

# THE MILITANT

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

Rank and file speak out

## What miners are fighting for

— See pages 8-9



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter



## Busing crisis in Boston: Little Rock of 1974

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## THE MILITANT

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**NEW HEARING FOR THREE NORTH CAROLINA BLACK ACTIVISTS:** The Mecklenburg County Superior Court has decided to hear evidence Dec. 9 for a new trial for three North Carolina Black activists, known as the Charlotte Three.

The court will hear evidence that the state's two witnesses against the three were paid at least \$4,000 and possibly up to \$75,000 apiece for their testimony. The money, it was learned through an investigation by the **Charlotte Observer**, came from the Justice Department and was authorized by Robert Mardian. Mardian is now on trial for conspiracy in the Watergate burglary.

The three—T. J. Reddy, Charles Parker, and Jim Grant—are well-known Black activists who were sentenced to long prison terms in 1972 on trumped-up charges of having burned a riding stable in Charlotte that refused to rent horses to Blacks.

*Next week The Militant will feature news and analysis of the Nov. 5 election returns, including reports on the vote totals won by the Socialist Workers Party and Raza Unida Party candidates.*

**RAZA UNIDA CANDIDATES ADDRESS MILITANT FORUM:** Fifty people came to a meeting in Houston on Oct. 25 for Victor Vega, Maria Jimenez, and Reuben Rabago Jr., Raza Unida Party candidates for state representative in districts 97, 87, and 79. The meeting, sponsored by the Militant Forum, was chaired by Kris Vasquez, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for U. S. Congress in the 18th C. D.

During the election campaign, Jimenez explained, the Democrats did everything they could to try to undercut her support in the Black and Chicano communities. Prominent Democratic elected officials began to visit the homes canvassed previously by Jimenez, urging people to withdraw their support for her. The Democrats accused the RUP candidates of receiving funding from the Republican Party.

Jimenez thanked her supporters in the Congress of African People, who actively campaigned for her. The RUP candidate also expressed her solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party campaign and said she was looking forward to the SWP and RUP continuing to work together on common goals.

**COURT BARS UFW SUITS AGAINST TEAMSTERS:** A Riverside County judge has signed an order barring the United Farm Workers (UFW) union from suing the Teamsters union for practically any reason.

Representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California have termed the order an unprecedented attack on the constitutional right to sue.

The temporary restraining order prohibits the UFW from filing future lawsuits in all state and federal courts in California based on certain specified sections of the labor code, or on allegations concerning violence and personal injuries. Lawsuits concerning interference with elections by Teamsters and lawsuits based on allegations of conspiracies between growers and Teamsters are also banned, despite recent admissions by growers that they had bribed Teamster officials.

The repressive order, issued in response to a Teamster request, also enjoins the Farm Workers from informing the news media of their intention to sue. In addition, the judge froze 38 lawsuits already in progress against Teamster officials, growers, and grower associations, including one brought by rank-and-file Teamsters.

**COPS ARREST LEADER OF ATTICA DEFENSE:** On Nov. 2, Buffalo cops stopped a car in which Frank "Big Black" Smith, the National Director of the Attica Brothers Offense/Defense committee was riding, and arrested everyone in it for possession of marijuana.

When the cops stopped the car, they ignored the driver, Polly Eustis, and, calling Smith by name told him to get out of the car. One cop got into the car and, reaching under the seat, announced, "here it is"—and pulled out a brown paper bag allegedly containing the marijuana.

Earlier, on Oct. 28, another Attica Brother, Willie Smith, was arrested on trumped-up charges of rape. The arrest came only two weeks after similar charges against him stemming from the 1971 Attica rebellion had been dropped. By charging Willie Smith with the same type of crime, the state is trying to justify its original indictment against him and, by implication, the rest of the Attica Brothers.

Another Attica Brother, Richard Bilello, was stabbed to death in Clinton Prison on Oct. 28. Bilello had been promised that he would be transferred to a prison near his family in New York City if he pleaded guilty. When the state didn't keep its end of the bargain, Bilello filed

suit to rescind his plea. The next day he was murdered.

This increased repression against Attica defendants is the government's attempt to set the mood for the upcoming trial of Decajaweah and Charley Joe Pernasalice. That trial is scheduled to begin Nov. 18.

**NEW LEAVENWORTH TRIALS BEGIN:** Jury selection has begun in the trial of Jesse Lopez and Armando Miramon. The two Chicanos are charged with kidnapping four guards during a 1973 rebellion at Leavenworth. Miramon is also charged with assaulting one of the guards.

U. S. Judge Frank Theis is presiding over the trial. In the same court earlier this year four Black men—Jessie Lee Evans, Alf Hill, Alfred Jasper, and Odell Bennett—were convicted on various charges stemming from the 1973 prison revolt.

Judge Theis has laid the groundwork for another set of convictions by ruling that the defense would not be allowed to present evidence about prison conditions, the brutality of guards, and denial of prisoners' civil rights.

"I will not allow you to put the system on trial," Judge Theis told the defense attorney.

**LOS ANGELES CLUW MOVES AHEAD:** On Oct. 19 about 175 women from more than 30 unions participated in the third organizing meeting for the Los Angeles chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The meeting established task forces to begin work on the four major areas of concern for CLUW. These are: organizing the unorganized, working in the unions, political and legislative action, and affirmative action on the job. In addition, the women decided to join with the United Farm Workers (UFW) in picketing the large FEDCO store on Oct. 26.

The 75 picketers, including 26 members of Los Angeles CLUW, asked shoppers not to buy Gallo wines and scab lettuce and grapes. This was the first activity of Los Angeles CLUW since becoming a chapter.

**FLORIDA BLACKS DEMAND RELEASE OF FRAME-UP VICTIMS:** Operation PUSH in Miami has become the latest organization to voice its demand for the release of Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee. Pitts and Lee, both Black, are in prison for a 1963 Port St. Joe murder, although a white man has since confessed to the crime.

Citing Ford's pardon of Nixon, PUSH called on Governor Reubin Askew to grant an unconditional pardon of the pair.

In August, a group of Black protesters surprised the governor during a visit to Gainesville and demanded the release of Pitts and Lee. Surrounded by the angry demonstrators, the September-October **Burning Spear** reports, the liberal Democratic governor could only stutter, "I am concerned," and "an investigating team is working on the case."

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# Rightist thugs kill three more members of Argentine Socialist Workers Party

From Intercontinental Press

By GERRY FOLEY

Four persons were gunned down in Buenos Aires on the first weekend of November by rightist goons. Three were members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The fourth, Carlos Alberto de la Riva, was a professor at the University of La Plata.

On Friday, November 1, during the night, a group of men who claimed to belong to the police force, took

*For earlier story about right-wing terror in Argentina, see World Outlook section.*

Rubén Bouzas forcibly from his home in the suburbs of the Argentine capital. His body was found on Saturday morning. He had been killed by blasts from a shotgun.

Bouzas, twenty years old, was a secondary-school student. He had been active in the Ramos Mejía branch of the Juventud Socialista (Socialist Youth) and a member of the PST for a year and a half.

Also dragged from his home that night was Juan Carlos Nievas. A few hours afterward, his body was found in the Villa Retiro area. He had been hit several times by blasts from a shotgun.

Nievas was twenty-six years old. He was a worker at the Nestlé factory and had become known as an outstanding activist in his plant during a sit-in strike. He attended high school at night. He had been a member of the PST for several months.

On Sunday, November 3, during the night, following the annual convention of the PST, César Robles stopped at an ice-cream parlor in Buenos Aires. From there he was



Cesar Robles, PST leader murdered by rightists.

taken by force by a rightist gang. He was driven away in an automobile. Two hours later his body was found in the Floresta area in the vicinity of Buenos Aires. It was riddled with machine-gun bullets.

César Robles was thirty-six years old. He was a member of the National Executive Committee of the PST and one of the most prominent national leaders of the party. During the Onganía dictatorship, he was one of the leaders of the dock workers' strike, which was one of the first major challenges to the regime by the labor movement.

Robles was the organizer of the northern region of Greater Buenos Aires for the PST, where the party is very active in union work. He played a prominent role in the labor struggles in Córdoba while he was on assignment there.

This new series of murders followed the assassination Friday, November 1, of Alberto Villar, the chief of the federal police, by left-wing Peronist guerrillas. The rightist goon squads have threatened many times to "avenge" the deaths of any right-wing government officials, in particular, members of the army and the police, for which they have expressed a special solicitude.

As the reactionary goon squads have extended their targets from the leftist guerrillas and socialist activists to bourgeois liberal political figures, teachers, and even nonpolitical artists, their behavior has begun to take on the aspects of the cult of sadism and obscurantism typical of fascist comandos.

Furthermore, this escalation of rightist terror has been closely coordinated with increasingly brutal and arbitrary repressive actions by the police themselves. One of the clearest examples of this was the October 9 raids in Córdoba.

The police used vague and contradictory claims about "arms" and "snipers" in the headquarters of the militant unions as a pretext to "mop up" the last resistance to the right-wing labor bureaucracy. But they were not satisfied with that. Without even offering a pretext, they took this occasion to raid the headquarters of the PST and the Communist party. All persons in these offices were jailed and beaten. The police were particularly brutal toward the Communist party activists, one of whom, Tita Clelia Hidalgo, died as a result of the beating she received at their hands.

The Communist party bookstore was completely wrecked, and the "agents of law and order" took whatever money they could find. They covered the walls with threatening and insulting slogans, including the following, written in an illiterate scrawl:

"If you're Communists like Guarany, you'd better get out of the country, because we're going to kill you one by one; for every policeman that falls, we are going to get three of you Commie bastards."

This message was signed: "Las Tres A" (AAA—Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance). This is the death-squad organization that has threatened a wide spectrum of Argentine members of parliament, educators, and public figures of all kinds. In many instances it has carried out its death threats in the most brutal way.

In the PST headquarters, the initials of this rightist terrorist group were also written all over the walls.

At midnight on October 22, a rightist gang smashed down the door of a PST member's home in the Merlo district of Buenos Aires. There were twenty men in the gang, and they were heavily armed. They found the PST member's widowed mother and three of his brothers, who were not politically active. They threatened to kill his mother unless she told them where they could find "that bastard who was at the meeting in Ramos Mejía hall on Saturday night," that is, her son.

The three brothers, all building workers, were savagely beaten. One was struck on the shoulder with a tool of his trade, a four-and-a-half pound maul hammer.

"The three brothers had to be hospitalized," *Avanzada Socialista* reported in its October 30 issue. "They had



Cordoba PST headquarters after Oct. 9 police raid

*Avanzada Socialista*

bruises and lacerations on the head and face that made them unrecognizable even to members of their family. The oldest one had a broken arm, and the next oldest had serious contusions around his spine."

On the same day, October 22, a group of thirty goons broke into the PST headquarters in the town of Chivilcoy in Buenos Aires province. They arrived in two minibuses that were part of the governor's cortege. Since it was the town's anniversary, the right-wing chief executive of the province, Calabró, was leading a parade around the area, holding rallies in various places. Part of the cortege passed the PST headquarters on the way to a barbecue.

"When they saw the party offices, they went crazy," an eyewitness told *Avanzada Socialista*. "Thirty heavily armed men piled out of the minibuses. One of them climbed up the wall and tore down the sign; others shattered the windows and broke the door down. Then they all went in."

Rightist comandos hit the PST national headquarters in central Buenos Aires on October 23. "The attack came at 5 a.m.," the October 30 *Avanzada Socialista* reported, "while the compañeros were cleaning the place. A burst of 9mm machine-gun fire struck the metal grating on the front window of the party bookstore."

"When several compañeros came out on the balcony of the first floor, a person in another large automobile, probably a Dodge Polara, threw a grenade at the front window."

Eight leaders of the country's second largest party, the bourgeois liberal Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union), received threats

from the AAA, the October 30 *Avanzada Socialista* reported.

Also threatened were a number of actors and actresses with no political connections. They were considered bad moral examples by the AAA.

On October 25, all the deans resigned at the University of Tucumán in the northern part of the country as a result of an AAA terror campaign.

Among other things, the rightist goons pressed their campaign of intimidation against the deans, the October 30 *Avanzada Socialista* noted, by machine-gunning the university cafeteria and later blowing it up.

On October 24, the local daily *La Gaceta* reported that the summer home of the dean of the Department of Law and Social Sciences, Carlos Sanjuan, had been blown up by three powerful bombs exploding simultaneously.

In addition, the heads of chickens and the bodies of dogs with their throats cut were scattered around the area, along with leaflets that said, "This is an example of what you can expect if you do not resign."

*Avanzada Socialista* pointed to a number of signs that a broad front was coming together to resist the reactionary terror. It cited one action in the southern port city of Comodoro Rivadavia as exemplary. In the second week of October, a number of leaders of the private-sector oil workers union received threats from the AAA. "Last Friday [October 25], the oil workers in the private sector held a protest strike. They met in an assembly and decided to march through the streets of the city to let the entire population see their determination to take on the fascist goons."

# How auto workers can stop the

By ANDY ROSE

Is there anything that auto workers—or the thousands of others being laid off as the recession deepens—can do to safeguard their jobs and incomes?

The top officials of the United Auto Workers (UAW) apparently do not think so, or if they do have any idea how the mass layoffs could be stopped, they're keeping it to themselves.

After all, their traditional view dictates that the plants belong to the company and it is the prerogative of the bosses to decide when to run the assembly lines and when to shut down. Right now the auto companies are shutting down lines in record numbers.

On Nov. 4 Chrysler announced the biggest layoffs yet, slashing 10,000 workers from the payrolls at Detroit and Hamtramck, Mich.; St. Louis; and Newark, Del. This was just a few days after General Motors announced the indefinite layoff of 6,000 production workers.

Thousands more have been sacked at parts plants, and other plants are shutting down for one to three weeks. Even before the latest wave of layoffs, the auto industry had 51,400 workers on indefinite layoff—left over from last winter's energy crisis.

## Sales down, prices up

Why the layoffs? Simple—cars aren't selling. October sales were down 23 percent from 1973, the lowest sales for that month in a decade.

The reason cars aren't selling is not hard to find, either. The price of a new car has jumped an astounding \$1,000 in the past year. And in spite of crumbling sales, Ford and Chrysler are *already* planning to boost prices on their 1975 models. GM generously announced it would not raise prices again—not until January, that is.

Of course, if you believe the capitalists' newspapers, auto workers are in great shape. With the UAW's Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), those lucky enough to be laid off can sit back and draw 95 percent of their regular straight-time pay. You can't buy a new car with that, but you won't go hungry.

Auto workers know differently. In the first place, those with less than one year's seniority get no SUB at all. For those who do qualify, the amount actually collected depends on their se-

niority and the state of the SUB fund. The fund relies on payments from the employer, and when it runs out nobody collects a cent.

Rumors are rife that the funds are running low and will soon be exhausted by the new wave of layoffs.

In worst shape are the tens of thousands still out of work from last winter, since at the same time their SUB payments are ending, their state unemployment benefits are also running out.

What these workers face now is the nightmare of unpaid bills piling up, repossession of things bought on time, and a helpless slide into poverty. Gone are any plans for something a little better out of life.

## Full compensation

What, then, can be done? Simple justice demands that workers thrown off the job through no fault of their own should not have to suffer cuts in their living standard.

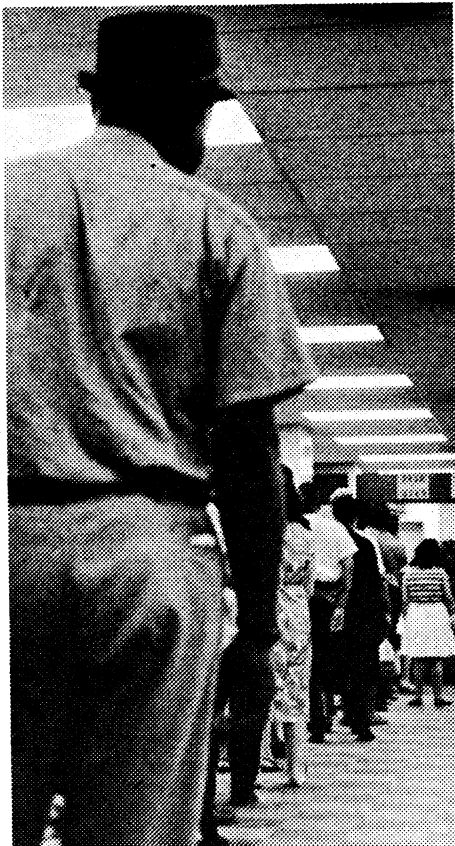
In a country as wealthy as this one, the government should provide jobless compensation at *union wage rates* for the *full duration* of unemployment. This is one immediate demand that the UAW and other unions could raise to protect their members.

This is not unrealistic. If a real campaign of mass protest were organized—as the unions have the power to do—the government could be forced to grant it.

President Ford claims to be terribly concerned that no one should suffer unjustly in his phony fight to "whip inflation now." But his plan to aid the unemployed is totally inadequate. His proposal would add 13 weeks of unemployment compensation for people who have exhausted their state benefits, and it would give a maximum of 26 weeks of unemployment pay to some workers not previously eligible. The amount of payments would not rise from the present pathetic average of \$59 a week.

In addition, Ford's plan would provide a handful of new public service jobs paying starvation wages of \$5,000 a year. The fact is that Ford and his advisers *expect* to see at least six or seven million people unemployed next year, and they don't much care. Maybe they would feel differently if they ever had to support a family on unemployment insurance of \$59 a week.

## Nine million need jobs



The official unemployment rate took another big jump in October, rising to 6 percent of the work force, or 5.5 million people.

*This is the highest number of jobless workers for any month since the Labor Department began compiling monthly figures in 1948.* But it doesn't tell the whole story.

Another 2.9 million workers (counted by the government as "employed") want full-time jobs but can only find part-time work. The government also fails to include as unemployed at least 600,000 who have become discouraged and have stopped actively looking for jobs.

So all told there are at least nine million unemployed or underemployed people in this country, and the real figure is no doubt higher.

Just imagine what conditions would be like if *twice* that number were out of work. That's what conditions are like in the Black community, where the official unemployment rate rose to 10.9 percent, staying as usual about twice the level of unemployment among whites.



As unsold cars pile up, corporations are cutting production and throwing thousands of workers into the streets.

When the unions and the unemployed begin to demand full compensation for the full duration of unemployment, the Democratic and Republican politicians will start screaming that it would cost too much. Excessive government spending, they will tell us, is the basic cause of inflation (which is true).

But strangely enough, the politicians who yell the loudest about "welfare bums" and "government handouts" didn't have the slightest objection to spending hundreds of billions of dollars on the war in Vietnam, a war the American people opposed.

Nor do they complain about the record-breaking \$100-billion war budget for this year, when we're supposedly at peace. And they're the same crooked politicians who have voted billions of dollars' worth of tax loopholes and hidden giveaways to the corporations and the rich.

The amount the government will spend on the military machine this year alone is more than enough to pay every laid-off auto worker \$10 an hour, 40 hours a week, for the next 66 years. The Democrats and Republicans aren't really opposed to spending money. They're just opposed to spending it for what people need instead of for war and for helping the rich get richer.

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

A real program of public works doesn't mean make-work projects at all. It means putting people to work to meet society's urgent needs, such as for more schools, low-cost housing, medical facilities, child-care centers, and so on. The only people who could object to such a program are the big business interests that think no such facilities should be provided unless a private profit can be made on them.

## 30-for-40

There is an additional way to stop the layoffs and provide jobs for everyone. It is to be found right in the program of the UAW. Practically ever since the union was formed in the strike battles of the 1930s it has been on record for a *shorter workweek with no cut in weekly take-home pay*.

The UAW made famous the slogan of "30-for-40"—30 hours work for 40 hours pay—even if Leonard Woodcock hasn't mentioned it to the auto companies for many years.

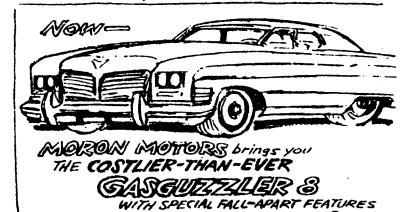
This is a sound proposal that would benefit UAW members and all other workers. If auto workers won 30-for-40, either through contract talks or

the passage of a law in Washington, the companies would immediately need one-third more workers to produce the same number of cars.

So even at today's lowered production levels, all those laid off would be rehired, and then some. Moreover, the shorter workweek would mean auto workers would have more leisure time to develop new interests and talents, more time to spend with their families, and so on.

There is an added benefit affecting all workers. One of the factors causing the recession to deepen right now is that as workers are laid off, their purchasing power goes way down. Then, because there is less demand for goods, still more industries cut production and lay off still more workers.

If all auto workers were employed and drawing their regular pay, consumer purchasing power would rise



and others of the unemployed could go back to work.

Besides, if the UAW launched a real campaign for 30-for-40, many more unions would soon join in a drive to provide jobs by shortening the workweek throughout industry.

The concept of the shorter workweek strikes right at the heart of the problem of unemployment. Why, after all, are there *always* several million people unable to find work in this country, even without a recession?

The reason is that new technology is always being introduced, increasing the productivity of labor. The use of new and more advanced machinery means that every year fewer workers can produce more goods per hour.

If the economy were rationally organized to meet society's needs, this would mean a higher standard of living for everyone and shorter hours of work. But the corporations don't introduce new machines *in order to*



# layoffs

save labor—that's only a byproduct.

They automate to *make higher profits*, and so instead of benefiting everyone, automation is steadily throwing workers out of their jobs and into the ranks of the unemployed.

The logical answer to this problem is to shorten the workweek as much and as often as needed to keep everyone usefully employed.

But as soon as this proposal is raised, the auto companies will squeal like stuck pigs—just as the capitalists did when workers were fighting to shorten the working day to eight hours. Their profits, and the incomes of millionaire stockowners, would be reduced if they had to pay out more in wages.

The corporations will argue that the reason they aren't operating the plants at full capacity *now* is because profits aren't high enough. (Ford, for example, complains of netting a mere \$338.8-million in profits so far this year.)

If they have to grant more wages on top of this, they'll say they have to raise prices more or they won't have any incentive to keep the plants open at all.

## Open the books

A reasonable answer would be to demand that the auto companies' financial books and records be opened up for inspection by committees of auto workers and other unionists.

The auto makers claim that the reason car prices are so high now is because of newly required pollution controls and safety devices, and the lavish wages they pay. Instead of taking these crooks' word for it, the UAW would do well to find out for itself.

In the books of the auto trusts will be found proof of their superprofits, fantastic executive salaries and bonuses, price fixing, tax swindles, millions for false advertising, huge sums to buy politicians, and deliberate manufacture of shoddy and unsafe vehicles.

But what happens if the auto companies refuse to operate the plants because they can't get richer out of the process? Then they should be nationalized; that is, taken over for the benefit of the people and run by committees elected by the workers instead of by a board of directors appointed by the biggest stockholders.

If the plants were run by the auto workers, a lot of other things would change for the better. There is a limit to the number of automobiles people need, especially the \$4,000 air-polluting, traffic-congesting death-traps built today. But auto workers could decide to—and have the ability to—turn out safe, efficient, nonpolluting vehicles, if human need rather than private profit were the basis for making decisions.

They might also decide to convert some auto plants to production of other sorely needed materials, such as farm implements for countries around the world where people are hungry, and equipment for public mass-transit systems.

This is the socialist answer to the long-term problem of unemployment, depressions, and poverty in the midst of plenty: for the workers to take control of the economic and political system out of the hands of the profiteers and begin to run things in their own interests.

As a step in this direction auto workers can fight for practical measures to protect themselves in today's crisis: full unemployment compensation, a massive public works program, and 30-for-40.

# Black auto workers hit plant closing

By RICHARD ORAWEIC

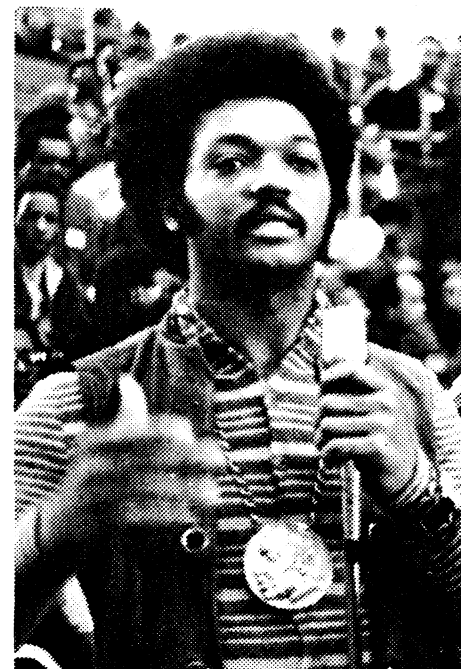
DETROIT—Five hundred auto workers, their families, and supporters rallied on the evening of Nov. 2 at the Greater Macedonia Baptist Church here to protest Chrysler's threat to close its Jefferson Avenue auto assembly plant.

If the plant closes, more than 5,000 workers, 60 percent of them Black, will lose their jobs.

The company has yet to make a definitive announcement of its plans, but United Auto Workers Vice-president Douglas Fraser said he was "not optimistic" after a recent meeting with Chrysler officials.

The Nov. 2 rally, called by Operation PUSH, a Black community organization, was the first demonstration to protest the threatened closing. Nearly all of those present were Black.

The meeting began with the singing of "Lift Every Voice and Sing," which has become popular as the Black national anthem. Reverend Johnson, minister of the church, expressed the anger of the crowd when he said, "It is unthinkable that during a period of



Militant/John Hawkins  
JACKSON: 'Democrats, Republicans won't free us.'

such potential affluence, a plant of such importance could be closed."

The first speaker was Peter Sabu of the Congress of African People. He condemned the callousness of corporations like Chrysler, which will throw thousands of workers into the street while its chairman, Lynn Townsend, is vacationing in Hawaii on his \$670,000-a-year salary.

"All people beaten down and oppressed need to build alliances," Sabu said, "to increase our capacity to struggle against corporations such as Chrysler. And when Chrysler says it's going to shut down, we will say, 'No! We will shut you down!'" The crowd responded with enthusiastic applause.

