976. Hatcher, whose credentials as a mover and shaker in Democratic circles are nearly without flaw, has been involved in numerous squabbles at national Democratic gatherings over Black representation in the party hierarchy.

He has called for the convening of a National Conference on Black Politics.

If the gathering did not agree to endorse any of the Democratic candidates, it was not for lack of an opportunity to become familiar with them. There were open-house socials for participants at the hotel gathering to meet former U.S. Sen. Fred Harris, Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh, and Sargent Shriver. At the cocktail hour prior to the evening banquet, Washington Sen. Henry Jackson circled through the crowd.

A National Association of Black Elected Officials was formed "to coordinate, lead, and finance organizations of Black elected officials," according to Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, who first mentioned the idea in a speech.

NABEO, Jackson said, would not undermine the efforts of other organizations of BEOs, but would teach BEOs "not to be grasshoppers"—meaning little creatures that are insignificant and subject to being stomped upon by big creatures.

A major concern of BEOs lately has been their need to bolster their clout and authority as spokespersons for the Black community.

A phrase that was bandied about during the gathering was, "Politics is the cutting edge of the civil rights movement." It was used to impress upon BEOs that they, as elected officials from the Black community, must be the spokespersons for it—not nonelected Blacks.

Many BEOs have felt increasing pressure to become more responsive to the Black community, and the holding of this conference and undoubtedly a portion of what was discussed behind closed doors were moves to figure out ways of trying to lower the heat.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



But some of his best friends . . .
—A diary of the late Henry Wallace, once vice-president, describes Harry Truman's exasperation in coping with the Palestine issue. Wallace said Truman "expressed himself as being very 'put out' with the Jews. He said that 'Jesus Christ couldn't please them when he was on earth, so how could anyone expect I would have any luck?'"

Dig those highs—A report from the Bahamas suggests vacationers bring along a tape recorder and notes one tourist spot "where nighttime Sound and Light presentations retrace the early years of the Bahamas. As the chapters of history unfold, an open

microphone will catch the prerecorded cries of prisoners in the fort's dungeon."

Car dealers, unite—A St. Louis auto dealer sent Congress a petition allegedly signed by 350,000 people to make the legislators "more cost-conscious and to cease mandating numerous standards that are not in the interest of the public." Like, who could be interested in living longer?

Blessed are they that taketh—The Pallottine Fathers, a Baltimore-based Catholic missionary order, raised up to \$15 million on a mailing of 106 million fund letters featuring a sweepstakes with two cars as top prizes. During the period, they spent



Remember the hard-hat demonstrations a few years back? Do you suppose it was one of the FBI's little tricks to discredit the left?

about \$400,000 on missionary work. Recently the good fathers lent Maryland's Gov. Marvin Mandel money for his divorce, with the funds channeled through a local car dealer.

Theological flexibility—Vatican historians have reluctantly decided that Pope Adrian V, who was elected in July 1276 and died thirty-two days later, was not a pope. The reason Pope Adrian was not a pope is because Pope Paul VI recently declared that a pope must also be a bishop. Pope Adrian wasn't.

Schedule or program?—An Ann Arbor, Michigan, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate sent out a weekly political schedule to the media. Each day's listing was "nothing."

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Italian CP & abortion

Twenty thousand women in Italy die from illegal abortions every year. Those who escape death face the threat of a five-year jail sentence if they are caught having an abortion.

In Italy, abortion is still a "crime against the race"—illegal under legislation passed in the 1930s by the fascists.

Today, however, a powerful movement to legalize abortion is surging to the fore. On December 6, 10,000 women marched in Rome.

The demonstration was part of a broad campaign to abolish the fascist-era law and make abortion legal. While the campaign has drawn massive support, there has been a scandalous exception, the Italian Communist party.

The Italian Stalinists and the country's ruling party, the Christian Democrats, have blocked together to stab the abortion-rights movement in the back.

Their immediate goal is to prevent a referendum on the abortion laws. Supporters of legal abortion have collected 800,000 signatures on petitions to get

a referendum held. On December 12, the Constitutional Court ruled that the petitions are valid. The referendum will occur sometime in 1976, unless the government in the meantime replaces the abortion law with new legislation.

To block a vote on the issue, the CP and the Christian Democrats are trying to foist on the Italian people a "new" law that makes only the most minimal improvements. According to the November 30 *New York Times*, "Under the pending bill, abortion would be permitted in the first 90 days of pregnancy if the mother's physical or mental health is threatened, if she can prove dire economic or social consequences, if there is a risk of a malformed baby or if the pregnancy results from rape or incest.

"The decision would be up to the doctor. . . ."

Initially the Stalinists backed even stricter measures, but these were defeated.

Abortion-rights activists have responded with outrage at the bill. They are demanding that women—not doctors, husbands, or the Communist

party—determine their own fate.

How did a party such as the CP, supposedly in favor of socialism, wind up with such a reactionary stand on abortion? It's all part of practical politics.

The Stalinists' goal is the "historical compromise" in which they would share power in the government with the Christian Democrats. To achieve this, the Stalinists need to prove they can "cooperate" with the ruling party and avoid alienating powerful anti-abortion forces, especially the Roman Catholic Church.

For the CP, the loss of the lives of 20,000 women a year is a small price to pay for a few posts in the cabinet and a few friends in the Vatican. Their role in the "historical compromise" is to crush struggles for liberation by the Italian masses, thus helping guarantee capitalist "stability."

But the thousands of women involved in the fight for legal abortion have served notice that they have no intention of allowing the CP to betray their struggle.

Their Government

Nancy Cole



Remember when it was 'illegal'?

Remember how Sen. Edward Kennedy promised that "at a single stroke" Congress could "drive the moneylenders out of the temple of politics" via the 1974 campaign finance law?

Remember how the U.S. Court of Appeals dismissed any of the law's "incidental" violations of constitutional rights because of its celestial aim of "cleansing the democratic process"?

And, remember how it *used to be* illegal—albeit unenforced—for corporations to contribute to political candidates?

Well, it isn't illegal anymore. And you can credit that same federal campaign act—and its brainchild, the Federal Election Commission—with eliminating some of those embarrassing "illegal contribution" scandals the ruling class has had to contend with since Watergate.

Congress started it by placing provisions in the law allowing corporate political-action committees. And the FEC added the finishing touches in November when it ruled that Sun Oil Company could totally subsidize its committee.

With \$100,000 Sun Oil will run its "responsible citizenship program," which is entrusted with solic-

iting political contributions from the company's employees and shareholders.

You might ask why \$100,000 is needed for a committee that, according to the "anticorruption" law, can only contribute \$5,000 to a presidential candidate before the party convention and another \$5,000 to a party nominee afterward.

But the law doesn't say *how many* committees each company can have. With the only restriction being that they must have different officers and function "independently," corporations and business associations have assumed their patriotic duties thus far by setting up more than 300 committees. Since the Sun Oil ruling, the FEC has received requests for committee registration forms from 50 more.

Each committee, appointed and funded by the company's tops, can go about collecting funds, and after the limit to a particular candidate is exhausted, the committee can contribute an unlimited amount to Democratic and Republican party organizations, who in turn can contribute to candidates.

And this is the law that, according to our friends from Common Cause, is the greatest reform ever

legislated! To add insult to injury, the law's federally subsidized matching funds—that is, our tax dollars—are to start rolling into the coffers of the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates come January 2.

For example, more than \$2 million is "due" George Wallace, \$1 million goes to Henry Jackson, and to Morris Udall, \$611,000.

There's been an interesting turnabout in the ranks of those taking sides in the campaign "reform" debate. For some of the law's sincere backers, it's become clear that the whole thing's a farce and a threat to the rights of dissidents. For some of those in the "business community," it's looking better and better.