Joe Madison, chairman of the Detroit NAACP, which cosponsored the rally, drew laughter and applause when he ridiculed President Ford's economic policies and his "walking around like a cheerleader with his WIN buttons on."

The chairman of the meeting, Reverend Charles Adams, lashed into Chrysler's pious complaints of low profits. "Anybody that makes as much money as Chrysler does internationally can certainly afford to keep 5,000 workers going in Detroit," Adams said.

"President Ford should freeze the prices on cars and credit payments," he continued. "Eighty-two million dollars in salaries will be lost [if the plant closes]. It's an economic and moral disaster to throw 5,000 workers out in the streets."

"Something can be done," Adams said to loud applause. "They're waiting for you. Townsend has other alternatives. If you stand up and make your voice heard he will keep the plant open. If the city and union acquiesce, and the community keeps quiet, only then will they close the plant."

Jesse Jackson, chairman of Operation PUSH, was the featured speaker at the rally. By the time he came to the podium, the atmosphere was charged with militancy and solidarity.

Detroit has become the "pink-slip capital of the world," Jackson said,

describing the dire consequences of the auto layoffs.

He charged that the energy crisis and inflated food prices were the results of corporate manipulations for profits, and he blasted the call by President Ford for people to tighten their belts. "People haven't got belts to tighten," he said, "they're already wearing suspenders."

Jackson called for mobilizing broad support from labor organizations and the Black community to keep the plant open and said the workers had to rely on their independent strength.

"Do you sense that you have the right to a job, or is a job a privilege?" Jackson asked.

"There is no legal solution to the taking away of jobs. Those under the illusion that the Democrats and Republicans will free us are wrong—the people have to speak."

"It was the pressure of Black soldiers that forced Truman to desegregate the Army," he said. "It was pressure that forced school desegregation, not the Supreme Court decision."

"Ain't no Congress going to give you a job if they ain't convinced that you'll fight for it—it's a matter of the people standing up."

At the close of the rally Jackson led the crowd in the singing of "We Shall Overcome."

The militancy of the auto workers in the crowd indicated the potential that exists for massive protests against the auto layoffs. Auto workers coming out of the meeting agreed that the rally was a good idea. "The whole damn plant ought to have been here tonight," one said.

Conspicuous by their absence, however, were any official spokespeople from the United Auto Workers, either from the international office or from Local 7, which represents the Jefferson Avenue workers.

So far the UAW officials have not gone beyond negotiations with Chrysler, where they proposed that the layoffs be spread throughout the country rather than being concentrated at one plant.

# NY building workers in mass rally

By STEPHEN BLOOM

NEW YORK—Building-trades workers from throughout Westchester and Putnam counties gathered in Somers, N. Y., Oct. 31 for a mass protest at a nonunion construction site.

According to union sources, 25,000 attended the action to protest standard wages on the project.

The \$200-million Heritage Hills condominium development is the largest new construction project in Westchester and one of the largest in the state—3,100 units covering 900 acres.

It is being built entirely with nonunion workers, who are paid about half the regular union scale for the area.

According to Arthur Colasanto, secretary-treasurer of Painters District Council 20 in Westchester, unemployment among union members there is conservatively estimated at 10 percent.

The construction-trades unions have come under growing attack from large nonunion contracting firms. This increased use of nonunion labor, along with the recession that has thrown thousands of building-trades unionists out of work, poses a serious threat to these unions.

But instead of launching a drive to organize the unorganized construction workers and demand massive new government-funded construction of housing, schools, hospitals, and other needed projects, the response of

the union leadership has been to try to maintain the craft-divided unions as job trusts for their predominantly white, male membership.

One of the central themes of this particular protest, for example, was that there were "illegal aliens" and workers from Canada and from outside of New York State on the job, with demands that the Immigration Service look into the matter.

Token picketing is continuing at the job, though no follow-up has been planned to the mass protest, which was built largely by word of mouth.

The speakers at the rally were Democratic and Republican politicians, including New York Governor Malcolm Wilson, who expressed sympathy with the workers but made no promises or proposals to relieve the situation.



Protesters at nonunion site

## Stalinist con game

# When 'Vote CP' means 'Vote Democrat'

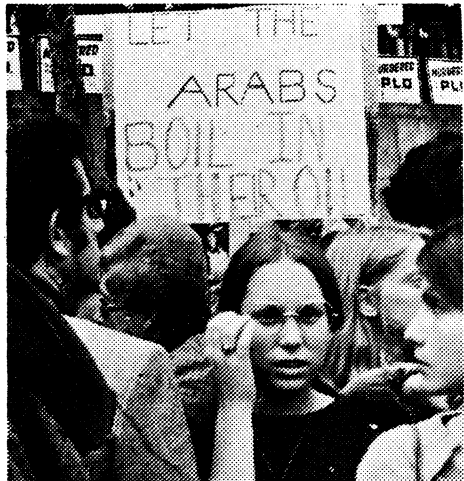
By DOUG JENNESS

American politics is well known for its con artists, and there are few who deserve that designation more than the Communist Party (CP). In an Oct. 31 editorial in the party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, they explained how people should vote in this year's elections. "Don't waste your vote on Tuesday," they wrote. "Wherever you can, vote Communist. . . . These votes count most."

In other issues of the *Daily World* they listed 32 CP candidates in 13 states and Washington, D. C., that their supporters could vote for. This all seems simple. They appear to be urging a "Vote Communist" line.

But matters aren't so simple with these sleight-of-hand experts trained in the Stalinist school of deceit and treachery. In the same editorial they declared that, in addition to the CP candidates, "the cause of the people is being advanced in the election campaign by those few major party candidates who are fighting on the key issues of prices and unemployment. . . ."

In their classless jargon, "major party" refers to the *capitalist* Democratic and Republican parties.



Both Javits and Clark spoke at this racist, anti-Arab rally Nov. 4. But CP said main job in N.Y. elections was to 'defeat Javits.'

It appears that the CP carried two banners in the elections—one for the capitalist candidates and one for their own. But things get even more muddled when we learn that some of these capitalist candidates who advance "the cause of the people" were running for the *same* offices as CP candidates.

The most outstanding example is in New York, where the CP ran Mildred Edelman for U. S. Senator and supported Ramsey Clark, the Democratic Party candidate.

According to an article in the Oct. 1 *Daily World*, "The major thrust of the CP campaign in the race for U. S. Senate, said [José] Ristorucci [CP candidate for governor in New York], should be the defeat of Sen. Jacob Javits [the Republican incumbent]." Translated, this means that the first priority of the CP's campaign was supporting Clark.

According to Ristorucci this all-out effort to elect Clark was important because of what "the defeat of Javits would mean to the liberation struggles in the Middle East, to the struggle for detente, to the interests of Jewish and non-Jewish workers here and in Israel." The clear implication is that a Clark victory would be better for the liberation struggles of oppressed Arabs and Palestinians.

But this is absurd. Clark has time and again clearly expressed his support for Israeli aggression and his opposition to Palestinian liberation. An official position paper issued from his office declared that "the United States must make a complete and unequivocal commitment to provide Israel the invincible armament that will deter any attack."

And on the eve of the elections he was a featured speaker, along with Javits, Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), and Moshe Dayan, at the racist anti-Arab rally at the United Nations.

He told the demonstrators that the Palestine Liberation Organization should be brought before an interna-



CLARK: Vacillating in service of the people?

tional court like the Nuremburg War Crimes Tribunals and "arraigned before that court for crimes against humanity."

Arms for Israeli oppressors and criminal trials for the Palestinian victims robbed of their homeland; that's Clark's program. It's no different than Javits's.

The Stalinists conceded that Clark's position on the Middle East leaves something to be desired. Mike Zagarell, the CP's candidate for attorney general in New York, went so far as to say in an article in the Oct. 5 *Daily World* that "Clark takes a hawkish stand, calling for 'unequivocal military commitment to Israel.'"

And then summing up their estimate of Clark, Zagarell wrote, "In short, Clark has many antimonopoly positions, but his course is shaky, contradictory and vacillating."

Shaky and vacillating! The *New Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines

"vacillating" as follows: "to incline first to one course or opinion and then to another."

That scarcely fits Clark. His position in respect to Israeli aggression and Palestinian oppression is clear and resolute, as his participation in the huge anti-Arab rally in New York showed.

To deal with these "vacillations" Zagarell asserted that "independent pressure on the issues is needed directed at both Javits and Clark. Only this type of struggle can lead to a defeat of Javits at the polls."

Did you catch that little bit of flim-flam? He proposed exerting pressure on both candidates but ended up calling for the defeat of only one—the "bad" one.

The CP's election policy serves to give radical cover for their class-collaborationist policy of supporting "good" capitalist candidates and helping to defeat "bad" ones. Their criticisms of the "good," but "vacillating" candidates are part of this radical smokescreen.

The Stalinist candidates did not really run independent campaigns as they claimed. Nor did they advocate a break from capitalist politics. They helped to promote the campaigns of liberal Democratic politicians.

This position contrasted sharply with the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party. In the November elections the SWP ran 129 candidates in 15 states and Washington, D. C.

These candidates opposed *all* the candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties. They called for a break by the masses of working people from these two parties, both of which are controlled by the huge monopolies and banks. And they supported and actively participated in dozens of local and national struggles of working people, oppressed minorities, and women, against the policies and practices of Democratic and Republican administrations.

# Rally in S. Dakota: 'Free the Custer defendants'

By JEFF ROY

PIERRE, S. D. — Five hundred Native Americans and their supporters gathered Nov. 1 on the steps of the state capitol here to demand the release of Sarah Bad Heart Bull and three others serving sentences for participating in a demonstration in Custer, S. D., last year.

Bad Heart Bull and the others were framed and convicted in July for being present at a police riot Feb. 6, 1973.

Supporters arrived for the rally in a caravan of 67 cars from the reservation town of Fort Thompson, 60 miles away.

The mood of the rally was defiant. There were reports that members of the local tactical squad and highway patrol were inside the capitol building.

Among those who spoke were Marlon Brando; Chief Frank Fools Crow, a traditional leader of the Oglala people; American Indian Movement members Dennis Banks, Russell Means, Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, and Ellen Moves Camp; several Wounded Knee defense attorneys; and Paul Boe, a representative of the American Movement Church.

Clyde Bellecourt told the crowd, "We will not rest until Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Kenneth Dahl, Bob High Eagle, and John Carlson are free!"

Sarah Bad Heart Bull is a 46-year-old Oglala Sioux from Pine Ridge

Reservation. Her son Wesley was killed by a white man the morning of Jan. 20, 1973, at Buffalo Gap, S. D.

There were at least four witnesses to the stabbing. Wesley's killer was charged with only second-degree manslaughter, a light charge. On the morning of Feb. 6, Bad Heart Bull and four witnesses to the slaying went to Custer, S. D., where the county courthouse is located. Soon after, a caravan of perhaps 200 Indians arrived to protest the racist administration of justice.

What was a protest soon turned into a police riot. It began with police grabbing and beating Bad Heart Bull as she stood on the courthouse steps asking admittance. Bad Heart Bull, High Eagle, Dahl, and Carlson were convicted and given sentences that ranged from one to seven years.

Mark Lane, a member of the Wounded Knee defense team, said that Bad Heart Bull is a "symbol of the dual standard of justice in South Dakota" and the nation, and that "if rallies, demonstrations, and letters continue, we will soon see Sarah released."

Another speaker, Ellen Moves Camp, spoke of the racist climate in the state and the kind of "justice" Indian people can expect. She said that "the goon squad" has been "set loose" and has not been brought to trial

for its continued acts of terrorism on the Pine Ridge Reservation, "while Sarah and the others are put in jail. . . . That is the corrupt government and officials we're dealing with!"

A strategy session was convened afterwards at a nearby Bureau of Indian Affairs school to discuss how to mobilize support for all the Wounded Knee defendants.

Petitions containing 7,000 signatures were presented to Ted Munster, the representative of Governor Richard Kneip. The petitions demanded that Bad Heart Bull and the other defendants be released and called for the dropping of charges against all defendants now under prosecution for alleged offenses stemming from the Wounded Knee siege of last year.



Marlon Brando speaking at Nov. 1 rally in Pierre, S. D.

Militant/Terri Gravem



# Trial of Kent guardsmen: new cover-up?

By MIKE ALEWITZ

CLEVELAND— The trial of eight former Ohio national guardsmen opened here Oct. 29 in U. S. District Court in what promises to be another in a long line of cover-ups about the killing of four students during a protest against the U. S. invasion of Cambodia on May 4, 1970.

The eight are charged with conspiring to violate the civil rights of the students by firing a barrage of bullets into demonstrators. The volley left four dead and nine others wounded.

The eight guardsmen, in their opening defense arguments, blamed an "inept and disorganized guard leadership." They have also echoed the findings of the Portage County grand jury four years ago. Those findings resulted in the frame-up of 25 students on charges so outlandish that almost all were eventually dropped.

By almost word-for-word recital of those findings, the guardsmen are using the most malicious lies possible against the student demonstrators. Among other things, the findings of the Portage jury blamed the violence on an "attitude of permissiveness" and on radical organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Defense attorney Bernard Stuplinski stated, "The students were not exercising their civil rights," but "were a riotous mob throwing stones and chasing guardsmen."

Another defense attorney, C. D. Lambros, stated, "The guardsmen fired out of fear . . . [they] believed they were in danger of death or serious bodily harm." He went on to say that the gunshots erupted as demonstrators surged forward, chanting, "Kill, kill, kill." This, of course, is utter nonsense.

As the government prosecuting attorney pointed out, "There was no massive rush, no assault on the guards. They were on high ground at the time they opened fire on the students. They were not surrounded and not about to be overrun."

Testimony Oct. 31 included that of John Filo, the photographer who won a Pulitzer prize for his picture of a grief-stricken woman crouched over one of the slain students. He testified that the crowd was far away from the guardsmen when they fired.

For the next few days the jury will hear testimony from other photographers on the scene.

It is highly unlikely that this trial will get to the truth about the mass-



Slain student at Kent State

acre at Kent State. As government prosecutor Robert Murphy told the jury, "Don't expect the government's case to be loaded with surprises or theatrics because there won't be any." In other words, they won't look below the surface.

The real questions will most likely remain unanswered. To anyone who was present at the time or has viewed the photographs, it is patently clear that the guardsmen were not in danger. An order to fire was given, but from how far up the chain of command remains unknown. By refusing to go after the main criminals—to the statehouse and the White House if necessary—the government is just covering up the whole bloody crime.

The cover-up also includes sparing the two current capitalist candidates for governor. The Republican nominee, James Rhodes, was governor of Ohio at the time of the massacre. He ordered the guard into Kent to break up the demonstrations.

Rhodes made a personal trip to Kent on May 3, the day before the shootings, and spoke to guardsmen. He called the students "worse than brownshirts" and ordered the guard to "use any amount of force necessary to disperse any crowds." He went on to describe a crowd as "two students walking together."

The Democratic Party candidate for governor is the incumbent John Gilligan. He was confronted on the issue of the Kent shootings by Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Nancy Brown at the Cleveland

City Club Nov. 1. This traditional gubernatorial debate is broadcast in its entirety by more than a dozen radio stations in Ohio.

Brown used some of her time to blast Gilligan's record on the killings. "For the last four and a half years," she said, "John Gilligan has remained silent about Kent. He remained silent during the Scranton Commission investigation. He remained silent when the Portage County grand jury indicted 25 students on frame-up charges. He remained silent during his campaign for governor in 1970.

"And after he was elected, when he had the authority to open an investigation into the shootings, he refused. When students at Kent demanded an investigation, Gilligan ignored them. When the faculty at Kent demanded an investigation, Gilligan ignored them. And when the parents of the slain students demanded an investigation, Gilligan again ignored them.

"By remaining silent, Gilligan has covered up the truth about the killings."

Gilligan refused to address himself to the question.

Although the governor would like to see the issue swept under the rug, the issue of Kent is not likely to go away. The trial of the guardsmen is expected to last six to eight weeks. More important, legal proceedings by the parents of the slain students will begin soon. This civil suit will be much more likely to shed light on the killings.



National guardsmen fire tear gas prior to deadly assault on unarmed students

## YSA leader set to fight 'subversive' listing

By CONNIE PIPER

The attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations, supposedly abolished last June by the Nixon administration, remains in operation today under the Ford administration.

On Oct. 18, the U. S. Army threatened to discharge from the Reserves Steven Wattenmaker, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, on the grounds that the YSA "is controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated as a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States. . . ."

The Army informed Wattenmaker that "your retention in the United States Army in any capacity would not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), announced that her group will challenge on behalf of Wattenmaker the government's "continuing use of this unconstitutional enemies list." NECLC attorney David Kairys, who successfully defended the Camden 28, will represent Wattenmaker.

In a first move, Wattenmaker has requested that the Army convene a

"Field Board of Inquiry" to consider his challenge.

Wattenmaker, drafted in 1971, was active during his service at Fort Sam Houston, in San Antonio, Tex., in opposing the Vietnam war and presenting his socialist viewpoint to his fellow GIs. He helped to organize several large antiwar GI actions. In 1972, while still on active duty in the Army, he was a Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress.

The Army charges that Wattenmaker "exhibited evidence of . . . specific intent to further the unlawful goals" of the YSA.

Wattenmaker, a national committee member of the YSA, issued a statement calling the charges "totally untrue." He went on: "The YSA is a completely lawful organization of socialist young people working to change this society. The government is the lawbreaker.

"They used that unconstitutional attorney general's list for 27 years, supposedly abolished it, and now in blatant violation of their own rules continue to use it against lawful political activity," Wattenmaker pointed out.

In a June 4, 1974, executive order, then president Nixon declared that the list "is hereby abolished and shall not be used for any purpose."

The list of 300 organizations was drawn up in 1947 by the Truman administration. As early as 1951 the Supreme Court ruled that no new groups could be added without a hearing, a right originally denied. The witch-hunting list then became more vulnerable: no new groups were added since the 1950s, and it was increasingly challenged as unconstitutional.

At a news conference announcing the order to abolish the list, Deputy Assistant Attorney General Kevin Maroney assured the public that "all existing copies will be destroyed" and that "government agencies will not be permitted to refer to the Subversive List."

At the same time, Maroney said that the end of the attorney general's list would have "no effect on the 52 organizations the FBI has under investigation." He refused to identify them but said they are groups the FBI considers "subversive."

In addition to the action against Wattenmaker, the government has indicated that the YSA and SWP continue on the "subversive" list. It has recently been revealed that the FBI plans to spy on the upcoming YSA convention, scheduled to begin Dec.

28 in St. Louis.

Wattenmaker said that both actions "prove that the Ford administration continues to try to intimidate the YSA and other political opponents of the government."

He promised, "We won't be intimidated. We're fighting both these attacks on our right to function, and we're urging all young people who protest government harassment to attend the YSA convention."

The YSA moved in federal court Oct. 29 for a preliminary injunction to stop the FBI surveillance. Government attorneys recently won an extension of time in which to respond to the motion. They now have until Nov. 15. Attorneys for the socialists have requested a court hearing Nov. 18.

That motion is part of a broader civil suit filed in July 1973 by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin on behalf of the YSA and SWP. Financed and supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund, that suit seeks a permanent injunction against such Watergate-style harassment as wiretapping, burglary, mail tampering, and attempted intimidation. It also seeks an end to use of the attorney general's list.

# Drive for profits in the coal industry: why bosses rejected miners' demands

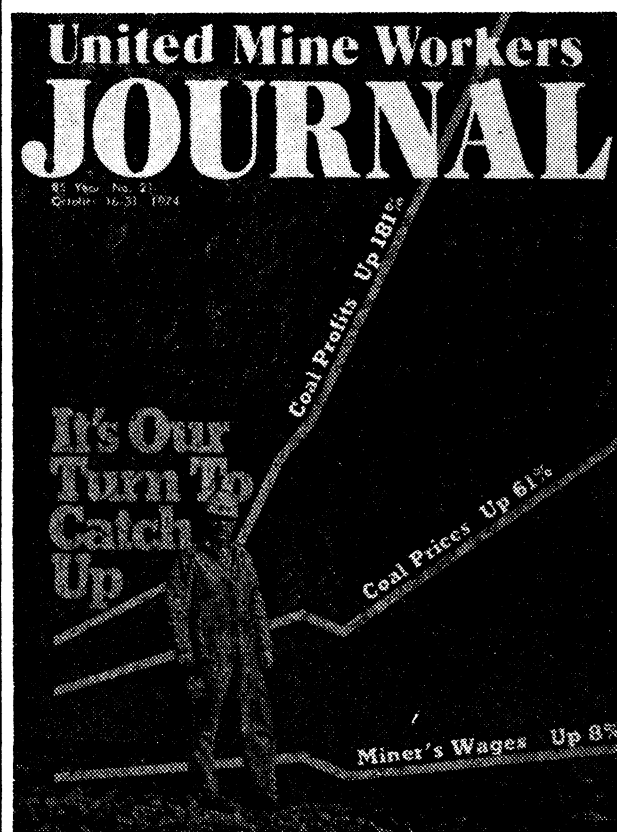
By FRANK LOVELL

The refusal of negotiators for the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) to consider the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract demands is in keeping with the traditional greed and social irresponsibility of the mine owners.

Denouncing the coal operators Nov. 5, UMWA President Arnold Miller said, "With what they've handed us tonight, they've declared a strike in the coal fields."

Earlier in the negotiations, on Oct. 8, the owners had told the union how they intend to operate the mines—their way:

- All new workers will be subject to firing without cause during the first 120 days on the job.
- New workers will not be given extensive safety training as the union demands.
- Miners suffering from black lung who transfer to less dusty work areas will have their wages cut according to their new job classification.
- Seniority rights of all temporarily unemployed miners will be canceled after two years.
- The present practice of paying outside workers overtime rates for 45 minutes each day, as provided under the 1971 contract, will be ended.
- Mines will operate on a 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week schedule, with rotating shifts.
- Miners who refuse to work under unsafe conditions will be fired unless they can prove "good faith."
- Workers who are absent two days in a row or three days in a month may be fired.



Latest issue of UMW Journal highlights gap between wages and profits.

- There will be no full-time helpers on continuous miners, loaders, roof-bolting machines and cutting machines as proposed by the union.
- The union will have no jurisdiction over reclamation work, especially in the strip-mine regions.

## No give and take

To underscore the position of the mine owners, Walter Wallace, BCOA chief negotiator, said at the time, "It is a proposal, but in another sense it is not. Proposals invite your counterproposals—give and take. We have gone as far as we can go to solve these problems. . . . There is no other movement we can foresee."

Less than two weeks before expiration of the contract, BCOA rejected out of hand union proposals for sick pay—which miners do not now receive—and for a cost-of-living clause similar to that in the auto and steel contracts. Three of the seven BCOA negotiating committee members absented themselves from the negotiations.

It was clear to the miners almost from the opening of formal negotiations last Sept. 3 that the owners were not seeking a settlement. The 38-

member UMWA Bargaining Council denounced the owners' Oct. 8 pronouncement.

"That package is not only unresponsive to our proposals and grossly inadequate to our needs, it is an insult to the intelligence and human dignity of every United Mine Worker," said the council. UMWA President Arnold Miller said then that "the BCOA strategy clearly is to manipulate a strike situation and then demand government intervention in order to undermine the bargaining power of the UMWA."

## 'Dangerous miscalculation'

"I can only say," he warned, "that such a strategy is a dangerous miscalculation of the mood of 120,000 working United Mine Workers who will ratify the 1974 agreement and the determination of the UMWA to protect its membership."

The owners have hinted that they are willing to grant substantial wage increases in return for an agreement that allows them to operate the mines as they are accustomed to; that is, without regard for the health and safety of the miners. In addition, they have circulated rumors that the union can have a 60-cent-a-ton raise for the miners' retirement fund. The present 80-cent-a-ton royalty allows for only \$150 monthly pensions, which the miners say must be doubled.

The final refusal by the owners of any specific wage scale and their rejection of the cost-of-living clause shows that they were impervious to all warnings about the consequences of a strike.

The owners planned to run out the time of negotiations and then pass the issue of a settlement to the government after the Nov. 12 deadline. They have every reason to hope that a compliant administration in Washington, supported by an employer-dominated Congress, will try to force the miners back to work, pending some form of compulsory arbitration.

The administration has been following developments in the contract talks very carefully. Federal mediator W. J. Usery has met with both sides continually. And the week before negotiations broke down, President Ford held separate meetings with Arnold Miller and with coal industry representatives.

In the Oct. 16-31 *United Mine Workers Journal*, editor Don Stillman points out that some observers "believed the operators think a short strike could help them by forcing coal prices up even higher and providing them with the opportunity to blame miners for those price increases once greater public awareness is created by a strike. They say BCOA negotiators may refrain from serious bargaining until a strike has occurred."

## 'Public-be-damned strategy'

Arnold Miller was more specific in his open letter to the UMWA membership last month. He said, "The American people are the hostages in this public-be-damned strategy engineered by a handful of oil and steel executives who control the nation's coal industry."

The question for the miners is: When the mines close, what then?

Union officials have done some thinking about this question, as have the miners. They are determined that miners will not return to work under the old conditions.

Since the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act was passed, upwards of 830 miners have been killed, more than 25 of them since negotiations for a new contract began this fall.

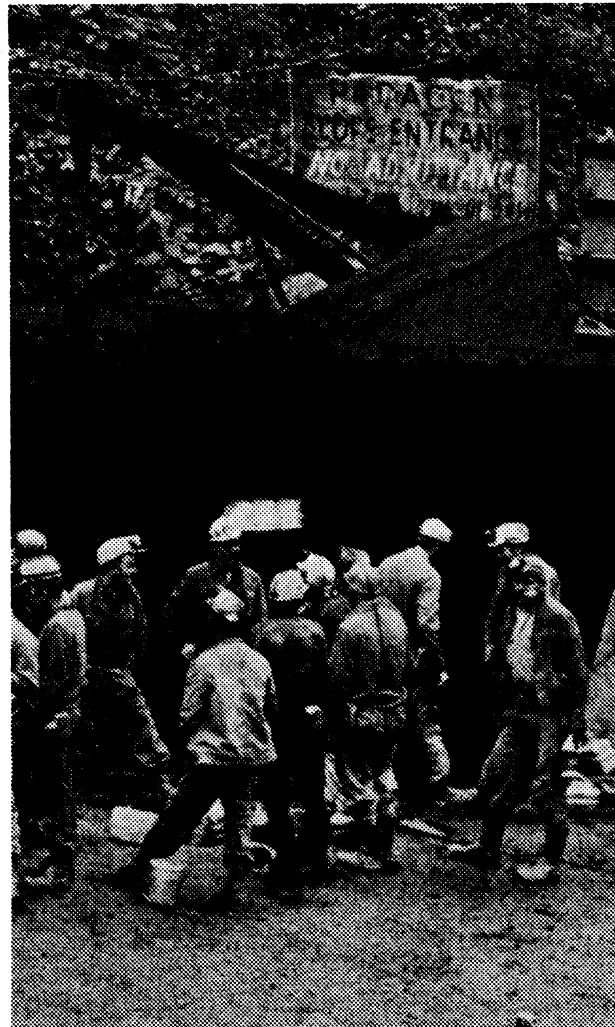
Miners have begun to elect their own safety inspectors, have forced unqualified mine foremen out of the pits, and are demanding the ouster of owner-controlled political appointees in the Bureau of Mines.

President Ford may try to use the Taft-Hartley law to drive miners back into the underground deathtraps, but the government will have to recognize union control of mine safety in some form before it can get the miners to dig coal again.

Once the strike starts there are other issues that will arise.

Arguments about the "energy crisis" are already being used against the miners—as if they were responsible.

The energy crisis began long before the strike. Who caused it? Millions already understand that the U. S. oil monopolies, now in control of the



Miners are determined not to return to work under old, unsafe working conditions.

mines, are responsible for the energy crisis and are using it to boost profits.

UMWA research has exposed the fact that corporate profits in the coal industry are up 181 percent for the past year. Some profits are even higher. The Pittston Company had a 787.1 percent increase in profits for the third quarter of this year!

Coal prices for some utilities have jumped from \$8 a ton to as much as \$51. *UMW Journal* writer Tom Bethell observes that "increases in coal prices are passed on and translated into astronomically high utility bills, increased prices for steel products, higher prices for automobiles."

This has meant a big increase in the cost of living for everyone. In the past year—while prices rose more than 12 percent—miners' wages have advanced less than 8 percent.

These figures tell the story of inflation as it hits all poor and working people, not only miners. But they are only an indication of the profit greed behind inflation.

## Open the books

By demanding public investigations of the books of the oil monopolies, the miners will expose the carefully guarded secrets of these companies and their conspiracy to drive up prices.

It is in the interest of all consumers and the entire union movement to pry open the books of the monopolist-conspirators and lay bare the real causes of the energy crisis and high prices.

The call for public investigations of the criminal acts of giant corporations is nothing new for the mine workers union. Recently, in its Brookside, Ky., strike, the union sponsored public hearings on the murderous strikebreaking tactics of the Duke Power Company.

The Ford administration cannot be trusted to undertake any such investigation, but the union movement, headed by the UMWA, can begin these inquiries. It could also demand of the Justice Department subpoena powers to bring the mine owners out into the open.

Such moves will be endorsed and supported by all allies of the union movement. In every big-city neighborhood where the poor are clustered, in local union halls throughout the country, and on university campuses, thousands will respond to the miners' cause. They will know that in this way they are also helping themselves against the hidden crooks behind the U. S. economic and social crisis.



# 'We've been down too long'

# What mine workers are fighting for

By CINDY JAQUITH

BARRACKVILLE, W. Va. — "We've been down too long—we need to move up." That's how Jack Van Pelt, a roof bolter at Bethlehem Steel's Barrackville mine, explains the determination of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) to strike if necessary to win a decent new contract.

While a team of *Militant* reporters was interviewing miners here in West Virginia, contract talks between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA) in Washington, D. C., were slowly grinding to a halt. Now that a nationwide strike appears inevitable on or before Nov. 12, when the old contract runs out, the coal operators and the government have begun cranking out their lies and distortions in the hopes of turning public opinion against the miners' demands.

The UMWA demand for more safety will cut into "productivity," they complain; higher wages and a cost-of-living clause will cause more inflation, they argue; the coal companies are "too poor" to afford better fringe benefits, they moan.

## 'Miners aren't dumb'

"Coal miners aren't as dumb as some people think," a Black miner, Roy Meeks, said outside the Barrackville mine. The miners are well aware that the monopolies that own the mines have scored record profits this year, at the expense of workers' safety and their standard of living.

"The operators, all they want is that dollar," said Meeks. "If one of us gets killed, why, they'll just drag us out and another miner will step into our place."

In the coal fields, where one miner is killed every other working day, it's not hard to find someone whose neighbor or relative recently died in a mining accident. David Workman, a 17-year-old high school student, has seen three miners killed in the past month in Boone County, where he lives.

"One boy who lived right below me got killed, got his head crushed," Workman said. Workman's



One victim of coal companies' greed. 'The operators, all they want is that dollar.'

cousin was also killed, while operating a machine he wasn't trained to use.

Workman will enter the mines himself when he graduates. "I dread it," he said. "I don't even want to think about it." Many of his friends will also become miners, because there are no other decent-paying jobs in the area.

To combat the high death and injury rate in the mines, the UMWA went into the contract negotiations with demands for helpers on dangerous machinery, proper training for new miners, a company-paid, union-elected, full-time safety inspector, and the right of miners to walk out of unsafe mines.

The idea that the union—not the company—should exercise control over safety is an important one, as miners can explain from their own experience. Nathan Hinton, a Black who retired from the mines after 44 years on the job, held up a mangled left hand he got when a coal car rammed him against a post. In another accident, his leg was permanently injured.

"These mines kill up too many men," he said. "It's unnecessary." Hinton said that whenever he

heard the mine roof creaking, he would get out fast.

"The boss would say, 'Go in there and get the rest of that coal.' I said, 'I ain't going in there, because I work in there and I know it's unsafe!'"

## Cost-of-living clause

Miners are also desperate for some protection against spiraling prices. They strongly favor a cost-of-living escalator clause in addition to higher wages.

"You take the prices of everything that's gone up now," explained Jack Van Pelt. "The worker has got to have something to compensate with, or else how's he going to live?"

"So many others have a cost-of-living clause," he continued. "Auto workers have it, steelworkers have it, longshoremen have it, electricians, painters—why shouldn't the miners have it?"

In hopes of undercutting the UMWA demand for an escalator clause and a wage increase, the coal bosses are spreading the story that miners' pockets are always bulging with money because they make \$50 a day.

This is simply not true. The average miner, according to one UMWA member at Barrackville, makes about \$42 a day—before taxes.

Take-home pay is what counts, especially if you have a large family. Roy Meeks said, "Inflation has just eaten up your paycheck. I have eight children and I take home \$325 every two weeks."

Meeks is a college graduate and is trained to be a teacher. "But you can't raise a family on \$5,500, so I went back to the mines," he explained.

Bob Mullins, 25, is another miner with a family. After he pays \$160 rent, \$160 on his monthly car payment, and buys food for a family of four, there's not much left in the \$350 check he gets twice a month.

What about President Ford's pleas for "equality of sacrifice" from workers and bosses alike? "Don't talk Ford to me!" barked one older miner. "They oughta hang him!"

"Let Ford eat less," added another miner. "How about him turning back some of that \$200,000 he makes?"

Many miners expect the recession to deepen, not get better. Rick Borden, a 23-year-old Black miner at Barrackville, said, "Things are getting worse every day. It's going to get pretty rough around here soon. People are going to get to starving."

Joe Cameron, a 48-year-old miner who has been underground 30 years, predicted, "The way things look, you're going to have to carry a bushel basket full of money to the market soon."

## Coal profits

Many miners don't even have to read the newspapers to know that the companies are raking in profits in the meantime. Daniel Sears, for example, buys his heating coal from Bethlehem at cost.

"Our wages haven't gone up for a year now," he said. "But the coal cost me \$7.60 a ton last year; then they raised it to \$10.25 the first of April; then they raised it to \$14.25 this fall; then they raised it to \$18.75 last week."

Sears has been preparing for a strike this fall. It will not be his first strike by a long shot. "I've been in some pretty good ones in the last 37 years," he said with a grin.

For older miners like Sears, pensions and retirement age are important issues. Retired soft-coal miners now get \$150 a month pension, which comes out of the royalties paid by the coal companies into the UMWA health and retirement fund. The union is demanding a substantial increase in the royalties paid per ton of coal mined so the pensions can be raised.

## 'You tell 'em!'

"We're the lowest-paid pensioners in the country! \$150 a month!" exclaimed Steve Furman, who has spent 37 of his 61 years in the mines. As he said this, another miner passing by shook his fist and yelled: "Yeah, you tell 'em we need that pension!"

Many miners interviewed said they think the pensions should be doubled, or at least brought up to \$200 or \$250. Those who are already retired, such as Nathan Hinton, also pointed out that the union's demand for an escalator clause in the pension is essential: "We get only the same amount now, but prices keep going up."

Most miners—if they live long enough—work



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

'Inflation has just eaten up your paycheck,' said miner Roy Meeks.

until 62, when they can collect Social Security to add to their meager pensions. Those who are lucky enough to get through the red tape for black lung benefits get another \$187.40 a month, adjusted to the number of dependents.

"I'd like to see a retirement age of 50," said Jack Van Pelt. "I'm 51." He added that all miners should automatically get black lung benefits after a certain number of years in the mines.

Another miner, 62, wheezed frequently as he explained the need for a lower retirement age. His eyeglasses were rimmed with the coal dust that permeates the air inside the mine—dust that he and all the other miners breathe for eight or nine hours a day, year after year.

Each miner in the UMWA will get a copy of the proposed contract once a settlement is made in Washington, D. C. Then they will vote on the contract—the first time in UMWA history that the rank and file will decide the new contract terms.

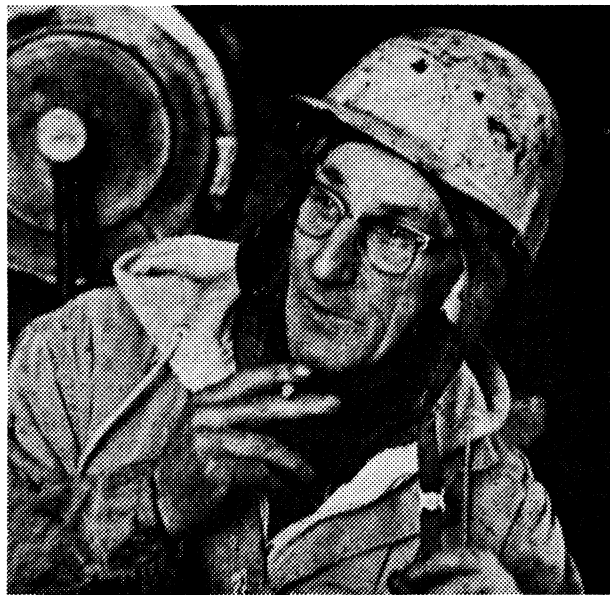
## 'A voice in union'

"Since Arnold Miller has taken over, we've gotten a voice in our union we never had before," said Steve Furman. "Under the Boyle dictatorship, it was just handed to us like we were penned-up dogs."

"Miller knows what it's like, whereas some of the others, they forgot, or had never known, the hardship."

What will happen when the UMWA walks out? "President Ford might try to put us back for 80 days," guessed Ransom Conely of Boone County. But the tradition of "no contract, no work" is firmly ingrained in every miner.

Conely said he thought the demands of the miners are in the interests of all working people. "I think the public will respond with the coal miners."



'We're the lowest-paid pensioners in the country.'

## Mideast war threat

A campaign of racist, chauvinist demagoguery is being built up in this country against the Arab peoples. The ruling class is trying to make the Arabs a scapegoat to deflect the rising discontent of working people over inflation and recession.

This campaign is reminiscent of the equally racist and false attempts to blame the economic crisis of the 1930s on an "international conspiracy of Jewish bankers and communists." It is designed to create a climate in which Washington or its Israeli watchdog could launch war against the Arab oil-producing countries.

In a speech last week in Fulton, Mo., Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the past 15 years, warned of a Middle East "time bomb." He predicted the likelihood of "a new war, a new oil boycott, and possibly consequences therefrom ranging from another great depression to Armageddon itself."

Fulbright's warning came in the wake of Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres's ominous prediction that the next Mideast conflict might see the use of "nonconventional weapons."

Speculation about a preemptive Israeli attack has been a regular feature in Mideast news coverage for months now, and the Israelis have repeatedly threatened just such action. But Israel does not act alone. Behind it stands Washington.

As Moshe Dayan remarked to critics during the October 1973 war, Israel could hardly ignore the wishes of the ally that was providing it each morning with the ammunition that was being fired in the afternoon.

The coordinated threats made by President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger against the Arab oil-producing countries in September were designed not only to put direct pressure on those countries, but also to give Israel a green light for its threatening policy.

A broad spectrum of the officialdom of the U. S. labor movement has now joined together in trying to rally the unions behind this Mideast war drive. These war hawks of the union bureaucracy range from Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers and Paul Hall of the Seafarers' International Union to officials with more liberal reputations, such as Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and David Livingston of District 65 of the Distributive Workers.

In an advertisement printed in the Nov. 1 *New York Times* they all join in protesting against the "terror" of the Palestine Liberation Organization and against "the new oil billionaires who have sponsored this abuse of the United Nations. . . ."

They say: "The same countries which sponsor the PLO now seek to use their natural resources and the wealth that flows from it to disrupt world economies and to infiltrate legitimate industry in this country, to serve their political purposes—to our detriment."

They raise the mythical specter of Arabs taking over "legitimate industry in this country" and protest in the name of American labor that this would be "to our detriment."

But what is "legitimate" about the handful of billionaires *right here in the United States* who have always controlled this country? It is *their* policies that are really acting to the detriment of American workers and the people of the entire world.

By chiming in with the chorus of politicians who are blaming the Arabs for inflation and unemployment, these labor officials are trying to cover up their own refusal to lead the unions in fighting back against the U. S. capitalists' assault on workers.

Starting a war in which American working people could be sent to fight Arabs would do nothing to fight inflation, unemployment, or shortages. Just the opposite. As the American people saw during the U. S. intervention in Vietnam, war only increases inflation.

The ruling classes throughout history have used racism and war-inspired patriotism to demand sacrifices and to attack the rights and living standards of the working masses. A new war in the Mideast could well end in reaction and ruin, especially with the shadow of the H-bomb hanging over the world.

The only way for working people to fight back for jobs and a living wage is through independent mobilization of their power as workers.

The racist campaign against the Arabs must be exposed and the truth told: that the enemy of both the Arab masses and American workers is the same—the U. S. capitalist class, which bears ultimate responsibility for the growing crisis facing unionists and all other working people today.

## Fuentes & the 'Daily World'

Remember the article "CP echoes racist slander against Fuentes" (Oct. 25 *Militant*)? Readers should now be gratified to learn that the editors of the Communist Party's *Daily World* have cleared their minds about Luis Fuentes, the recently suspended superintendent of New York City's school District 1.

In the Sept. 28 issue of the *World* they wrote, "Fuentes deserves severe criticism for anti-Semitic statements he made at one time." Now they have printed a retraction, in their Oct. 26 issue.

"Several readers" called their attention to those lines, says the *World*. And the editors seem really hurt to think that someone might have gotten the wrong "impression." They are especially chagrined because "the article did not say, nor did it intend to imply, that Fuentes is an anti-Semite. As a reading of the entire article would make clear. . . ."

Well, I read the entire article, and the retraction, and I guess I'm missing the distinction. Maybe now the *World* could find space to run an explanation.

D. D.

New York, N. Y.

## On the front lines

I've just read the Oct. 25 *Militant*, and it is terrific. I've subscribed for several years now and have come to expect quality, but this issue was exceptional. As long as you're involved in the flesh-and-blood practical application of revolutionary socialism it must reveal itself—which only goes to show that you're for real.

There are a lot of self-esteeming intellectuals and frenzied harebrains who call themselves revolutionaries. But when they get involved in practical activity, they get their feet all tangled up in their tongues.

*The Militant* doesn't hedge or dodge the life-and-death issues confronting people in Boston or South Africa, Denver or Chile, Wounded Knee or Vietnam.

There are two things Lenin said that I always try to keep in mind when judging events or ideas: that "the truth is concrete," and that "we must always call things by their right names." *The Militant* consistently lives up to these directives.

That's why *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party will always be on the front lines of the class struggle in this country.

Please send a trial subscription to my brother. I'm sending extra money, and I hope you can add it to your Prisoner Fund.

Steve Manty

Williamsburg, Mass.

## Turning on the heat

On Oct. 28 a lawsuit was filed by a Milwaukee attorney here charging that the Wisconsin Gas Company unlawfully terminated its service to about 2,500 Milwaukee households, thereby jeopardizing the health and safety of 10,000 or more Milwaukee residents.

The suit was filed on behalf of Addie Randall, a 64-year-old widow with a \$90-a-month income from Social Security, and 10,000 other residents with fixed low incomes who are without gas service because

they allegedly have not paid their gas bills.

The woman's attorney stated that "there are some people in our community, such as Addie Randall, who simply cannot afford to pay a \$60-per-month heating bill on a total income of \$90 a month."

Of course, the real issue here is not a legal issue, but a political one, namely, whether society's institutions will be run for the ruling few or for the social needs of the overwhelming majority of workers and unemployed.

J. C.

Milwaukee, Wis.

## How to splurge

All is well in the White House, and I wish my budget could provide as well for my daily work.

Under the White House personnel authorizations, Mr. Ford may spend, for White House employees (75), a total of \$2,897,500.

The vice-president may employ 14 personnel, whose salaries total \$534,500.

For personnel appointments to meet unexpected personnel needs, the White House disposes of a ceiling of \$1,000,000. One must then add \$100,000 for presidential travel expenses, giving a total of \$4,532,000 annually until 1978. And this is excluding the presidential and vice-presidential salaries.

So, just in spite, tonight I'll not clean up my bowl of beans and pork jowls, to show that I too can splurge.

Michele Mooney

Los Angeles, Calif.

## A vote of confidence

I would like to make a comment on the election editorial in the Nov. 1 *Militant*.

How can anyone say that the Socialist Workers Party is unrealistic and that a vote for the SWP is a vote thrown away? It should be evident to all people that the Democratic and Republican parties are the unrealistic parties, and a vote for either is a vote for capitalism and a vote against the people.

It's time for big business and big profits to be taken out of the hands of a small minority. This can only be brought about by the people starting a party of their own and getting a grasp on the system.

I am a prisoner and I know very little about the SWP, but I believe that the SWP is a people's party and should be supported by all the working class. I cannot cast a ballot, but my moral support is given sincerely.

A prisoner

Illinois

## From a women's prison

Recently, several other women and I witnessed the brutal beating of one female inmate here by five male officers with gas and belts.

The next day, most of the 60 women in two of the housing units asked for an explanation. We were told the beating was necessary because the female inmate had a prior record of assault. We then had a peaceful demonstration, at which time our elite warden called 200 to





300 male guards, who forcibly put us into our cells. Several of the inmates were hurt and beaten.

The day after that, we were escorted one by one to isolation, where we were kept for a week. We had no recreation, no medical attention, and no showers.

Our mail has been delayed, and several letters have been tampered with. Also, our visits have been shortened. This is all a punishment for voicing an opinion.

A prisoner  
New York

## Thank who?

Remove my name from your mailing list *immediately*! Any further contact with me will cause filing of complaint with FBI.

You people are clever. You turn young people against their country, church, parents, government. Everything you protest, you plan to implement if you ever come into power. Which I pray you *don't*!

I was a dope, but I thank God I woke up! I only hope my government, family, and friends can forgive me.

J. E. Robison Jr.  
Stephenville, Tex.

## Construction cure-all

Readers may be interested in this example of boss class mentality. The *Sunday Chronicle and Examiner* here reported Oct. 27 that a local real estate consultant has figured out how to beat high interest rates and save the construction industry.

His bright idea is that "if labor would consent to work three shifts, seven days per week, a normal building time of 18 months might be reduced to six months, consequently inducing a drastic reduction of money costs and final project cost even though interest rates remain high.

"This would provide a concept of 24 hour labor commensurate with a 24 hour cost of money," says our local genius.

He has figured out that his scheme will eventually lower money cost, lower completion cost, lower rents or purchase price to consumers, and increase employment in the construction industry.

In other words, everyone benefits and no one suffers. It all depends on that first IF—"if labor would . . ."

Maybe this latest cure-all for the construction industry means, "If labor would consent to work for nothing, . . . three shifts." But even that would not satisfy the bosses unless some other brilliant plan is devised to produce those overanxious consumers with lots of money—which is what we have least and need most.

Anne Chester  
San Francisco

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.

# \$7-million down the drain

The common belief, reinforced by Watergate, is that most politicians are for sale. This year, as never before, unions are pouring the hard-earned dollars of working men and women into the coffers of capitalist politicians. The National Information Center on Political Finance estimates that unions spent \$7-million in the 1974 elections.

The Committee on Political Education (COPE), political arm of the AFL-CIO, spent close to \$2-million. This does not include direct political contributions by AFL-CIO affiliates.

Unions outside the AFL-CIO are not pikers either. The United Auto Workers had spent \$763,395 as of Oct. 14. The National Education Association planned to spend \$200,000 this year to elect "friends of education."

Reactionary critics such as Reed Larson of the National Right to Work Committee charge that "labor's well-heeled political machine is pouring multimillions of dollars into a sophisticated, lavishly financed campaign to control election results in 1974." These union-busters claim this is illegal, or ought to be. They hope to drive labor out of politics altogether.

This was the position of Senator Robert Taft the elder when he drafted the Taft-Hartley law in 1947. He contended that workers should not engage in politics through their own organizations, their unions. They have the right to vote, and that's enough. Who they can vote for is a matter to be decided by the political parties.

In other words, politics is a rich man's game. The poor can cheer on their favorites and vote for the candidate of their choice, who is either rich like Taft, Kennedy, or Rockefeller, or the hired representative of the rich like Eisenhower, Nixon, or Ford.

It is a widely held moral precept that it is wrong to hire or bribe public officials. But this is universally disregarded in the immoral realm of capitalist politics. And since this is the rule in the two-party political game, why can't the unions play according to the rules and win?

The union movement has been playing this game for a long time and has consistently lost. The reasons are not hard to find. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are *totally owned and controlled* by the capitalists. They are the sole proprietors of the two-

party shell game, and the unions cannot buy their way in.

The makeup of the Ninety-second Congress tells the story. After decades of pouring money into the capitalist parties, trying to pick winners, the union movement ended up without a single member of Congress. Of the 100 U. S. Senators, none were workers or came from the ranks of the union movement. Sixty-nine were lawyers and 25 others were businessmen. The rest were "farmers" (big landowners, not dirt farmers).

The 425 House members were about the same: 245 lawyers, 107 from business, 25 ranchers, a sprinkling of preachers, 4 ex-cops, and two who listed themselves as "entertainers" (perhaps they're just more candid). Nine said they were "from labor," but their record shows they left long ago.

The composition of the present Congress is no different, and the next will be the same. The aims of the unions will not be furthered even if every single Democrat and Republican endorsed by them is elected.

A COPE memo urged votes for union-endorsed candidates, for the election of a "People's Congress." Such a Congress, according to COPE, "could help control the inflation that's picking your pockets mercilessly.

"It could enact a national health security plan to provide all Americans with the best medical care without bankrupting them. . . .

"It could give us true tax justice. . . ."

It can and will do a lot of things. And they will all be things that need doing to satisfy the employers, not the workers.

The \$7-million that was squandered this year could have been put to good use if it had gone for the support of working-class candidates.

The union movement can use its resources wisely only when it pulls out of the political flimflam game run by the capitalist manipulators, quits trying to buy politicians, and runs working men and women for public office on a labor party ticket.

Labor has the money, the votes, the organizational experience, and the qualified representatives to do so with success. Indeed, that is the only way workers can begin to resolve the present economic and social crisis. But the leadership of the union movement lacks the necessary vision and the courage to lead.

# ¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



# Puertorriquenos in California

LOS ANGELES—Although few people are aware of it, there is a Puerto Rican population in California. A survey by the Institute of Puerto Rican Unity here in Los Angeles shows that 60,000 *boricuas* (Puerto Ricans) reside in Southern California, and 40,000 in Northern California.

These facts were brought out in a July 1 *Los Angeles Times* article by Ray Otero.

Los Angeles seems to be the end point of what is becoming a more and more common migration route for *puertorriqueños*. The migration begins in Puerto Rico, where the poverty and unemployment caused by *yanqui* colonialism force many people to go elsewhere in search of work and a better life.

Many go to New York and other East Coast U. S. cities. But when they get there, what they find is little or no better. Slum conditions, run-down schools, low wages, and racism are all the barrios of the United States have to offer.

Many *boricuas* are so disappointed with life in the U. S., says Otero, that they return to Puerto Rico.

Most of the *puertorriqueños* in Los Angeles who have been here several years came after having tried the East Coast. However, the majority of those who have come here in recent years have not only been to the East Coast, but have returned to Puerto Rico and found things worse than when they first left. Some others come to Los Angeles as their first attempt to find an improved life on the mainland.

One reason that Puerto Ricans come to Los Angeles is that they feel somewhat at home with the large Chicano, *mexicano*, and Latin American populations here. There are numerous Spanish-language radio and television stations, movies, newspapers, maga-

zines, and stores. However, there is no real Puerto Rican community in Los Angeles. *Puertorriqueños* live in the same communities where other Latinos live. As Otero puts it, they are an "invisible minority."

The Oct. 27 Puerto Rican Solidarity Day in New York has helped to change that. A support committee was formed here to hold a rally in solidarity with the event in Madison Square Garden. The committee drew the support and participation of groups in the Chicano community as well as from the radical movement.