After the Sun Oil ruling, Richard Godown, general counsel of the National Association of Manufacturers, predicted a "quiet revolution" for American politics.

It's now possible, he proclaimed, "to recite a litany of permissible activity on the part of corporations in the political arena, which would not have been possible only four years ago."

Let's hear it for "reform."

Independent campaign for '76 discussed by Black Assembly

By Baxter Smith

The challenge is thrown to us here in Gary. It is the challenge to consolidate and organize our own Black role as the vanguard in the struggle for a new society. To accept that challenge is to move to independent Black politics. There can be no equivocation on that issue. History leaves us no other choice. White politics has not and cannot bring the changes we need.

—Preamble to the National Black Agenda

The challenge that was raised at the Gary, Indiana, Black political convention in 1972 has gone unmet for almost four years. Nineteen seventy-six is a presidential election year, and it may go unmet through then and even beyond.

Created out of the Gary convention was the National Black Assembly. This was designed as the vehicle that would do the day-to-day work in implementing the Gary proposals, and it was composed of 10 percent of the some 4,000 delegates.

Originally including a much wider array of forces in the Black community, the assembly has narrowed as Black elected officials and other moderates, reminding themselves of "other responsibilities," have left. This has been due chiefly to the militant resolutions the assembly has adopted opposing Zionism and cop terror and addressing other issues—even though the assembly has done very little around these resolutions—and the increasingly radical rhetoric of its former secretary-general, Amiri Baraka.

While the assembly today has only a shadow of the authority of the broadly representative Gary convention, it is the only national Black political organization maintaining any semblance of independence from the Democratic and Republican parties and hoping to unite broad forces in the struggle for Black liberation.

Presidential campaign

In February the Black assembly voted to field a presidential candidate in 1976 who is "not a Democrat and not a Republican." The chief backer of the idea was Baraka, head of the Congress of African People (CAP). Baraka has also solicited support for an "anti-depression, anti-repression, anti-Democrat, anti-Republican" presidential campaign from the chief Maoist organizations, but all have opposed the idea.

Since the February meeting there have been three other national meetings of the assembly, the most recent in Dayton, Ohio, in mid-November. Next March 17-21 the assembly will hold its biennial convention in Cincinnati.

For about a year most of the assembly has been divided into two camps in voting on many issues. One camp is rallied around assembly Chairperson Ron Daniels. It has included chiefly Black nationalists and moderate, reformist forces. The other camp, which views itself as more militant than the Daniels camp, is composed chiefly of CAP.

At the Dayton gathering of about 270 people the Daniels camp outnumbered Baraka's five-to-two. It succeeded in voting nominees it favored into assembly offices over those favored by Baraka. It also carried the vote on all measures that it favored, including tabling discussion of the presidential campaign.

This was a sharp rebuke to Baraka. But it has long been the intention of many in the Daniels camp to strip Baraka of his power in order to make the assembly "safe" for Black elected officials and other moderates to reenter.

Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher was the last of the prominent Black elected officials to leave the assembly. He is now reportedly trying to pull together a moderate, more "respectable" Black organization that will be devoted to electoral politics. In February Hannah Atkins, the Oklahoma state representative who was the assembly treasurer, resigned, objecting specifically to Baraka's "scientific socialism."

Baraka steps down

Just before the Dayton gathering, Baraka announced that he was resigning as secretary-general but that he would function on the local level because he did not want to be part "of this leadership clique which now sees the National Black Assembly as its own pocket bauble and instrument to broker money and position from the bourgeoisie."

Baraka remarked in a brief interview during the Dayton meeting that he would remain a part of the assembly and fight what he termed its "rightward drift." He declined to comment, however, on whether he would drop out of it if it endorsed a Democratic or Republican presidential candidate.

"I can't see them doing that so I

aren't ready for that yet."

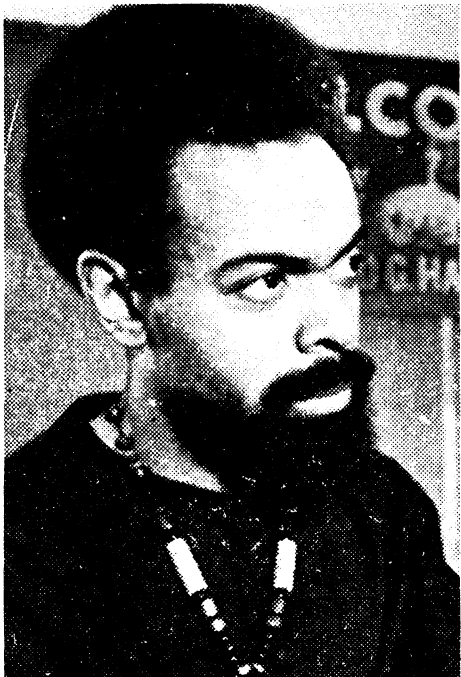
Daniels acknowledged that the assembly was once much broader, but now it is "getting less support." He charged that Baraka's leftist rhetoric was responsible for narrowing the group.

Of the proposed campaign, Daniels told the October *Black World*:

"It is important that we use the 1976 elections as a vehicle to educate the masses of our people to the contradictions and the vicious nature of monopoly capitalism as it relates to our people, and that beyond the election itself, there be an instrument as a repository of that sentiment which can agitate for both reform and reconstruction."

Daniels said the campaign should address itself "to the various problems that occur within the Black community, and to do it on a basis which offers an opportunity to coordinate efforts among different organizations inside the Black community."

Baraka's view of the campaign, in the CAP paper *Unity and Struggle*, argues that it would be wrong to simply "deal with the 'bread & butter' or immediate needs of the people." Instead, the campaign must call "for a



Baraka (left) and Daniels differ over perspectives for '76 campaign. Daniels says March convention will vote on presidential candidate and platform.

can't speak to that at this time," he said. "There are elements moving to the right but I don't see them moving that far."

After the meeting, however, Baraka charged that a "college professor-poverty pimp" clique of "petty-bourgeois compradors" and "Democratic lackeys" had taken over the assembly.

'Marxist' campaign?

Daniels, a nationalist leader in Youngstown, Ohio, says he envisions the campaign as independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

"The Democrats and Republicans are not offering any alternative to Blacks," he said, adding that he didn't believe those parties are concerned about the welfare of Blacks. "The campaign has to be independent of them."

"The masses of Black people are tired of picking between Tweedledee and Tweedledum," he stated. The "two-party system does not respond" to Black needs, because the "Republican party has the same interests" as the "Democratic party, which is an extension of the one-party mechanism."

Daniels says that ultimately a Black party is needed to fight for Black interests.

Daniels said his interpretation of Baraka's notion of the campaign is that it must be "Marxist—and people

new social order to replace this present decadent bourgeois society with the working class and oppressed nationalities in control of the state and the economy."

"We must also use such a campaign to oppose the S-1 bill, the bicentennial, the coming imperialist war, and to generally mobilize the much needed united front against imperialism."

The Cincinnati convention, assembly leaders explain, will formulate the program the candidate will run on, and ratify the candidate. Daniels says the program will most likely contain planks similar to the issues raised in the strongly worded Black Agenda, which demands, among other things, free medical care for families with incomes of less than \$10,000; "Black-controlled, publicly-funded 24-hour day care centers"; and the withdrawal of all U.S. "corporations, military bases, communications facilities and other institutions which contribute to the dehumanization or subjugation of African and Third World peoples."

At this point it is unclear what course the assembly will take. There are some in the Daniels camp who, all along, have felt uneasy with the idea of running an independent campaign. They prefer that the organization shelve such plans.

In a future article we'll take a look at what independent Black political action could accomplish.

Report finds more 'errors' in Attica charges

By Baxter Smith

Sixty-two prisoners were charged with 1,289 felonies simply because of "errors of judgment," concludes the newest state-ordered probe into events following the 1971 Attica prison revolt.

"There was no intentional cover-up in the conduct of the Attica investigation" by state officials, Bernard Meyer wrote at the very beginning of his 130-page study. Meyer, a special state investigator, was appointed after charges were aired of selective prosecution by the state.

The report was completed in October, but Democratic New York Gov. Hugh Carey did not release it until December 21.

Carey announced the appointment of yet another investigator, Alfred Scotti, to determine if indictments should be sought against law enforcement officials.

Although Meyer's report begins—defensively—by claiming there has been no cover-up, a gross cover-up continues.

Only one cop has been named in an indictment, for the minor charge of "recklessly discharging a shotgun."

The two grand juries that are still hearing evidence in the Attica revolt returned "no bills" on December 19 in their investigations of four state troopers and three prison guards, clearing them of charges.

There is no guarantee that these bodies will be any more willing to return indictments even if Scotti comes up with further evidence against cops or state officials.

The Meyer report admits there were "criminal acts of brutality to inmates" during the retaking of the prison. But this is known to anyone who has read the study by the McKay commission—the Rockefeller-appointed body that returned a crushing report on the state's responsibility for the bloodshed.

The Meyer investigation was prompted after former assistant Attica prosecutor Malcolm Bell resigned last December, charging that his superiors were selectively prosecuting only prisoners and former prisoners and not cops and state officials.

"The Meyer report," Bell remarked, "is like a pyramid without a point."

Bell's reference is to Meyer's conclusion that there has been no cover-up. Bell believes the opposite.

Meyer claims that Bell's charges have "proved not well founded" and are "based more on emotion than on fact."

But facts establishing a cover-up are not hard to find. Anthony Simonetti, Bell's superior in the case, granted immunity to two top state police officers who led the prison assault. He granted immunity to a third officer on what even the Meyer report said "should be regarded as a technical crime."

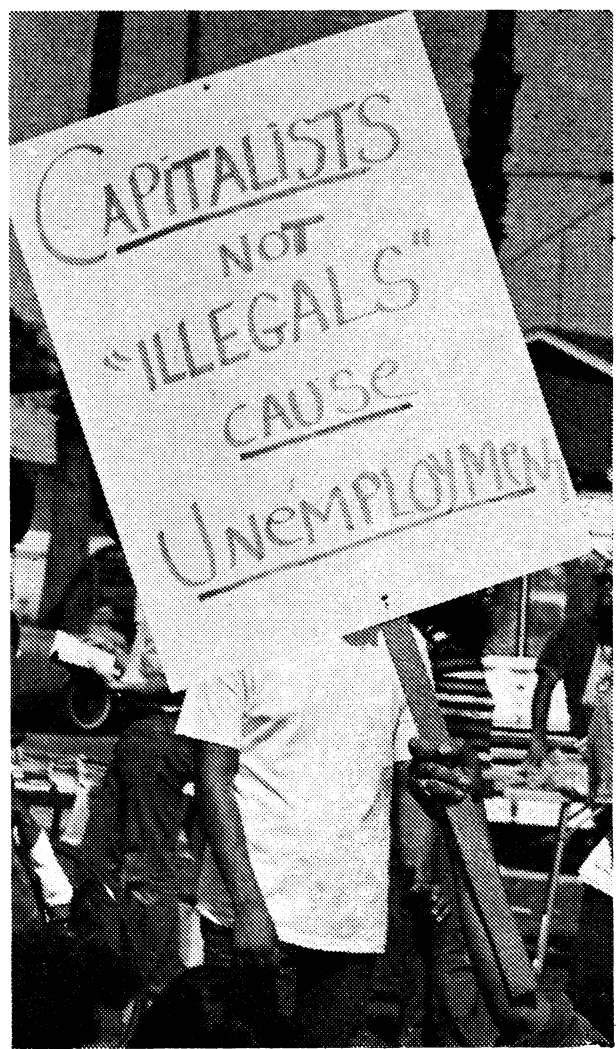
Besides the 130-page study, two other volumes by Meyer, totaling 440 pages, have not been released because they relate to matters pending before the Attica grand juries.

"We remain entirely convinced the cover-up was intentional and the blame lies with public officials all the way up to the then governor," a representative for the Attica defense committee said. Total amnesty for all prisoners will continue to be their demand.



Militant/Andy Rose

Union debates stand on 'illegal aliens'



Militant/Walter Lippmann

[The following letter is reprinted from the December 18 issue of the *Painters Voice*, official monthly newspaper of Painters Union Local 4 in San Francisco. It was submitted by two members of the local, Nat Weinstein and Roland Sheppard, in response to a column "Cabezud Comments," in the November 24 *Voice* (see box on this page). Weinstein and Sheppard have both run for public office in San Francisco as Socialist Workers party candidates.]

To the Editorial Board of *The Voice*:

In the November 24, 1975, issue of *The Voice* an attack is made against certain unnamed "members" of Local 4 by J.J. Cabezud, a member of the paper's Editorial Board and an officer of the local union.

In this article, Brother Cabezud wonders "where their interests really lie—with the Union or in furthering their own private and political interests." To make sure that there is no mistake about which unnamed "members" he has in mind, Cabezud gives two "subtle" clues: They are "the same people," he writes, "who attempted to take over this Union in the union elections of 1970." And he continues further along, "These people are perennial runners for Mayor or Supervisor in San Francisco under the banner of the Socialist Workers."

Since we, the authors of this letter, are to our knowledge the *only two* members of Local 4 that fit

the description—slanted as that description may be—we feel we owe the readers of *The Voice* this response.

We will not waste the reader's time responding to Cabezud's baiting of us, which is clearly designed to poison the atmosphere in a discussion of questions of great importance to our membership.

Oppose deportation

What are the issues in dispute? Is it whether or not to deport "illegal aliens" as a means of enforcing the contract? Yes; but that's only a small part of the difference of opinion. However, let us get that part of the question out of the way quickly: We are absolutely opposed to deportation of "legal," or "illegal," "aliens"! Solidarity with all workers, native- or foreign-born, is a time-honored principle of the labor movement. In fact the labor movement was built with the help of "aliens," many of whom were illegal. It is, moreover, a practical as well as a moral principle, based on the fact that deportations or any other form of victimization of immigrant workers aids the employers and cannot, never has, and never will aid the labor movement.

The United Farm Workers, for example, have learned that it is the *very threat of deportation* that puts the immigrant worker under the thumb of the bosses. Deportation is used to intimidate these so-called "illegal aliens"—our class brothers and sisters—to divert them from fighting for union wages and conditions! It is, on the contrary, in the interest of organized and unorganized farm work-

ers, painters, factory workers, etc., to *oppose* deportation! As a matter of fact, the UFW at one time supported deportation. But they were forced to reverse themselves when they discovered to their dismay that it was primarily pro-UFW farm workers who were deported, while the scabs were allowed to stay and vote against the union!

But as we said earlier, there is a larger issue in dispute. This dispute over "illegal aliens" comes up in the context of setbacks we have suffered resulting from the three-pronged attack on our living standards under way for the past several years: inflation, ever higher taxes, and unemployment.

'Divide and rule'

What is truly amazing is that this attack by the employing class against all workers has been as successful as it has. After all, workers are the overwhelming majority in the country, yet we are steadily losing ground to the small minority of industrialists, bankers, and other capitalists. (It is an undeniable fact that when real wages go down, real profits go up.) But how is it that a small minority of bosses can dictate to the big majority of workers? It's really very simple, and all of us know how it's done: Divide and rule!