Representatives of the local Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee (PRSDC) appeared on television and spoke at meetings explaining the need to struggle for independence for Puerto Rico. Some of these meetings were held in the Chicano community, such as at the office of CASA, the antideportation organization. Three representatives of the PRSDC spoke at the West Side Militant Forum Oct. 18. Other PRSDC members debated an *entregista* (a Puerto Rican who favors the present colonial status) at UCLA.

Such activities perform a very important function. They help educate people about the colonial status of Puerto Rico, and they help counter the imperialist lies that Puerto Rico is a "commonwealth" that doesn't need independence.

They also help to build ties of solidarity between the Chicano movement in Aztlán and the Puerto Rican liberation movement. The fate of the Chicano struggle for self-determination is tied to the outcome of other liberation movements, and it is important for Chicanos to be aware of this. A victory for Puerto Rican independence will be a victory for Chicanos too.

## Vows to deport a million

# Saxbe escalates the war on 'illegal aliens'

By HARRY RING

HOUSTON—In an ominous escalation of the drive against undocumented workers, U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe has called for the deportation to Mexico next year of one million "illegal aliens."

Playing on the fears created by the mounting recession, Saxbe asserted the presence of undocumented workers in the United States constitutes a "severe national crisis."

He charged that undocumented workers hold millions of jobs, draw social services ranging from schooling to welfare, and drain funds from the nation's economy by sending "large amounts" of money home.

Speaking in the Texas border city of Brownsville Oct. 30, Saxbe said he had recommended to the president that the Immigration and Naturalization Service budget be increased by \$50-million and that 2,200 employees—mostly border patrolmen—be added to the department.

With the Border Patrol more than doubled in size, Saxbe said, they could in the coming year deport "one million persons now holding jobs—and

then find those who are buried more deeply into our society."

Saxbe also declared that it was essential for Congress to approve pending legislation making it a federal crime for employers to "knowingly" hire undocumented workers. Estimates of "illegal aliens" range from four million to seven million, Saxbe said, but the Immigration Service believes it could run as high as 12 million.

As if to underline the racist character of his attack on the undocumented workers, the attorney general assured that "no prejudice of any kind exists" in the proposal for the wholesale dragnet operation.

In the very next breath he spews out the classic racist slur about "criminal" Mexicans. He asserted that a recent study showed that 36 percent of those arrested on felony charges in one Los Angeles police district were "illegal aliens."

Announcing his intent to whip up this kind of racist hysteria Saxbe said:

"This matter deserves much closer study nationally, for if illegal immigrants are a substantial factor in our growing crime rate, this gives even more impetus to the need for prompt action."

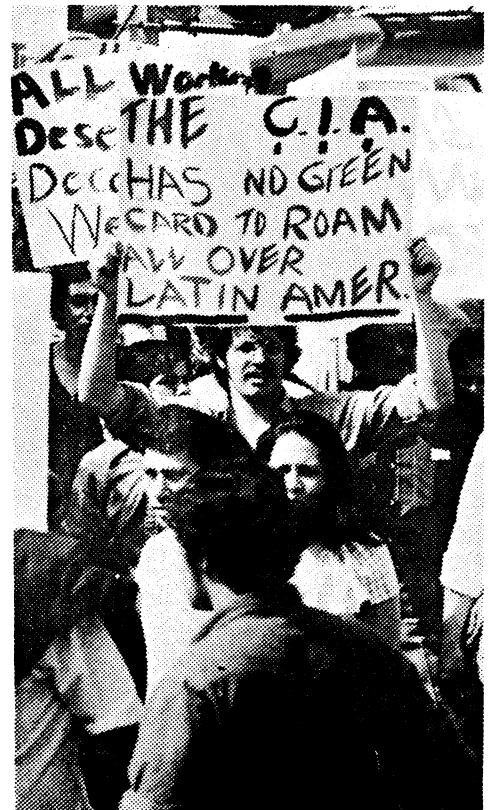
Saxbe said he was encouraged that President Ford and Mexican President Luis Echeverria had agreed during their recent border meeting to undertake joint study and planning on the problem.

If Saxbe's threatened drive is carried through it will be the biggest, most vicious dragnet operation yet.

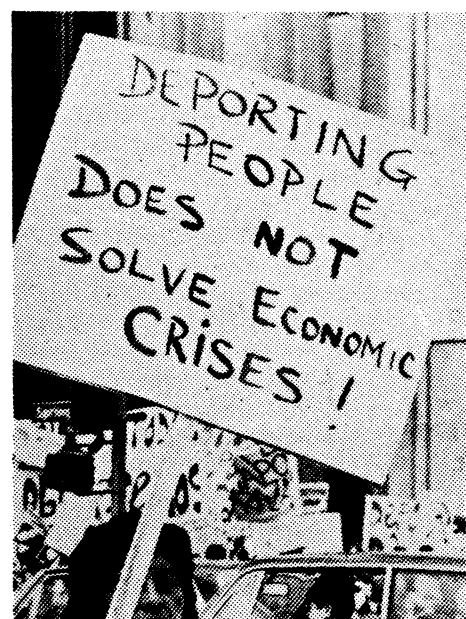
It will mean massive raids on workplaces and homes. Border Patrol caged buses will cruise the streets of the barrios in unprecedented numbers scooping up people at random.

It will mean terrible hardship for the countless numbers forced back to a country they were compelled to leave because there was no work to feed themselves and their families.

The victimization will affect the entire Chicano community since any-



Militant/Walter Lippmann



Militant/Walter Lippmann

one who looks "Mexican" is fair game for the racist *migra* agents.

With these cops swarming through the workplaces creating fear and intimidation, sweatshop operators will feel they have an even freer hand in their brutal superexploitation of Chicano and Mexicano workers.

Saxbe's declaration shows how cold-blooded and ruthless the rulers of this country are. When the economy is on the upturn the undocumented workers are permitted to slip across the border to fill the hardest, dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs.

Now with the economy sinking the drive is on to get rid of the "surplus" and—in the best capitalist tradition—to make the victim the criminal.

Why are there no jobs? Why high prices and soaring taxes? Don't blame the capitalist system or its political agents. Just blame the superexploited

undocumented Mexican workers and join the lynch cry against them.

During the past several years a movement has developed in the barrios against the victimization of the undocumented workers. In the face of this sinister new drive it becomes especially urgent that a broad, effective movement be built around the demand "Stop the deportations!"

Solidarity with the undocumented workers is a matter of elementary justice to them. It also defends the interests of the entire Chicano community—urban and rural.

Mass deportation of the undocumented will not bring better jobs, schools, or homes for the barrio residents. It will not bring unionization to agriculture. It will only create the kind of division that capitalism consciously promotes in order to intensify oppression and exploitation.

## SWP, Raza Unida denounce racist drive

HOUSTON—Attorney General William Saxbe's call for massive deportations of undocumented workers was vigorously assailed by leaders of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) and the Socialist Workers Party in Texas.

In an election eve statement Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Texas, and Kris Vásquez, SWP congressional nominee in the 18th C.D., called for the Chicano movement and all progressive forces to unite in a militant campaign to stop the threatened deportations.

They expressed the hope that the leadership of the United Farm Workers would reconsider its present attack on the undocumented workers and join in united opposition to the reactionary drive by *la migra* outlined by Saxbe.

"If these wholesale raids are permitted to be carried through," the socialist candidates said, "it will strengthen the hand of the racists and reactionaries and they will become more aggressive in their attacks on the farm workers, the Chicano people, and all the poor."

"Today," they continued, "the Saxbes are shouting that the 'illegal' Mexicans are responsible for the problems of the economy, for crime and

high taxes. Isn't it obvious that tomorrow they will extend their scapegoat efforts to include all Mexicanos—'legal' or 'illegal'?"

"On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party," they said, "we pledge to do everything we can to help build a united movement to stop the deportations."

Leaders of La Raza Unida Party also responded sharply to Saxbe. "If they're going to deport a million Mexicans from here, then Mexico should deport U.S. corporations from there," said José Angel Gutiérrez, leader of the Crystal City RUP.

Guadalupe Youngblood, Texas state chairman of the party, branded Saxbe's call for deportations and the passage of the Rodino bill as "flagrantly discriminatory."

The discrimination would be felt, he said, by the Mexicans who will be deported and by the people here as well. "We're Mexicans who just happen to have been born on this side of the border," he said.

Gutiérrez told *The Militant* that the present move to whip up hysteria against the undocumented workers represented a cycle that comes after each war. "We're feeling the economic pinch after the Vietnam war and they're trying to deport us the way

they deported us after the First World War, the second one, and after Korea."

"They bring us in for cheap labor to help with the 'war effort,' with the war machine, and as soon as it's over they have no more use for us. Besides, with the layoffs now they need a scapegoat. It was 'communism' in Vietnam. Now it's going to be the Mexicans in the United States. It's an appeal to the racist elements."

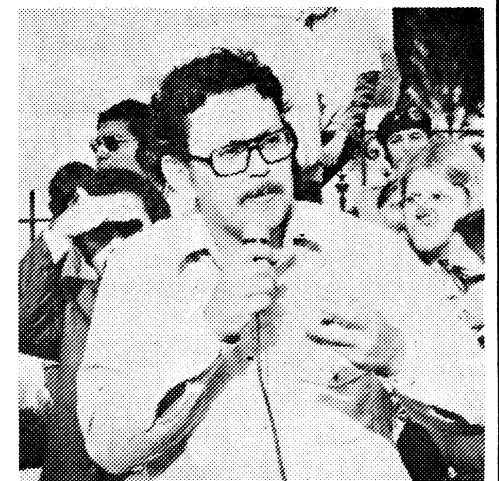
The Houston *Chronicle* reported Nov. 2 that in response to Saxbe's statement, the Raza Unida Party gubernatorial candidate, Ramsey Muñiz,

said he favored legislation barring the hiring of undocumented workers.

However, party chairman Youngblood told *The Militant* that the general viewpoint within the organization was one of opposition to such legislation. He said the issue had been the subject of discussion at the party's recent state convention and that while no formal resolution had been adopted, a consensus was clearly in opposition to the Rodino bill and other similar measures. He said the party would oppose Saxbe's drive against the undocumented workers.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock



Militant/Steven Fuchs

SMITH (left), GUTIERREZ: Need united campaign against deportations



# Chi. women meet to fight sex bias on job

By ANITA MALINSKI

CHICAGO—More than 500 women from Chicago's downtown business district crowded into a room at the Conrad Hilton Hotel on Oct. 20 for the first annual convention of Women Employed (WE). WE is an organization of working women in Chicago's Loop area who are fighting sex discrimination in employment. A large banner proclaimed, "Employers have the power of money. We have the power of women."

Most of the women attending the convention are employed as secretaries or as clerks and are fed up with unfair hiring and promotion practices, unequal pay, and lack of benefits. Proposals were presented to the convention outlining strategies to end these inequities.

Women from the banking committee of Women Employed pointed out that nine out of 10 women employed in banks are clerks, while only 11 percent of officials and managers are women. They are demanding effective job-posting systems, in-house training programs, provisions for child care, and disability payments for maternity leave.

Women in the insurance industry committee will be launching a campaign to force companies to rewrite policies that discriminate against women, recruit more women as sales agents, and set goals and timetables for hiring and promoting women. They are also demanding job-posting,

new training programs, and a realistic grievance procedure.

Secretaries want better pay and respect for their skills and abilities. Harriet Wessling, a legal secretary and cochairwoman of the secretaries committee of WE, presented the committee's proposal and said, "Only through organizing, through sticking together, through supporting one another, through standing up for what is right—fully ours will we regain our dignity as secretaries and as human beings."

The secretaries committee plans to initiate an on-the-job organizing campaign among secretaries, aiming toward negotiations with their employers. As women work to establish bases in particular companies they will determine the feasibility of unionization.

A proposal concerning women who work for temporary employment agencies was also presented. It outlined plans for winning better pay, published rates, and benefits such as insurance and vacation and sick days, which are now denied to temporary employees.

Darlene Stille, chairwoman of WE, referred to President Ford's plan to "Whip Inflation Now." She said that the corporations plan to "WIN" by keeping down the wages of women workers so that they can make even more profits. "But no one's going to tell us," she concluded, "that equal pay for equal work is inflationary."

# Washington CLUW holds gathering

By TOBY EMMERICH

SEATTLE—The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1488 at the University of Washington here served as host union for the first statewide conference of Washington union women.

The Oct. 26-27 conference was sponsored by the Seattle metropolitan area chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and was attended by 132 unionists from 36 unions. In addition to unionists from the recently chartered Seattle area CLUW, there were women from Bellingham, Vancouver, Tacoma, Olympia, and Ellensburg.

In opening remarks to the conference, Sally Seal of the Retail Clerks, who is one of the Washington state conveners of CLUW, read a proclamation from Seattle Mayor Wesley Uhlman declaring Oct. 26 and 27 as Labor Union Women days. Seal explained that the purpose of the conference was for labor-union women and men to discuss problems faced by labor-union women and to begin to find solutions for them.

Olga Madar, retired international vice-president of the United Auto Workers and national president of CLUW, urged chapters and organizing committees to move forward. "Don't wait for a charter," she said. "Move on action programs. We want to move."

The workshop reports presented to the plenary session were in keeping with the spirit to move CLUW forward and increase the voice of women within the labor movement. Committees were established to help women entering nontraditional fields and jobs; to study present restrictions in contracts and constitutions and to offer broader

alternatives; and to serve as an information clearing house.

Plans were also made to increase Seattle area CLUW's support to organizing committees and strike actions as well as to continue with educational programs and forums.

CHICAGO—Seventy union women attended a meeting of the Illinois Organizing Committee for CLUW on Oct. 26.

The women approved a proposal for the committee to affiliate with the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) coalition in Illinois to fight for passage of the ERA by the Illinois legislature this coming session. CLUW members can help by launching a campaign to get union support for the ERA.

The unionists also approved a resolution stating that CLUW will gather union support for a bill in the Illinois legislature aimed at extending public day-care centers. Public hearings are scheduled on the legislation, and CLUW will try to have a spokeswoman at the hearings.



Conference participants sign up for workshops.

# Macmillan unionists take case to NLRB

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—Formal hearings on a petition for a union election at Macmillan, Inc., have opened before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).

Meanwhile, striking workers and employees purged in the mass firings last month continue to picket Macmillan's offices here.

It was to head off the union election that Macmillan's management fired nearly 300 book-publishing workers. The mass firings began two days after Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, filed a petition with the NLRB on behalf of Macmillan workers who had signed "show-of-interest" cards indicating their desire to be represented by Local 153.

The NLRB is also investigating the union's charge that the firings were an unfair labor practice aimed at busting the union.

Local 153 and Macmillan workers hope to force an early NLRB decision on the firings by picketing and by insisting that strikers and fired workers be allowed to vote in the election. A ruling on management's challenges to these votes would, in effect, speed up the ruling on the unfairness charge.

A fund-raising benefit for the Macmillan strike Oct. 30 drew 100 people and raised \$1,500.

Among those participating in the program were Dolores Huerta and Richard Chávez of the United Farm Workers; musician David Amram; Bernice Krawczyk, president of the Association of Harper & Row Employees; and Donna Mobley of Local 153.

Also, Margie Albert of District 65 of the Distributive Workers; David Beasley, president of the New York Public Library Guild, Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; a member of Teamsters Local 814; and employees of Globe and G.P. Putnam's, two other publishers.

Earlier the same day, a contingent of 30 women trade unionists from the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women joined the picket line at 866

Third Ave. as Macmillan workers were leaving the building.

Picketing of the Macmillan warehouse in Riverside, N.J., was temporarily called off last week when it became apparent that key Teamsters locals hauling to and from the warehouse were not respecting the picket line. If the cooperation of these locals can be secured, the line will go back up.

According to strikers, a significant number of those who originally walked off their jobs have returned to work. "They are still sympathetic and want a union," one organizer told *The Militant*. "But they don't really understand what a union or a strike is. And besides, they're afraid."

The lack of a strong base of workers committed to the union was a weakness from the beginning, this organizer said.

"But when Hagel answered our petition for election by firing 300 people, we had no alternative but to strike. Any other response would have meant surrender right then." Raymond Hagel is the chairman of the board of Macmillan.

"Now," the organizer said, "we have to hurt them as much as we can with the people who are continuing to strike, keep in touch with those going in to work, and do everything we can to win a favorable ruling from the NLRB."



Linda Harms

# Tellers strike Pa. bank for more pay

By MARK DRESSLER

SHIPPENSBURG, Pa.—A strike by Retail Clerks International Association (RCIA) Local 1436 against Shippensburg's largest bank seems headed for success.

Tellers at the First National Bank struck at the beginning of September for higher wages, upgraded health benefits, union recognition, and a union shop. They are also demanding the immediate rehiring of all strikers.

The tellers had often clashed with bank management in the past. On April 19 the employees voted overwhelmingly to be represented by the RCIA, but the bank refused to recognize either the election or the union.

The employees then filed charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board. Later, charges of coercing and intimidating employees for their union affiliation were added. Negotiations opened soon after.

Wages for the tellers are miserable, only \$2 to \$2.40 an hour. The employees, most of whom are young women, are denied maternity benefits.

One striker told *The Militant* that when she returned to the bank after a maternity leave, her pay was cut.

The bank offered a 10 percent raise, which would have brought hourly wages to between \$2.20 and \$2.64. Part of this offer was a stipulation that the employees' Christmas benefits would "not be guaranteed."

On Sept. 3 the offer was soundly rejected and the tellers voted unanimously to strike.

The strike at first attracted little attention in this small rural community. Soon, however, the bank was forced to shut down its branch office and run its main office with scabs.

Many townspeople have supported the strikers by withdrawing their accounts from the bank and honoring the picket lines. Public pressure is mounting on the bank to concede to the strikers' demands.

Picket lines have been extended to the houses of bank officials, and the strikers' militancy remains high. "They don't think we're strong enough," one commented, "but we'll show them!"

## Israel, the Arab regimes, and the Palest

By DAVE FRANKEL

For more than 20 years after the foundation of the Israeli state, the Zionist government and its imperialist backers simply refused to admit the existence of the Palestinians as a people with national rights. The Palestinians, they insisted, were refugees who should be assimilated by the various Arab states.

The most cynical example of this policy was Golda Meir's infamous statement to the London *Times* in June 1969, in which she insisted, "There was no such thing as Palestinians. . . . They did not exist."

After years of bitter struggle, the issue of Palestinian national rights has now gained worldwide attention.

On Oct. 14 the United Nations General Assembly voted 105 to 4 to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to participate in the debate on the Middle East scheduled for later this month. This victory was followed by a meeting between the French foreign minister and PLO leader Yasir Arafat in Beirut.

Finally, on Oct. 28, the 20 Arab heads of state meeting in Rabat, Morocco, called unanimously for the creation of a Palestinian "national authority" on land liberated from Israeli occupation.

These developments reflect the fact that the Palestinian national struggle is central to the conflict in the Middle East, and that the demands of the Palestinians are viewed with growing sympathy around the world. Under these circumstances, even governments hostile to the Palestinian cause can no longer afford to dismiss it in the crude way the Zionists are accustomed to.

The growing mass sympathy for the Palestinians and the changing diplomatic stance of many governments has pushed pro-Zionist forces onto the

This demand reflected the desire of an oppressed people for self-determination. The Palestinians had been denied this right by being expelled from their homeland, and their demand for a democratic, secular Palestine was designed to reverse that expulsion.

From the beginning Israel and its backers in Washington viewed this movement as a deadly enemy. The demand for a democratic, secular Palestine was incompatible with the maintenance of the Israeli state.

The Arab regimes also had no great love for the Palestinian movement; it was a radicalizing factor in the internal politics of the Arab countries, continually exposing the reluctance of the Arab regimes to confront Israel and imperialism.

In 1969 and 1970 the proposal for a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River—territory occupied by Israel since the 1967 war—was raised in connection with diplomatic moves by Richard Nixon's first secretary of state, William Rogers. This proposal for a Palestinian mini-state was raised as an alternative to the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine.

It was denounced by all of the Palestinian organizations as a transparent attempt to divide the Palestinian movement and as being in contradiction to the right of the Palestinian people to regain their entire homeland.

The Rogers plan never got off the ground, but since that time the Palestinian movement has suffered the crushing defeat of September 1970, when its power in Jordan was broken. When the drive for a settlement with Israel got going again after the October 1973 war, the PLO dropped its opposition to the idea of a West Bank state under the combined pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy and most of the Arab regimes.



Arab chiefs of state had their own reasons for selecting PLO as representative of Palestinians. Left to right are Sadat of Egypt, Boumedienne of Algeria, Assad of Syria, and Feisal of Saudi Arabia.

defensive and in some cases has driven them to frenzy. If they had their way the Palestinians fighting for their rights would be read out of the human race.

However, there is another side to the recent events. While the Palestinian cause has gained worldwide publicity, and Palestinian groups have been accorded a certain diplomatic standing, this has all occurred within the context of an imperialist-inspired drive to impose a settlement in the Arab East that would preserve the colonial settler-state of Israel and compromise the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The Palestinian resistance grew up as an independent mass movement after the 1967 Mideast war. It was built around the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine—a single state in which both Arabs and Jews could live together with the same rights.

The area proposed for the establishment of a Palestinian mini-state comprises about 19 percent of the original country. The rest would be left under Israeli rule. Clearly, this is not self-determination for the Palestinians.

Foreign settlers colonized Palestine under the protection of imperialism, eventually drove out the majority of the original inhabitants, and reduced the rest to second-class citizenship. They would like to hold on to the entire country. The demand for a West Bank state asks them to return one-fifth of it.

In the present circumstances the demand for a West Bank state will not lead to a partial victory that would be a stepping-stone to further advances. *It is proposed as part of a package deal in which the PLO would be agreeing to give up the struggle for the other four-fifths of Palestine and to help suppress those in the Pal-*



Palestinians driven out of Israel. Israelis want them to stay out.

*estinian movement who attempt to continue the fight.*

This is inherent in the logic of the situation, although it remains to be seen how far the PLO is willing to go in this direction. The Soviet government has repeatedly said that it is ready to enter into an agreement to guarantee Israel's 1967 borders, as have the Arab regimes involved in negotiations. The idea that Israel and Washington would agree to a Palestinian state without this guarantee as part of the deal is absurd on the face of it.

The proponents of the West Bank state—including Moscow, Peking, the Arab regimes represented at Rabat, and some of the imperialist governments—back this idea because of the necessity of getting at least a section of the Palestinian organizations to acquiesce in any Mideast settlement. Through this means they hope to relieve the explosive despair in the Palestinian refugee camps, which is a destabilizing factor in the entire region.

This concept was spelled out from the Stalinist point of view by Tom Foley in the Nov. 2 issue of the *Daily World*, the newspaper of the U. S. Communist Party. Speaking of such a state, Foley says, ". . . Palestinians living elsewhere could then be repatriated to the new Palestine, considerably reducing the refugee problem and the political tensions it creates."

The editorial in the Nov. 5 *Daily World* explains, "The PLO has grown up since 1970: sections of it no longer insist on a purely military 'solution' which would eliminate Israel as a state entity. . . . Yasser Arafat and the PLO now speak of a 'Palestine' made up of West Bank Jordan and the Gaza Strip, a 'Palestine' which automatically would leave the state of Israel still in existence."

As far as the Stalinists are concerned, one-fifth of a country is good enough for the Palestinians. Foley hails the PLO's retreat from the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine, saying, "The influence of the USSR and the socialist camp has been decisive in this PLO turn towards political realism."

### Geneva and 'realism'

But who are the "realists"? Even if negotiations on the question of a Palestinian state on territory vacated by Israel actually got under way, the PLO would be entering them with the mini-state demand as its *initial negotiating position*. If the PLO continued negotiating, the concessions would come thick and fast, because neither

Israel nor the United States would accept a genuinely independent state.

Provision surely be made for foreign intervention in the event of any threat to the agreements worked out—as was done in the agreements giving Cyprus "independence."

The Palestinians would certainly be denied the right to maintain an independent army that might in any way pose a threat to Israel. Furthermore, any state set up by such means would be dependent on handouts from abroad for its economic existence.

With the economic heart of Palestine remaining under Israeli control, any West Bank state would be incapable of absorbing the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians in Syria, Lebanon, and the rest of the world, except as residents of new refugee camps.

The reality is that the plan for a truncated Palestinian state could only result in a Middle Eastern version of the South African Bantustans. What would be established would be a reservation for the Palestinian people.

The final argument that has been raised in relation to this is the idea that if the Palestinians are stubborn and don't go along with the Geneva conference, a settlement will be reached anyway, without their participation.

But it is not true that the Palestinians are helpless in the face of the Moscow-Washington steamroller. They have demonstrated repeatedly that no Mideast settlement is possible without them. The Palestinian struggle for self-determination has again and again threatened to cause the overthrow of governments that refused to take a strong enough stand against the Israeli colonial settler-state.

The Arab regimes *need* the participation of the PLO in order to sell a settlement with Israel to their own people. The decision of the Rabat summit conference to call for a Palestinian state and to recognize the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" was taken for that reason.

The duty of revolutionists is not to cover up for the maneuvers of imperialism and the capitalist regimes that are its subordinates. It is to tell the truth, to expose any Geneva negotiations as an attempt to maintain the Israeli state, and to lay the basis for the mobilization of the masses against imperialism and its Israeli client.

By coming out for a West Bank state and urging the convening of the Geneva conference, the PLO is teaching the Arab peoples to rely on the



# inian struggle for self-determination

secret diplomacy of Washington and Moscow rather than on their own power.

## The PLO role

The decision of the Arab heads of state to confer the title of "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" on the PLO, as has been indicated above, was aimed at strengthening their ability to sell out the Palestinians without touching off any explosions among their own people. This decision was predicated on the fact that the PLO has abandoned its position of uncompromising struggle for the liberation of all of Palestine. The recognition of the PLO was aimed against this struggle.

The danger now facing the Palestinian movement is that this identification of one current in the movement with the Palestinian people as a whole will be used in the future as a justification to suppress those who refuse to give up the struggle for genuine self-determination.

In choosing the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinians, the Arab regimes picked one particular current from among many in the Palestinian movement. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the largest resistance organization after Fateh, along with the Arab Liberation Front and two smaller groups, have all denounced the PLO's position favoring participation in the Geneva talks and negotiating for a

West Bank state. Revolutionary socialists in the Palestinian movement would also disagree with the PLO.

It is clear that in return for the title of "sole legitimate representative," the PLO has already given up its opposition to Hussein's dictatorial regime in Jordan. What is expected in the future has been spelled out in diverse quarters. In its Oct. 31 editorial the *New York Times* wrote, "Israeli emotions understandably run high on the question of negotiating with men they know only as terrorists, but many Israelis already see their national interest in gradually reckoning with a Palestinian leadership."

Calling for "an eventual modus vivendi between a Palestinian state and Israel," the *Times* editors note that "the main burden now falls upon the newly endowed P. L. O. leaders. . . . Theirs is the task of proving their capacity for leadership, their recognition that justice requires compromise of maximum goals by both sides."

More blunt was the Nov. 1 editorial of the Stalinist *Daily World*. "The PLO," it said, "does represent the three million Palestinians in the world today, and can make authoritative, binding commitments in their name, including the commitment to live in peace in a Palestinian national state next to Israel."

The howl of outrage sent up by Israel and its supporters over the invitation of the PLO to the UN and its appointment at Rabat as represen-

tative of the Palestinian people has obscured the real meaning of the PLO's diplomatic successes.

The Israeli reaction is part of an ongoing attempt to isolate the Palestinians and deny the legitimacy of their demands. The Zionists are opposed to negotiating with any Palestinian representatives. As one "fact sheet," handed out at a Zionist rally in New York Nov. 4 by the Board of Jewish Education, said:

"Q. Peace will never come to the Middle East until justice is done to the Palestinian Arabs. . . . Are not the Palestinian Arabs, like all peoples, entitled to their own land?"

"A. They already have a land of their own. It is called Jordan."

Israel refuses to recognize any or all of the Palestinian resistance organizations as being representative of the Palestinian people, because this would be an admission that it is opposing a national liberation struggle, rather than "murder gangs."

The Israelis don't care whether or not there are diverse tendencies among the Palestinian resistance organizations; they are simply interested in denying that the mass of the Palestinian people support their own right to self-determination. They would like to pretend that only a small minority of Palestinians oppose Israel.

It is necessary to defend any Palestinian organization against the attacks of the Zionist colonists and their supporters. But in doing that it is not



Arab prisoner in Gaza

necessary to claim that the particular organization being attacked is the representative of the Palestinian people.

## The war threat

One of the primary aims of U.S. foreign policy is to stabilize the Middle Eastern powder keg under American hegemony. In the long run this is an impossible objective. The maintenance of U.S. hegemony means the maintenance of the oppression of the Palestinians and the underdevelopment of the Arab economies, which are the

Continued on page 22

## Zionist campaign: 'antiterror' equals 'anti-Arab'

By DAVE FRANKEL

The United Nations vote to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take part in the Middle East debate scheduled for later this month was the target of a demonstration estimated at 60,000 to 100,000 people Nov. 4. Mobilized by Jewish schools and cultural, community, and political organizations from all over the East Coast, the protesters converged on the United Nations building in New York City.

Organized around the theme of "For Humanity Against Arab Terror," the real thrust of the protest was against the Arab peoples as a whole, particularly the Palestinians, and in favor of increased U.S. military intervention in the Arab East.

The anti-Arab theme was made explicit by the rally chairman, Rabbi Israel Miller, who said the protest was aimed not only against the United Nations vote and the PLO, "but against the Arab nations which harbor, arm, and train them."

Ramsey Clark, the 1974 Democratic Party senatorial candidate in New York, called for a multinational effort "to liberate the world from the tyranny of Arab oil." Clark insisted that an international court of justice "is the proper forum for the PLO, not the United Nations."

Not to be outdone, Clark's Republican opponent, Jacob Javits, called the UN vote to hear the PLO "an historic act of diplomatic infamy."

Saying that "The UN may debate and it may vote, but the United States must not allow mob rule to dictate international policy or accept votes that reek of oil blackmail," Javits called for more aid to Israel.

"Israel must have the money she needs to defy the PLO, and the UN

too, if need be," Javits said.

Similar sentiments were voiced by Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), former Israeli foreign minister Abba Eban, and former Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan. The latter assured the crowd that Arabs in Israel "enjoy full equality with our people."

The dismay of the Israeli government and its supporters at the increasing recognition being accorded to the Palestinians and the diplomatic isolation of Israel was reflected in the speeches. AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland urged Washington to confront the Arab oil-producing countries, and if necessary its European allies as well.

"If we are to stand alone with Israel," the assistant to George Meany thundered, "we might as well know it now."

The labor bureaucracy strongly supported the demonstration, and delegations from a number of unions were organized. However, the enthusiasm for support to Israel apparent-

ly didn't run very deep in union ranks.

Such unions as District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union have a high percentage of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in their ranks. Their leaders were at the rally, but there was not a Black or Puerto Rican to be seen.

In denouncing the Palestinians as criminals and terrorists, the Israelis are following the timeworn precedent set by all reactionary regimes in dealing with their opponents. But in their case this is particularly hypocritical. Israel was founded through the use of mass terrorism less than 30 years ago.

Menachim Begin, the leader of the right-wing opposition bloc in Israel and a member of the Israeli Knesset, was the chief of the terrorist Irgun organization, and bragged openly in his book on the Irgun of how it perpetrated the Deir Yassin massacre

against some 250 unarmed Arab villagers.

The Palestinian resistance movement was a response to terrorism on such a scale that it drove more than three-quarters of the Arab population of what later became Israel from their homeland in 1948.

The Palestinians are an oppressed nationality fighting for the right to return to their homeland and live there together with the Israelis. The Israelis, on the other hand, are attempting to maintain an exclusive Jewish state on the land stolen from another people. The terrorism of an oppressed people is pitted against that of their oppressors. In this battle it is necessary to support the Palestinians.

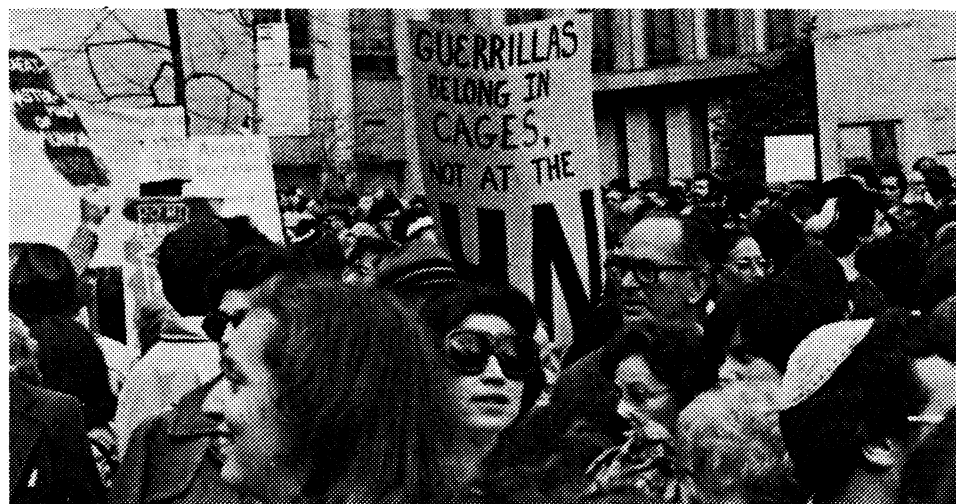
As part of their attempt to justify the expulsion of the Palestinians from their land, the Zionists try to deny all humanity to their victims. "Terrorists" becomes a transparent code word for Palestinians.

"They demean all of humanity, all civilized men and women," said the rally chairman at the New York demonstration.

Senator Jackson, who was never known to protest at the atrocities committed in Vietnam, denounced the PLO as "murderers of women and children," as Moshe Dayan sat beside him.

Having denied that the Palestinians were a separate nationality for more than 20 years, the Israeli regime would now like to designate who can and who cannot represent them before the world!

Not all Palestinians agree with the PLO and its policies, but they would agree down to a person that the Israeli oppressors are not competent to say who should speak for the Palestinian people, at the UN or anywhere else.



Militant/Dave Frankel

Nov. 4 anti-Arab rally at UN. Zionists use 'terrorist' and 'guerrilla' as code words for Arabs.

# Socialist candidates vow to continue the fight for school desegregation in Boston

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—In the glare of television lights and amid the cheers and applause of campaign supporters gathered for an election night rally, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts, Donald Gurewitz, pledged the "unremitting efforts of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to defend the rights of Boston's Black community against the racist anti-busing drive."

"The Democrats and Republicans," he said, "are responsible for this racist drive. That has been the number one issue in this campaign—the issue they have completely ducked—and it will stay the number one issue until desegregation is completely implemented and the racists completely defeated."

A driving day-long rain did not dampen the spirits of the 110 campaign supporters who turned out to hear Gurewitz; Ollie Bivins, the SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; and Jeanne Lafferty, the socialist candidate for attorney general.

The rally came on the heels of stepped-up activity in the last week of the campaign. All the energy of the candidates and their supporters was focused on using campus and high school meetings, media time, street rallies, and literature distribution to

The reactionary demonstration ended with a rally of 4,000 at the Bunker Hill monument.

The racist Boston school committee has appealed the desegregation order now in effect in the Boston schools. On Nov. 4 one of their attorneys, John Mirick, argued that the "committee has no constitutional obligation to correct segregation that was caused by housing patterns. . . ."

The racists feel they have won new hope for their campaign in Judge Arthur Garrity's recently handed down guidelines for developing phase two of desegregation. The order calls for a plan that would involve a "minimum of busing."

In the *Boston Globe* of Nov. 3, Rita Graul, a South Boston antibusing leader, said she was encouraged by people like Garrity giving their stands on busing a "second look."

The leaders of the antidesegregation movement organized a special school boycott on election day designed to urge defeat for referendum Question 7. Question 7, which was defeated by a 2-1 margin, would have abolished the racist Boston school committee and replaced it with control by the mayor and advisory parent-student-teacher neighborhood councils.

Defeating Question 7 became a new rallying point for the racists. They organized rallies and marches during

College. The candidates traveled to colleges in New Bedford, Springfield, the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, and Salem State College.

During the last week of the campaign, Gurewitz, Bivins, and Lafferty were on television for more than four hours in Boston, Springfield, and Worcester, indicting their Democratic and Republican opponents for giving backhanded support to the anti-busing drive.

The candidates received more than five hours of time on major radio stations, which they used to explain their support for the right of Black students to attend any school of their choice. They urged that a mass movement be forged to defeat the racists as a step toward securing Black control of Black education.

The seriousness of the socialist campaign and the support it won were reflected in the unprecedented coverage by the media. The campaign was considered important news. The Republican candidate for attorney general, Josiah Spaulding, felt compelled to debate Lafferty on a Springfield television station.

## High school meetings

Gurewitz, Bivins, and Lafferty also spoke at seven high schools during the final week of the campaign.

"We concentrated on the busing situation," Gurewitz said, "and the response to us was favorable. When we explained the issues in the high schools we found many responded seriously—they supported the right of Black students to get a decent education and to use busing as a tool to achieve it."

A confirmation of Gurewitz's statement was the size of Lafferty's vote in the East Watertown High School preference poll. She received 35 percent of the vote of the 450 ballots cast.

The election-night rally was covered by stations WBZ and WNAC television. Ten radio stations from Boston and every corner of the state called the socialist headquarters for the comments of the candidates on the elections.

"Today we are winding up this year's election campaign," Gurewitz said at the rally, "but we will continue to campaign every day to expose and build a response to the racists in this town."

That campaign will include preparing to meet the next wave of racist resistance to integration, which will center around the scheduled extension of desegregation to other Boston schools. Judge Garrity's latest court ruling set Dec. 16 as the deadline for the Boston school committee to put forward its plans to integrate the remainder of Boston's schools.

These areas include East Boston and Charlestown, neighborhoods that have had large demonstrations of solidarity with the bigots of South Boston.

East Boston foes of busing have boasted that they will block the tunnels under the Boston harbor, which are the only access to "Eastie," to stop the buses.

## Democrats & Republicans

Throughout the campaign the Democratic and Republican candidates for governor had an "understanding" with each other not to discuss the Boston school situation. While daily attacks took place against Boston Blacks, they remained totally silent.

"This election has exposed the Dem-



Donald Gurewitz, SWP candidate for governor, speaking to students at Somerville High School.



Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, answering questions at pre-election candidates meeting.

get the truth out about the continuing racist offensive against school desegregation.

## Continued violence

While school attendance has crept upward in recent weeks and fewer incidents of violence have been reported in the schools, violence against Blacks has continued.

On Nov. 4, Orlando Bagwell, a Black substitute teacher at South Boston High School—the scene of the most violent racist opposition to desegregation—was jumped by a gang of 15 whites and beaten. The attack took place in broad daylight as he was walking from the school toward a bus stop.

On Nov. 3, caravans of cars from the all-white neighborhoods that have been at the center of the opposition to integration drove through the city in an "anti-forced-busing" motorcade.

the weekend leading up to the election to help defeat the referendum.

The socialist candidates, unlike the Democrats and Republicans, campaigned for passage of the referendum, urging a vote to abolish the racist school committee.

## Call for mass response

At the core of the Socialist Workers campaign has been the call for a massive response—an outpouring in the streets of all supporters of the Black community to defend desegregation and to turn the tide against the racist movement.

A special campaign tour was organized on the Boston campuses to get out the socialist view on the crisis in the city. Campaign meetings took place at Northeastern University, Boston University, University of Massachusetts in Boston, and Boston State

ocrats and Republicans for what they are—racist parties," Gurewitz said at the rally. "They groveled for the racist vote. Only the socialist candidates stand on the side of the Black students and defend the rights of the Black community. And everyone knows it."

In the final vote tally, Donald Gurewitz and Ollie Bivins received 14,396 votes (about 0.77 percent). Jeanne Lafferty received 28,658 votes (1.5 percent).

The real measure of the socialist campaign, however, was not in votes but in the impact their presence made.

Jeannette Tracey Bliss, SWP write-in candidate for Congress from the 8th C.D., told the election rally, "Our campaign has put the socialist movement on the map in Massachusetts as an unavoidable political fact of life."

Ollie Bivins ended the rally on this note: "If you have worked with us, if you support our ideas, if you are ready to join the struggle against racist oppression, inflation, sexism, and the two-party rip-off, you should be in the Young Socialist Alliance."

The applause from the assembled campaign supporters that greeted his recommendation was seconded by the decision of two campaign volunteers to join the YSA.

Bivins summed up the theme of the rally: "The campaign we have just finished makes it crystal clear whose side the socialists are on, and for us the elections are part of a 365-day-a-year campaign to defend the rights and build the struggles of the oppressed."



# Boston crisis: 'Little Rock of 1974'

The following is excerpted from a speech by Willie Reid, 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from the 1st C.D. in Illinois, at a campaign rally in St. Louis.

Willie Reid is one of many SWP candidates from around the country who went to Boston to get a firsthand picture of the struggle for desegregated schools. Since her return she has been campaigning in the Midwest to get out the truth about the events in Boston.

Boston, Mass., the so-called cradle of liberty, has become the Little Rock of 1974.

Deep-seated racism among working-class whites has expressed itself in violent reactions to Black students being bused into white schools. Boston today recalls the South in the 1960s when the system of Jim Crow was being put to death. A Black child being bused into an all-white community in Boston today is greeted in the morning by the same kind of mobs of whites filled with hatred.

The racists showed their opposition to desegregation from the very first day of school by organizing a boycott. In South Boston the resistance took the active form of physical attacks.

Angry mobs of whites came out early in the morning to meet the buses before they reached the schools. Rocks, bottles, and iron pipes were thrown at the buses, breaking windows, injuring children, bus drivers, and bus monitors.

When the Boston police force was called in, they did little to quell the racist mobs and protect the Black students.

Black students were attacked in their classrooms and even in the school corridors by white adults who just walked into the schools. There were police present, but they didn't apprehend or restrain the roving whites. They apprehended or restrained the Black students.

Downtown at city hall, the Democratic mayor, Kevin White, wrung his hands in anguish over this "unfortunate situation." But out of his lying mouth, he expressed his "understanding" for those who oppose desegregation.

## Capitulation to racists

Antibusing forces all across the city were revitalized by this capitulation to the racist mobs. They began to rally city-wide.

At the head of the racist resistance was the city council, including Louise Day Hicks, well-known for her long-standing opposition to busing. Along with them was the Boston school committee, which has been maintaining the segregated status quo in the schools.

With this kind of high-level approval, racists from across the country joined in. The Ku Klux Klan came to Boston.

They held a rally of more than 600. People in the audience shouted that forced busing isn't the problem—the real problem is "niggers."

The vermin of racism came out into the open more and more. Black people working in South Boston were attacked on their way to or from work. Groups of mad whites roamed the subways, jumping on trains late at night, attacking isolated Black passengers, and jumping off before the doors closed.

In Columbia Point, which is located on a peninsula that can only be reached by going through South Boston, the residents are predominantly Black and Puerto Rican. They became target practice for rifle-toting white night riders.

When residents of Columbia Point formed observation patrols to counter this, the police were called to stop the self-defense efforts.

The first night that I was in Boston, the antibusing forces organized a motorcade in response



Racists demonstrate against Black students being bused home from Hyde Park High School

to a demonstration the Black community held the day before. A thousand cars assembled in South Boston and drove around the city honking their horns.

Louise Day Hicks headed up the caravan with a sound system. She led the motorcade to the Sheraton Hotel where Edward Kennedy was speaking at a fund-raising dinner.

Really kind of sickening isn't it? And that great white liberal father, Kennedy, has done absolutely nothing throughout this entire vicious campaign against the Black community but offer his prayers.

## Lynch attempt

The increased incidence of violence created an atmosphere that nearly led to the lynching of Jean-Louis Yvon, a Black Haitian. He works as a janitor in a bakery in South Boston. His wife also works in South Boston.

On Oct. 7, he was following his everyday routine. On his way to pick up his wife from work, he came upon a mob waiting to attack the school buses. The mob spotted him. Frustrated because the buses had been rerouted, they figured he was just as good as any other "nigger."

With shouts of "Get the nigger," the mob set upon Yvon. He was beaten and clubbed—in the face, all about the head, neck, and his back. When he fell, he was stomped and kicked. Finally one policeman fired his gun and halted the mob long enough for additional police to come in and lead Yvon to safety.

His wife had to quit her job and days afterward, Yvon was still confined to his bed. His speech was incoherent, and his face looked unbelievable.

City hall certainly had to make a better move now. So Mayor White bounced the ball of responsibility to Judge Arthur Garrity. Garrity bounced it right back. So did President Ford, who said he was against busing too. And that ball has been bounced around many times since the struggle began.

Finally Governor Francis Sargent sent in some state police about equal in numbers to the Boston police who had already shown their inability to protect the Black students.

The first morning I was there six busloads of special police were in South Boston, and the Black children were escorted to school.

I was on one of the school buses as a monitor. Considering all the violence that had gone before, the quiet was kind of unbelievable. But you still saw all the signs saying "Kill niggers," as the bus passed by. You knew that the calm was only temporary. And inside the schools whites are still provoking fights.

When you read the daily newspapers you get the impression that this rash of violence in the schools was initiated by Black students, while the whites were only defending themselves. As a matter of fact, some of the Black students I talked to told me that the first couple of weeks every Black student was searched on the way into school—but not the white students.

When incidents of violence broke out and police had to be called into the schools, they found white students with chains and cans of Mace. Their explanation was that they had to "protect themselves" from the Afro picks that Blacks wear on their heads!

You may wonder how the Black community is fighting back in Boston. Needless to say, the parents are angry, and they're a little bit frightened because of the odds against them. In comparison with New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Detroit, the Black community in Boston is small.

Naturally they held community meetings to express their protest and demand some kind of action, especially after the near lynching of Jean-Louis Yvon. They were very insistent that protection be forthcoming with "all deliberate speed." They demanded federal troops. They have organized some demonstrations too.

On the campus, Black student groups, professors, and revolutionary socialists in the Young Socialist Alliance are organizing to tell the story of what's happening in Boston.

The trade-union movement there is like the trade-union movement in most of our cities. It is dominated by bureaucrats who aren't interested in doing anything. But some have spoken out. The civil rights committee of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO state labor council came out in support of busing to desegregate the schools.

## What you can do

What can *you* do about Boston? If you are in a union, put a resolution on the floor to get your union to take a position in support of the busing. Encourage your union to notify Ford of how important it is that he protect the democratic rights of the Black students there.

If you are a student, get your student government to take a stand in support of the Black students in Boston. Organize teach-ins on your campus to get the story out about what's going on in Boston. Organize your community groups, your church groups, your social groups. Tell the story about what's going on.

Liberals in the government are backing down on desegregating the schools today. That's because it's not just a matter of abolishing a system of Jim Crow laws. To bring about real desegregation today poses the question of reorganizing a society that should have been reorganized a long time ago.

Desegregation today means not only desegregated schools but desegregated housing, desegregated jobs—and the whole struggle for a decent life for Black working people.

We cannot expect liberals like Kennedy, or any other Democrats or Republicans, to stand up and do anything about the situation in Boston or any other problem working people have.

So we have to put forward the idea of independent mass action to stop the racists. It is only going to be our collective organized force that's going to make the difference.

Organize picket lines or demonstrations in solidarity with the Black community in Boston. This isn't just a Boston situation. It demands national attention. The white racists understand that clearly. They figure if they can win in Boston they can win in other cities. So we have to demonstrate that there is a force that's just as strong as the white racists running rampant in South Boston.

And if you haven't been able to get the story in detail, pick up some copies of *The Militant*. Take them out and sell them to your friends and anyone you can. Join us in telling the truth.



Illinois socialist candidate Willie Reid

Militant/Dave Wulp

# Growing nat'l response to Boston racists

By BAXTER SMITH

Echoing solidarity with the beleaguered Boston Black community, Socialist Workers Party candidates around the country turned many of their final campaign engagements before the elections into meetings to explain the truth behind the struggle to desegregate Boston public schools.

Eight SWP candidates for state and local office traveled from various parts of the country to Boston several weeks ago to get a firsthand look and express their support for the Black students who have faced a campaign of violent white opposition.

"What has happened is that people . . . have seen that the reality in Boston now is not the issue of quality education for Black people—that's secondary. The issue in Boston now is clearly whether or not Blacks will be prevented from using public facilities," Derrick Morrison, SWP nominee for New York governor, told an audience in Philadelphia upon his return from Boston.

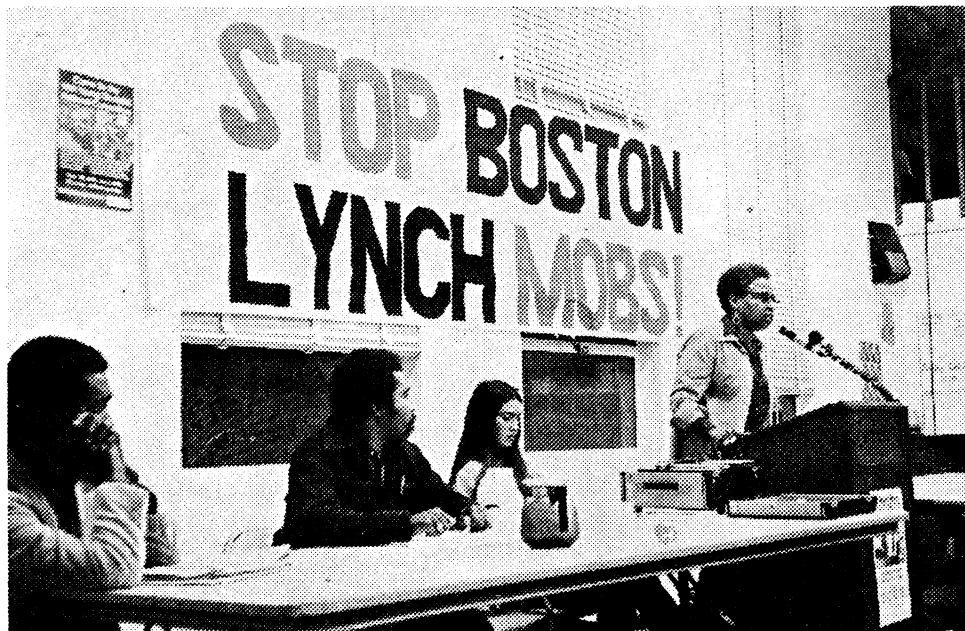
"If this right is rolled back the whole struggle for quality education, no matter how it is accomplished, is placed in jeopardy," Morrison added. Excerpts from his speech were reprinted in the *Voice*, a University of Pennsylvania newspaper.

One of the other places where Morrison was slated to speak was at Music and Art High School in New York City. The campus Young Socialist Alliance invited him to speak about Boston but the principal barred the meeting, claiming the speech might spark a race riot.

The YSA maintained that the students had the right to hear Morrison and began to organize student support. In a statement to the students the YSA wrote:

"The real reason why the administration is attempting to ban Morrison's speech is because it is directed against racist educational practices that exist not only in Boston but also right here in New York where Black and Puerto Rican students are channeled into overcrowded and inadequately funded schools."

The New York Civil Liberties Union promptly entered the fray and dispatched a letter to School Chancellor Irving Anker protesting the undemocratic move. By Nov. 1, the



San Francisco activist Yvonne Golden told Militant Forum that Ford's remarks helped bolster Boston racist offensive.

principal backed down and permitted the meeting.

At his campus meetings, Morrison explained, several Black students have raised questions over the issue of busing. "Some believe busing is some sort of government plot and have opposed it," he said. But after hearing that the racists' argument against "forced busing" amounts to keeping Black students from exercising their right to go to white schools, the students' confusion usually ebbs.

Willie Reid, who was the Illinois SWP nominee for Congress in the 1st C.D., also spoke widely after her trip to Boston. At one predominantly Black high school in Chicago where she spoke, Wendell Phillips High, students raised the idea of going to Boston to support the Black students there.