First they attack the construction workers, blaming them for inflation. The mass media, controlled by the boss class, whips up a hysteria against us and many workers fall for it—even some of our union officials! Then it is the public employee who is singled out for attack; they are blamed for soaring taxes. Then the "illegal alien" is made the scapegoat for unemployment. Each time, some of our officials try to climb on the bandwagon and start bad-mouthing other unions and unprotected workers. And, lest we forget, intermingled throughout the divisive efforts of the bosses is the deadly poison of racism and sexism that they foster in a thousand different ways.

How in the world do the bosses get away with this old trick used by every ruling minority throughout history? One indispensable prerequisite for the divide-and-rule game is the aid and assistance given by our labor "leaders." Sometimes this assistance is rendered gratis! The poison of prejudice blinds them to harm done to their own class. More often these labor "leaders" make a deal or *think* they have made a deal, or *hope* to purchase a favor for "their" members at the expense of other unions or groups of working people. Indeed, it has happened that one "leader" will stab another "leader" in the back, just for revenge! Of course, it is the rank-and-file members who suffer.

It would be foolish, and wrong, for us to leave the impression that all the officials at the heads of the unions are scoundrels who are motivated by ill-will toward their memberships or even a kind of indifference to the plight of their memberships, or simply bought off. Even Cabezud, in our opinion, probably means well. But "the road to hell is paved

Bureaucrat raps socialists for opposing deportation of 'aliens'

[The following is excerpted from a column, "Cabezud Comments," in the November 24 issue of the *Painters Voice*.]

There are many ways to harass scabs, by calling the State License Board, the State Safety Division, the proper taxing agencies, etc. but we do not receive the proper cooperation from them. The reasons given are that they do not have enough personnel. Not so with the Immigration Department. When scab contractors are using "illegal aliens" for dirt cheap labor one call is enough to that Department and they respond immediately. Would you believe that there are members who attend Union meetings who oppose the enforcing of the Agreement and the safeguarding of our Trust Funds in the latter manner? Sometimes I wonder where their interests really lie—with the Union or in furthering their own private and political interests. . . .

In New York City alone one hundred thousand "illegal aliens" have taken jobs away from hard-working citizens, paying no tax but enjoying the services the City has to offer. Illegal aliens are being employed on non-union building construction jobs while the industry suffers 20% unemployment. We cannot let this thing happen in the Bay Area. What shocks me is that I was taken on by some of the same people who attempted to take over this Union in the union elections of 1970. These people are perennial runners for Mayor or Supervisor in San Francisco under the banner of the Socialist Workers. They managed to have one of their candidates for the Board of Supervisors endorsed by Local No. 4 over the opposition of Morris Evenson, Bill Daly, Duane Hellesto and myself. Thank God he had no chance of being elected. If the Socialist Workers Party supports the "illegal alien" and their candidates get elected we will be in a bad situation.

with good intentions," as the poet said.

The reason many of labor's "leaders" play the bosses' game—wittingly or unwittingly—is because at bottom they have no confidence in the intelligence and fighting capacity of rank-and-file workers. The employing class, in contrast, appears to our misleaders as all-knowing and all-powerful. Thus they conclude that workers can't win on their own. This key mistake leads to mistake after mistake. Our labor "leaders" make deals with "good" bosses against "bad" bosses; with "good" capitalist politicians against "bad" ones. In each case some poor suckers are sacrificed outright. And in the long run we all get double-crossed by the so-called friends we helped to elect. Let me cite but one example:

George Meany supported the imperialist war in Vietnam. What a price we had to pay for Meany's vain efforts to win the favor of the boss class! The blood of our sons to preserve big business's right to plunder and murder that poor miserable people in Indochina! For what? The payoff, so far, has been the biggest assault against organized labor since the end of the First World War!

You see, George Meany and others like him have painted the whole labor movement into a corner. Meany has identified our unions with his racist, disloyal, anti-working-class policy. No wonder the spirit of labor solidarity is at such a low ebb. No wonder workers will look the other way when some union comes under attack.

Certainly, the control the bosses have over the mass media gives them a power way out of proportion to their size; but the way to overcome it is *not* to pander to the anti-working-class prejudices the capitalists instill in the workers themselves. But that's exactly what Cabezud did in his article attacking the "illegal alien." He pandered to these prejudices, playing right into the hands of the bosses in their game of divide and rule.

Ranks are dissatisfied

Something else bugged Cabezud into writing that disgraceful article. We think it was the fact that the majority of painters who attended the meeting where the "illegal alien" issue was discussed voted to endorse Juan Martínez, the Socialist Workers



Militant/Harry Ring

SHEPPARD, WEINSTEIN: 'Union misleaders pander to racist, sexist prejudices instilled by bosses.'

party candidate for S.F. Supervisor. Cabezud is bugged because they voted to endorse a socialist to register their dissatisfaction with a political policy he is identified with and that has led to one disaster for labor after another. And that included, in our opinion, a put-down of Cabezud's anti-"illegal alien" remarks.

It is perhaps most important to note that events at that meeting go to prove that workers can be won over to a policy that clearly furthers their own class interests, despite the vast propaganda machine of the bosses. All they need is to hear the workers' side of the story. This is what must have really bugged Cabezud.

In conclusion: We are convinced that it is possible to unite working people in a victorious struggle to defend their class interests. But that can only be done if we break with pro-employer policies, break with capitalist political parties, and begin to build a broad social and political movement based on working people and their *natural* allies—Blacks, Chicanos, women, and all the most oppressed. This means the formation of a labor party based on the unions, a party that will speak in the name of working people and elect workers to office.

It is time we again inscribe on labor's banner—with no hedging, no ifs, ands, or buts—*An injury to one is an injury to all!*

Fraternally,
Nat Weinstein
Roland Sheppard

D.C. 'Post' strikers rebut union-busting propaganda

By Jim Gotesky

WASHINGTON—"Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one," reads the headline of a full-page ad in the *Washington Star-News*, purchased by Post Unions United, a coalition of printing-trades unions on strike against the *Washington Post*.

The union ad responds to the lies, distortions, and half-truths featured in an ad placed by *Post* management in the December 11 *Star-News*.

The *Post*'s ad charged that International Printing and Graphic Communications Union Local 6, by protecting its "control" of the pressroom and "privileges" of its members, was responsible for the *Post*'s decision to bring in 200 permanent scabs to take the jobs of striking press operators.

To the contrary, the unions explained, *Post* management has always controlled the pressroom through a "mark-up" that establishes the number of operators and the number of shifts worked. The press operators' local provides workers to meet the management mark-up.

The ad pointed out that the alleged "privileges" of the press operators were simply the hard-won hospitalization and health-care provisions that the *Post* wants eliminated in its union-busting campaign.

Citing a remarkably frank *New York Times* interview with Mark Meagher, *Post* vice-president and general manager, the unions pointed to the two-year "contingency plan" the *Post* made in preparation for provoking a strike.

According to Meagher, the *Post* made "propositions that we knew the unions—the pressmen particularly—were going to find difficult to accept." The *Post* began training nonunion workers to run the presses—"obviously secretly"—in order to be able to lock out the press operators when they found the *Post*'s offer unacceptable.

The scab training school in Oklahoma City used by the *Post* not only trains scabs but also provides "analytical services" for newspaper managements.

Studies are done of each city, assessing the strength of the union movement, the composition of the population, and other factors for the purpose of recommending strikebreaking scenarios.

The union statement described the first major step against the press operators, taken in 1974. The *Post* reduced the mark-up for running the presses by thirty-six operators without reducing the work to be done.