In addition to the socialist candidates, energetic support for besieged Blacks in Boston has been expressed in other quarters.

In Chicago, the Ad Hoc Committee Against Racism in Boston held an Oct. 23 picket at the Federal Building. The next day it participated in another picket, called by Operation PUSH to demand more jobs for Blacks, outside the hotel where President Ford was speaking. The committee protested Ford's antibusing remarks.

The committee is endorsed by Ernest Tyson, head of the student government at Kennedy King College; National Black Feminist Organization; Black Student Union at Central Y College; Harry Alston, civil rights director of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Young Workers Liberation League; and

others.

In Berkeley, Calif., an Oct. 25 Militant Forum heard a panel on the racist offensive in Boston. They included Bill Walker, chairman of the Berkeley city police review commission; Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Congress in the 8th C.D.; Donald McCulin, Berkeley city attorney and president of the Oakland NAACP; and Yvonne Golden, a San Francisco teacher activist and principal of a San Francisco alternative school.

Golden told the audience, "Had it not been for Ford's opposition to the federal court order of busing, I believe it [the racist campaign] would not have taken the strides it has taken."

In New York, the recent national convention of Irish Republican Clubs passed a resolution supporting busing to desegregate the schools and opposing the racist violence in Boston against the Black community.

Other support has taken the form of statements and editorials condemning President Ford's remarks encouraging the racists' campaign.

"Racial peace" is threatened in the United States, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP said in a recent newspaper column, "because aid and encouragement have been given to the protesters against busing by no less than Gerald

*Continued on page 22*

## D.C. teachers back busing

The Washington Teachers Union, American Federation of Teachers Local 6, overwhelmingly passed a resolution Oct. 29 backing the embattled Boston Black community and opposing the racist drive against school desegregation. It reads as follows:

Whereas court-ordered desegregation efforts in Boston have come under attack by racist antibusing forces in the past few weeks;

Whereas many Black students and adults have been attacked physically as well as being subjected to intolerable abuse by racist mobs;

Whereas many Black leaders in Boston have called upon President Ford to send in federal troops to

protect the lives and guarantee the safety of Black students, and to enforce the court-ordered desegregation;

Be it therefore resolved,

That the Washington Teachers Union affirms its support for desegregation in Boston;

and that the WTU supports the calls for the introduction of federal troops to enforce court-ordered desegregation and protect the lives and guarantee the safety of Black students;

and that the WTU communicate this message to President Ford, Boston Mayor Kevin White, Massachusetts Governor Francis Sargent, and the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers.

## EPOS: price markup is quicker than the eye

Within the next two years, technological innovations will make it possible for supermarket prices to be raised 5 or 10 percent instantly at the push of a button.

The devices that will make this scientific marvel possible go under the general name of EPOS (electronic point-of-sale) equipment. Most of the major business equipment manufacturers, such as IBM, National Cash Register (NCR), and Singer, now have crash programs under way to build the \$7-billion worth of new machinery that will

had to go through all the stock, restamping each item. With the latest technology, however, prices can be raised without the slightest inconvenience for the businessman.

According to the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, "a dramatic conversion to EPOS equipment will occur within the next five years, with 1975 being the turning point." Where does this leave a worker whose union signs a three-year contract this year with no cost-of-living provision? Up the creek for sure by 1976.

How will EPOS equipment affect the checkout clerk's prospects? *Business Week* reports that "scanning coded products cuts checkout time for an average grocery order by 45%." Looks like speedup and layoffs are ahead for the clerks.

There is some doubt that EPOS will even be a good thing for the workers who will produce the equipment. *Barron's Financial Weekly* reports that profit margins in manufacturing EPOS equipment are considerably more attractive than they were for traditional cash registers. *Barron's* quotes an NCR spokesman, who says that "electro-mechanicals have 6000 to 7000 parts, all high-precision, all painstakingly assembled by skilled labor. Electronics on the other hand have only a couple of thousand parts and their assembly doesn't require a great degree of skill."

So capitalism proposes to take advantage of the

march of science in its typically selfish way: exploit the new technology in order to gouge the consumer with daily price rises, the clerk with speedup, and the manufacturing worker with low-skill, low-pay jobs.

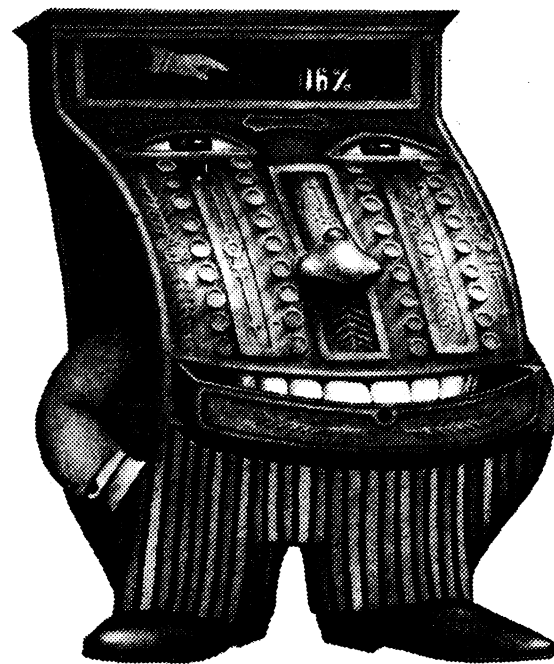
—JOE KNOWLES

## The American Way of Life

be required.

The new system will replace slow and inefficient handstamping of prices on cans and packages with a bar code called the UPC (universal product code). This bar code can be read by a machine, which will then search its memory for the latest price on that item, a price that can change from day to day.

These daily price rises have up to now required a certain effort by the supermarkets, since clerks



Register your protest now



# World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 15, 1974

## Thieu repression fails to silence rising opposition

By Peter Green

Two thousand Catholic demonstrators, who assembled for a march from the suburb of Tan Sa Chau to the Supreme Court building in Saigon October 31, were beaten back by Thieu's police and plainclothes goons. About seventy-five civilians were reported injured. Two opposition deputies were seriously hurt, and a Catholic priest was knocked to the ground and bloodied, the November 1 *New York Times* reported.

The leader of the anticorruption campaign that has developed over the past few months, Father Tran Huu Thanh, was punched in the face and had his glasses broken by a plainclothes cop.

At a news conference after the events, Thanh demanded—for the first time in public—that President Thieu resign and turn over power "to the people for the sake of their lives and for the sake of the nation's survival." An end to corruption in government has been the nominal target of the Catholic campaign so far, but it has developed into a broad movement whose minimum goal is the ousting of Thieu.

The night before the demonstration, 3,000 Catholics gathered for a torchlight rally at Tan Sa Chau church.

Thanh called on them to return in the morning for a dawn mass and the march to the city. But starting at 4 a.m. police ringed the whole neighborhood with barbed-wire barriers and forcibly prevented the march from proceeding.

The police also raided the Saigon Press Club in the early morning of October 31. There they beat up op-



Saigon demonstrators hang 'corruption' in effigy.

position deputy Dinh Xuan Dung, and dragged him and several journalists away. They returned later to arrest twenty-five more journalists. The journalists and deputies had been organizing for demonstrations that day.

A group of deputies and lawyers did succeed in penetrating the barbed-wire barriers. They marched on the Supreme Court building, where the trial of three opposition newspapers was due to take place. (The papers are charged with libel for having printed Thanh's six-count indictment of Thieu.)

The government postponed the trial, with the excuse that the government prosecutor had not completed his brief, but the attacks on the press continued.

Publicly, at any rate, Washington is still backing Thieu. President Ford sent Thieu a National Day message reassuring him that the American people "continue to support your government."

But Thieu's position is becoming increasingly shaky. Besides the main forces, a dozen small fronts and committees have joined the attack. And the movement is spreading geographically. In Hue and Quang Ngai, the Buddhists have held rallies to inaugurate local chapters of the National Reconciliation Force. In the Mekong Delta,

a predominantly Buddhist area, the Catholics held a rally in which 10,000 persons participated.

On October 29 the head of the largest trade union in South Vietnam also came out against Thieu and called for the eradication of corruption, the implementation of the Paris truce agreements, and the establishment of democratic liberties. After a visit to Tay Ninh on November 2, Father Thanh claimed that the Cao Dai sect had also pledged to join the opposition.

A further focus for the opposition has been a petition demanding Thieu's immediate resignation. It is being circulated in the National Assembly. Although Thieu has the assembly safely stacked with his own puppets, thirty-two deputies had signed it by November 2.

Thieu still has the support of most of his appointees in the National Assembly and of the police and the armed forces, but nearly every other segment of the population is demanding his removal.

"Few are willing to guess how much longer he will remain in power," wrote James M. Markham in the October 23 *New York Times*, "but it is almost impossible to find anyone who believes that he will be able to run for a third term next October."

## Argentine socialists describe police vandal attack

[The following description of the police raid on the Córdoba headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina) is taken from the October 15 issue of the PST's weekly newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

As part of the repressive sweep carried out in Córdoba [October 9] during which the headquarters of the Light and Power Workers Union was searched and [trade-union leaders] Tosco and Salamanca were ordered arrested [see *The Militant*, October 25], the headquarters of our party was searched and vandalized.

The following is the account of one of the compañeras who was present:

"I don't remember exactly what time it all began. We noticed some suspicious movement outside, and several of us stuck our heads out the window to watch. We thought it was a fascist gang out to repeat what they had done in Pacheco.\* We were a little surprised at the time—it was only

about six in the afternoon—but we still thought it must be the fascists. Then they began to kick the door until they forced it open. They were in uniform, from the police.

"They sprayed the headquarters and adjoining terraces with machine-gun fire and surrounded the building. Then a group of persons—some in plainclothes and some in uniform—entered and forced us to lie down where we were. Some compañeros asked to see their search warrant, but the only response they got was kicks to make them shut up.

"In the headquarters at the time were nine male and six female comrades. We were all beaten severely. One woman comrade is in critical condition because she had inflamed kidneys—she was being treated for it—and since they realized that she was sensitive in that area, they pounded on it all the more. Moreover, the women had to put up with all sorts of insults and one young woman had all her clothes ripped off.

"After working us over for awhile, they led us to the courtyard still mistreating us—insulting us and saying that we had killed police and military men. They kicked us. They jumped on us. And they hit us from behind. As they loaded us into the paddy

wagons, we had to pass through a double line of police who rained still more blows on us.

"When they let us out and we returned to the headquarters, we found a depressing sight. Papers were strewn everywhere. They had broken all the cabinets and emptied out the contents. The party bookstore had been destroyed and the books were gone, along with the money that had been in the headquarters. The eyeglasses of some of the comrades were all together where they had been stepped on and smashed to bits.

"Everything indicated that they had been there for hours, wrecking the place. On the walls they left slogans like 'Long live the police,' 'Long live the AAA [Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance], 'Long live the Alliance,' 'Long live the riot police.' There were swear words, initials of organizations having nothing to do with the party, obscene drawings directed at the women comrades, and also a big drawing of a lion, whose significance we don't understand.

"They completely smashed the mimeograph machine, threw paint into one typewriter and carried off another one. They threw all the food

on the floor; broke the chairs, tables, and windows; and pulled the bathtub out of the wall."



Avanzada Socialista

PST headquarters after police attack

\* Three PST members were murdered by rightist goons in Pacheco in May 1974.

## Rise of the women's movement in France: interview

By Caroline Lund

August is the month for vacations in France. It's also the month when the "Tour de France" takes place—the highly commercialized national bicycle competition whose route winds throughout the country.

This year there was a second Tour de France—in a bus—by the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception (Mouvement pour la Liberté d'Avortement et de la Contraception—MLAC). The MLAC bus, complete with banners, loudspeakers, movies, and literature on abortion and contraception, hit twenty-five cities in its five-week tour.

Everywhere they created a stir, getting major media coverage and a very friendly reception from their audiences, especially the women.

Last month *The Militant* was able to interview Joanna Durand, who participated for three of the five weeks of the MLAC tour. Her explanation of the development of the French women's movement makes it clear that the success of the tour is only one reflection of the big steps forward being made by the women's struggle in France.

Joanna Durand is a member of the National Women's Commission of the Revolutionary Communist Front (Front Communiste Révolutionnaire—FCR), the French section of the Fourth International. She is also a member of MLAC and of the class-struggle tendency called "Les Petroleuses" within the Women's Liberation Movement (Mouvement pour la Libération des Femmes—MLF).

"Maybe I should begin by telling just a brief history of the women's movement in France," she said. "The first group to arise was the MLF, which began around May 1968 but really came forward in 1970. The MLF was the first to popularize the fight for the right to abortion through the manifesto they initiated by 343 women who admitted to having had illegal abortions.

"But the MLF was not powerful. Although it had spectacular actions, it didn't have grass roots all over the country.

"The abortion movement was really born in April 1973 with the founding of the MLAC. The MLAC immediately attracted much broader sup-



Banner says 'class-struggle tendency in the women's liberation movement.'

Rouge

port than the MLF had. It drew in not only the women's movement, but most of the far-left groups, and also received the endorsement of leaders of the Socialist party and the CFDT, the second-largest trade-union [federation] in France.

"And very rapidly," she continued, "MLAC became the big organization in the women's movement. Now it has between 300 and 400 local committees all over the country." MLAC is open to men as well as women, but the majority of its activists are women.

On April 20 of this year, Parisian MLAC groups held a demonstration of 10,000 demanding legal abortion, available on demand and reimbursed by social security like other medical expenses.

"The size is very significant," said Durand, "in view of the fact that it was held only one week before the first round of presidential elections. In France, to hold a demonstration during the election period is absolutely unheard-of. For example, the Communist party calls off its May Day demonstration every time it falls during an election."

She explained that the success of MLAC has had an impact on some of the groups on the left that originally opposed the demands of the women's liberation movement. "The Communist party, for example," she said, "used to have the position that abortion should only be allowed in cases of rape, incest, a deformed fetus, or social hardship, with a commission

to decide whether the woman deserved one or not.

"Because of the impact of the abortion movement they are no longer able to defend that position. First the CGT—the largest union [federation], which is dominated by the CP—dropped that position. Then the Communist Youth, and finally the CP dropped it.

### Political clarification

Durand went on to explain how, parallel to the growth of the abortion movement, a political clarification began to take place inside the MLF.

"This process led to three tendencies in the movement," she said. "One is Psychanalyse et Politique [Psychoanalysis and Politics], who are what you might call 'living-room feminists.' They are completely opposed to action. The second is the Revolutionary Feminists, who recognize the class struggle and the need for a revolution, but think that the struggle between the sexes is most fundamental.

"While these two tendencies met in the form of general assemblies in Paris, a third tendency arose in the form of neighborhood women's liberation groups. Not only in Paris, but on a national scale over the past year, women's groups have sprung up all over the country with many different names. These groups did not identify totally with the MLF in Paris because they had a feeling that the two political currents that dominated the MLF did not really want to organize women."

### Les Petroleuses

"In Paris such women began forming neighborhood groups. And these neighborhood groups became the main base for the newspaper *Les Petroleuses*, which first came out on March 8, 1974."

The name "Les Petroleuses," she explained, refers to the women of the Paris Commune who set fire to the barricades with their petrol (gas) lamps to try to stop the advance of the army that was sent to crush the workers' uprising.

"After the Commune," said Durand, "the ruling class initiated the use of the term in another way. If they saw what they considered a hefty, aggressive woman, they would say derogatorily, 'Oh, look at that petroleuse.'"

"So we use the name to say we're proud of the women who fought with the men during the Paris Commune.

"The newspaper *Les Petroleuses* was based on an affirmation of two things," she continued. "First, the need for an independent women's move-

ment, and second, the importance of the class struggle to the struggle of women. And this does not mean to minimize the struggle of women, but to recognize that it is tied to the class struggle, and that in fighting for specific demands like the right to abortion, the Petroleuses will always try to establish an alliance with the working-class movement."

The newspaper *Les Petroleuses* held a national conference at the end of June attended by 1,000 women. The appeal for the conference was very broad, inviting women who had been involved in the abortion struggle but had not yet joined a women's group, and women workers interested in forming groups at their workplace.

"The Petroleuses is still not really organized," said Durand, "but the groups of women who agree with the newspaper often call themselves Les Petroleuses."

### View of the FCR

I asked her to explain the general position of the FCR in relation to the women's liberation struggle.

"There are several levels to our participation in the fight against women's oppression," she began. "One is that the FCR integrates support for women's liberation into all its work—in the factories, high schools, universities, etc.—as well as in our socialist propaganda.

"The second level is the FCR's support to any broad campaigns for democratic or other basic demands like abortion or child-care centers.

"And thirdly, we support and are active in the independent women's movement. We think such a movement should not only exist now, but that there will be a basis for its existence after the socialist revolution.

"In the movement, we explain our revolutionary Marxist positions, but without imposing that analysis on the group.

"We are now trying especially to launch women's groups in factories, offices, hospitals, and among postal workers."

### Working women

"We've found that it's not at all as hard as one might think to start a group among working women," she continued. "For one thing, it's usually not necessary to debate the need for a group of women only. Often in the universities women think they're 'liberated,' or that they're more equal with men because they're intellectuals, and don't see the reasons for meeting without men.

"But among working women, there is an immediate comprehension of the



Bank workers on strike. After the strike, a women's group was formed.



# with a participant

need for the women to meet.

"It is interesting that women have often created women's groups following a strike. This is what happened at the famous Lip watch factory, where the majority of workers were women, and also in the banks, where there were recently big strikes.

"During the strikes, the women fought alongside the male workers and resolved as best they could the problems they faced both on a domestic level and in the strike. Then afterwards they realized the need for a women's group after experiencing these problems that one had to manage individually."

Durand went on to discuss the impact that the women's movement was having on the trade unions and the Stalinist and reformist Communist and Socialist party leaderships that dominate the two main union federations. She cited the example of the psychiatric hospital in the city of Rouen, where a women's group was launched and immediately drew in thirty women, most of them not members of any union.

"This is typical in France," she said, "where the unions only organize less than 20 percent of the workers, and only 5 to 10 percent of women workers, if not less.

"The women's group decided to ask the unions to let them use a mimeograph machine to put out a leaflet. They went out to look for the CFDT office, but fell instead on the CGT office. It is interesting that the women didn't even know where the union offices were.

"The CGT representative tried to say the women's group was Trotskyist, but the women simply answered, 'Yes, there are two Trotskyists in our group, but you're not in the group; why don't you join the group and explain your position?'

"And slowly, rank-and-file women of the CGT and CFDT began to say, 'Why aren't we in this women's group?' And also, the women in the group began to come to union meetings. This in turn led women in the CGT to say to their leaders, 'You can say what you want about this group, but it's the first time women are coming to union meetings!'"

In explaining the special role of an independent women's group in a factory, Durand pointed to the difference of French unions from American unions. "In France, unions are based on political orientation rather than on occupation, with the CGT dominated by the CP, and the CFDT dominated by the reformist tendencies including the SP, as well as numerous smaller unions. So in one factory there will always be at least two and maybe three or four unions. Then there might be a women's commission of the CGT and a women's commission of the CFDT, but most of the women workers will be unorganized.

"So there is not only a need for women's union commissions, which can be a battering ram to force each union to fight for women's needs; there is also a need for all the women workers to get together, CGT, CFDT, and nonunion. An independent women's group—in addition to its fight as part of the women's movement as a whole—can also be a battering ram for proposing, 'Why don't we fight for this *interunion*? Why don't we get the unions to unite in this struggle?'"

In discussing the future, Durand stressed the continuing importance of the struggle for the right to abortion. She said that the movement has lost some support since the election last spring of Giscard d'Estaing, who has a liberal position on the question.

Under Giscard a law has been passed that for the first time makes the pill, the diaphragm, and the intrauterine device completely legal at any age and makes these contraceptives reimbursed by social security. But although Giscard has hinted he is for free abortion on demand, with the cost reimbursed by social security, he has so far taken no steps to introduce such legislation.

"We have to remember," said Durand, "that even the position of liberals like Giscard is thanks to a year and a half of struggle, not just from the fact that they're in a good mood.

"Only a continuing mobilization on a national scale for abortion on demand and reimbursed by social security can create the relationship of forces necessary for our victory."

tionists have a duty today in Peru to declare openly and clearly whether we support the process the country is going through—as this process is actually developing, with all the questions and criticisms we may have about it—or whether we are against it. That is no speech."

Blanco. "It's impossible to get an answer, so there's nothing more to say."

Béjar. "I'm sorry Hugo has nothing more to say."

As the conversation fell into silence, Härnösand's sunny autumn sky was still bright outside the window. Kerstin Lindblad from Sandöskolan, who translated the discussion, hurried back to a Saturday seminar on Latin America. Dr. Antenor Velasco from Bolivia, an escapee from Chile and a doctor in the orthopedic clinic, exchanged a few words with Héctor Béjar. Maybe he would go back to Latin America soon. Could he go to Peru, which borders on his country?

Dagens Nyheter asked Hugo Blanco what he would do if he were an official in Peru.

"Today, I am a revolutionist," he said.

## ...Blanco-Béjar

Continued from page WO4

I know that a new peasant organization is being built. In it are many of the agricultural workers that fought alongside Hugo Blanco in the 1950s and 1960s. I would hope that he will come back to this question and discuss politics. I would only point out that a revolutionist should not take a shrill and spiteful attitude."

Blanco. "It's laughable to hear a government official say that I'm avoiding political discussion, I whom they have driven to Europe. Béjar knows what befits a revolutionist. But I know what characterizes an official, and that is giving speeches and not concrete answers."

Béjar. "Actions by the imperialist groups are a present and a future danger. That's no speech. That's a fact."

"Hugo knows that I am not just talking about a physical return to Peru—which is important—but a spiritual and moral one. We revolu-

# World news notes

## Canada moves to deport Haitian workers

The Canadian government is preparing to deport 800 Haitian immigrant workers accused of being in Canada illegally. The 800 would face almost certain imprisonment; a spokesman for the Haitian dictatorship has publicly called them "subversives" who have "cut the bridge for a return to Haiti."

But the response of the Canadian government—which likes to boast of its "democratic traditions"—has been to say the immigrants aren't really political refugees at all. Said one official, "If we gave the kind of special treatment that they want to everyone who came here because he was displeased with the economic or political situation of his own country, we would have them coming by the millions."

Along with this move to send the 800 Haitians back to the torture chambers of their country, the Canadian government has instituted new regulations designed to cut down the number of nonwhite immigrants entering the country.

What is the problem with nonwhite immigrants living in Canada? Canadian government officials say they are "concerned" about "trends" for the immigrants to "send for relatives" and that "an uncontrolled flow of such immigrants can lead to ghettos and conflict along color lines," reports the October 23 *New York Times*.

Canada's mass media have geared in to this racist campaign. The tone of commentary on the new immigration policies was illustrated by the complaint of Brian Steward on the government-owned television network that "Canada is becoming a multiracial country at a staggering rate. . . ."

Another television commentator warned about "the possibility of Canada's importing a race problem"—as if the immigrant workers were to blame for the racist discrimination that condemns them to ghettos and poverty.

## Massive purge of press in Iran

The shah of Iran has carried out a massive purge of the Iranian press. The September 26 *Financial Times* of London reports that more than fifty newspapers and magazines have been banned in the past two months. Eighty journalists were fired and forbidden to write.

In an interview with *Newsweek* correspondent Edward Behr, the shah tried to explain the censorship by saying that "95 percent of our press suddenly stopped publishing." The shah told Behr that the government had recently decreed that only those newspapers and magazines with a circulation of more than 3,000 would be allowed to continue publishing.

In its October 14 issue, *Newsweek* reported: "By some estimates, as many as 60,000 Iranians are full-time SAVAK [secret-police] operatives. What's more, according to a Western diplomat in Teheran, one out of every eight adults in the country is at least an occasional informer."

"... one SAVAK agent," the article continued, "bragged to Behr that Iran has 20,000 political prisoners in jail. . . ."

## 100,000 face starvation in Bangladesh

At least 100,000 persons may starve to death in Bangladesh before December, according to Dr. E. S. Hain, the acting head of the United Nations World Health Organization.

According to estimates by the Bangladesh government, the recent widespread flooding destroyed at least 40 percent of the 1974 crops and left fifteen million homeless. Only about three million are said to have received "shelter" in relief camps throughout the country.

In August, Dacca asked Washington for 500,000 tons of food aid. But when Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman visited Washington in early October, he was only given a pledge of 150,000 tons of wheat and rice. In return, Dacca had to agree to stop selling gunny sacks to Cuba.

Much of the food aid to Bangladesh from around the world never reaches the millions of starving refugees, however. A report in the October 3 *Washington Post* stated, "Until recently . . . only about 1 per cent of food in the rationing system was distributed as emergency relief to people most in need of it, according to one economist's estimate. The rest went to soldiers, policemen, civil servants and people with influence who were able to obtain ration cards."

Since the floods, the report went on, allocation of food aid to emergency relief has increased—to 10 percent.

## Washington protects S. Africa in UN

The United States joined Britain and France in using their veto in the United Nations Security Council October 30 to block the expulsion of South Africa from the UN. Although admitting that the white-supremacist regime was in violation of UN charter principles, U. S. representative John Scali argued that expulsion would "set a shattering precedent which could gravely damage the UN structure." British delegate Ivor Richard expressed fears that with such a precedent, Israel could be next.

Washington's protection of the racist regime in the UN is in line with the newly defined policy that State Department officials like to call "Operation Tar Baby." Under this policy, which was promoted by Secretary of State Kissinger, Washington would "maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states."

## Hugo Blanco and Hector Bejar-- 'The official meets the revolutionist'

[Recently Héctor Béjar, a former guerrilla leader who is now an official in the Peruvian government, visited Sweden as a guest of the Swedish government. Another well-known Peruvian radical, Hugo Blanco, is currently living in exile in Sweden.

[The leading Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, arranged a meeting between the two of them and published a report on the exchange in its October 14 issue under the title "The Official Meets the Revolutionist."

[Blanco was imprisoned in Peru in 1963 for his role in leading a massive peasant struggle for land. He was deported from Peru in 1971, then deported from Argentina in 1972, and subsequently escaped from Chile after the rightist coup in 1973. Denied asylum in any Latin American country, he now lives in Sweden.