A court fight stopped the *Post*. U.S. District Judge George Hart found in the union's favor and ordered arbitration. A campaign of on-the-job harassment of the press operators followed, costing the press operators more than \$100,000 in arbitration costs.

The *Post*'s refusal to negotiate capped its two-year drive against the press operators, forcing the walkout October 1.

The *Post* is now blacklisting press operators not only in Washington but also in Baltimore and



December 13 demonstration

Militant/Ed Mattos

Chicago. The Montgomery County, Maryland, Civil Liberties Union has begun investigations of these and other violations of the press operators' civil rights.

They contend that rights violations are also involved in the grand-jury investigation of damage sustained by the presses at the time of the October 1 walkout. The grand jury has denied the press operators called before it the right to retain the union's lawyers to handle their cases.

Other provocations against the strikers continue. In the past several days, both *Post* owner Katherine Graham and top union-buster Leonard Wallace personally crossed the picket lines several times. Applicants for the jobs of the strikers are being lined up, under police guard, not in the *Post*'s spacious lobby but outside near the strikers' line.

These are flagrant attempts to provoke a clash that Graham can use in her propaganda campaign to brand the strikers as "violent."

In the current drive to win massive support from labor and its allies for the beleaguered strikers, it will be particularly important to reach Washington's large Black community, which makes up 80 percent of the district's population. Graham has made a point of hiring Blacks as scabs in hopes of pitting unemployed Blacks against the striking unions.

Effective support from Black unionists and community organizations would be a powerful weapon on the side of the striking unions.

Mpls. taxi drivers set to strike

By Bill Onasch

MINNEAPOLIS—Ninety percent of Minneapolis's taxi employees are scheduled to strike December 26 in a test of strength between taxi fleet owners and a new independent union.

The Yellow and the Blue & White taxi companies are insisting that drivers give up working for commission wages and accept a plan under which drivers would lease their cabs from the owners.

Leasing, a plan that has been adopted in several other cities, means not only lower average income for drivers but also poorer taxi service for the public.

The Guild of Taxi Drivers and Associated Workers views leasing as a life-and-death question for their union. On December 17 the guild membership rejected the employers' final offer by a three-to-one margin and set December 26 as their strike deadline.

The guild estimates that the average driver makes only \$130 before taxes for a forty-five-hour workweek. Many inside employees make less than \$3 an hour.

For more than forty years the Teamsters union represented the Minneapolis taxi workers. Widespread dissatisfaction with the low wages and poor conditions led to the formation of the guild, which challenged and defeated the Teamsters in a decertification election last summer. The guild now

represents 600 drivers and inside employees at Yellow and at Blue & White, 90 percent of the Minneapolis taxi industry.

When the old Teamster contract expired August 15, the employers launched an assault on the new union. A number of militant drivers, including union officers and stewards, were fired on trumped-up charges. Commission rates for new drivers were cut. The employers have refused to allow guild stewards to process grievances.

These antiunion attacks were so flagrant that the National Labor Relations Board felt compelled to issue an unfair-labor-practice citation against the company.

The guild has won one important victory so far. The Minneapolis taxi ordinance forbids cab leasing. When a company-sponsored amendment to allow leasing was introduced in the city council, the guild mobilized more than 100 angry drivers to attend and speak at the meeting.

The surprised and frightened city council agreed to drop the issue until the new taxi contract is resolved.

Resolutions supporting the taxi workers have already been passed by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 6, United Electrical Workers Local 1139, the Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the Minnesota Americans for Democratic Action.

Why 'Labor Committee' offers sympathy and support to cops

By Jim Mack

When a Chicago grand jury issued a report this fall ripping into Mayor Richard Daley's cops for violating democratic rights and conspiracy with ultraright terrorists to silence dissenters, there were few voices heard supporting the police. Strange as it may seem, however, one group that calls itself socialist did rush to their defense.

The cops' friends were the National Caucus of Labor Committees, which also uses the name "U.S. Labor party." The NCLC is a right-wing cult headed by a man known as Lyndon LaRouche. Despite its rhetoric, this outfit has nothing in common with socialism or the labor movement.

In fact, the NCLC has been evolving in the direction of fascism, the most virulent enemy of the labor and socialist movements. The NCLC's affinity for the cops is a measure of how far this evolution has gone.

Fascist groups always have close ties with the police. For one thing, they can carry out their violent attacks only with the approval—tacit or otherwise—of the cops. For another thing, the cops' reactionary and racist mentality makes them ideal human material for the fascist gangs.

Cops' terror campaign

The grand jury in Chicago found that Daley's cops have "committed criminal acts in order to gather intelligence data." It said they "assaulted the fundamental freedoms of speech, association, press and religion" by illegal spying and by organizing armed attacks on Black, antiwar, socialist, and liberal organizations.

The grand jury provided detailed evidence that the Chicago police worked through an ultraright gang of terrorists known as the Legion of Justice in carrying out their campaign of violence, threats, and harassment.

However, at the insistence of Bernard Carey, the Republican state's attorney who conducted the investigation, the grand jury ignored the obvious conclusions to be drawn from its own findings, and refused to issue any indictments for these crimes.

The NCLC, in the November 17 issue of its newspaper, *New Solidarity*, hailed this refusal to indict as a victory over "Rockefeller-allied forces."

"Cook County State Attorney Bernard Carey, a former FBI agent, had

attempted to watergate Daley's police by claiming that they were involved in political terrorism and illegal surveillance. . .," said the NCLC.

Carey, they said, "was thus trying to pin Daley's police for crimes committed by Rockefeller-controlled federal authorities."

This stand is consistent with the NCLC's stress on the frictions that exist between local cops and federal police agencies. The NCLC focuses its fire on the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), which, they say, is out to "take over" local police forces.

Cops' impulses

"It is not surprising," said *New Solidarity* on May 1, 1974, "that the old-style patrolman enjoys an impulse or two to fight back against this takeover. He may not see himself as consciously fighting fascism as such. He may be more immediately enraged at the knowledge that LEAA gunrunners are setting him up to be gunned down by a dope-confused, brainwashed, ghetto youth. . ."

In other words, when a frustrated cop "enjoys an impulse or two" to beat up—or murder in cold blood—a Black person, he can turn to the NCLC for warm sympathy and political backing.

The NCLC's enthusiasm for the "old-style" cops is matched by their affection for the "old-style" political machines run by Democrats like Daley. *New Solidarity* hails "the Daley Chicago machine's campaign to prevent further erosion of the living standards of the machine's working-class base."

In fact, the NCLC looks to these forces for the power that can stop the so-called Rockefeller power-grab that is the central theme of their propaganda. *New Solidarity* of November 24, 1975, declared, "The Chicago Daley machine is the strongest bastion of all those U.S. traditionalist forces which the Rockefellers are determined to destroy."

But even Daley isn't *ruthless enough* for the NCLC's taste: "Just as Daley has taken only inadequate halfway measures in his anti-austerity campaign, he is likewise taking only halfway—and dangerously inadequate—measures in exposing the origins and control of the drug-running [NCLC's code word for Black activist] and terrorist [i.e., radical] syndicate in his city." (*New Solidarity*, November 17, 1975.)

'Dapper' O'Neil

The NCLC's hoped-for alliance with the "traditional" Democratic politicians has also found an expression in Boston, where racist sentiment has been whipped up by segregationists. There the NCLC's favored elected official is city council member Albert "Dapper" O'Neil. O'Neil, a Democrat, has recently announced that he will serve as a campaign coordinator for right-wing demagogue George Wallace.

In 1974, the NCLC joined forces with O'Neil and the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association in a campaign to oust Boston Police Commissioner Robert DiGrazia for being too "liberal." *New Solidarity* (May 6, 1974) described this as a "tenuous tactical alliance between the Labor Committees and other LEAA opponents, especially police officers and old-line politicians like O'Neil."

This play for the sympathies of Boston's cops goes hand in hand with the NCLC's denunciations of the NAACP and other civil rights groups for seeking "to provoke large-scale riots over the busing issue."



CULT LEADER LaROUCHE: Likes cops who 'fight back.'

Reporting on a personnel shake-up in the Boston police department, the December 11, 1975, *New Solidarity* said police boss DiGrazia "replaced old-line police with counterinsurgent officers trained by the LEAA. In the past Boston's old-line police had vigorously gone after CIA countergang [in this case, NCLC's code word for the NAACP and other busing supporters] agents who tried to provoke racial incidents."

Indicted politicians

The NCLC's policy of extending support and sympathy to the "traditional" politicians has led it to rush to the defense of a number of capitalist hucksters who have recently been caught with their hands in the till.

For example, the NCLC reported the charges of corruption against Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel as "obviously concocted." Similarly, it said the accusations against New York State Assembly leader Albert Blumenthal for lying about his connection with nursing-home swindlers were "phony."

"There is no question that the indictments against Mandel and Blumenthal," said *New Solidarity* December 11, "if successfully prosecuted, will bring down the entire regular Democratic Party organization in the two states. Rockefeller can then insert his hand-picked gauleiters [henchmen] into key government positions, operatives who owe no allegiance to grassroots-based local machines."

There is no indication that the NCLC's appeals have met with any response from these politicians. Nor is there any sign of widespread support among cops. Nonetheless, the fact that the NCLC is able to carry out its violent attacks with only minor police interference is an important indication that the cops are at least willing to let them operate.

At this stage in the development of the class struggle in the United States, fascist groups do not yet figure in the calculations of the ruling class in any major way. Nonetheless, the NCLC is letting it be known that it is ready, willing, and able to play a part in the rulers' offensive against the rights and organizations of the working class.

Bullets riddle offices of Pittsburgh teachers

By Fred Stanton

PITTSBURGH—On the night of December 17 the headquarters of the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers, whose 3,800 members have been on strike since December 1, was riddled with bullets. No one was injured in the attack.

Police have made no arrests in connection with the shooting, and they claim to have no idea who is responsible.

The night-riding assault came just one day after more than 2,000 teachers and supporters picketed the board of education offices in a show of solidarity with the strike.

Union officials have declined to comment on the attack, but it is clear the attempt at violent intimidation has not weakened the strikers' resolve. PFT President Al Fondy says the teachers will go back to work only when they have a contract.

The union is demanding smaller class sizes and increased wages to catch up with inflation. The board claims it cannot afford to meet these demands, even though school taxes were recently increased.

The teachers union continues to face a three-pronged attack in the courts. One school board member, Leonard Mendelson, is filing suit to put the schools under receivership. Mendelson is one of a minority of school board members who earlier voted to cut the school budget.

Two bodies—the state department of education and the city board of education—have threatened court action against the strike for early January. The injunctions they seek would order the teachers back to work on the grounds that the strike will cause "grievous harm to the public interest" after January 9.

According to state law, schools must provide 180 days of instruction per year to qualify for state financial aid. After January 9, state funds could be cut off. In past teachers' strikes in Pennsylvania, the school year has been extended to make up lost days, and no state funds have been lost.

On December 19, the Parent-Student Strike Support Committee held a news conference to denounce the board of education's "penny-wise and pound-foolish" fiscal policies. They said, "If salaries and working conditions continue to deteriorate, the board will lose many of its best teachers. Students will lose out as well in the form of larger classes."

High school students at the news conference reported on the classes being taught by scab teachers and administrators.

"Students who go to the classes tell us that those who teach hardly know what they're talking about," said Alvar González. "Some of them haven't taught in years. The main reason they are there is that they are afraid they will be fired if they don't cross the picket lines."

The Pitt Professional Union, an American Federation of Teachers affiliate now conducting an organizing drive at the University of Pittsburgh, has actively supported the public school teachers' strike. The university faculty union mobilized a large contingent for the December 16 picket line.



Right-wing NCLC says local police are being set up to be killed by ghetto youth.

Kokomo: just another name for speedup

By Fred Auger and Jim Callahan

PORTLAND, Ore.—The Rose City Park postal station here is the first in the nation to implement the Kokomo plan—a dehumanizing, computerized method of speedup for letter carriers.

Under the plan—named for Kokomo, Indiana, where it was first experimentally applied—routes will be tailored by a computer, rather than based on the varying capabilities of the human beings who actually carry the mail.

Last month at the Rose City Station thirteen “industrial engineers” of the U.S. Postal Service—armed with stopwatches, clipboards, cameras, and tape recorders—stalked letter carriers from the time they sorted the mail in the morning to the end of their delivery

routes in the evening.

This surveillance of postal workers in Portland was ordered after arbitration on the legality of the Kokomo plan began in Washington, D.C., in November. The National Association of Letter Carriers, which requested the arbitration, maintains that management cannot unilaterally change work standards.

Benjamin Luscher, district manager for the Postal Service, claims management is “taking into consideration the age of the individual, the walking, the steps. The carriers know they’re not being turned into robots. Many of the carriers have told me it’s been the best thing to happen to them and the post office.”

Harry Miersma, twenty-seven, a

postal worker for six years, disagrees. “Wrong! They’re lying!” he told the *Militant* in a recent interview at the Rose City Park station. “There may be a few diehards who like this, but most of the guys don’t like it. They’ve got bigger routes—why should they like it when they have to walk more steps and deliver more mail?”

Management claims the Kokomo plan will save time and money. Postal workers interviewed by the *Militant* point out that the savings are made at the expense of their health and working conditions.

Bob Craven has worked for the post office since 1957. He explains: “The management told us that when Kokomo started there wouldn’t be any more than eight minutes’ difference in any route. They lied right there real big.

“Instead they’re giving us routes that are way more than eight hours. I’ve got a feeling—and so do the other carriers—that in the future they’re going to push us to do more and more until the carriers just won’t be able to handle it.

“They’ll have back trouble and leg trouble, because if you pound the pavement all day long, there is just so much you can do.”

Craven speculated that the Kokomo plan may also be intended to cut the retirement payments by the Postal Service. “If they start Kokomo all over like they’re doing here, the average man wouldn’t be able to handle it more than ten years. Management has run a lot of them out right now.

“A friend of mine wanted to work four or five years more, but he couldn’t handle the route under Kokomo. So he took early retirement. He’s still got kids in high school and his retirement

is \$200 less per month than he was making.”

Craven resents the increased pressure on the routes. “I’m sticking around because if I leave, then a young guy will take my place and it’ll be just another point for management, because the young guys will run like scared rabbits to keep their jobs.”

He added, “We should be conscientious and not make mistakes. It’s a terrible thing for a carrier to misdeliver a letter.”

Postal workers believe that they, not management, have the best information to offer on improving mail service. “I have a feeling that most of the big shots that are the heads of this whole system have never even carried mail,” Craven said.

“How can anybody be a manager and not participate in the work?” demanded Harry Miersma.

“The management has got to get out there in the rain, with the slippery sidewalks, the dogs, the heavy bags of mail, and do it for a couple of weeks. Then tell me that we can do all the routes in eight hours.”

The *Militant* asked the letter carriers what they thought should be done to stop the Kokomo plan. “Stick with the union, that’s the best thing,” said Ray Baldwin, a postal worker for twenty-seven years.