[Béjar was a leader of the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army), a guerrilla group active in Peru in 1965. He wrote a book on this unsuccessful campaign called *Apuntes Sobre una Experiencia Guerrillera* (Notes on a Guerrilla Experience), which won a prize from the Cuban state publishing house.

[Béjar's first political experience was in the Peruvian Communist party. He developed differences with the CP's perspective of a "peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism," and was expelled in 1958. He joined the guerrilla movement under the impact of the Cuban revolution.

[However, this did not mean a rejection of reformism in favor of a revolutionary, class-struggle perspective, as was revealed when Béjar later flipped back to the position of support to the demagogic, liberal capitalist regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

[The reformist military junta headed by Velasco took over in 1968 in an attempt to head off a revolutionary explosion. The government made a number of nationalist moves, such as a partial land reform designed to shift capital into industry, and nationalization of some imperialist holdings.

[These reforms won the regime the support of most of the left, including the Communist party and many former guerrillas such as Béjar. The government has continued, however, to repress strikes and mass protests. For example, it crushed the teachers' strike of 1971 by deporting its leaders.

[Béjar did not agree with the class-struggle strategy of Hugo Blanco, who attempted to mobilize the masses of peasants and workers in struggle for their own needs. For Blanco, neither parliamentary maneuverings, nor an isolated guerrilla army, nor a liberal military regime could be substituted for the necessary organization and development of political consciousness of the masses themselves.

[Following are major excerpts from the article in *Dagens Nyheter* by Birgitta Nyblom on the meeting of Blanco and Béjar. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Two guerrilla leaders in Peru were released around Christmas, 1970, when the new military regime had been in power two years. They were Hugo Blanco and Héctor Béjar. They had been held in various jails as po-

litical prisoners, Hugo Blanco the longest. On Saturday they met in Härnösand in quite different circumstances. Hugo Blanco is living in exile in Sweden, having been deported from Peru in the fall of 1971. Héctor Béjar is a high official in the state agency Sinamos [Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social—National Network for Supporting Social Mobilization], whose function is to organize the people's movement in Peru, in particular the trade unions. The meeting was held at *Dagens Nyheter's* initiative and was the final event of a week's visit in Sweden for Héctor Béjar. He was here as a guest of the Foreign Ministry and went on Sunday to the German Democratic Republic.

\* \* \*

"When are we deportees going to be allowed to return to our country?" This was the question Hugo Blanco put directly and repeatedly to Héctor Béjar when the latter visited him in Härnösand. Héctor Béjar explained that the government would have to answer this question. He chose instead to talk about what has been done in recent years—the land reform; the nationalization of the mines, the banks, private property, and means of production; as well as the much higher level of political consciousness among Peruvians. Personally, he hoped Hugo Blanco could come back and discuss politics both inside and outside Peru.

There was no real dialogue between Héctor Béjar and Hugo Blanco. The question was the program of social reform and the sharp political shift in Peru, and the discussion was an exchange of words between one excluded from this process and another involved in it. The period since the guerrilla struggle has been marked by such tensions between those who stayed in their country and those who fled or were forced to flee.

Blanco. "Are there still political prisoners and are there still people in exile? I think that any political discussion about Peru should be carried on inside the country."

Béjar. "I do not represent the government. But I am content to work as an official in this regime because it has nationalized all the national resources and carried out the land reform we both fought for. It is also building up a mass movement so that it can become less and less an exclusively military government and increasingly a revolutionary government. A fusion is taking place between the officers and the people's revolutionary leaders.

"What defines a government or a regime is not its military character but what it does against imperialism (foreign domination) and against the oligarchy (the rule of a few within the country) and the groups that have dominated the country for many years. Most of the Peruvians in exile belong to the oligarchy. I am sorry that a man like Hugo Blanco who has made an important contribution to the people's struggle in our country is also in exile."

Blanco. "It seems as if Héctor did not understand my question and its intent. In exile here is Rolando Breña, the Peruvian student leader. The students did not choose him from among

the oligarchy. Nor was this the case for the leader of the teachers' strike or of the mine workers, for Natari Cuentas, or Gustavo Rui de Sommo Cursos, who took part in the Arequipa strike.

"These comrades do not belong to the oligarchy; they took part in the workers struggle. They have been deported. No law in my country authorizes such deportations. Has this illegal situation been ended yet?"

Béjar. "It's incredible that Hugo Blanco should concern himself about the existence of bourgeois laws! If we had observed all the bourgeois laws, nothing would have changed. At this moment in my country a dialogue of equals is taking place. Among the participants are the president of the republic, Juan Velasco; the minister of the mines; and the leaders of the teachers and mine workers unions.

"Are we going to discuss how many people we have deported or whether the military officers are getting more or less pay? The important question for Latin America and Peru is not this. It is: Have the government and the people in my country taken up the struggle against imperialism or haven't they? Are they making great efforts to carry out a social revolution, or aren't they?"

Blanco. "I asked a question and Héctor can't seem to answer it. When is the Peruvian government going to let the revolutionists it has deported return? They have an interest in the situation in their own country. They have fought against imperialism and want to return to Peru. They want to discuss everything that has happened, the regime, or any other question.

"But they don't want to do this in Sweden. We are being deprived of the

right to talk to our own people. I demand that this injustice be ended. You can't ask the political refugees from Chile to debate the situation in their country with the government. That would be the same as asking the Jews in the German concentration camps to debate with Hitler.

"I want to know clearly and in a few words whether the Peruvian government is willing to let the deported revolutionists return."

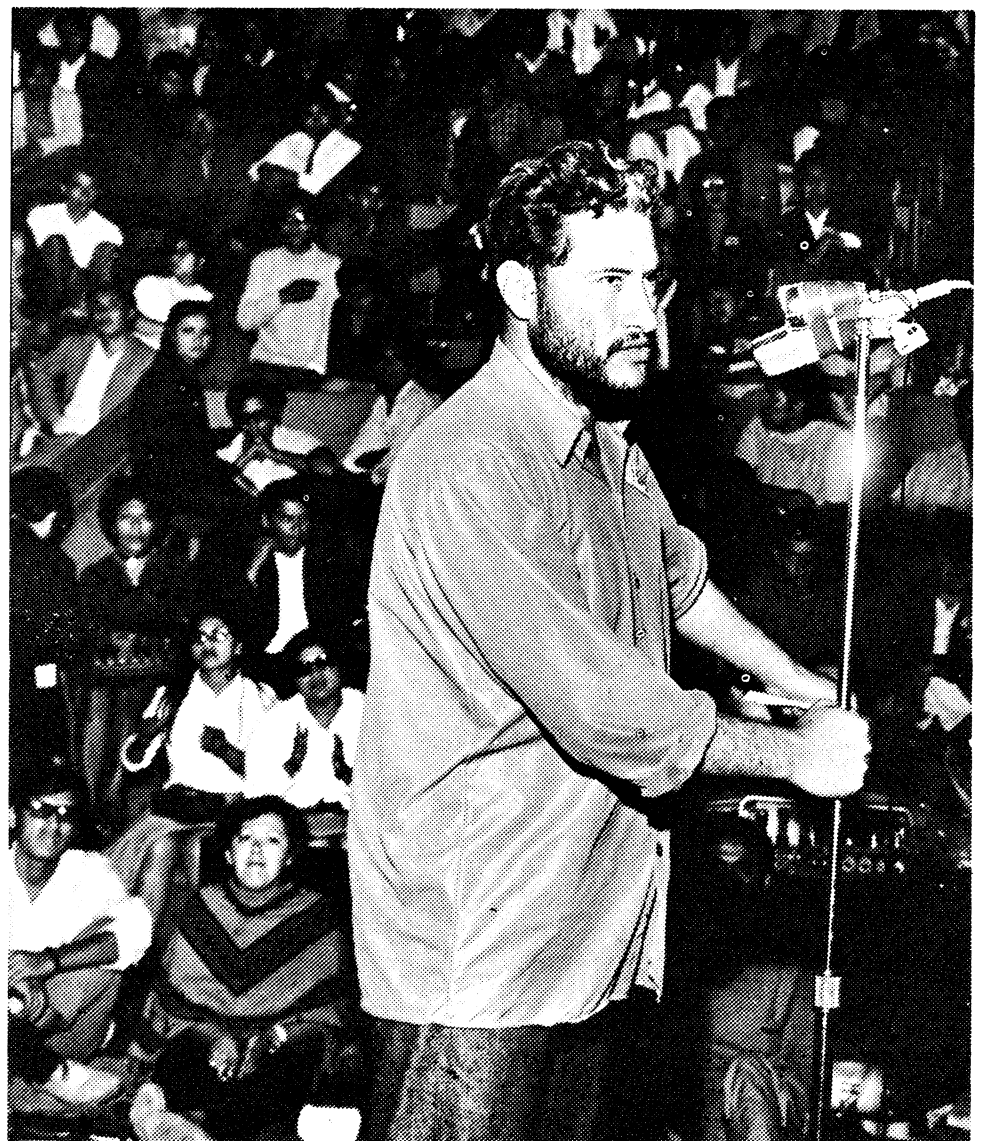
Béjar. "I have said that I do not represent the government and that it is the Peruvian government that will answer Hugo. That doesn't mean that I don't have an opinion of my own about this. I think that Hugo Blanco and his comrades should return to Peru, and I have never concealed this view.

"In my opinion, making a comparison, or simply mentioning Pinochet or Hitler in such a way as to imply a comparison, with Velasco's government reflects great political confusion. There are some persons in my country who say that what is going on is not a revolution but fascism. However, we are not going to give any fascists permission to return and fight us.

Blanco. "I am asking: When is the Peruvian government going to let the deported anti-imperialists return home? We are not talking about the government being fascist but about the fact that it has no authority to debate political questions with those it has deported from the country."

Béjar. "I'm glad Hugo is slowly coming around to the political discussion he wants to avoid. He does not think my government has moral weight or authority? Why shouldn't it have this kind of authority? Why should a government that has expelled most of the imperialist companies from our country, that has expropriated almost all the big landed estates, that had deported the oligarchic families that made up our ruling class, not have moral authority?"

"In the revolutionary process in Peru  
*Continued on page WO3*



Hugo Blanco in Peru before his exile



# Welfare cutbacks hit the old and disabled

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—The past few months have seen a big jump in applicants for welfare programs in New York City and other urban areas. This is a sudden change, since the welfare rolls had been slowly declining for several years.

In response to rising inflation, the government at all levels has tried to cut back spending on welfare by steadily tightening up eligibility requirements, cutting services, reducing the size of welfare staffs, and eliminating "extras," such as carfare and clothing payments.

But in spite of these efforts to reduce the welfare rolls and budgets permanently, welfare officials have been faced with an unexpected throng of new applicants.

There seem to be two main causes for this increase. One is the increasing unemployment, which has been more than 7 percent in New York City all year and is as high or higher in other metropolitan areas.

The second source of increased applications consists of the people turned down by the new federal welfare program—Supplemental Security Income (SSI)—and those receiving SSI who are seeking additional help from the local welfare center.

SSI, which went into effect last January, replaced local welfare payments for 3.6 million disabled and aged poor throughout the country. The new federal program was touted as "more generous" than the local welfare payments, but recipients have in reality found themselves to be worse off than before.

Under SSI, recipients get a "flat grant" check for food and rent with no provision for "extras," no adjustment according to individual rent, and no social services such as emergency help or work referrals. There are no caseworkers, and recipients are no longer entitled to food stamps. Instead, they get a "cash equivalent" that is calculated on the basis of food prices three years ago and only went into effect in October.

The federal SSI base throughout the country is \$146 a month for a single person. Most states supplement this.

In New York, people get a maximum of \$206 a month. Even city officials admit people can't live on this, but their only suggestion has been that recipients move to rural areas!

Dr. Judith Gueron of New York City's Human Resources Administration remarked, "I don't know how they get along here, but they could probably live comfortably up in Erie County."

The main problem is the impact of steadily rising rents. Thousands have been forced to leave small, run-down apartments for even worse quarters.



Long lines form at New York welfare centers as number of applicants increases

"Relief Cuts Evict Old and Disabled," read the title of a Sept. 30 *New York Times* article.

City officials told the *Times*, "... some are moving in with families, some are doubling up and taking apartments—although this may not be legal—and most are moving into smaller and even more squalid quarters in rooming houses."

Carol Kowal, a city housing specialist, said, "The new setup is a disaster. The going rate for SROs [single-room occupancy apartments] is about \$150 a month and those receiving SSI payments simply can't afford it."

She went on to say that in the warm weather people slept in the streets, and with the onset of winter, they moved into the subways.

Under the old system of local welfare payments, the old, blind, and disabled were a little better off, receiving about \$100 a month for food and other expenses plus a check to cover their rent, which in New York

amounted to an average of about \$150.

There is supposed to be a cost-of-living increase in SSI, but in practice it often does not exist at all. New York, for example, does not pass along the cost-of-living increase in federal funds to the SSI recipients, but rather cuts back the state and city supplements so that the poor continue to get the same amount despite inflation.

The crisis for the poor is made worse by bureaucratic incompetence. The Social Security Administration did not adequately prepare for the hundreds of thousands of new cases they got in January. They did not have enough staff, the cases were not transferred immediately from the local programs, and there were thousands of checks made out for the incorrect amount or sent to the wrong address.

It still takes two or three months to receive the first check, and there are no emergency funds to tide people

over as there were under the welfare department. "As a result," reported the Sept. 29 *New York Times*, "... aged and disabled people have been evicted because they could not pay rents on time. In New York City, recipients have been forced to eat garbage. One elderly couple lived for months on broth while awaiting their SSI payments."

The criteria for eligibility are much harsher under SSI than welfare. Drug addicts and alcoholics are not eligible as they were under the old disability programs.

One county welfare commissioner in New York called the standards "a throwback to the Neanderthal era." He said, "If you can walk and talk, you're judged ineligible for disability payments."

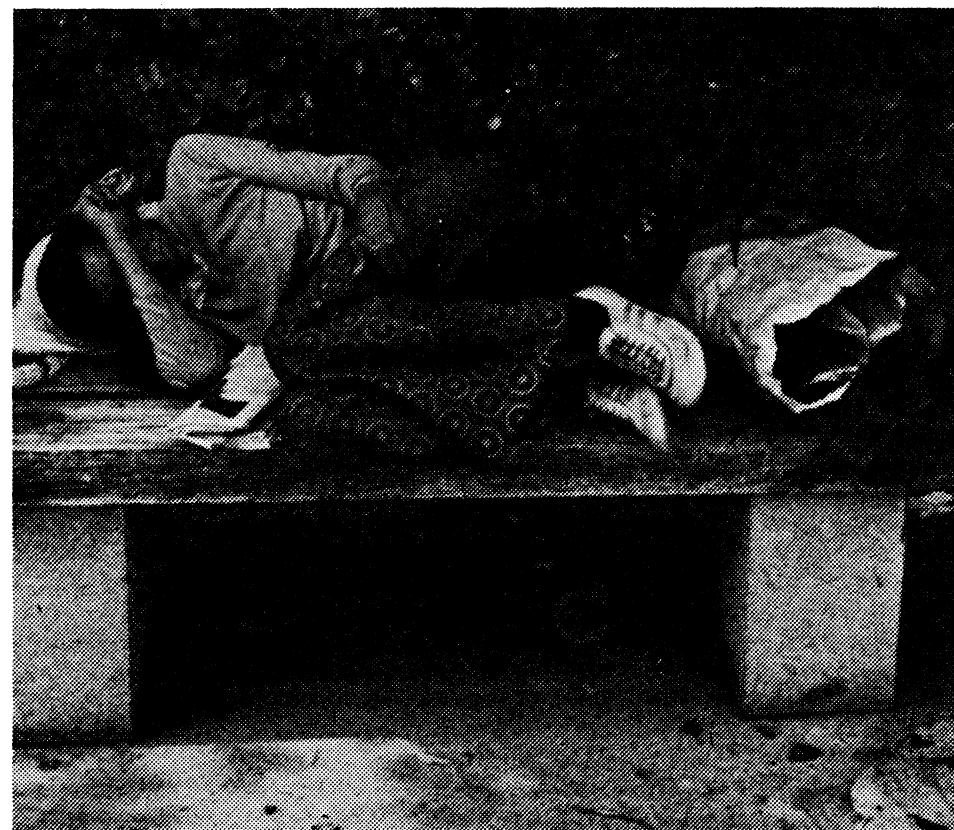
Once declared "ineligible," the disabled are only eligible for the locally administered "general relief." This is a catchall category in which payments are low and there are no special provisions for the disabled, as were provided under the local welfare disability programs.

Also, people turned down by SSI are often considered "employable" and are under pressure to take government-sponsored jobs at less than minimum wages to keep getting their welfare checks.

Most welfare centers in the New York City area have long lines in front of them when they open in the mornings. Some people get there as early as 6 a.m. hoping to get help. But only so-called real emergencies—such as a mother and small children with no place to go—will be seen immediately.

Others are given appointments to come back in *several weeks*. People are expected to get along until then with no assistance and no referrals to a shelter or other agency that might help.

The likelihood is that this situation will get worse as unemployment increases and as inflation makes the welfare recipients' pitiful dole even smaller.



## 400 attend Arab-American convention

By MARTY BOYERS

CLEVELAND—More than 400 Arab-Americans met here the weekend of Oct. 25-27 in the seventh annual convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG). The AAUG was formed in 1967, largely in response to the prevalence of the pro-Zionist sentiment in the American intellectual community.

The conference discussed many problems of concern to the Arab-American community, ranging from the Palestinian revolution to the oil crisis to the harassment of Arab-Americans to the suppression of Arab history and culture in American education.

The keynote speaker at the conference was Fayez Sayegh, a member of

the Palestine National Council, who spoke on the prospects for the Palestinian liberation movement. Sayegh declared the goal of the Palestinian movement to be "a pluralistic, humanistic Palestine instead of the racist, chauvinistic Israel that now exists. . . . We recognize no right of a state to exist on the land which belongs to someone else."

Sayegh also stressed that the future Palestine would allow the Israeli Jews full rights: "We will continue to deplore any exclusionist or racist state." He said that the struggle would go on until *all* of Palestine was included in the free Palestine.

At a banquet during the conference, Saadat Hasan, representing the Pales-

tinian Liberation Organization (PLO), received applause when he stated, "It is the basis upon which the state of Israel was established which we are questioning. . . . There is no such thing as 'partial' justice. Is it justice to expect the Palestinian to live a life of perpetual refugeeism?"

The Arab-Americans reviewed the campaign of harassment against Arabs in the United States begun in 1972 under the title of "Operation Boulder." Abdeen Jabara, a Detroit attorney who is suing the government over illegal harassment, said that in Detroit, "in early 1974 at least 10 FBI agents questioned people about completely legal activity such as the Arab Worker Caucus." (This caucus within the United Auto Workers op-

posed the UAW's purchase of State of Israel bonds.)

Jabara linked Operation Boulder with the COINTELPRO programs aimed at stifling dissent. The panelists called for defense of Arab students in the United States, who are frequently deported for their political activity.

Other conference panels and forums dealt with the teaching of Arab culture in American universities, Arab immigrant workers, and the Arab-American media.

Perhaps the sentiment of the convention was summed up best by PLO representative Hasan, who concluded, "Our struggle is to free the Palestinian and the Jew. . . . It is the only meaningful, just, and lasting solution in the Middle East."

## New moods in American working class

International Socialist Review. November 1974. 75 cents. Order from ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The labor movement today is developing a reputation quite different from its image of conservatism and complacency in the 1950s and '60s. Almost every day the news features strikes for higher wages, "hard hats" demanding jobs, or Black or women workers protesting discrimination.

The changing situation in the labor movement, with its greater opportunities for revolutionists, was a central theme of the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held last August in Oberlin, Ohio. The conference was attended by 1,250 members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The November issue of the *International Socialist Review* makes available three of the major presentations from the Oberlin conference, including "New Moods in the Working Class," by Carol Lipman, who is active in the labor movement in

### Periodicals

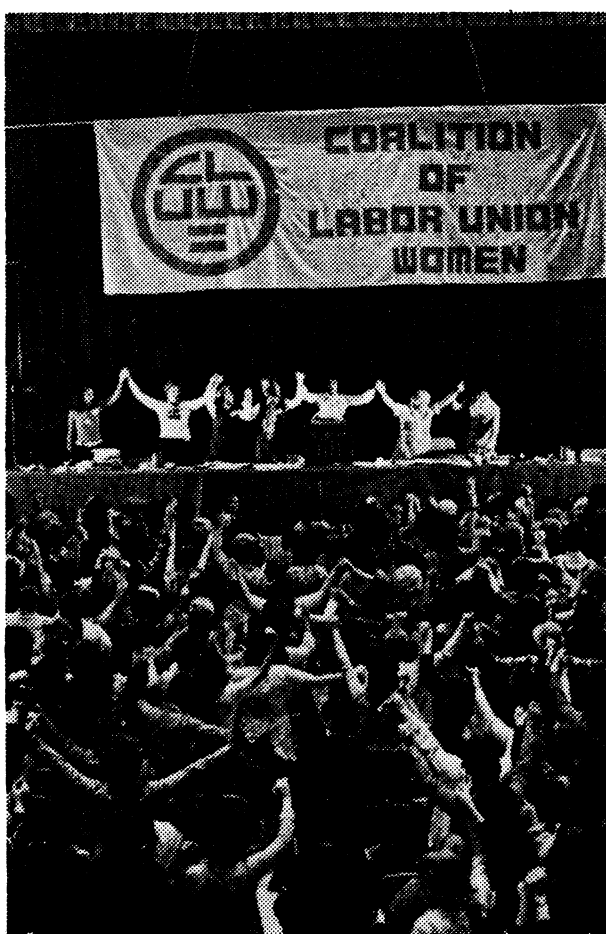
San Francisco and is a member of the SWP national committee.

The other two speeches are "Imperialism, Detente, and the Class Struggle," by Mary-Alice Waters, presenting the international context on which the perspectives of the SWP are based, and "Why Ford Will Fail," given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes just a few days after Nixon's resignation. Barnes explained why the capitalist rulers have no prospect of resolving the fundamental social conflicts that led to Watergate in the first place. These two speeches were covered in more detail in the Sept. 13 issue of *The Militant*.

One aspect of the new situation in the unions, Lipman points out, has been highlighted by recent opinion surveys. These confirm that many of the attitudes of radicalized students of the 1960s are now shared by broad sections of young workers as well. They are tending to reject patriotism, religion, traditional morality, obedience to authority, and other values and institutions of capitalism.

This spread of discontent and radical attitudes—begun by the Vietnam war and heightened by Watergate—is further fueled today by anger against the mounting attacks on the standard of living of working people. Inflation is the overriding issue, but the attacks also include rising unemployment, cutbacks in social services, and attempts to roll back pollution and safety standards.

The response to these attacks from the union officialdom, Lipman says, "has been not only



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

'CLUW is not criticizing the labor movement from the outside, but is right at its heart.'

thoroughly inadequate but potentially disastrous for the unions and their natural allies."

The bureaucratic misleaders cooperated with Nixon's wage controls. They maintain race and sex discrimination on the job and within the unions. Often ordering their members to scab on other unions' strikes, they fail to uphold the most elementary principles of labor solidarity. While the unionized proportion of the work force shrinks, few unions are doing anything to organize the unorganized.

"Nevertheless, despite the labor fakers," Lipman asserts, "we are seeing a new militancy, a new fighting spirit, in a new rank and file." This has been seen in the strike wave that followed the lifting of wage controls, and especially in the actions of low-paid public employees, teachers, and construction workers.

"The most significant of the new rank-and-file initiatives taking place in the labor movement today," Lipman says, "has been the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. . . .

"The significance of CLUW lies in the fact that it is a concrete, nationwide expression *within the labor movement* of the discontent of women workers. It is not extraneous to the union movement, but an official component of it. It is not criticizing the labor movement from the outside, but is right at its heart."

Lipman goes on to explain that "as ferment deepens in the unions, as the rank and file of the unions force their organizations to respond to the developing social and economic problems, a new leadership will begin to emerge. The revolutionary socialists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance will be part of that new leadership—the most farsighted and politically conscious part."

One of the most valuable sections of Lipman's presentation is her discussion of the issues militant unionists must confront, and the positions that socialists put forward for a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement.

In sharp opposition to the narrow job-trust mentality and "bread-and-butter" unionism of the present officialdom, socialists believe the unions can and should spearhead a great social movement of all the oppressed. In order to unite the working class in struggle against capitalist exploitation, Lipman explains, the unions must champion the needs of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, of women, and of the unemployed and unorganized.

The demands raised by workers of oppressed nationalities pose crucial tests for many unions.

For example, the Shanker machine that rules the American Federation of Teachers has fought bitterly against demands by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in New York City for community control over their schools and for more bilingual teachers. This stance—pitting teachers against parents and students, who should be their natural allies in a struggle for better schools—weakens the teachers union and can prove fatal unless it is reversed.

The necessity of labor solidarity instead of racism and chauvinism is an international question as well. The union officials line up behind the bosses to blame unemployment on Mexican immigrant workers or on imports of foreign-made goods. Their "Buy American" campaign, Lipman points out, is really saying, "Workers of the world, compete!" Instead of demanding the deportation of undocumented workers, the unions should organize them and fight for their rights. This is the only way to end the use of undocumented workers to depress wages and break strikes.

On the key economic questions of inflation and unemployment, socialists explain that the unions—instead of echoing appeals to workers to sacrifice to keep the capitalist economy going—should fight for full protection for all working people against these twin scourges.

The crucial demand for escalator clauses to keep wages up with prices has already been taken up by millions of workers and is prominent in many strikes today. The related concept of providing jobs for all by shortening the workweek with no cut in pay is likely to win greater popularity, too, as unemployment grows.

"The biggest and most important hurdle that the American working class faces in forging unity is on the political field—breaking with the class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucrats," Lipman states. "The myth that the political parties of the ruling class can be made to serve the interests of the labor movement is the underlying source of most of the weaknesses that plague the unions today."

The call for breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and launching an independent political party of the labor movement is a central plank in the program of a class-struggle left wing in the unions.

Lipman also takes up an important problem of revolutionary strategy in the unions: "Many rank-and-file militants in unions become impatient and want to begin the fight by focusing on getting rid of the local officials. Anger at the bureaucrats, of course, is a healthy sentiment. The question is not *whether* to get rid of them, but *how* to approach the task with the maximum chance of success."

Launching a premature power struggle—trying to organize workers to "Dump I.W. Abel," for example—leads only to isolating the militants and makes it easy for the bureaucrats to defeat them. To take on the labor fakers and *win*, Lipman outlines a different approach:

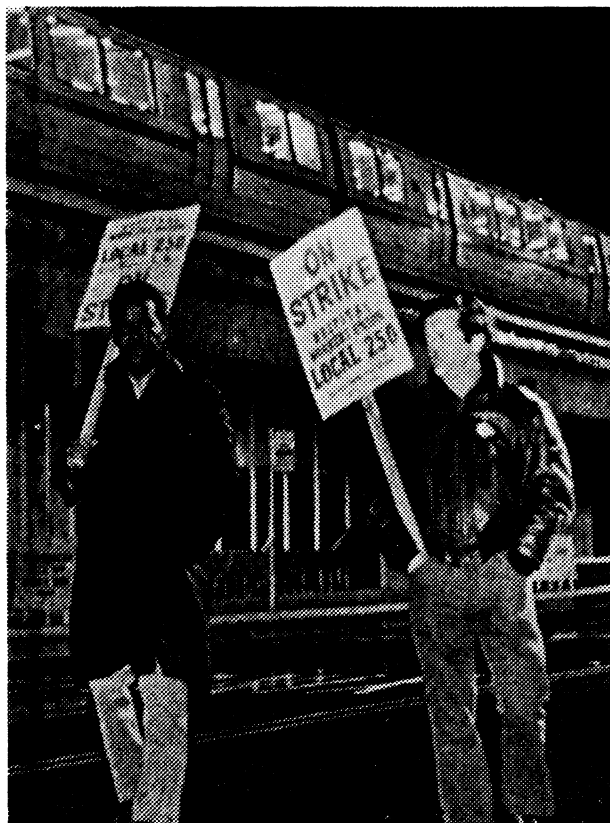
"First of all, the ranks as a whole must be mobilized in struggle, and that requires a struggle *unambiguously directed against the class enemy: the bosses*. That means concentrating our fire on the employers, not on the union officials. Second, the militants should not attempt to bypass the bureaucrats in preparing such a struggle; the bureaucrats should be forced to take the responsibility implied by their formal leadership positions."

"It is in the course of such battles against the class enemy that the class-struggle left wing in the unions can best offer the ranks an alternative leadership."

Lipman reports that SWP members are active in many key unions, including the teachers, public workers, steelworkers, printers, telephone workers, building trades, hospital workers, and others. They are also active builders of CLUW.

Lipman singles out the importance of *The Militant* and SWP election campaigns for reaching workers with the socialist program for the labor movement. Summarizing the tasks of socialists in the unions today, she says, "This is a period for explaining our class-struggle program, and uniting with people we can find in the unions who will agree to fight on one or another of the issues we have raised."

— ANDY ROSE



Low-paid public workers, like these San Francisco strikers, have been in forefront of upswing in labor militancy.



# 23,024 buy Nov. 1 Militant as campaign continues to spread truth about Boston

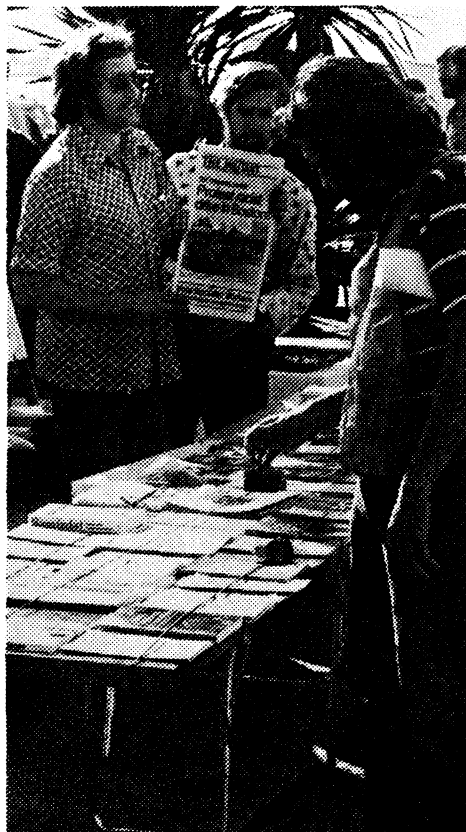
By ROSE OGDEN

In response to the emergency situation in Boston, *The Militant* launched a drive to publicize the truth about the racist offensive there and to defend the rights and safety of Black students.

An all-out effort was made to distribute as widely as possible the Nov. 1 *Militant*, headlined "Protest racist drive in Boston!" As a result, our supporters, including the traveling Young Socialist teams, sold 23,024 copies of this issue.

Boston has become a test case for a nationwide attempt by reactionary forces to reverse the gains of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The racist offensive to block desegregation is being carried out through violent attacks against the Black community.

The stakes in Boston are enormous, not only in that city but on a national scale. This is the first time in years that the racists have tried to prevent court-ordered school desegregation by mob violence. If they are successful in Boston, it will encourage anti-Black attacks in other parts of the country.



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Militant sales at Nov. 1 San Diego labor march for jobs.

*The Militant* has played a crucial role in getting out the truth about the racist offensive in Boston, especially in light of the scandalous cover-up of the situation being carried out by the capitalist newspapers.

*The Militant's* coverage has helped to expose the real extent of the racist onslaught, and the widespread sales organized by our supporters have brought this coverage to thousands of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other working people and students.

This effort began with the Oct. 18 issue, headlined "STOP BOSTON LYNCH MOBS!" Our supporters sold more than 17,000 copies of this issue. In Boston 3,200 copies were sold. More than 12,000 copies of the next issue, headlined "Ford incites Boston racists" were sold.

The campaign continued with sales of the Nov. 1 *Militant*. In some cities groups of supporters doubled, tripled, or quadrupled their normal weekly sales goal—or better! The total sold is higher than sales of any issue of *The Militant* since the May 1970 anti-war upsurge.

In Boston alone this sales offensive has resulted in more than 5,200 copies of *The Militant* sold in the past three weeks. Socialist Workers Party sales director Diana Travis explains, "We viewed *Militant* sales as the key way to clarify the issues and broaden support for the rights of Black students. Our first task was to get out the real facts."

Supporters there found a warm reception to *The Militant* among Blacks. "We have built up a regular readership in one shopping mall in the Black community," reports Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. "Many people remark that *The Militant* is the one paper they can rely on for the truth."

On a national scale, receptivity to *The Militant* has been high among Blacks and other minorities. Cities report selling anywhere from 50 to 90 percent of their total to Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos.

More than 900 copies were sold by supporters from the Upper West Side branch of the New York SWP. Ike Nahem, who sells regularly in Harlem, explains that *The Militant* is well-

## Sales scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	LAST WEEK	%	SOLD	LAST WEEK	%
Detroit	600	3,506	584	15	15	100
Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	1,736	408	5	5	100
Cleveland	250	911	364	5	5	100
Pittsburgh	375	1,092	291	43	43	100
St. Louis	400	1,090	273			
San Francisco	450	1,139	253			
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	950	238			
Denver	325	738	227			
Houston	500	1,106	221			
San Diego	275	580	211			
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	450	877	195			
Twin Cities	400	703	176			
Louisville, Ky.	35	60	171			
Portland, Ore.	300	511	170			
Philadelphia	400	655	164			
Boston	600	870	145			
Oakland/Berkeley	700	1,005	144			
Atlanta	475	680	143			
Washington, D.C.	400	560	140			
East Lansing, Mich.	50	64	128			
Kingston, R.I.	20	23	115			
Seattle	350	400	114			
Nashville, Tenn.	27	30	111			
Logan, Utah	40	44	110			
L.A. (West Side)	400	404	101			
L.A. (Central-East)	450	454	101			
San Jose, Calif.	50	50	100			
St. Cloud, Minn.				15	15	100
Syracuse, N.Y.				5	5	100
Urbana, Ill.				5	5	100
Lawrence, Kans.				43	43	100
Chicago				675	650	96
Shippensburg, Pa.				10	9	90
Glendale, Calif.				10	9	90
Edinboro, Pa.				40	28	70
Tallahassee, Fla.				25	17	68
Milwaukee				150	85	57
TOTAL				9,600	21,104	220
YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS						
Mid-Atlantic				100	178	178
Southeast				100	171	171
Michigan/Indiana				100	168	168
Pennsylvania				100	166	166
Ohio/Kentucky				100	142	142
Texas				100	125	125
New England				100	119	119
Southern Calif.				100	117	117
Upper Midwest				100	116	116
Northern Calif.				100	116	116
Colorado				100	104	104
N.Y./N.J./Conn.				100	101	101
Missouri				100	101	101
Northwest				100	100	100
Illinois/Wis.				100	96	96
TOTAL				1,500	1,920	128

known there and always sells well. "However," he adds, "sales have been even easier in recent weeks because of the Boston coverage. Often a person will buy a paper, glance at it, and then come back to talk about Boston."

"Two people that I sold a copy to returned later to buy a subscription. Some people said they were interested in reading about the efforts of the Black community in Boston to defeat the racists. Others seemed most interested in the interviews with the school children. In general, people seemed impressed that *The Militant* not only presented the facts but offered an interpretation of the facts that helped to explain the key issues at stake."

Ninety percent of the sales in Atlanta were to Blacks. "Boston is on people's minds here," says James Harris. "Many people recognize that Boston represents an attempt to roll back 20 years the gains of the Black liberation struggle. People are looking for a way to fight back and are tremendously receptive to *The Militant*."

The Nov. 1 issue also featured extensive coverage of the SWP election campaigns and the 23,024 copies sold boosted election campaign activity.

"Our sales of 3,506 *Militants* were tied in with a week of intensive socialist campaigning," reports B. R. Washington, the SWP sales director from Detroit. "Salespeople urged everyone they met to read *The Militant* before they voted, to find out the socialist alternative. Many copies were sold at candidates' meetings. Thousands of pieces of campaign literature were distributed and 206 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold."

"No one in downtown Detroit could have missed seeing *The Militant* and hearing about the SWP campaign. In addition we blitzed 29 campuses in the greater Detroit area. Our top seller, Christy Wallace, sold 360 papers on campuses."

SWP Michigan gubernatorial candidate Robin Maisel sold 296 papers during a full week of speaking engagements on campuses, in high schools, and at media interviews.

Washington summed up the results of their efforts. "We had a real impact on this city. The SWP campaign

phone was busy all week with calls from people who had picked up a copy of *The Militant* and wanted to know more about the socialist program. Also, seven people expressed an interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance."

This entire fall our supporters have been on a campaign to regularize high weekly street sales. Supporters in cities across the country have taken goals for the number of *Militants* they aim to sell each week. The ability to meet these goals consistently established the jumping-off point for the successful effort we have been waging around Boston.

Through the consistent sales conducted in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, on the campuses, at workplaces, and at political meetings, a growing layer of people have come to respect *The Militant* as the paper they can rely on for the truth about the struggles of all the oppressed.

Despite the downplay given Boston by the bourgeois media, many people took heed when *The Militant* sounded the alarm.

The battle in Boston is not over. Our supporters will continue to use *The Militant* as a weapon to beat back the racists and build support for the rights and safety of the Black community.



During a full week of campaigning, SWP gubernatorial candidate in Michigan, Robin Maisel, sold 296 *Militants*.

## Prepaid sub card sales

By LENORE SHERIDAN

Fifty-nine readers sent in a total of 207 prepaid subscription cards in October. Our top salesperson for the second month in a row is Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. Dixon sold 36 subs this past month while on tour.

Other national SWP campaign spokespeople and local candidates also used the prepaid subs. Linda Jenness, a cochairwoman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee sent back four sub cards from a recent tour in Michigan. Robin Maisel and Donald Gurewitz, the 1974 SWP gubernatorial candidates in Michigan and Massachusetts, each sent in six cards. Jack Marsh and Nora Danielson, Colorado SWP candidates for U. S. Senate and governor each sent in three.

Other top sub-getters using the prepaid cards were Bob Mears from Lawrence, Kans., who sent in 17; Steve Beren from Detroit with 11; Buddy Beck from Pittsburgh with 10; and Susie Beck also from Pittsburgh with eight.

Cameron Childress sold five cards to co-workers at Republic Steel in Cleveland.

Those readers who sent in at least five cards include Ben Harris from Nashville, Ellard Yow from Pittsburgh, Lee Smith from New York, Carolyn Jasin from Denver, and John Hilsman and Rob Cahalane from Boston.

We urge all *Militant* readers to help spread the word about the socialist alternative. The prepaid subscription cards are a fast and easy way to win new subscribers. You buy the cards from *The Militant* and collect a dollar back each time you sell an introductory sub.

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

Get in the running for top sub-getter in the month of November. Order a packet of the prepaid sub cards from the business office. Send \$5 for five cards or \$10 for 11.

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**PAST AND PRESENT STRUGGLES OF WORKING PEOPLE—SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, NOV. 15-16.** Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m.: *Another Depression—a Marxist View of the Economic Crisis.* Speaker: Joel Aber, former staff writer for *The Militant*. 68 Peachtree St.; Sat., Nov. 16, 11 a.m.: *The Historic Fight of Working Women Then and Now.* Speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Becky Mitchell, leader of Nashville Young Socialist Alliance; 1 p.m.: *Black Workers and the Labor Movement.* Speakers: Dr. James Hefner, chairman of economics department, Morehouse College; Peggy Wilson, 1974 SWP candidate for secretary of state in California; John Hawkins, SWP national committee member; 3 p.m.: *Transitional Strategy for Socialist Revolution in America.* Speaker: Lynn Henderson, SWP national committee; 7 p.m.: *Youth and the Socialist Movement.* Speaker: Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C. Party to follow. **Student Activities Building, Fourth Floor, Georgia State University.** Donation: \$4 for entire conference, \$1 per session. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## BOSTON

**FORD'S AMNESTY: WHY WAR RESISTERS SAY NO.** Speakers: Jack Tracy, Mass. Coalition For Amnesty; others. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**ROCKEFELLER: THE REAL FACE OF THE RULING CLASS.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CLEVELAND

**BLACKS FACING LYNCH-MOB ATTACKS IN BOSTON: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT.** Speaker: B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general of Michigan in 1974. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## DENVER

**COLORADO SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE WEEKEND, NOV. 15-16.** Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m.: *Struggle of Blacks Against Racism in Boston.* Speaker: Sam Manuel, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance; Sat., Nov. 16, 11 a.m.: *Oppressed Nationalities in the Soviet Union Today.* Speaker: Caroline Lund, staff writer for *The Militant*; 3 p.m.: *Deepening World Crisis: Is Socialism the Answer?* Speaker: Mike Alewitz, chairman of Kent State Massacre Witnesses Committee. 1203 California. Donation: \$2 for entire conference, \$1 per session. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

## DETROIT

**ROCKEFELLER: WHAT THE CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS WON'T TELL.** Speaker: Robin Maisel, 1974 SWP candidate for governor of Michigan. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## HOUSTON

**IS A DEPRESSION COMING? THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR WORKING PEOPLE.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**VICTIMS OF THE RED-LIST: FROM THE HOLLYWOOD 10 THROUGH WATERGATE.** Speakers: Judge Robert Kenny, defense attorney for Hollywood 10; Morris Starsky, red-listed teacher, spokesman for SWP suit against government Watergating. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION—ONE YEAR AFTER THE OCTOBER WAR.** Speaker: Dave Frankel, staff writer for *The Militant*. 2726 Broadway (at 104th, Third Floor). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**PRESENT POLITICAL CRISES IN ARGENTINA—REPRESSION DEEPENS.** Speakers: representatives from U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and SWP; others. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## PHILADELPHIA

**THE CRISIS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY.** Speaker: Vince Eagan, Black activist, SWP 1974 candidate for governor of Georgia. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## SAN DIEGO

**THE UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION: CAN IT WIN?** Speaker: Miguel Pendas, Southwest Bureau of *The Militant*. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**BLACKS, CHICANOS, WOMEN, AND THE UNIONS: THE COORS BOYCOTT FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speakers: Andrej Cirkelis, Coors boycott organizer; Clifton DeBerry, national leader of SWP. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## TWIN CITIES

**REPRESSION IN IRAN.** Speaker: Bahram Atai, Committee to Defend Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Nov. 15, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave., S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

Dana Adams Schmidt writes in the Nov. 1 *Christian Science Monitor*, "The Israeli pressure to obtain U.S. arms over the past few months is described as equal to, or exceeding similar pressure at the time of the war last October. . . .

"The pace of delivery is, moreover, creating a bulge in available Israeli hardware that raises U.S. intelligence eyebrows about Israeli intentions. . . ."

A fifth Arab-Israeli war, fought over the shape of a Geneva settlement, would be no more conclusive than the four that have preceded it—unless it proves to be the spark that finally ignites the nuclear stockpiles, in which case it would be conclusive indeed. Short of that, however, the injustice perpetrated against the Palestinian people will continue to provoke them to resistance and continue to win them the support of the Arab masses. Those who want to preserve a status quo based on injustice have no solution for the Middle East and never will.

## ...response

*Continued from page 18*

R. Ford, President of the United States."

"In all the history of school integration in the schools of the South and North, no such statement has been issued by any President," Wilkins declared.

"Busing has become an 'evil' only when it is used as a method of desegregating the public schools. As long as it was used to segregate by race and color, one never heard of it as an issue," Wilkins added.

In an editorial blasting Ford's remarks, the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) wrote:

"Today, symbolically, President Ford, who declared only a few short weeks ago that he intended to be President of all the people, stands with the mob in front of the school buses in Boston. . . . It seems that he is not going to live up to his responsibility for he has openly invited the Boston mob to disobey a court order."

The NNPA is an organization of Black newspaper publishers and its editorial was picked up by several Black newspapers.

Black newspapers have also begun picking up accounts of the Boston situation published in *The Militant*. The Nov. 2 *Carolina Times*, published in Durham, N.C., reprinted an

article by Dave Frankel entitled "Behind gov't retreat on desegregation." The Oct. 25 *What's Happening Now*, a Fayetteville, N.C., Black weekly, reprinted excerpts from *The Militant* reporting on Black protests against the racist offensive.

Gwendolyn Cherry, a Black state representative in Florida, focused her Oct. 24 column in the Black-owned *Miami Times* on the Boston situation.

"Being born and living all my life in the southern most section of the United States . . .," Cherry wrote, "I was led to believe that the further north blacks went the better off one would find the racial climate. I suspect a lot more southern black brothers and sisters had similar beliefs. Boston is living proof that this is not so. Boston shattered this myth."

## ...jobs

*Continued from page 24*

for the right to a job and a decent standard of living. The right of veterans to decent jobs was also stressed.

Signs carried by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers reflected the confusion caused by the incorrect positions taken by the union leadership. The signs printed by the union called for buying only American-made goods and blamed unemployment on workers in other countries, rather than on profit-gouging corporations like Ratners.

The very fact that the demonstration took place, however, tended to legitimize mass protest in the minds of the clothing workers as a sensible and effective method of fighting to defend their standard of living.

After the rally a crane operator who was helping take down the platform pointed out that it was the first demonstration he had ever been to, and he predicted that many more people would become involved in the future.

A carpenter added, "You know how many unemployed people there are in this city? They should have been out here. Next time they will be."

An operating engineer summed up what was going through the minds of many demonstrators when he said, "You read in the newspaper and see the oil companies making 300 percent higher profit, and they say they'll get more next year.

"I was unemployed for seven months. How can you survive on unemployment? I hope we see more of these. It's a start."

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, c/o Tim Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Marlene Metcalf, P.O. Box 2061, Sacramento, Calif. 95810.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o John Hummer, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 877-5787.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 629 Bannister St. #4, Honolulu, Hawaii 96819.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-4738 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 709 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: (301) 383-8128.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (201) 828-4710.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at W. 104th), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Buffalo: YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562. Tel: (914) 941-8565.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy Gonzalez, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Texas 78207.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

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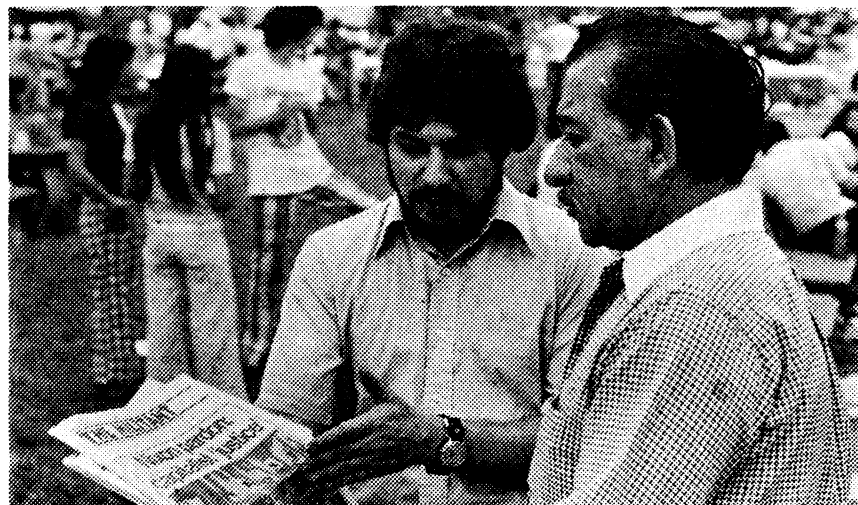
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## San Diego unionists: 'We want jobs now!'

By KEN DAVEY

SAN DIEGO—Several thousand union members and unemployed workers marched in a "Labor Parade for Jobs" here on Friday, Nov. 1, while thousands more watched from the sidewalks.

Police estimated the crowd to be 7,500; local newspapers reported 4,000.

The protest was called by the San Diego Central Labor Council and organized mainly by the Laborers' International Union. The official unemployment rate here is approaching 11 percent.

Organized in less than a week, the demonstration received support from unions throughout the city. The International Association of Machinists passed out leaflets encouraging its members to take part in the march and "fight for jobs." This got an especially good response from the several hundred machinists laid off by Convair in the two days before the demonstration.

The state unemployment center was also leafleted the day before the action. Buses were organized to transport union members between centralized parking places and workplaces and the demonstration assembly point.

The march was led along its mile-and-a-half route by bands provided by American Federation of Musicians Local 325. Following the musicians was a vintage car carrying a banner, "Let's Don't Go Back to 1929."



Militant/Dennis Scarla

'We need work in order to eat'



'We have to do this again, only bigger,' marchers said.

Militant/Dennis Scarla

The first contingent in the march was from Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 288. Two thousand union members—most of them Chicanos and Black women—left their jobs at Ratners Clothing Corporation to march in the demonstration. Clothing workers are among the lowest-paid in the city.

Unemployment among San Diego construction workers is nearly 40 percent, and these unions made up an important part of the protest. Dozens of heavy equipment vehicles, trucks, dump trucks, cranes, and bulldozers rolled down the march route.

Many contractors, feeling the pinch of tight money and building restrictions, cooperated with the demonstration organizers by closing down work sites for the day.

Other union contingents included Operating Engineers Local 12, Bricklayers Local 11, Painters Local 333, Elevator Constructors Local 18, Waiters and Bartenders Local 500, Carpenters Locals 2078 and 1296, Social Services Union Local 535, United Auto Workers Local 50, United Farm Workers, and San Diego Federation of Teachers.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Olga Rodríguez for governor participated in the march under a banner calling for "Jobs For All, Public Works For Human Need."

Throughout the spirited demonstration chants of "Labor For Jobs" rang out. Thousands of signs, some printed by the unions and many hand-paint-

ed, carried slogans such as "Work, Not Words," "Who Needs Unemployment?" "Paychecks, Not Promises," "San Diego Story—No Jobs," "Jobs, Not Welfare," and "Salaries, No Charity" ["Wages, Not Charity"].

Also taking part in the demonstration were Hermandad Mexicana and the Labor Council for Latin American Development. About one-third of the marchers were Blacks or Chicanos. Demonstration organizers estimate unemployment in the Black and Chicano communities of southeast San Diego to be 40 percent.

At the rally site in front of the San Diego County Administration Center, three figures were hung in effigy, hoisted up by a crane. They were a city council member and a county supervisor running on a platform of "limiting growth" in the city, and a figure bearing the name tag of "McCarthyism."

R. R. Richardson, secretary of the Central Labor Council and cochairman of the rally, told the crowd, "It's about time we got together and let people know that we are concerned with our jobs and our future. This parade is for jobs." This remark brought cheers and more chants of "Labor For Jobs."

"When you fight the battle for jobs, you're fighting the battle for every working man and woman in the country," stated Bill Gilbert, representing George Meany and the AFL-CIO.

"Somewhere along the line," Gilbert continued, "the men and women in this

country must begin to demonstrate, as you have today. Keep up the good work, we are with you. . . . Spread it throughout the country."

Organizers said this was the largest labor demonstration in the history of San Diego, where only a tiny fraction of the work force is organized. For the thousands who participated, it gave a glimpse of the potential strength of the labor movement. Throughout the march and rally one heard comments like "This is fantastic," and "We have to do it again, only much bigger."

The union leaders originally planned the demonstration along narrow lines. The officials felt enormous pressure from the union ranks to do something about the falling standard of living.

The bureaucrats hoped to channel this growing discontent into support in the elections for Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" on the city council and the county board of supervisors. These "friends" have done nothing to stop San Diego from having one of the highest unemployment rates and lowest average wage levels in the country.

But the same pressures that forced the union leaders to call the demonstration in the first place tended to give it a much broader character. Instead of a rally in support of capitalist politicians, it became a massive protest against the economic crisis.

The chief demand that emerged was

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## Gov't to step up racist deportations/12