Miersma called for setting up a strike fund. “I would not call a formal strike, I’d call a sick-leave strike. I’d sting them. I’d wear them down and break them.

“You need to get a consensus of the population at large. Then you sting them. There has to be a national action. There’s got to be unity.”



Automated mail-sorters. Computerization and speedup of Kokomo plan are part of scheme to put Postal Service on a profit-making basis.

Progress report on ‘Militant’ indexing project

By Mary Jo Hendrickson

Recently, the *Militant* began an important project of indexing all the old volumes of the paper. Beginning with 1971, the *Militant* has been indexed on a current basis. But for the years 1928 through 1970, no indexes exist.

Buried in these forty-three years of unindexed volumes is a gold mine of information and Marxist analysis on a diversity of topics and events—from the era of the rise of fascism in Europe in the 1930s to the antiwar activities during World War II and the Korean War; from the civil rights struggles and the fight against McCarthyism of the 1950s to the revolutionary upsurges in China, Cuba, and Vietnam.

Throughout these volumes is the rich history of the Trotskyist movement, both on a world scale and here in the United States.

Last August, as a first step in the indexing project, we appealed to readers to participate by taking a volume to work on. More than thirty people responded. Now every volume available for indexing is being worked on.

Many indexers report they are well under way with their volumes. Says David Brandt of New York State, “In spite of the post office, the volume and instruction materials arrived, in one piece no less. I’d say I’m about halfway through the work, and my speed is increasing.”

Several indexers have already finished, and one has begun work on a second volume. One volunteer, a prisoner, finished and mailed his index back after only five weeks.

The indexes for the years 1931, 1934-36, and 1951 are now being prepared for printing.

In our appeal for help, we explained that the indexing project is the kind of

work that can be done by people who prefer or need to work at home. From the responses, we found out that covers quite a variety of people.

Participants in the project include students, prisoners, laid-off teachers, retired workers, parents with small children at home, and people confined to their houses for health reasons.

Veterans of the socialist movement are well represented, but there are also some young people. Wrote one volunteer: “I began reading the *Militant* last January . . . so as a newcomer I would thoroughly appreciate a chance to become more familiar with my newly adopted cause.”

Besides the obvious benefit that the completed index will provide for researchers, historians, and other students of Black, labor, and socialist history, the indexers themselves have been learning a lot, too.

Here are a few samples of what they have to say:

From Tory Dunn in Maryland: “As a sort of side note, I really have enjoyed the work I’ve gotten to do on it. World War II is a time period I don’t know much about aside from the line we were all fed in school. I’m planning to read *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* [Pathfinder Press, \$3.95] when I get a chance, to build on what I’m learning in the indexing.”

From Michael and Arline Morrison in Massachusetts: “We suppose that all past issues reveal the consistency with which the SWP and the *Militant* have fought for a just economy. The 1939 issues are no exception. . . . We’d like to thank the *Militant* for the opportunity of participating in even this small way in your admirable efforts.”

And from Phyllis Roa in Illinois: “This has been a rewarding experience for several reasons, and I found it

especially interesting to work on the beginning of the revolution in Spain at the same time the end was being written with Franco’s death. I sincerely hope political freedom will return to that country now.”

But Roa added she had run across a problem. In 1931, the volume she was working on, the *Militant* covered the case of three maritime workers—Soderberg, Bunker, and Trajer—who were framed up in a “dynamite plot.” But the case hadn’t come to trial during the year ended.

“Could someone check for me and see if they were convicted? I developed a great sympathy for those men as I read their case,” says Roa.

Well, we’ve checked with some peo-

ple who we thought might remember, but the details they recall are sketchy. The three were convicted, but we’ll have to wait until the indexes for the following years are done to learn more about subsequent efforts in their defense. Need more be said about the value of the completed index?

The next step in our project will be to type and proofread each index before it’s sent to the printer. In this stage, we are asking readers who live in the New York City area to help. We need proofreaders (no experience needed) and accurate typists.

If you can help, please contact the *Militant* at 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone (212) 243-6392.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

VOLUME VII, NO. 34 [WHOLE NO. 238]

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

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MINNEAPOLIS

Green & Co. Declare War On Militants

NEW DELHI DEFENDS FROM SAVAGERY, NIXON SECRETARY

Japan Prepares Seizure of Chinese Eastern Railroad

DRIVERS VICTORIOUS

Labor Skates Stall General Textile Strike

Local 574 Wins Right to Represent Inside Men; Discrimination Barred

Agreement Answers Lies and Slanders

The Strike Triumphant

574 Acts in Enforcement of Settlement

574 Acts in Enforcement of Settlement

Indexes for ‘Militants’ of 1931, 1934-36, and 1951 are now complete and being prepared for printing, thanks to help from many supporters of the paper.

...UFW

Continued from page 4

being extended during the process of negotiating a new agreement.

Provided regular work under union hiring procedures, the InterHarvest workers escape the misery of gathering daily in the early hours of the morning at *el hoyo* (the hole), the notorious place where other workers assemble in the hope of being picked for work at one of the ranches.

"They're the only workers in the whole Imperial Valley who don't have to get up when most of us are going to sleep in order to get a day's work," Hirsch said.

Another thing the UFW has going for it here is its record in relation to the fight against the short hoe.

Lettuce growers favored the short-handled hoe as a means of speedup, but its use brought excruciating back pains and permanent injury to the workers.

As a result of a persistent campaign by the UFW, the state of California recently banned the short hoe.

But even earlier, in 1970, the first UFW contract at InterHarvest included an unprecedented ban on the short hoe.

Such facts as these are made known to the workers in the area by InterHarvest unionists, who are proving to be among the best UFW campaigners.

InterHarvest workers get up early and go down to *el hoyo* to talk to the workers waiting for a job. They give them UFW leaflets and buttons and explain the advantages they enjoy under their contract.

Another campaign plus for the UFW is the clinic and legal services center it has had functioning in Calexico for the past five years.

Hirsch-and Kirkland discussed their approach to winning members to the UFW.

"The Teamsters go in and they get the foreman to make the workers sign up for the union, and that's that," Hirsch said. "We go to the workers and we *convince* them to sign. But even then you haven't really organized them."

Kirkland added, "When you talk about voting, you explain it's much more than voting. It's much more than signing a union card.

"What's basic," he continued, "is

that it's self-control, self-determination. They're suspicious of promises, especially after the Teamster performance. The way we gain is by emphasizing, 'You've got to do it. If you don't come to meetings, we can't do anything.'

"When you say that they begin to see it as real. Then the other things—the clinic, the benefits—make more sense."

It's fairly easy to sign people up, he observed. The real trick is to get them organized. "Like we signed up all the irrigators on one crew," he said. "It was a pushover. But about the third time we came around they started to ask the questions that were on their minds. The questions showed they weren't really that strong—that they needed to know more.

"But each discussion, they got stronger. At first when we'd talk about having a meeting at the union hall, they'd say, 'Oh, it's too hard to get there at five o'clock after work.' But as they got into it, pretty soon *they* were calling the meetings, raising questions and saying, 'Look, we need another meeting.' Soon they were coming to meetings three times a week."

For Kirkland, this kind of rank-and-file involvement is decisive.

"Once we win," he said, "that's where the life of the union will be."

...CUNY

Continued from page 6

hired face further discrimination in the granting of tenure.

"It's interesting that this is the year that the large group of people who came in 1970 are up for tenure," says Tilden LeMelle, head of Black and Puerto Rican studies at Hunter College.

Another member of the coalition notes that "there are instances where the non-reappointment of just one Black means a lily-white department is the result."

Sam Manuel, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism, denounced the new cutbacks as "an attempt to segregate Black, Puerto Rican, and poor students out of CUNY."

"This attack should be answered by all defenders of civil rights and of the right to an education," Manuel said.

He urged Black and Puerto Rican students to "take the lead in building massive student protests."

The Student Coalition Against Racism, the University Student Senate, and other student leaders have called for a planning meeting January 8 to organize further protests. The meeting will be held at Baruch College at 6:30 p.m. For more information call 725-3377 (Baruch), 794-5546 (USS), or 866-8830 (SCAR).

In addition, the Professional Staff Congress, the union of CUNY faculty, has announced it will fight the payless furlough in the courts.

On December 18, despite the approach of exams and holidays, some 300 students, faculty, and supporters, marched in a picket line at the New York City offices of Gov. Hugh Carey and the Emergency Financial Control Board.

...Quebec

Continued from page 9

Pierre Lemaire, president of the Montreal Teachers Alliance, spoke about the need to organize solidarity actions in support of striking workers.

The presidents of all three trade-union centrals emphasized that the demonstration was a sign of the growing militancy of the workers movement and that further actions would be planned in the near future. "We must go further than this," said Laberge. He told the crowd that the QFL leadership would ask its local unions to support the call for an unlimited general strike (that is, a strike of more than 24 hours), at the QFL convention beginning a few days later.

The Nov. 26 action showed the massive opposition among workers to the government attack on their living standards and their willingness to fight back. This was further confirmed by the QFL convention in early December and the call by the CSN for a general strike against the wage controls.

On Dec. 2 the Montreal daily, *Le Jour*, reported that it had learned from "a reliable source" that "the consultation undertaken by the CSN (of affiliated unions) gives, to date, a clear majority in favor of a general strike. Four hundred and twenty local unions,

representing almost 70,000 members, have said yes to this measure, while 10, representing several hundred members, are opposed."

The CSN has proposed to the Canadian Labour Congress that it organize a general strike against the wage controls.

At the convention of the QFL 90 percent of the delegates voted for a motion including "a general strike if necessary, -this strike not to be undertaken until a vote to this effect is taken in each of the local unions." Another motion was adopted stating that "the Quebecois workers are ready to mobilize in generalized actions of the type during the day of study last May 21." On that day some 100,000 members of the QFL participated in actions to support the United Aircraft strikers and to protest the government's antilabor offensive.

Quebec labor shows the way forward for English Canada. The Canadian Labour Congress must declare its solidarity with the Quebec labor movement and organize actions in support of striking Quebec workers. The CLC should organize actions similar to those in Quebec, like the massive Nov. 26 demonstration, as a central part of its campaign to defeat the wage controls.

Samizdat Voices of the Soviet Opposition

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The true story

Wounded Knee, 1890: genocide against Indians

By José Pérez

December 29 marks the eighty-fifth anniversary of the massacre of most of a band of 350 Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee Creek on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

That 1890 massacre was the culmination of nearly three decades of all-out war during which the United States sought to dispossess, subjugate, and if possible physically eliminate the Indians living on the Great Plains.

Wounded Knee marked the end of Indian freedom in the United States. Since then Indians have been brutally oppressed. In recent years there has been a new round of Indian struggles against that oppression, symbolized by the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee.

The causes of the 1860-1890 conflicts were economic and social. The rulers of the United States wanted the land. Intertwined with this economic question was a social conflict, which accounts for the savagery of the U.S. government's campaign.

The United States and the Indian tribes had totally different and incompatible social systems. The United States was a developing capitalist industrial country. The Indians lived in pre-class society, a form of primitive communism.

Society divided into classes

The United States was deeply divided into different social classes. Those who owned the factories and mines hired as workers the millions of others who had no wealth. The land was divided into privately owned farms.

For the Indians, on the other hand, the idea that an individual could "own" the source of livelihood of the whole community was unthinkable.

To enforce the rule of the rich over the poor, the United States maintained standing armies, cops, courts, and prisons. The Indians had no comparable institutions, having no need for them.

In the years following the Civil War, the expanding capitalist economy pushed westward. As the United States penetrated more and more into the lands and the lives of the tribes of the Great Plains, the Indians fought back.

But the tribes could not match either the military technology or the vast resources at the disposal of the United States. Outnumbered and outgunned, the Indians succumbed to the genocidal war waged from Washington.

To justify and promote this genocide, an ideology of anti-Indian racism was developed. Indians were depicted as subhuman, bloodthirsty savages who deserved to be wiped out. Massacres of Indians were billed as heroic military victories, and the butchers who carried them out, such as Gen. George Custer, became national heroes.

By the 1880s the Indians were desperate. Hemmed more and more into small reservations, dependent on corrupt government officials for food, persecuted when they tried to maintain their original life-style, the Indians had no way out.

Ghost Dance religion

In those years a Paiute man named Wovoka started the Ghost Dance religion. It was a combination of Christian and Indian beliefs that held that in the spring of 1891, white people and their works would be wiped off the earth. It would be a new world, and the Indians' ancestors and the buffalo would return. All Indians could be in the new world if they did the Ghost Dance.

Wovoka told his followers not to fear reprisals from whites. By wearing Ghost Shirts, no harm



Mass burial of Indians at Wounded Knee in 1890. 'Something else died there in the bloody mud and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there.'

could touch them—not even the bullets of the U.S. Army.

The Ghost Dance religion swept the plains tribes like wildfire. Government officials viewed the new belief with apprehension. Orders went out to arrest "fomenters of disturbances" and to stamp out the Ghost Dance. The army moved troops to Pine Ridge to implement this policy. Because of this campaign, a Minneconjou Sioux chief named Big Foot led a band of several hundred off the reservation.

On December 15, 1890, government agents went to arrest Sitting Bull, the respected leader of the Hunkpapa band of Sioux. During a scuffle the agents gunned him down, and his band dispersed, some joining Big Foot's group.

But when Big Foot heard the news of Sitting Bull's death, he decided it would be safer to go back to Pine Ridge than get attacked by soldiers. He started out in that direction with 350 others.

On December 28, Big Foot's band spotted U.S. cavalry approaching. His group immediately surrendered, not wanting trouble, and they were escorted to a cavalry camp at Wounded Knee Creek.

Indian camp surrounded

There the Indians were told where to camp. They were surrounded by 600 soldiers and four powerful Hotchkiss cannons, which could hurl explosive charges two miles. These rapid-fire guns were set up on a hill, so that their fire could rake across the length of the Indian camp.

The following morning, the cavalry ordered Big Foot's band to give up their weapons. Many arms were brought forward. But the soldiers, not satisfied, ransacked the tepees and brought out axes, knives, and tent stakes. Then the soldiers told the Indians to remove their blankets and be searched

for weapons. Only two rifles were found.

The owner of one gun protested that he had paid a lot of money for it and it belonged to him. What happened next is disputed. The army claimed an Indian fired the first shot. According to most Indians, the troops simply started shooting.

After a few moments of confusion, the four Hotchkiss cannons opened up, firing nearly a shell a second, shredding tepees and people with shrapnel.

Most of the men were dead within a few minutes. But the cavalry pursued the women and children for two or three miles, firing point-blank at their backs.

'They shot us like buffalo'

"We tried to run," said one Indian woman who survived, "but they shot us like we were a buffalo."

When the massacre ended, Big Foot and most of his people were dead or wounded. Some 153 were known dead, but many others wounded crawled away to die elsewhere. Twenty-five soldiers also died, most of them from their own bullets and shrapnel. The dead soldiers became heroes, and were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Forty years later, Black Elk, an Oglala Sioux holy man who had witnessed the massacre, described what it meant in the religious terms of his people:

"I did not know then how much was ended. When I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there.

"... the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead."