

THE MILITANT

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

Anti-Arab hysteria grows

U.S. threatens Mideast oil war



U.S. Marines train for Mideast duty (left); Israeli artillery. U.S. drive to protect oil superprofits risks nuclear holocaust. See pages 7, 12.

Set Dec. 14 nat'l march on Boston

BOSTON, Nov. 14 — Black and trade-union leaders called for a massive "Boston Freedom March for Human Dignity" at a news conference here today.

William Owens, the first Black state senator-elect in Massachusetts, announced plans for a march and rally at the Boston Common to take place Dec. 14.

The national action is conceived as a massive counter to the racist mobilizations against school desegregation and busing that have been gaining momentum in Boston.

"Our voices must be heard," Owens stated. "We appeal, therefore, to every individual, every organization, every city and every state to join with us in a demonstration to let the school committee and others similarly situated know that we will no longer tolerate the injustices that are being perpetrated on our children."

Owens said the action would say: "No to the institutionalized racism, no to racist mob violence, no to racism in education, and no to the Boston school committee."

Among others announcing the action at today's news conference were

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MEETING ON UNEMPLOYED PLANNED: A conference on unemployment and inflation has been called for Dec. 7 in New York City by the Coalition for Meaningful Employment. Organizations participating in the coalition include Black Economic Survival, Harlem Fight Back, New York Urban League, Brooklyn Fight Back, Socialist Workers Party, Fur and Leather Workers Union Local 141, Young Workers Liberation League, Black and Puerto Rican Coalition of Construction Workers, and International Socialists.

The conference will be held at the Harlem Fight Back headquarters at 1 E. 125th St. There will be workshops on education and job training, the role of trade unions, racism and sexism in hiring practices, and political action. In addition, a plenary session will discuss ways to build a demonstration of unemployed in New York.

...march on Boston

Continued from page 1

Dennis Serette, vice-president of Local 1101, Communication Workers of America, and president of the New York State Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Reverend Weeks and Reverend Codman, Black churchmen in Boston; and Leo Fletcher, president of the United Community Construction Workers.

The action has already won the endorsement of a wide range of individuals and organizations. Among the initial endorsers are: William Lucey, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and national secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Rexford Weng, vice-president of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; and the Baltimore NAACP.

Also, Russell Goldman, Charlotte, Va., NAACP; Leontyne Price; the Denver-based Crusade for Justice; Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association; U. S. Representative Parren Mitchell (D-Md.); Margaret Sloane, National Black Feminist Organization; the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Also, professors Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky, Dwight Stewart, and Barbara Stewart; Denise Levertov, poet; Clyde Bellecourt, executive director, American Indian Movement; and many others.

The demonstration is being organized by the ad hoc Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, 634 Massachusetts Ave., Room 207, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 (tel: (617) 876-9295). In New York City: 1182 Broadway, room 701 (tel: (212) 532-6980).

Earlier coverage on Boston appears on pages 8 and 9.

CZECHOSLOVAK POLITICAL PRISONERS: Six-and-a-half years after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the jails of that country are still crammed with political prisoners whose only crime was their participation in the mass movement for "socialism with a human face."

A teach-in has been organized at Columbia University for Nov. 22 as part of the ongoing campaign to defend these victims of Stalinist repression. Speakers will include Karel Kovanda, a leader in the Czechoslovak student movement during the 1968 events; Dave Frankel, staff writer for *The Militant*; Antonin Lehm, a Czechoslovak author; and David McReynolds of the War Resisters League.

The meeting, organized by the Coalition Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, will take place at 8 p.m. in Harkness Auditorium, Butler Library, on the Columbia campus.

CHICANOS BLAST RACIST ATTACKS OF SAXBE: Chicano activists and trade unionists in Los Angeles spoke out against the race-baiting, anti-"alien" attacks of U. S. Attorney General William Saxbe.

On Oct. 30 Saxbe called for the deportation of one million undocumented workers, asserting this would alleviate unemployment and reduce crime.

A Nov. 7 news conference called by the antideportation organization CASA drew wide media coverage.

CASA president Javier Rodriguez denied that undocumented workers are stealing jobs, and said that instead they are adding to the wealth of the country.

As a CASA news release put it: "We know that the xenophobia (anti-immigrant hatred) uttered by the attorney general is directed at the total Mexican-Chicano population."

Rosalio Munoz, a longtime movement activist, told reporters that "they want to put the blame anywhere but where it lies. Saxbe's trying to find a scapegoat and he's picked the most helpless group of people in this country."

Also present at the news conference were Chicano unionists from the United Electrical Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and others.

COLORADO PICKET, RALLY PROTESTS DAYAN VISIT: On Halloween night Moshe Dayan, former defense minister of Israel, spoke at the University of Northern Colorado (UNC) in Greeley. A crowd of 200 people picketed the meeting to protest Israeli aggression in the Mideast and to demand self-determination for the Palestinian people.

Arab students from UNC, Colorado State University, Colorado University, and University of Wyoming were joined by members of the Apostles for Justice, United Mexican-American Students, Young Socialist Alliance, and Socialist Workers Party.

After marching and chanting slogans such as "Judaism yes, Zionism no" and "No U. S. aid to Israel," the demonstrators held a rally where various speakers blasted U. S. support to Israel.

Among the speakers at the rally was Jose Calderon of the Apostles for Justice. He condemned UNC for "bringing another liar, oppressor, and racist to campus." A spokesperson from the Socialist Workers Party called for no compromise in the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine.

The Arab student organization on campus has asked the Associated Students (AS), which sponsored the Dayan meeting, to bring a speaker from the Palestine Liberation Organization to the campus to present another view on the Mideast. The AS says it's trying.

SUPPORTERS DEMAND 'FREE LOS TRES': About 150 Chicano youth picketed outside the federal courthouse in Los Angeles Nov. 8 as U. S. District Judge Lawrence Lydick heard a motion to reduce bail for Los Tres del Barrio.

The pickets demanded that all charges be dropped against the three Chicano activists, who were convicted in 1971 of shooting a federal undercover agent posing as a heroin dealer. Los Tres have been out on bail for the past year pending appeal of their conviction. The bail premium, which is only good for one year, expired Nov. 7.

A series of successful fund-raising events enabled the defense to post the new premium of \$7,500. At the same time, the defense moved for bail reduction. They are asking that the excessive figure of \$50,000 for each defendant be reduced to \$7,500. Judge Lydick deferred his ruling on the reduction.

The appeal, asking for all convictions to be overturned, is now being considered for review by the U. S. Supreme Court.

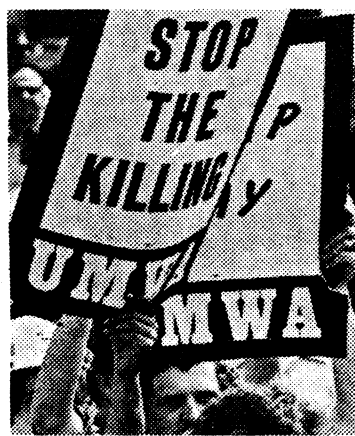
NEW BOUND VOLUME OF THE MILITANT READY: A bound volume of *The Militant* from January to June 1974 is now ready. Cost of the volume is \$12.

Readers who wish to purchase the new volume should place their order with *The Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please send payment with your order.

—NORMAN OLIVER

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

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Vote of no confidence

Elections show disgust & anger over Watergate politics, economy

By ANDY ROSE

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, held a news conference on Nov. 7, just two days after one of the most smashing election victories in history for the candidates and the party the union apparatus had been campaigning for.

A grand total of 70 percent of the AFL-CIO-endorsed candidates won out on Nov. 5, the highest percentage ever. These candidates were, as has been the case for decades, almost all Democrats.

The greatest cause for rejoicing, one would presume from having listened to Meany for the past year, was that the elections produced exactly what the AFL-CIO officials had been beating the drums for: a "veto-proof Congress."

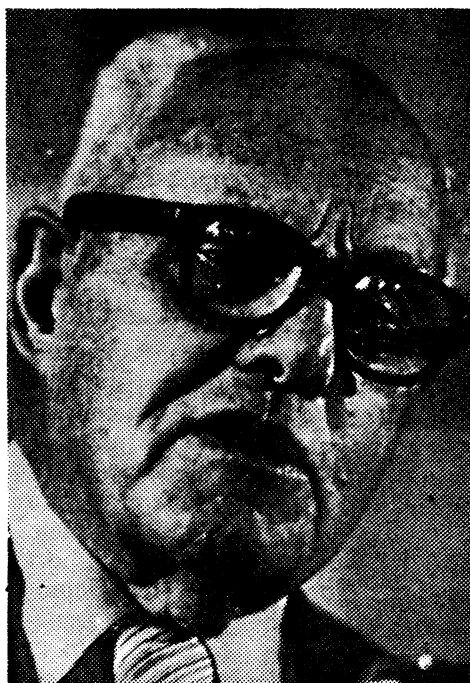
Did Meany, therefore, hail the election results as a tremendous political victory for labor? Did he joyously declare that Congress would now get the economy into shape, whip inflation, and put the unemployed back to work?

Not at all. Indeed, the tenor of Meany's remarks seemed more appropriate for a wake than a victory celebration.

Mourn with Meany

Warning that the U. S. economy is "rapidly getting into a depression," Meany said he doubted the new Congress would cope with what he called "a picture of national disaster."

On the "bread-and-butter issues,"

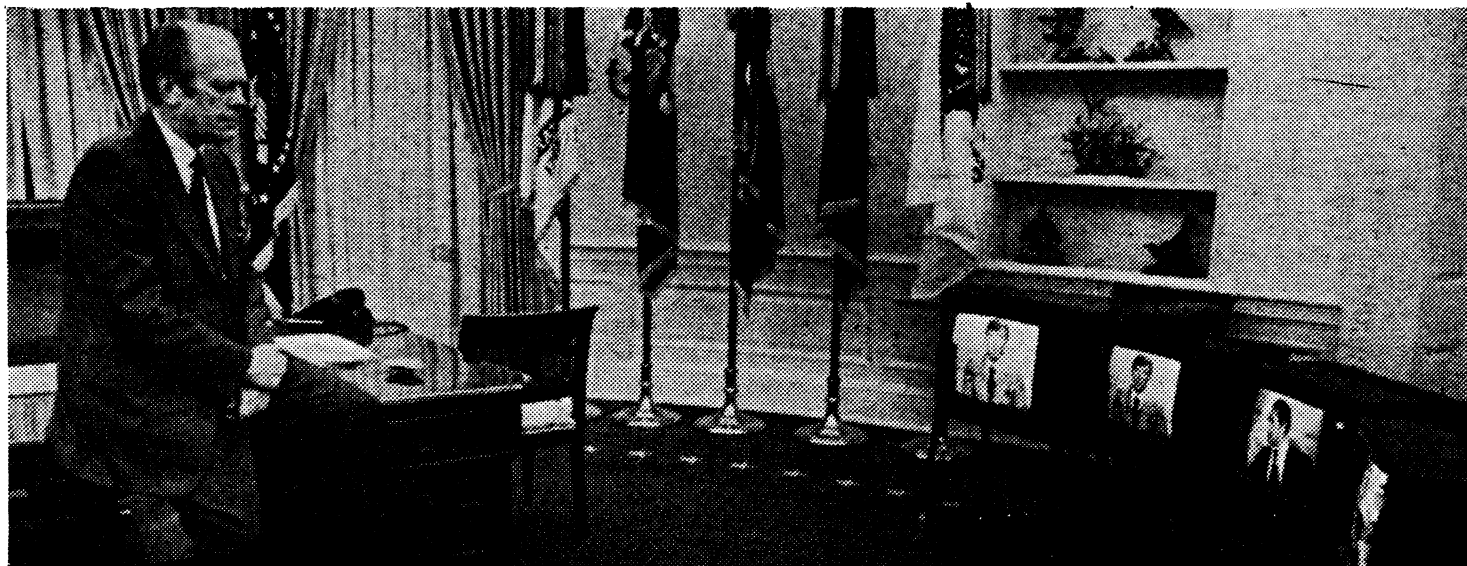


MEANY: A disillusioned illusion-monger?

Meany complained, labor is "not getting a great deal of support" from the present Democratic majorities. Asked if he was more optimistic about dealing with the expanded Democratic majorities, Meany reportedly glared and replied, "Who said I was optimistic? Do I look optimistic? I'm disillusioned."

Meany and his cohorts poured an estimated \$7-million of the workers' money into the coffers of the Democratic and Republican parties. To the extent they could, they mobilized the union apparatus and the union membership to go out and elect to office the very same people Meany now says can't be relied on.

Now Meany claims to be "disillusioned," but he and the rest of the labor brass are the ones who have been working to foster illusions in the Democratic Party.



FORD: May need tune-up after election debacle

Now Meany *has* to start moaning over the election results instead of celebrating them, because he has to prepare the union membership for the betrayal he knows is coming.

Threat of wage controls

Meany had sharp words for Democratic congressional leaders Mike Mansfield and Hubert Humphrey, who are urging President Ford to impose "wage and price controls."

Meany hastened to add he would support "fair" controls, but he said the government would hold down only wages, not prices. This is certainly true, and if "wage-price controls" are again imposed—by either Congress or the White House—it will mean a grave new attack on the labor movement, but no end to inflation.

The fact is that after this big victory for "labor's candidates" and "labor's party," things are only going to get worse.

The problem the Democrats face now, the pundits explain, is how to dodge the blame for worsening inflation and unemployment, since they are not about to solve the economic crisis or anything else.

One wag suggested Ford's smartest move would be to resign. With Democrat Carl Albert (now speaker of the house) as president, the Democrats would be so discredited by 1976 that a Republican comeback would be a cinch.

This cynical proposal, though, shows exactly what the two-party swindle is all about. When one labor-hating racist warmonger becomes too exposed and unpopular, the other party can always produce a "lesser evil"—who is guaranteed to follow the same procapitalist policies.

'Voter apathy'?

Now the capitalist press is full of complaints about "voter apathy." People stayed away from the polls in droves. Only 38 percent of the eligible voters actually cast a ballot, the lowest turnout in 28 years. Why?

The day after the election, *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis complained that the election "does not arouse feelings of great optimism or enthusiasm. That," he admitted, "must be because the campaign was so utterly remote from the real issues facing the country and the world."

This is not because the Democratic and Republican office-seekers are simply stupid, incompetent, and out of touch with reality (however much it may seem that way). It is because on

all fundamental questions they are in agreement, above all on upholding the private-profit system that is the root of our problems. That is why they can propose no solutions, and that is why all they have to campaign on is demagoguery, personalities, and lies.

For those who did not see an alternative outside the two capitalist parties, there was *no way* to cast a vote against the new Mideast war the United States is preparing. All the Democrats and Republicans were joining in the chorus of racist anti-Arab hysteria and pro-Zionist saber-rattling.

There was no way to vote against the U. S. military machine, no way to vote against inflation and unemployment, no way to vote in support of the miners' strike, no way to vote for the right of the Boston Black community to desegregated schools; and the list goes on and on.

Cynicism and distrust

The steady fall in voter turnout in this country (in off-year elections it has dropped from 49 percent in 1966 to 45 percent in 1970 to this year's 38 percent) is a sign of growing cynicism and distrust of the prospects offered by either the Democrats or Republicans.

A prelection Gallup poll found that 50 percent of those surveyed saw neither party as "more likely to keep the United States out of World War II."

Another Gallup poll asked people what they thought was the country's biggest problem (81 percent named inflation), and then asked which party they thought was better able to handle the problem. Thirteen percent said the Republicans, 39 percent the Democrats, and 48 percent were "uncommitted."

In a special message the day before the elections, President Ford charged that everyone who fails to vote "is actually voting 'no' on our system of

self-government." Despite Ford's plea, 62 percent stayed home to register their disenchantment, disillusionment, and disgust.

Outrage against Nixon

Because of the lack of a mass working-class alternative, the low turnout, and the deliberate irrelevance of the Democratic and Republican campaigns, the election results give at best a highly distorted image of the real political situation in this country.

It is clear, though, that the Democratic landslide mainly reflected outrage against Nixon and against the Republican Party, which is seen as the party of Watergate and the mounting economic crisis facing American working people.

In every region and among all sectors of the population there was a massive shift away from the Republicans. Nixon-associated congresspeople in particular were swept out of office, while those Republicans who hung onto their seats were as a general rule those with more liberal images.

Ford jetted around the country frantically trying to improve the Republicans' chances. Leaving aside the president's well-known wit and verve (one political reporter called him "the only speaker I know who loses spontaneity when he departs from his text"), after his pardon of Nixon, Ford was about as welcome as the plague.

In contrast to 1970 or 1972, few capitalist politicians even tried to run "law and order" campaigns. With the trials of the last "law and order" crew still showing on the evening news, most sensed that such appeals would be less than expedient.

One exception was Malcolm Wilson in New York, who after 15 years of obscurity as Nelson Rockefeller's sidekick suddenly found himself the incumbent governor and campaigning for reelection.

Wilson decided to wage a vigorous campaign against permissiveness, for beefing up the cops, against the right to abortion, and against the right of public employees to strike. He went down to the most crushing defeat in New York state in this century. His public identification with Rockefeller didn't help any.

The high vote for the Democrats reflected the voters' attempt to repudiate the Republican administrations over Watergate and the economy, not confidence in the Democratic Party.

In fact, there is no indication that

Continued on next page

Voter's lament

Mike McKuen, a disc jockey at Denver radio station KLZ, asked his morning radio listeners to call in Nov. 5 with song requests for election day, an *Associated Press* dispatch reports.

He got suggestions like these: "Yakety Yak," "It's Crying Time Again," "What Kind of Fool Am I," "You Are the Devil in Disguise," "Fame and Fortune," "Shaft," "If I Ruled the World," and "Get a Job."

...voters disgusted over W'gate, economy

Continued from preceding page

those who went to the polls were much more enthusiastic about the elections than those who stayed home.

The continuing decline in party loyalty was again shown by a high incidence of ticket splitting, and by events such as the surprise victory of James Longley as governor of Maine.

Longley, a millionaire insurance executive, campaigned as an independent against both the Democratic and Republican candidates. He claimed to be an "antipolitician."

The elections also confirmed the continuing breakdown of racist and sexist barriers that have kept women, Blacks, and other oppressed groups out of politics.

- There was an estimated 27 percent increase in the number of women elected to office across the country. (See story on page 5.)

- Blacks were elected lieutenant governor in Colorado and California, becoming the highest Black state officials since Reconstruction. Even more impressive was the election to Southern state legislatures of the greatest number of Blacks since Reconstruction. (See "By Any Means Necessary" column on page 13.)

- Chicanos were elected governor in New Mexico and Arizona for the first time in half a century.

- Hawaii elected the first Japanese-American governor in its history.

- An Asian-American woman was elected secretary of state in California for the first time.

- An avowed lesbian activist was elected to the state legislature in Massachusetts.

The election of greater numbers of women and Blacks shows the continuing attempts by the capitalist parties to improve their images and convince those who are oppressed and beginning to rebel to stay within the confines of the two-party system.

The fact that the rulers find it politically advantageous to nominate more Blacks and women, and the fact that millions of people voted for these candidates, shows a significant weakening of racist and sexist prejudices.

The elections also showed strong opposition to the destruction of the environment.

In Colorado a referendum was on the ballot to prohibit nuclear explosions in the state (planned by the energy trust for development of natural gas) without approval by popu-



'No - and I don't like the Democrats either.'

lar vote. Despite a massively financed last-minute campaign against this referendum by the big steel, mining, and energy interests, it passed overwhelmingly.

Also in Colorado the victorious senatorial and gubernatorial candidates had both cultivated the image of defenders of the environment. Nationally, eight of the "Dirty Dozen" members of Congress designated by the Environment Action group were deposited either in primaries or the general election.

These results were all the more important in light of the current campaign by the oil and coal barons to use the energy crisis to undermine support for conservation and pollution controls. People have not been convinced that in order to have enough energy resources they must breath dirty air, drink poisonous water, or sacrifice their safety on the job.

The voting patterns reflected a search for some way to express the growing discontent and frustration over the government's failure to provide solutions. But because the misleaders of the labor movement were again able to keep this discontent within the straitjacket of the two-party system, no change for the better will result.

As the many-sided attacks on work-

ing people continue, the "honeymoon" with the new veto-proof Congress is liable to be as short-lived as last summer's "honeymoon" with Ford.

It won't be the first time. In 1958 the Democrats scored a similar, though smaller, sweep of Congress. Yet within months George Meany was threatening "war" against the Democrats.

Why? Because "labor's friends" were pushing through the viciously anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill, which increased government control over the unions.

Denouncing this betrayal, Meany went so far as to warn that "we will take the next step if it is forced upon us. I have always said we do not want our own political party, but if we have to do that to lick the people who want to drag us back to the past, we will start our own political party and do a good job of it."

Coming from Meany, of course, the threat was empty. In fact, the unions were soon throwing their forces into electing as president the same John Kennedy who helped assure the anti-labor bill's passage. And now, 16 years later, after the union bureaucrats backed the "peace candidate" Johnson in 1964, and many even supported Nixon himself in 1972 with well-known results, the union tops still act surprised when they don't get a fair break from the capitalist parties.

Imagine what the labor movement could have done this year if it had broken loose from these fake "friends" and run its own independent candidates on a program of uncompromising defense of the needs of working people.

It could have rallied the workers struggling for a decent life, Blacks struggling for equality and justice, women who are asserting their rights more and more, and all the discontented and angry. If the unions' resources had been poured into such an independent political drive, there really would be cause for rejoicing and not mourning at the election results.

Some are already taking this road. In Texas and Colorado, Raza Unida parties, independent Chicano political parties, challenged the Democrats and Republicans.

What the labor movement should have done was done only by the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP ran candidates on the only program that shows a way forward for the labor movement.

Because the SWP campaigns were shackled by discriminatory election laws, lack of money, and discrimination by the media, and because even many of those who agreed with most of the SWP's positions still had illusions about voting for "lesser evil" candidates, the socialist vote totals will be relatively small.

But the impact of these campaigns goes far beyond the votes they won. Precisely because the socialist candidates spoke to the real issues and told the truth about the attacks on working people, their campaigns aroused widespread interest.

The SWP candidates won respect as activists and leaders in a wide range of labor and community struggles, and their ideas got an attentive hearing from much broader audiences.

The large turnouts on campuses to hear SWP candidates, the substantial media coverage, the receptivity of Black groups and a small but significant number of union meetings—all confirm that these were the largest and most successful SWP election campaigns in any nonpresidential year.

Their success, and the anger and disillusionment with the capitalist parties that will continue to grow in the months ahead, indicate even greater prospects for a big and aggressive socialist campaign in 1976.

Vote returns for SWP, Raza Unida Party

In addition to passing undemocratic laws to keep smaller parties—like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and La Raza Unida Party (RUP)—off the ballot, then throwing them off even when they meet the requirements, and failing to count many votes cast for them, the Democrats and Republicans also often stall for weeks before releasing the vote totals for these parties.

Here are the SWP and Texas RUP vote tallies available at Militant press time.

	VOTES	%
CALIFORNIA		
Sylvia Weinstein—San Francisco board of education*	15,492	Not available
MASSACHUSETTS		
Donald Gurewitz, Ollie Bivins—governor, lt. gov.	14,396	0.8
Jeanne Lafferty—attorney general	28,658	1.5
OHIO*		
Nancy Brown—governor	97,502	3.1
Herman Kirsch—lt. gov.	114,449	3.9

TEXAS—SWP		
Sherry Smith—governor	8,267	0.5
Dan Fein—lt. gov.	13,548	0.9
Pedro Vásquez—attorney general	30,080	1.9
William Rayson—land commissioner	26,606	1.7
Rick Congress—railroad commissioner	19,554	1.3
Sas Scoggins—comptroller	30,749	2.0
Kris Vásquez—U. S. Congress, 18th C. D.	518	1.2
Jill Fein—U. S. Congress, 22nd C. D.	743	1.1
Sara Johnston—state board of education, 18th dist.	1,269	3.3
Don Sorsa—state rep., 90th dist.	101	0.6
TEXAS—RUP		
Ramsey Muñiz—governor	93,015	5.6
Fred Garza—railroad commissioner	78,871	5.0
Reuben Rabago—state rep., 79th dist.	303	3.9
María Jiménez—state rep., 87th dist.	970	17.3
Victor Vega—state rep., 97th dist.	335	3.4

WASHINGTON		
Clare Fraenzl—U. S. Senate	7,637	0.8
Fred Lovgren—U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.	1,743	0.5
Toby Emmerich—state senate, 43rd dist.	629	2.8
Pat Bethard—state legislature, 43rd dist., position 1	817	3.9
Mike Downs—state legislature, 43rd dist., position 2	619	2.9
Jeff Ford—King County prosecuting attorney	4,394	1.4
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA		
Nan Bailey—mayor	2,230	2.3
Allan Budka—city council chairperson	2,385	2.8
Anne Powers—city council at-large	5,098	1.7
Sara Smith—city council at-large	4,427	1.5

* The San Francisco board of education race was officially nonpartisan. In Ohio, the SWP candidates were listed on the ballot as "independents."

Politics no longer seen as 'man's job'

By LINDA JENNESS

When Nelson Rockefeller was asked what he thought about nominating a woman for vice-president of the United States, he said that he had no objection "as long as she can cook."

And when Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, confronted the Texas secretary of state about her right to be on the ballot, he answered, "Well, my, my, you certainly are our prettiest candidate for governor."

Politics has traditionally been considered a male domain, and holding elected office a man's job. But snide cracks about women running for office, and the sexist attitude those remarks reflect, are losing ground among the American people.

The results of the Nov. 5 elections, while they give only a distorted picture of the real political struggles in this country, show a significant impact of feminist ideas. Throughout the campaign it was frequently observed that greater numbers of women were running for office and getting a better response. And on Nov. 5 this was borne out.

- The voters elected Janet Gray Hayes as mayor of San Jose, Calif. Hayes is the first woman mayor of a city of more than half a million population.

- Ella Grasso was elected governor of Connecticut. She is the first woman to be elected governor of a state in her own right, not on the coattails of her husband.

- Susie Sharp was elected chief justice of the supreme court of North Carolina. She's the first woman to hold such a position in any state.

- Eighteen women were elected to the House of Representatives.

- The number of women elected to state legislatures increased by 36 percent.

Other results included the elections of Elaine Noble to the state assembly in Massachusetts and Sister Clare Dunn to a seat in the Arizona state assembly.

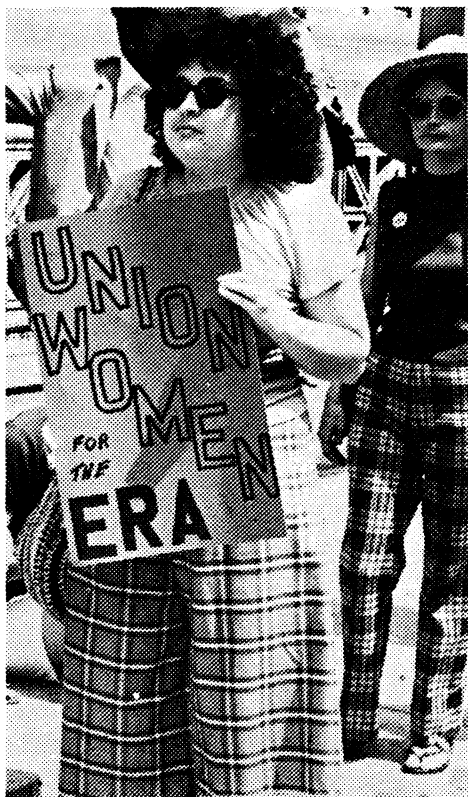
Noble campaigned as an open lesbian and feminist activist. "She admits," writes the *New York Post*, "that two years ago, as a homosexual, she probably could not have won the election, and credits some of her acceptance among voters to the gay lib movement."

Dunn is a nun from Arizona who campaigned on a platform of women's rights, prison reform, child care, and support to the United Farm Workers.

The impact of the women's movement was also seen in the results of several referenda on women's rights. Voters in both Connecticut and New Hampshire approved amendments to their state constitutions barring sex discrimination. Basically the amendments add the word "sex" to their list of prohibitions on discrimination, joining race, religion, and national origin.

In California the voters amended the state constitution to eliminate sexist terminology. Any references to the governor, for instance, will now say "the Governor" instead of "he" or "him." "Assemblymen" will be called "members of the Assembly." "Committee chairmen" will now be referred to as "persons chairing the committees."

The Nov. 5 voting also showed growing support for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). In several states known opponents of the ERA were defeated and replaced by known supporters of the amendment.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Elections reflected increased support for Equal Rights Amendment.

There are 17 states that have not ratified the ERA, and five of them must do so before it becomes law. The increase in the number of women who support the ERA elected to the state legislatures, writes the *New York Times*, "will generally mean increased support for the amendment."

All the women elected were either Democrats or Republicans. Because of their ties to these two capitalist parties, which are responsible for perpetuating the oppression of women, their election will do nothing toward solving our problems.

In fact, the reason the Democrats and Republicans are allowing more women to run for office is to try to convince women that their demands can be advanced through those parties, instead of through independent struggle.

But what is significant is that the mood in the country is such that the capitalist parties feel compelled to try to improve their image in this way. It is a reflection of the fact that many of the prejudices and myths about women are breaking down.

There were few chances to vote directly on the issues in the recent elections, including on questions—like abortion rights—of great concern to women. But a Gallup poll conducted during the final days of the campaign confirms that if people had been able to vote on the issues, women's rights would have fared well.

When asked if abortions through the third month of pregnancy should continue to be legal, 52 percent of those questioned replied in the affirmative, with 48 percent opposed.

In spite of the right-wing offensive by the so-called right-to-life forces, spearheaded by the Catholic church hierarchy, the majority of Americans support the U. S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

Seventy-nine percent of those surveyed said they were in favor of a constitutional amendment that would give women "equal rights and equal responsibilities." Only 21 percent opposed such an amendment.

The changing attitudes reflected in the election results and in opinion polls augur well for building a powerful women's movement that can bring about some changes—and, indeed, already has.

SF workers vote down antilabor Proposition L

By NAT WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—In a stunning upset, Proposition L was defeated by a vote of 102,285 to 90,425 in the Nov. 5 election here.

The "pay reform" measure would have set back city workers' wages, undermined their unions, and shifted the relationship of forces in private industry to the advantage of the employers.

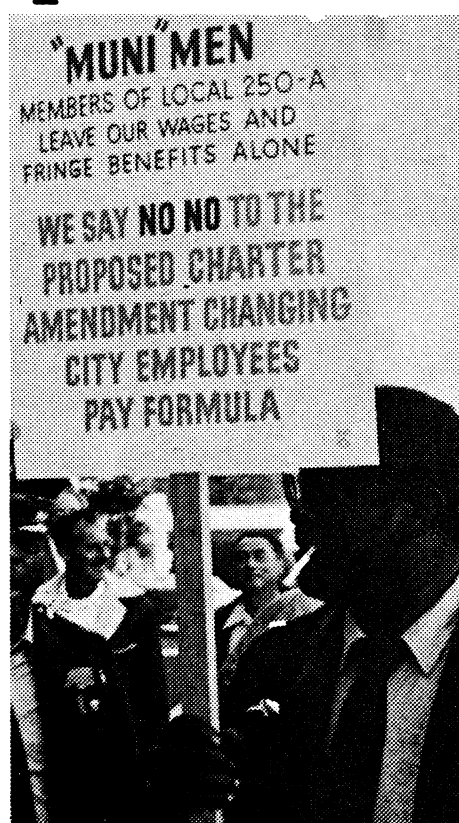
Placing this antilabor proposition on the ballot after the successful city workers' strike early this year was an attempt by the San Francisco employing class to snatch away the fruits of the strike victory.

The defeat of this antilabor electoral attack is widely recognized as an exclusively labor political victory.

Commenting on this vote's effect on next year's mayoral election, Mayor Joseph Alioto capsulized liberal political thinking when he said that "while the result demonstrated that there is still a very powerful labor vote when it relates to a labor issue, it doesn't translate to the same kind of strength in a campaign for mayor or other political office."

Unwittingly, this paragon of "pro-labor" capitalist politicians here put his finger on the most important single lesson to be drawn from this election: Labor has political clout when its interests are clearly defined and unambiguously defended; and conversely, this political power is diminished, to say the least, when channeled through surrogates in the capitalist parties.

The extent of the victory of this independent labor effort is underscored when account is taken of the halfheart-



Militant/Howard Petrick

City workers demonstrate against wage-cutting Proposition L.

ed, foot-dragging role played by most San Francisco union officials in this campaign.

It confirms in a uniquely positive way what is possible if the labor movement would definitively break from class-collaborationist politics and jump with both feet and fists into the political arena in its own class interests.

Incorporation defeated in East Los Angeles

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—The effort to make the predominantly Chicano area of East Los Angeles into a city was defeated at the polls Nov. 5 by a vote of 7,197 to 5,256.

Incorporation as a city would have been a step forward for the Chicano community here, but disgust with the Democratic and Republican parties kept most Chicanos away from the polls. Only about half of those registered to vote turned out.

Had the incorporation vote won, East L. A. would have been the largest Chicano city in the United States. Some 90 percent of the 110,000 residents are Chicanos.

And, had incorporation won, La Raza Unida Party (RUP) would have taken one of the city council seats.

At the same time that East L. A. residents voted on incorporation, they also voted to fill five city council posts. Only those voting "for" incorporation were allowed to cast ballots for city

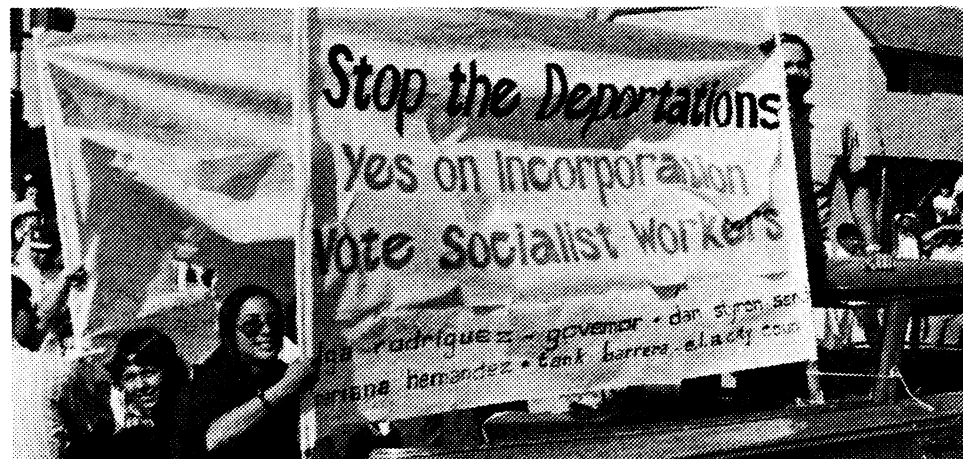
council.

The election was supposedly non-partisan and candidates' affiliations were not listed. However, there were two Democratic slates, a Raza Unida ticket, and two Socialist Workers Party nominees. The SWP urged a vote for Raza Unida candidates for the remaining three posts.

RUP candidate Raúl Ruiz topped the field of 39 candidates with 2,440 votes. This means that nearly half of those voting for city council voted for Ruiz.

Democrats would have won the other four seats. But the rest of the Raza Unida Party slate also did well: Celia Rodriguez came in seventh with 1,542 votes; Daniel Zapata, tenth with 1,382; Arturo Sanchez, twelfth with 1,356; and George Garcia, fourteenth with 1,227.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates, Manuel "Tank" Barrera and Mariana Hernández, won 415 and 325 votes respectively.



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Mexican Independence Day demonstration in East L.A. SWP campaigned for incorporation.

Hundreds protest

Israeli gov't attacks living standard

By TONY THOMAS

With the entire Mideast, and most of the rest of the world, braced for a resumption of war between the Arab peoples and the Israeli settler colony, the Israeli government launched the first offensive of the war Nov. 10. The target of this assault was neither Cairo nor Damascus, and the first prisoners taken were neither Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) commandos, nor Egyptian and Syrian troops.

The opening barrage of the war was fired against the Arab and Israeli working masses inside the Jewish state, and the first prisoners taken were 31 working-class youth from Tel Aviv's Hatikva slum, as the Zionist regime launched a major attack on the standard of living of the Israeli

masses. (Hatikva means "the hope" in Hebrew. The Hatikva slum is named after the Israeli national anthem.)

On Nov. 10, the Israeli cabinet announced a 43 percent devaluation of the Israeli pound and a wage freeze. They also announced a six-month ban on the importation of cars, shoes, refrigerators, air conditioners, beer, television sets, tape recorders, cement, and other things. The cabinet also announced new taxes that will send already high prices soaring.

The immediate result of the new program will be to raise the cost of living at least 17 percent. It had already gone up 34 percent this year and 40 percent last year.

A *New York Times* dispatch from Tel Aviv reported, "Shoppers learned this morning that sugar prices had gone up 300 per cent and that other essentials including bread, milk and eggs had nearly doubled in price."

The *Washington Post* reported that under current conditions, "a tankful of gasoline could cost half a week's salary."

Workers demonstrated against the cutbacks in their real income in Haifa, Ben Shemesh, and Ashdod.

Hundreds of demonstrators marched through the Hatikva slum blocking the streets and stoning the police. They shouted slogans protesting inflation and devaluation.

Steel-helmeted police fought the demonstrators and arrested 31. The prisoners included Shalom Cohen, an ex-member of the Israeli parliament and a leader of the Israeli Black Panthers. The Panthers are an organization that has worked to oppose discrimination

against Jews from Africa, the Mideast, and Asia—who make up about half of the Israeli population.

Port workers at Ashdod and Haifa threatened to strike if they did not receive compensation for price rises within three days. Bakers in Haifa said they would not show up for work without extra pay.

Workers from an electronics plant in Tel Aviv demonstrated in front of the headquarters of the Histadrut. The Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation, is also the country's largest employer and the major force in the Labor Party, the main party in the government.

A group of workers entered the building and forced Uriel Aronovitz, a Histadrut official, to address them. Apparently Aronovitz's claims that the Histadrut would do something about the situation were not believed by these workers. The *New York Times* reports that when he was finished, workers "followed Mr. Aronovitz into the building and assaulted him."

The Histadrut is not going to be of much aid to the Israeli workers in this crisis because it is one of the main pillars of Israel's Zionist system. It recognizes the necessity of maintaining a mammoth military apparatus to defend land stolen by the Israeli colonists from the Arab peoples. And this is precisely the cause of the current economic crisis.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the government moves "resulted from the nation's greatly increased defense expenditures, which amount to the equivalent of 14 billion

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Police attack demonstration of Israeli Black Panthers.

Threaten general strike

Puerto Rican workers defy court

By DAVE FRANKEL

Faced with the first call for a general strike in recent Puerto Rican history, San Juan Superior Court Judge Héctor Colón Cruz backed down Nov. 8 and ordered the release of 11 labor leaders he had ordered jailed four days earlier. However, the release was conditional on the success of the union leaders in ending a strike against the government-run Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillados (AAA—Aqueducts and Sewers Authority) by Nov. 13.

According to an *Associated Press* dispatch in the Nov. 12 issue of *El Diario*, a Spanish-language daily published in New York, negotiations between the AAA and the Unión Independiente Auténtica (Independent Authentic Union), which represents 3,000 of the 3,800 workers on strike, are stalemated. Leaders of the union have indicated that they are prepared to go back to jail if the AAA refuses to improve its wage offer.

The strike was called Oct. 30 despite an injunction against it issued by Colón Cruz. On Nov. 4, to the apparent surprise of even the government attorneys, Colón Cruz sentenced the 11 members of the union's board of directors to 30 days in jail and \$200 in fines each.

Angry strikers demanded a pardon for the union leaders as a condition for resuming negotiations. They chose Puerto Rican Independence Party Senator Rubén Berrios to represent them in a delegation of unionists formed to demand a pardon from Governor Rafael Hernández Colón.

Hernández Colón refused to see the

delegation and refused to grant a pardon to the unionists. The union denounced the governor's refusal to pardon its officers as "a challenge to the entire Puerto Rican labor movement." Berrios called for "massive escalated protests," and said that Hernández Colón had "slapped the workers of Puerto Rico across the face."

On Nov. 7 about 100 trade unions joined together to issue a call for a general work stoppage to demand the release of the union leaders. The militancy and anger of the rank and file were undoubtedly the reason this step was taken. As the *San Juan Star* pointed out Nov. 8, "In voting for the general strike Monday, the labor leaders involved in the protest were reportedly hoping that it would not have to take place."

The striking workers are demanding a two-year contract with raises of \$119 a month for each of the two

years. The AAA is offering about half as much money spread over three years. The workers' wage demands are to help cover rapidly escalating prices. Although wage levels are lower in Puerto Rico than in the United States, the cost of living is higher.

In addition to the 11 union officials, other workers have also been victimized. Many have been charged with "malicious destruction of property," and one worker, Domingo Betancourt Garcia, had his bail set at \$100,000 for this charge.

The Council of Delegates of the Teamsters union of Puerto Rico has responded to the conditional release of the 11 victimized union leaders by maintaining its readiness to participate in a general walkout. The secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters declared, "We consider the government's decision of provisional release . . . a further outrage and a mockery of the workers movement."



Striking workers demonstrate outside San Juan courthouse

Young Socialist tours build convention

By JUDE COREN

Last week eight leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance started off on national speaking tours, talking about the ideas of the YSA and urging young people to attend the YSA's fourteenth national convention, to be held in St. Louis Dec. 28-Jan. 1.

In their first week on the road, YSA chairman and organizational secretary Andrew Pulley and Delpine Welch have spoken at 15 high school and college campuses. They are speaking on the deepening world crisis and why socialism is the answer.

YSA leader Maceo Dixon is touring the St. Louis area. Dixon is a plaintiff in the YSA's suit against the government for illegal surveillance and harassment.

As part of this suit, the YSA recently filed a motion for an injunction to prohibit the FBI from spying on the St. Louis convention. The YSA learned from a hotel employee at the convention site that FBI agents had come around to prepare for surveillance of the convention. The government has until Nov. 18 to reply to the YSA's motion.

At the convention YSA members from around the country will discuss the major national and international developments during the past year and vote on the YSA's course for the year ahead. A major feature of the convention will be a Socialist Workers Party rally launching the SWP 1976 presidential election campaign.

Among the topics for discussion by the convention will be the fight against police terror in the Black community and the current strike of the United Mine Workers union.

The other speakers on the road building the convention are: Mike Alewitz, a leader of the YSA in Cleveland; Nan Bailey, activist in the Black liberation and feminist movements who ran as SWP candidate for mayor of Washington, D. C.; Vince Eagan, past coordinator of the Georgia Black Political Assembly and a leader of the struggle against police terror in Atlanta; Laura Moorhead, activist in civil rights and antiwar movements; and José G. Pérez, staff writer of the *Young Socialist* newspaper on the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements.

If you would like one of these speakers to speak in your area, or are interested in the YSA convention, send in the coupon below.

-
- () Send me more information about the YSA.
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Washington uses anti-Arab campaign to prepare military intervention in Mideast

By DAVE FRANKEL

Since the October 1973 war in the Middle East an ominous anti-Arab campaign has been gaining momentum and scope in the United States. This racist propaganda offensive began in one war, and it may well end in another. It represents a serious attempt by the capitalist rulers to blame the growing economic crisis on the Arab peoples and to prepare American public opinion for possible military intervention in the Arab East.

The anti-Arab campaign has been spearheaded by Zionist groups in the U. S. During the October war last year 30,000 pro-Israeli demonstrators massed outside New York's city hall chanting, "Arab blood must flow!"

Actions such as this—along with attacks by Zionist goons on supporters of the Arab side—took place at a time when the U. S. government had mounted a massive airlift of war matériel to Israel and dispatched reinforcements of airborne Marines to the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. Thus, the anti-Arab campaign was also a prowar campaign.

This fact was underlined three weeks after the outbreak of the 1973 war when Nixon placed U. S. forces on a worldwide nuclear alert to back up Israeli gains.

The racist prejudices were given full play by the mass media, with discussions of "the myth that Arabs can't fight" figuring prominently in the news coverage of the October war. But a new element was added to this reactionary offensive in response to the Arab oil boycott.

A scapegoat for big oil

"Energy crisis" had been a household term in the U. S. since the spring of 1973. The plans of the profit-gouging oil monopolies to create a shortage of oil were perfectly clear months before the Mideast war and the oil boycott. Their attitude was summed



Arab oil rig. Attempt of Arab countries to control their own resources and get a fair price for them has been met by racist campaign and threats of war.

up in the headline on an article in the June 4, 1973, issue of *U. S. News & World Report*. "There'll be enough gas and oil if people pay the price," it said.

Massive outrage at the profiteering of the oil giants had prompted Senate hearings on the energy crisis—once again, months before the Arab oil boycott. When the boycott did come, it was seized by the monopolists as a heaven-sent opportunity to jack up prices even more and beat back environmental protection laws, while blaming the Arabs.

The type of poisonous incitement against the Arabs that began appearing in even the most staid sections of the capitalist press is indicated by an article in the April 4, 1974, *New York Times* by Chester Cooper.

"By the grace of Allah, a few Middle Eastern nations have become rich beyond even the wildest dreams of the fabled potentates of ancient Araby. Through little effort of their own, 55 million people—or, more accurately, their leaders—of Saudi Arabia, Ku-

wait, Iran, Iraq, Abu Dhabi, Qatar and Libya 'earned' \$16 billion in 1973 and are expected to 'earn' almost \$65 billion this year."

This hatchet man—described by the *Times* as a "scholar"—is outraged that seven countries with a population of 55 million, countries that are almost totally dependent on income from oil, should receive a return on the order of \$1,000 per person per year. One U. S. oil company, Exxon, had sales of more than \$25-billion in 1973, compared with a \$16-billion income for all these countries combined. But Cooper doesn't get indignant about that, nor does he suggest that Exxon's money really wasn't "earned."

But this isn't all. The article, headlined "Oil Billions for the Few. Sand for the Starving," not only blames the economic crisis in the capitalist world on the "greed" of the Arabs, but also tries to pin responsibility for the inadequate aid to famine victims on them.

Worldwide inflation has been caused primarily by 40 years of deficit spend-

ing. It was brought to a head by the huge U. S. expenditures on the Vietnam war. But the capitalist opinion-molders are busy trying to blame this, along with unemployment and the world monetary crisis, on the Arabs.

The Oct. 9 *New York Times* featured a full-page ad that typified many that have been appearing recently. Headlined "The rich get richer while we struggle with inflation!" it shows a cartoon of two Arab sheiks leaning nonchalantly against their Rolls Royces. This particular ad was sponsored by the American Electric Power System.

Clyde Farnsworth wrote in the Oct. 13 *Times* of how "money pours into the coffers of a few select states that happen to be lucky enough to export oil. . . ."

"The money will continue to flow year after year, threatening to bankrupt both the once-rich and the never-rich countries and shatter their social order. . . ."

Emphasizing who gets the money, Farnsworth explains, "This is volatile money that can be shifted at the flick of a kaffiyeh [an Arab head covering]. . . ." The headline on his story insists, "The Riches May Be Too Much for the Oil Nations."

No such hesitancy about the influx of wealth, or concern with the problems it brings, has ever concerned these writers when the imperialist countries were on the receiving end.

The fact is that the total amount of wealth the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries are receiving—\$80-billion is estimated for 1974—is less than what Washington spends each year in its military budget. This amount represents the primary earnings of 13 countries with a total population of 279 million people. It amounts to less than 6 percent of the yearly gross national product of the U. S.

But the imperialist thieves want no changes in their exploitative relations with the colonial world, no matter how minor. References to "extortionate oil prices" appear in the editorial columns of the capitalist press with regularity.

The Oct. 14 issue of *Newsweek* quotes one oilman who complains of the Arabs, "They're just like the Mafia. Having stolen the money, they now ask where they can invest it securely—and at a good interest rate."

This is an excellent capsule description of how capitalism works. The only problem with it is that the real international Mafia is headquartered in Washington, and it doesn't want the countries from which the oil comes muscling in on any of the profits.

The imperialist threats

The anti-Arab propaganda campaign has been accompanied by ominous threats of military aggression from the highest levels of the government. President Ford told the World Energy Conference Sept. 23:

"Sovereign nations cannot allow their policies to be dictated, or their fate decided, by artificial rigging and distortion of world commodity markets."

After 40 years of government curbs on U. S. farm production and government buying and storage programs aimed at maintaining artificially high prices for agricultural products, Ford is hardly in a strong position to complain about rigging of world commodity markets!

Nevertheless, the commander-in-

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'Military intervention may be necessary...'

"A grim, new mood is developing in Washington that military intervention may be necessary to bring down the price of oil and save the West from economic ruin," writes Jack Anderson in his syndicated column Nov. 8.

Anderson, who is well-known for his sources in the government, continues: "Oil is the lifeblood of the industrial West. A growing number of policymakers now agree that the United States cannot stand by while a few recklessly greedy potentates interfere with the normal flow of

our lifeblood."

According to Anderson, "top policymakers" have told him that the "vital interests" of the U. S. are threatened by price increases for oil. "The use of the term 'vital interests' is ominous. For it is understood that the U. S. will go to war, if necessary, to protect its 'vital interests.'"

"One important policymaker, in confidential talks with us, compared the oil gouge to Pearl Harbor. . . ."

"Our sources say the President is

willing to use U. S. military power as a last resort to prevent the oil cartel from causing disastrous economic and political dislocations in the West.

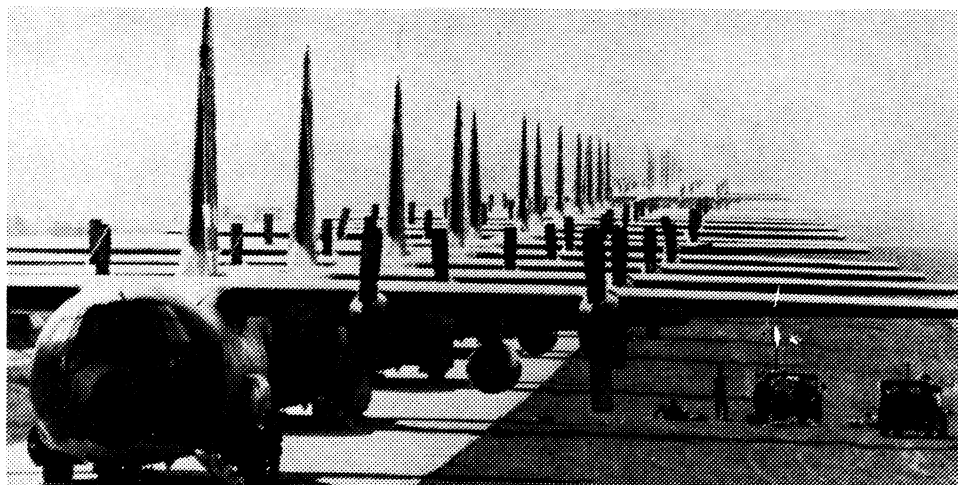
"The policy experts don't believe the Soviet Union would interfere with a U. S. military operation in the Middle East. Even Kissinger agrees, according to our sources, that the superpowers recognize one another's 'vital interests.'"

Anderson continues: "The secret speculation is that Libya would be the most likely target of U. S. intervention. . . ."

"Pentagon sources have pointed out that Libya's oil fields are reasonably isolated and, therefore, could be seized, sealed off and protected with relative ease. . . ."

"There is also talk in the backrooms about giving Israel the green light to take over Kuwait's oil fields. The secret assessment is that no combination of Arab armies could stop an Israeli march upon Kuwait."

"Perhaps significantly, the U. S. has suddenly started to rush arms shipments to Israel. In some cases, the U. S. military's own stocks have been depleted to make the weapons available in Israel."



U.S. transports lined up in West Germany during 1970 Jordanian crisis. Washington was prepared to intervene then and is threatening to do so now.

Why teachers should support the struggle for desegregation in the Boston schools

By WENDY LYONS

The school crisis in Boston has raised the question, "Which side are the school teachers on?"

The sides are clear. On the one hand are the Black community and its allies fighting for the right of Black students to attend desegregated schools. On the other are the racist forces who are trying to overturn court-ordered desegregation through a sustained campaign of force and violence against the Black community.

The interests of the teachers clearly lie with the Black community, which is striving to improve educational opportunities for Black children, who have been victimized by discrimination in the schools and in society as a whole.

American Federation of Teachers (AFT) President Albert Shanker has recently said where he stands. He's for "negotiations" between the two sides!

He says, "The AFT believes that the best way to settle any issue is through negotiations. To assist the Boston Teachers Union in bringing all sides together for these negotiations, the AFT will devote all its resources and expertise." Shanker is sending a team into Boston to help with the "negotiations."

You may wonder on what basis the conflict is to be negotiated. The racists are demanding that desegregation cease—pure and simple. They have made their position known in no uncertain terms



SHANKER: Refuses to speak out unequivocally against racists.

through brutal physical assaults on Blacks. Every weekend they hold rallies, addressed by members of the Boston school committee and city council, where they once again affirm their commitment to resist desegregation.

But Shanker makes no mention of the campaign of violence against the Black community. Instead he gives legitimacy to the racist campaign by claiming that what is happening in Boston calls for "conciliation" on both sides.

This "neutrality" on the side of the racists is in line with Shanker's whole record of opposition to the just demands of oppressed minorities for a decent education.

Shanker's record

In New York he has waged a no-holds-barred campaign to deny the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents and students of school District 1 the right to control their own schools.

Shanker is also on record in opposition to preferential hiring of women and of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos to make up for past discrimination. He calls preferential hiring a form of "discrimination no less repugnant than Jim Crow laws were."

In other words, he favors maintaining the existing system of preferential hiring of whites at the expense of oppressed nationalities.

John Doherty, president of the AFT local in Boston, the Boston Teachers Union (BTU), has taken the same stance as Shanker.

Although the BTU is on record in favor of integrated schools, under his leadership the union opposed a state-drawn desegregation plan for the Boston schools as "educationally disruptive."

The racists in Boston have adopted the strategy of provoking incidents in the schools so they can point to the violence to "prove" desegregation just won't work. In the face of this it would be elementary justice for the BTU to take the lead in telling the truth about what is going on and in condemning the racist violence.

Instead, the union leadership has taken a position that has the effect of supporting the reactionaries' campaign. They have condemned the violence without placing the blame where it belongs—on the racists who are committed to stopping desegregation at all costs.

The schools in Boston have only been partially desegregated under the present court order. Immense pressure is being brought to bear by reactionary forces to exempt various schools from the final desegregation plan that is now being prepared.

The BTU leadership has bent to this racist pressure. In a statement reprinted in the October issue of the *American Teacher* they say, "There exists the possibility that in future orders of the court, modifications could be made that may satisfy some of the complaints raised by the South Boston community."

But the major "complaint" coming out of South Boston is that white students now have to go to school with Blacks. Unfortunately, the BTU hasn't seen fit to explain what's wrong with such "complaints."

Opposition to Shanker

In contrast to Shanker and the local leadership of the BTU, other teachers have spoken out for desegregation.

On Nov. 7, 180 members of the BTU from 19 schools issued a statement appealing to all students who are now participating in the racist boycott to return to school. They called on U.S. District Court Judge Arthur Garrity and the school committee to prepare a final desegregation plan that "includes all parts of the city fairly—and has no exceptions."

The executive board of AFT Local 1943, representing the faculty of Boston State College, also recently passed a resolution stating, "We urge support for integration as beneficial to both blacks and whites because it is a step toward the unity needed to obtain better education for all children."

The resolution also strongly condemns "those public officials, who by appealing to racial fears, have divided blacks and whites and inspired violence in the schools and neighborhoods."

The actions of these Boston teachers follow the statement of the national Black Caucus of the AFT. The caucus denounced the violence against Blacks as "a serious violation of the constitutional rights of the students," and it scored President Ford for finding it "impractical to defend the Constitution which he is legally and morally bound to uphold."

Local teachers unions around the country have also come out in support of the Black community's right to desegregated schools in Boston. The Washington, D.C., Teachers Union and the Houston Representative Assembly of the Houston Teachers Association have both gone on record in opposition to the racist violence. They have both supported the call for federal troops to be sent to Boston to enforce desegregation.

The National Educational Association (NEA) has also taken a stand in sharp contrast to Shanker's. Before school even opened the NEA offered to help the BTU in carrying out desegregation. The BTU has never acknowledged their offer.



Teachers and Black community have common enemy in Boston school committee, which is responsible for rotten conditions in schools.

James Harris, NEA president, recently went to Boston to again offer help. He proposed that the NEA's human rights task force come to Boston to work with the BTU to "bring about a permanent approach to equal educational opportunity for all students."

The Black community in Boston has supported desegregation because it is concerned with decent education for its students. The teachers should welcome this concern and unite with the community to wage a fight for decent education on every level.

The teachers and the Black community have a common enemy in the Boston school committee. When the federal court ordered desegregation of the Boston schools, it found the committee guilty of having "knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation."

This same school committee is responsible for the rotten conditions Boston teachers have been fighting against for years. It has time and again fought the teachers' just demands for decent wages and decent schools. It is this school committee that is responsible for conditions like those described by a Hyde Park High teacher in the October issue of the BTU newspaper, the *Boston Union Teacher*:

"A population of 1600 students in a building constructed for 1200.

"Gym classes with a hundred or more students. . . .

"A typing room . . . in which only half the class may type at one time.

"A lunchroom so crowded that some students have to eat standing up."

Boston teachers would find willing allies in the Black community in a struggle to change conditions like these. But the first step is for the teachers to come out squarely on the side of the Black community in its fight to desegregate the Boston schools.



Boston busing. Racists want to reverse steps toward desegregation.

Militant/B.R. Washington

How Boston liberals caved in to racists

By FRED HALSTEAD

BOSTON—The Democratic Party swept the elections in Massachusetts, as in most other places in the country, with liberals aplenty getting into office. But there was precious little comfort in the election results for the beleaguered Black community in this city.

In a city-wide referendum, Question 7, which would have abolished the racist Boston school committee, went down to a crushing 2-to-1 defeat. With few exceptions it carried only those

ing the catchwords "against forced busing"—has been so widespread and has encountered so little resistance from the liberal politicians that an atmosphere of racism pervaded the elections here to a startling degree.

Far to the right, a member of the John Birch Society, Leo Kahian, the candidate for governor of the American Party, actually carried the major South Boston wards. He did this by centering his campaign against desegregation. Statewide, Kahian easily garnered more than the 3 percent of the vote required to qualify the party for "full" status—with all the privileges of the Democratic and Republican parties in Massachusetts.

In the so-called mainstream, things were really not much better. Michael Dukakis, the liberal Democrat who won the governor's seat by a landslide, made a central feature of his campaign a resolute refusal to disassociate himself from the antidesegregation movement in Boston.

This was made easier for him by a pact he made with his Republican opponent not to discuss school desegregation during the campaign. This stance was adopted by virtually every Democratic Party politician up for election in this area—with the exception of a handful of Blacks running in overwhelmingly Black districts for the state legislature.

This moral default of the white liberal politicians, both Republican and Democratic, is one of the most striking features of the current crisis in Boston. It is one of the reasons why the racist campaign to defeat Question 7 was so effective.

The truth is there was really no contest. Only one side was campaigning. The liberals in charge of campaigning for Question 7 hoped it would slip through somehow. They sought to avoid the central issue—racism. They went along with the game as set up by the reactionaries, even falling into the trap of using their code word for racism—"antibusing."

Repeatedly, the proponents of Question 7 claimed that it had nothing to do with "busing," nothing to do with the present desegregation crisis in the schools. But everyone knew that it had everything to do with precisely this situation.

Throughout this crisis and throughout the election campaign there has been no attempt by the liberals, who are supposed to favor desegregation, to say, in any concerted way, that the racist campaign to halt desegre-



Sign on car at antibusing rally. Racism is the central issue in Boston.

Militant/Evelyn Clark

gation is wrong and must be stopped. Instead they assist the racists in clouding the central issue.

They express sympathy for the whites, saying they are "expressing justified fears about busing." As if going to school alongside Black students is something to be fearful of!

There are fears aplenty in this crisis—most of them manufactured deliberately by the racists. There are also real fears about such things as deteriorating neighborhoods, unemployment, and high prices. But none of these problems are going to be solved—or even temporarily alleviated—by resistance to desegregation.

The liberal Democratic and Republican politicians are not alone in capitulating to the racists. The same is essentially true of most of the area's trade-union leadership. This includes the Boston Teachers Union, which has the most direct material interest in the situation and the greatest moral responsibility.

The same has been true of the highly vaunted liberal intellectual community in the greater Boston area, whose silence and equivocation on this matter have been deafening. The same is true of the liberal journalists and even much of the radical press.

The popular liberal magazines are full of "deep" background articles on how it is necessary to "understand" what the whites in South Boston are going through. For example, the headline in the November issue of *Boston*, this area's equivalent of the *New Yorker*, reads, "The Human Side of Busing," with a picture of a white working-class family looking worried and saying of their daughter, "Hell no, she won't go."

There is nothing wrong with trying to understand what makes a white worker a racist, but if that's all you do, you're contributing to their being a racist. Because what this situation cries out for more than anything else is a counteroffensive to that of the racists.

What is being done in South Boston in the name of Boston Irish workers is enough to make the blood of any decent worker—Irish or otherwise—boil. The truth is that Irish or not, worker or not, poor or not, what the white racists—who now dominate the atmosphere of South Boston and much of the rest of the city—are doing is a disgrace to the Irish and the working class. And any decent Irish worker who is sucked into it ought to sober up from that opium and get back into the human race.

Nat'l protest set for Boston

BOSTON—A news conference has been called here by state senator-elect William Owens, along with other prominent Black and white leaders from Boston and the rest of the nation, to announce plans for a massive national march and rally against "institutionalized racism and violence." The demonstration will be held in Boston on Dec. 14. The announcement will be made at the state capitol here on Nov. 14.

Owens stated, "The eyes of the nation and the world are now focused on Boston. The Dec. 14 demonstration against racist violence will show that the vast majority of Bostonians—Black, Brown, Yellow, and white stand on the side of human rights and justice and oppose mob violence against all school children. We also call on justice-loving people from all 50 states to come to Boston and join our freedom march."

Owens is the first Black to be elected to the Massachusetts senate.

Next week's *Militant* will report further details on the demonstration.

wards with predominantly Black populations.

Since it is hardly disputed that the school committee has done nothing to halt deterioration of Boston schools—let alone improve them—and since its only claim to fame has been its campaign to oppose desegregation, it is hard to escape the conclusion that nearly two-thirds of the voters in Boston would rather have poor education than desegregated schools.

In one sense this is true. The racist campaign against desegregation—us-

Violence continues against Blacks

BOSTON—Imagine being a Black student in Boston. You wake up each morning not knowing what will confront you at school that day. If you are bused will the signs be up that day along the bus route saying, "Kill niggers"? Or will there be more than just vicious signs?

Black students at Hyde Park High School have faced more than just signs lately. Their buses arrive 30 minutes before classes begin. White students have gotten together to form a "welcoming committee" for them. Up to 150 have gathered chanting "Nigger go home." On Nov. 8 three white students were arrested for disorderly conduct for participating in the "welcoming committee."

On Nov. 12 at South Boston High, Black students were confront-

ed by 75 whites who shouted "Nigger" and tried to block them from going into the school. A few Black students finally exploded and a shoving match began. The cops arrested two Blacks and one white.

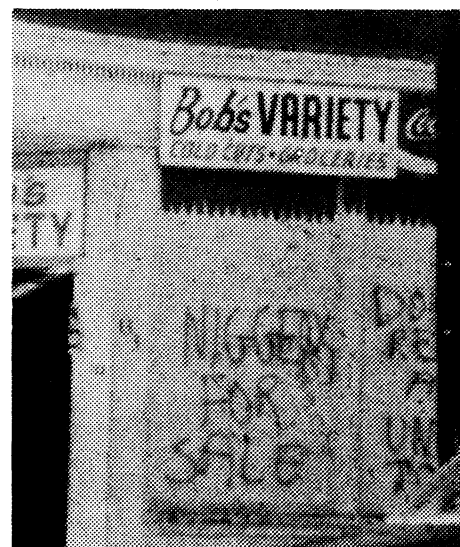
Meanwhile, city and state officials give aid and comfort to the racists who want to keep things hot in an attempt to roll back desegregation. Governor Francis Sargent removed National Guard troops from "alert" status on Nov. 10. They had never been used to enforce desegregation.

The racists continue to hold weekly rallies addressed by members of the city council and the school committee. On Nov. 10 they held a rally of 3,000 to celebrate the opening of a new antibusing headquarters to help organize resistance to desegregation in the Roslindale,

Jamaica Plain, and West Roxbury areas. This is the seventh center they've opened since the start of school.

The school committee recently denied the use of school facilities to a biracial group of 40 high school students from the South. The 40 students had been invited to Boston by a coalition of 35 religious and civil rights groups to share their experience in desegregation with Boston students.

After doing everything in its power to whip up a racist atmosphere of resistance to desegregation, the school committee refused to allow these students to address classes in Boston's schools because of the "tense situation that exists in some of our high schools."



Militant/Fred Halstead

Sign along bus route to South Boston High School.

Miners take lead in fight for safety,

By CINDY JAQUITH

When United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) President Arnold Miller announced Nov. 11 that a nationwide strike would begin at midnight, he recalled the weeks of contract talks with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

"While we sat and talked these past nine weeks," said Miller, "39 coal miners were killed in the mines. A man died every day we met."

How many more miners will die before the coal industry halts its deadly pace in the mines? This is what 120,000 UMWA strikers and their supporters want to know.

The miners, who produce 70 percent of the nation's coal, were forced into this strike when the coal operators refused to meet their demands for a new contract.

'Won't be bludgeoned'

Now that the union is out on strike, the capitalist-owned media and big business are clamoring for a return to work.

"As the strike goes on . . .," predicted Miller, "public pressure for intervention by the government will mount."

"But I serve notice on the coal industry that no matter how great the pressure, coal miners will not be bludgeoned into accepting in the future a contract that is not acceptable now."

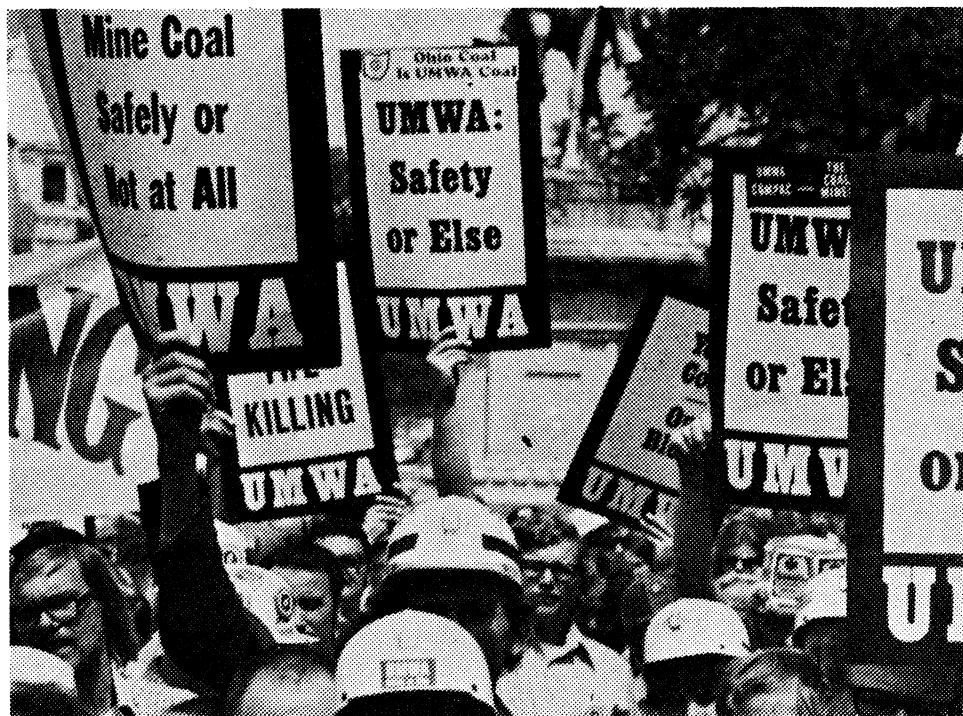
The outcome of this battle is of im-

AS WE GO TO PRESS: A tentative settlement has been announced in the United Mine Workers' strike. Next week's issue will report full details.

portance to more than the coal bosses and the UMWA. The miners are the first to challenge President Ford's "tighten your belts" program—a program that protects big business's drive for higher profits, while throwing millions out of work, cutting back on environmental and health standards, and keeping the lid on workers' wages.

The outcome of the UMWA's fight for higher wages, for a cost-of-living clause, and for union control of safety in the mines could have far-reaching effects on workers in other unions who face the same problems.

In anticipation of solidarity with the



Unsafe working conditions killed 132 miners last year. Coal companies, in meantime, raked in record profits.

UMWA, the mass media and the government have begun grinding out a barrage of attacks on the miners' strike. A typical example of the scare campaign being whipped up is an article in the Nov. 18 *Time* magazine, which warned:

"A prolonged walkout would kick up the already high 6% U.S. jobless rate, topple the economy into a deeper recession, and possibly force a disruptive confrontation between Government and labor."

"... A settlement of the size that the U.M.W. wants would probably lift the price of coal above its present record \$15 a ton on long-term contracts and put more upward pressure on utility bills, steel prices and the cost of chemicals. . . ."

"Scarcities would cripple production in the auto, construction and appliance industries. Indeed, the effects of a coal strike would rapidly spread into almost every sector of the economy and chop \$3 billion from the nation's output of goods and services in just two weeks. By Government estimate, a month-long strike would add as many as half a million workers to the ranks of the unemployed, which already total 5.5 million."

All of a sudden, 120,000 miners have single-handedly plunged the

country into a recession, thrown millions out of work, forced prices up on everything, and brought the entire economy to its knees. Or so the coal operators would like other workers and consumers to think.

Scapegoats

The coal companies are trying to turn the miners into scapegoats to hide the real reason for the U.S. economic crisis—the drive of big business to increase its profit margin on the world market.

The capitalists have done the exact same thing with the Arab oil-producing countries, whom they blame for the high price of oil, while the U.S. energy trusts reap record profits.

The rulers of this country are hoping their attacks on the Arabs will lay the basis for a military intervention in the Middle East. Similarly, they hope to use their attacks on the miners to justify a stepped-up assault on the living standards of all U.S. workers.

But who is really profiting from the energy crisis and soaring prices? The figures tell the story:

- Pittston Company, the fourth-largest coal producer, reports a 787 percent profit increase in the third quarter of this year.

- Consolidation Coal Company, a subsidiary of Continental Oil, reports profits increased from \$200,000 to \$15.9-million in the same period.

- Island Creek Coal went from a reported loss of \$929,000 to a \$35.2-million profit. Island Creek is owned by Occidental Petroleum Corporation.

- Westmoreland Coal's profits went up from \$1.03-million to \$12.8-million.

These swollen profits are a result of doubling, tripling, and quadrupling of coal prices in the past year because of the energy crisis.

Now the government is wailing about the energy crisis again, this time professing concern that the miners' strike will hit the old and the poor the hardest.

But the Oct. 1-15 *UMW Journal*, in an article by editor Don Stillman, exposed this phony concern for what it is. Stillman revealed that since last summer, the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) has been planning how coal will be allocated in the event of a strike.

Secret documents obtained by the *Journal*, writes Stillman, show that the FEA allocation program "does not involve key public facilities that de-

pend upon coal, such as hospitals, prisons, mental institutions and schools. It centers instead upon industrial consumers of coal such as steel companies, chemical plants, glass works and pulp mills."

UMWA Vice-president Mike Trbovich charged that "instead of worrying about the effect of a coal strike on hospitals and schools, the FEA is ignoring them and looking out for big business instead. . . ."

"They'll let the people in the iron lungs fend for themselves, but if U.S. Steel [a big mine owner] forces a strike and loses some profits because they won't settle it's a national emergency."

Profits come first

Profits come first—before the needs of the sick and the poor, and before the standard of living and safety of mine workers. While the coal companies' earnings reached astronomical levels last year, miners' real wages went down—by 4 percent.

Yet the coal operators have stalled and stalled on the UMWA demands for a cost-of-living clause, higher wages, and better pensions. An article in the Oct. 27 *New York Times* explained one of the reasons for the opposition to these demands. "The White House worries . . .," wrote reporter A. H. Raskin, "about the possibility that a fat wage settlement in the mines would set a costly pattern for a 1975 collective bargaining round, to be ushered in by January contracts in the nation's railroads and oil refineries."

In a Nov. 10 article, the *Times* again warned that the UMWA demands may "go beyond the 12 to 14 per cent yearly wage and price increase established in the steel industry contract and set a pattern for other industries."

The capitalists no more want miners to set the pace on wages than on safety in the workplace. The UMWA is fighting for extra helpers on dangerous machinery, for company-paid union safety inspectors, and for the right to walk out of unsafe mines.

Union control of safety

These demands point toward union control of work conditions, something that is also needed in many other dangerous industries, such as chemical, steel, and auto.

The coal operator's answer is that "productivity" must come first in these days of fuel shortages. But what has the high productivity of mines like Pittston's meant for miners and their families?

Pittston's profits were paid for by the lives of seven UMWA members last year alone. This company has a fatal-accident rate of 0.51 deaths for every million hours worked—the average rate is 0.45. Pittston's nonfatal accident rate is 68.52 per million work



UMWA President Arnold Miller talks with union member.

S.F. painters back miners

Painters Local 4 in San Francisco passed the following resolution Nov. 11 in support of the United Mine Workers strike.

Whereas, the United Mine Workers have been forced out on strike in defense of their living standards and their very lives, and

Whereas, the current attack on the mine workers is part and parcel of the general assault on working people's living standards, and

Whereas, ominous predictions are being tossed around by the employer-controlled mass media to the effect that this coal strike could trigger a major recession, for the obvious purpose of preparing public opinion for drastic action by the government against miners, and

Whereas, preparations are already being made to invoke the union-busting provisions of Taft-Hartley against coal miners, and

Whereas, the monopolies responsible for the contrived oil shortage

have forced this strike to justify still further outrageous price increases, and

Whereas, it is necessary to build the greatest solidarity in support of the coal miners, who are now on the front lines in all labor struggles to defend our living standards,

Therefore, be it resolved Painters Local 4 declares its resolute support to the UMW in this strike, which we see as our common struggle, and be it further resolved that the UMW be informed that we stand ready to give whatever aid we can practically provide,

And be it finally resolved that we send copies of this resolution to the San Francisco Building and Construction Trades Council and the San Francisco Central Labor Council, urging them to take organizational steps to mobilize the support of San Francisco labor to help to achieve a speedy and victorious conclusion to the strike of the United Mine Workers.

wages

hours—well above the average of 40.42.

But this company is most notorious for killing 125 people all at once when its Buffalo Creek, W. Va., dam burst in February 1973, flooding an entire mining community.

Tragedies such as Buffalo Creek, or the 132 miners who died in 1973, are of little concern to the capitalist government, which is openly threatening now to use the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act to force the union back to work.

Ford's labor secretary, Peter Brennan, has announced that Taft-Hartley won't be used until after the miners vote on the contract. But, he said, "if they turn down the contract and the strike looks like it's going on longer, then I think it's time for the government" to act.

Travesty of democracy

What a travesty of democracy! After 84 years, the rank-and-file members of the UMWA win the right to vote on their contract, and the government tells them that if it doesn't like the way they vote, federal troops will be sent in to force them back into the pits.

The miners have no more intention of giving up the democratic rights

Pickets hit coal profits

Despite cold and rain, 75 people picketed the Pittsburgh offices of Consolidation Coal Company on Nov. 12 in support of the miners' strike.

Signs carried read: "Safety first," "Profits cause inflation, not miners' wages," and "Mannington 1968—78 dead. How many more?" (Consolidation's No. 9 mine in Mannington, W. Va., exploded in 1968, killing 78 men.)

Among the picketers were members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Farm Workers. The action was called by the Western Pennsylvania Coalition to Support the United Mine Workers.

they have won in their union than of going back to work without winning their just demands.

They can count on strong sympathy among other workers if the government does try to break the strike. Already, several unions have passed resolutions backing the UMWA.

AFL-CIO head George Meany also released a statement, in which he pointed out: "The coal companies are making a tremendous profit. They could do a better job for the miners."

Meany promised that the AFL-CIO will give the UMWA "every possible support we can."

Student groups, consumers, and environmental organizations are also rallying to the miners' cause.

It is in the interests of unions, students, and consumers alike to pry open the books of the coal companies and their parent oil trusts for public inspection. Let the miners examine the books of these profiteers to see whether they really are "too poor" to pay decent wages and run safe mines. The miners would undoubtedly also find some interesting figures about the exorbitant rate hikes consumers have paid for utilities in the past year.

Such an investigation would help to further generate support for the miners' struggle, a fight that all working people have a stake in.

'We're with the miners 100%'

By ED HEISLER

BENTON, Ill. — Here in the heart of the southern Illinois coal-mining region, more than 7,000 miners are on strike. Many of them live and work in or around Benton, population 6,800.

Benton is a union town and most of the people here support the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strike.

At the UMWA strike headquarters, I talked with Gerald Hawkins, who is the field representative for Districts 11 and 12 (Illinois and Indiana) of the union's Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC).

"Safety and higher wages are the biggest issues in this strike," he told me. "A cost-of-living clause is a non-negotiable item for us, as is mine safety. Specifically, we want the right to refuse to work under unsafe working conditions."

"We work in the most unhealthy environment around and we don't have any provisions for sick-leave days. One of our demands is for sick days. The company calls that absenteeism and we call it simply being sick."

When I asked him about the charges that the mine workers' demands would be responsible for more inflation, he said, "I don't think that's legitimate. Like Arnold Miller said, it's not a strike to cause inflation, it's a strike by victims of inflation."

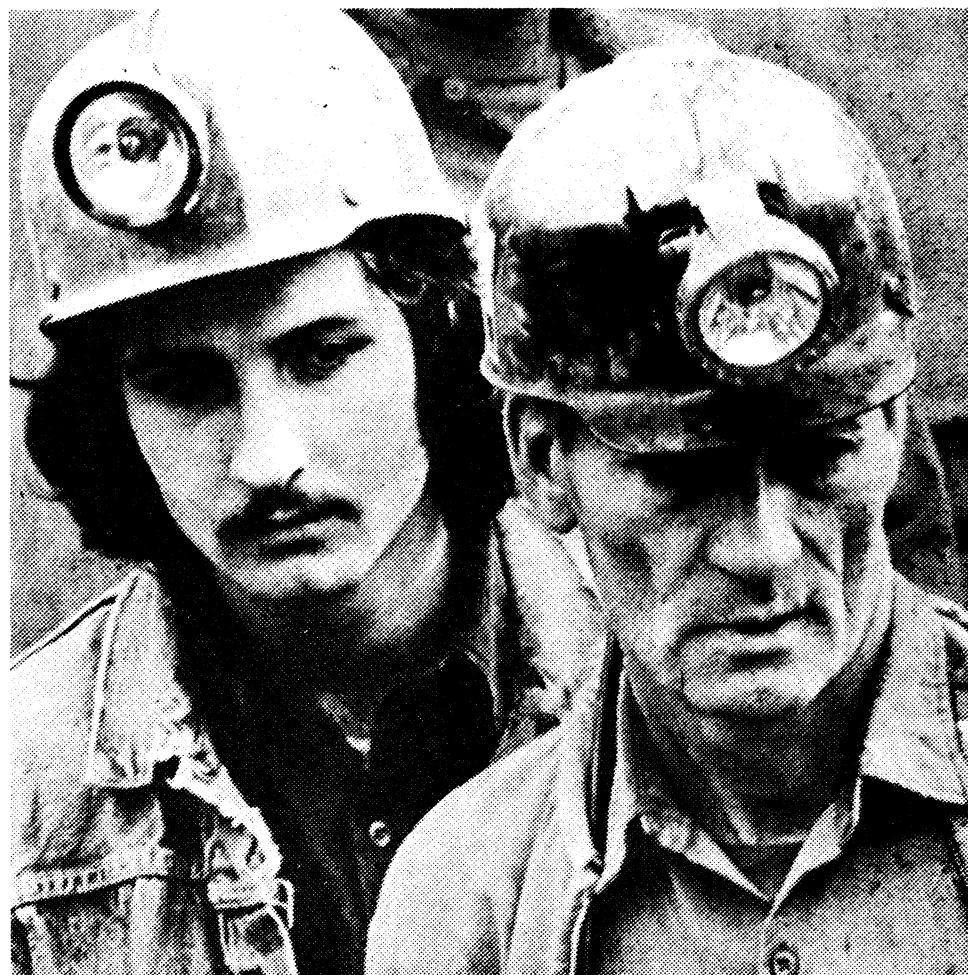
What about the charges that the strike will create an energy shortage? "We didn't cause the energy shortage," Hawkins answered, "so regardless of a strike or not, I don't think we can be blamed for an energy shortage this winter. I think the oil companies are responsible for that."

I also talked to Ralph Simpson, a brakeman on the Illinois Central Gulf Railroad. He is a member of the United Transportation Union, the same union I belong to.

I asked him if there have been any layoffs on the railroad because of the miners' strike. "We've already been cut back because of the strike," he told me, "but we're with the miners 100 percent, because our contract is running out pretty soon too."

Simpson's father has worked as a miner all his life. I asked Simpson what he thought would happen if President Ford tries to use the Taft-Hartley Act against the UMWA. "They've used it before, you know. Harry Truman used it, and the miners stayed out anyway. It cost the miners quite a bit of money, but they proved their point," he said.

I also spoke with Jim Pearson, vice-president of UMWA Local 1591. He represents 400 miners at Freeman No.



6 Mine near Benton. Most of the workers at No. 6 are young.

I asked him what he had to say about one foreman here who told me that the younger miners are lazy, inefficient, and don't want to work.

"I'm 31 years old," Pearson said. "I have a high school education and I've been through the school of hard knocks. We've also got miners at my mine with college degrees. These boys are smarter than the older miners, who worked under unsafe conditions and got themselves killed for peanuts. We're going to stop that."

"The companies say they want safety and higher production. That's not true. They want production—and safety if you can have it. We're making the mines safe and the coal companies can't take it. We want a full-time safety man, a union man at every mine, paid by the company."

I asked him what he thought about any attempt on the part of the government to break a strike through the Taft-Hartley Act. He replied, "Just like they said back then, under John L. Lewis, you can't mine coal with bayonets."

When I asked him what the morale is of the workers on strike, he said, "The morale is this: at 12:01 a.m. Nov. 12 we went out on strike and

we're willing to stay out until next summer, if necessary, to win our demands."

"Big business is always going to try and hold the workingman down," said Pearson. "This is a known fact."

I also interviewed Harold Cowell, a firefighter and a member of the Firefighters' union in Evanston, Ill., who happened to be on vacation here.

"I'm a union man," he told me, "and I believe that if you negotiate, and if the powers-that-be will not negotiate with you, the only alternative you have is a strike."

"In Evanston, we just got off a strike not more than five months ago. I know for a fact that the bosses are very reluctant to give the worker his fair share. And the only way you can get it is to go on strike."

There are no picket lines up at the mines around here. The union doesn't think they're needed. Scott Newberry, a 15-year-old high school student, told me that if scabs are brought in, "they'd have to ship them from somewhere else, because there wouldn't be enough people from this county that would scab."

"There are strong feelings about any scabs that might come in. Quite strong feelings."

Socialists solidarize with UMWA

The following message was sent to United Mine Workers of America President Arnold Miller on Nov. 13.

Dear President Miller:

The Socialist Workers Party pledges our unconditional support to the strike by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) for a decent standard of living and safe working conditions.

We condemn the refusal of the coal companies to meet the just demands of mine workers, forcing the UMWA to strike. Now that the strike has begun, the coal operators hope to turn public opinion against the union by blaming the deepening recession and the energy crisis on miners.

But as millions of working people know, the coal industry, which is controlled by the oil monopolies,

has profited enormously in the past year from the energy crisis. Miners, in the meantime, like other workers, have seen their real wages decline.

The coal companies' profits are smeared with the blood of UMWA members, whose lives mean nothing when another dollar can be made.

The coal operators say they cannot afford to meet your demands for safety, higher wages, and better fringe benefits. Then let them open their books to public inspection, so all can see who has actually profited from the contrived fuel shortages and resulting jump in coal prices.

We denounce the threat of the Ford administration to invoke the Taft-Hartley law against the UMWA in an effort to force miners

back to work without a contract. And we pledge to oppose any attempts by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress to pass new strikebreaking legislation against your union, as they have done in previous UMWA strikes.

We are doing everything possible to help get out the truth about the miners' demands, through *The Militant*, by building public meetings on the strike, and by helping pass resolutions in support of the UMWA at union meetings and on campus.

The eyes of millions of working people are on the miners today, who are setting the example of militant struggle for the entire working class. Support the miners!

In solidarity,
Peter Camejo
Socialist Workers Party

Let PLO be heard!

Twenty-six years after the United Nations voted to partition Palestine in opposition to the demands of the majority of its population, Palestinians have finally been allowed to speak at the UN in their own name.

The most elementary principles of justice dictate that when issues vital to the lives of three million people are being discussed these people should be included in the discussion. Yet Israel and its supporters have greeted the appearance of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at the UN with a campaign of racist hysteria and visceral hatred. Their response is a reflection of the character of the Zionist state and the movement behind it.

The establishment of Israel was accomplished through the forcible denial of the human and national rights of the Palestinian people. The maintenance of this colonial settler-state requires the continuation of the same racist violence. Zionist demonstrators and Israeli diplomats talk about PLO terrorism, while the Israeli military bombs and shells Arab villages and Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon almost daily.

In the United States we have seen the extension of this Zionist terrorism, with a barrage of death threats against the PLO delegates. The right-wing Jewish Defense League (JDL) held a news conference at its headquarters at which one of its leaders, a .38-caliber pistol on the table before him, said:

"We have trained men who will make sure that [Yasir] Arafat and his lieutenants do not leave New York alive."

Asked by a reporter what he meant by the remark, the JDL thug replied: "We plan to assassinate him."

A television station that announced plans for a live broadcast of Arafat's speech to the UN was bombarded with telephoned threats.

The anti-Arab campaign of the Zionist forces has been stepped up just as the Ford administration has begun to float trial balloons about the possibility of intervening in the Arab East with U.S. forces. *Newsweek* reports in its latest issue that "there is a growing sense among Pentagon top-siders that perhaps the big stick should be brandished at the Arabs."

The pro-Israel, anti-Arab movement in the U.S. is part of the preparations for a new imperialist war.

End U.S. arming of Israel!

Let the PLO and the Palestinian people be heard!

'Red list' still used

Gerald Ford entered the presidency with promises to end "the nightmare of Watergate" and to put a stop to "illegal political surveillance," "dirty tricks," and government lying.

But the Watergate crimes continue. FBI agents, for example, have made no secret of their plans to spy on the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention being held in St. Louis Dec. 28 to Jan. 1.

And now it has been revealed that the Army is still making use of the attorney general's "subversive list" to victimize military personnel. This list was supposedly officially abolished five months ago, and ex-president Nixon claimed at that time that it would "not be used for any purpose."

Yet a notice to Steven Wattenmaker, an Army reservist and member of the YSA, informed him that, because of his membership in the YSA, his retention in the Reserves "would not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

The Oct. 18 notice claimed 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."

New York Times Pentagon correspondent John Finney reported in the Nov. 13 *Times*: "After two days of deliberations prompted by press inquiries about the Wattenmaker case, the Army staff and general counsel's office was unable to provide an explanation of why the Army still relied upon the Attorney General's list in view of its abolishment by the White House."

Wattenmaker will press his fight by invoking his right to a formal Army field board of inquiry into the charges against him. Ongoing publicity and pressure is required to fight back against all the continuing government attempts to treat socialist and other dissenting organizations as if they were illegal.

That is the aim of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA suit against the government, being handled by attorney Leonard Boudin and the Political Rights Defense Fund. Such efforts need the wholehearted support of all defenders of democratic rights.

The 'liberal' Communists

I was pleased to see the article by Doug Jenness in the Nov. 15 *Militant* on the Communist Party's approach to the elections—running "independent" CP campaigns as a cover for their support to Ramsey Clark and other liberal capitalist politicians.

The Minnesota CP also fielded candidates this fall. In an interview with the St. Cloud State College *Chronicle*, Erwin Marquit, the party's state chairman and its candidate for governor, offered a fresh insight into the CP's views. Among other things, the reporter who talked to the candidate learned that:

"... this state's Communist party is unique among left-socialist parties, because it is the only one which believes that problems can be solved without socialism. The others only frustrate their supporters and lead them to revolution.

"[The CP] is also unique because it wants people to have more private property, not its abolition. . . .

"Non-communists can support the party in this election because it is basically a liberal party. . . ."

This seems to reveal yet another facet of the CP's electoral strategy: when you can't find a "good" liberal to support, try becoming one yourself.

Greg Cornell

Minneapolis, Minn.

Voting socialist

It has been nearly 12 months since I've been a Socialist Workers campaign supporter.

Your seriousness and sincere political program and your support of striking workers, Black and Puerto Rican community control, student struggles, and independence for Puerto Rico and Africa, have convinced me you are the only alternative to the corrupt politics of Republicans or my old Democratic Party.

When election day came, as I pressed down the handle to vote SWP, I was sure that only this party will be capable of leading the socialist revolution in the United States.

Magdalena Gonzaléz

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Indianapolis 'manhunt'

Under the pretext of a "manhunt," Indianapolis police have recently staged a massive dragnet of the Black community here. The tactics are reminiscent of the San Francisco raids around the time of the so-called Zebra killings. Since the Oct. 22 shooting death of a cop, police have terrorized Blacks in the city, busting in doors, stopping and searching cars, and beating and harassing anyone unfortunate enough to be caught in their web.

While the news media do their part to whip up racist hysteria, the cops have run wild. At one point the forces of "order" numbered more than 1,000 off-duty and plainclothes

cops, all heavily armed.

In the wake of the violent cop upsurge, several Black organizations held a news conference to denounce the actions of the police. Reverend Andrew Brown of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference reported that hundreds of Blacks all over the city had been stopped, searched, and often beaten by police.

One man contrasted the intensive "investigation" following the killing of a cop to the whitewash of two murders in early October. In both cases the victims were unarmed Blacks gunned down by cops, and in both cases the verdict was "justifiable homicide."

David Ellis

Indianapolis, Ind.

The 'other' side

I entered an eight-week subscription to *The Militant* because I wanted to see how the "other" side thought. All I have gotten out of this is that you vehemently hate militaries and police; however, you call for the National Guard to come to Boston.

Please cancel my subscription, and because you're not in it for profit, return the rest of my money.

Mark Eager

Wooster, Ohio

The scoop

I greatly appreciate your paper. *The Militant* consistently scoops establishment press on the most profound issues of the day.

D. J.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Really liked it

I just got my first copy of *The Militant*. I really liked it and hope you'll send the next issue soon. Enclosed is the money for my subscription. Keep up the struggle.

V. M.

Chicago, Ill.

Cannon fund

Enclosed is a \$50 contribution to the Cannon fund. If the offer of a Cannon book still stands, I'd like *Socialism on Trial*. You can't have too many copies around when friends want to know the fundamentals of socialism.

I'm looking forward to the new collections of Cannon's letters and speeches.

D. D.

Detroit, Mich.

[The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was established following the death of this great American revolutionist last Aug. 21. One of the major purposes of the fund is to help in the publication of Jim Cannon's many still unpublished speeches, writings, and correspondence.

In the two weeks following a recent appeal to *Militant* subscribers



to support the fund, 24 contributions, totalling \$367, were received. This brings the fund to \$61,571.47.

Please send your contribution today. Contributors of \$50 or more will be sent a complimentary copy of one of Cannon's books from Pathfinder Press. Send donations to: Cannon Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.]

American Indian Movement

Please inform your readers about news concerning the American Indian Movement (AIM) here in South Dakota.

The AIM movement is attempting to get the Indians' dignity, self-respect, and freedom back from decades of repression. Our government has forgotten about them. Let *The Militant* be an exception to the rule by printing the truth of the struggle between Native Americans and racists.

The current focus for AIM is the attempt to throw out and dismiss Sarah Bad Heart Bull's prison sentence. [See story in Nov. 15 *Militant*.] She faces a minimum of one year as a result of a frame-up stemming from a demonstration in Custer, S. D., in February 1973.

Please ask readers of *The Militant* to write to Attorney General William Saxbe in Washington, D. C., to demand that all charges stemming from the Wounded Knee takeover and the Custer disturbances be dropped.

Patrick Callahan
Sioux Falls, S. D.

On amnesty

Mr. Nixon was recently pardoned for his crimes against the people. Now an amnesty with strings attached has come into existence. The conditioned amnesty is wrong in that it infringes upon the rights and lives of those involved.

Recently some prisoners were released from here under this new amnesty. One of them had resisted the draft because of his religious beliefs. He stated that if he were required to serve in an alternative program, he would consider it a compromise to his religious beliefs and would return here instead.

His is a commitment to God. My commitment is to my brothers and sisters. I am an Army brat, but resisted the draft to the end. Besides my reluctance to kill, one thing that disgusted me was that Congress had never officially declared war on Vietnam.

The U. S. Congress is like a hunter and the U. S. people are the victims, the fuel for the war machine.

A prisoner
Missouri

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.

Another case of murder for profit

As a follow-up to Jack Rasmus's wonderful article in the Oct. 11 *Militant*, "Murder in the workplace," I would like to present one specific illustration of murder for profit.

The new industrial scandal concerns the death-dealing polyvinyl chloride (PVC). At least 27 PVC workers have already gone to their deaths.

All of these workers died of angiosarcoma, a rare liver cancer that takes many years of constant exposure to PVC to develop. Nobody knows how many other older workers died in years past from the same disease.

No one knows either how many PVC workers have died or have been disabled from another known danger in the manufacture of PVC—acroosteolysis. It has been known since 1960 that this unpronounceable disease causes skin lesions and changes in the blood vessels leading to the degeneration of bones at the tips of fingers and toes.

The liver disease is found in workers who have spent many, many years in the PVC plants.

Publicity around the dangers to PVC workers has forced the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) of the Labor Department to set new standards. Starting in January 1975, vinyl chloride levels in the air that workers breathe must be held to one part vinyl chloride to one million parts air, averaged over an eight-hour period.

The new regulations call for regular monitoring of plant air, regular medical examinations for exposed workers, and the establishment of "regulated areas" where vinyl chloride exposure is high. It prohibits direct worker contact with liquefied vinyl chloride and requires posting of signs warning that the chemical is a "cancer-suspect" agent.

All of this sounds fine on paper. But the OSHA still has only 754 inspectors to carry out its edicts in more than 8,000 plants that manufacture PVC (not to mention the rest of the more than 90,000

workplaces OSHA covers). The annual budget for this department is a meager \$24-million.

Last year, Dr. Marcus Key, the director of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (set up by Congress together with OSHA), explained:

"N.I.O.S.H. is not expanding. It is shrinking. It is getting the proverbial meat-axe. . . . Our present laboratory space isn't even adequate for any kind of research. It is substandard. . . . We have been frozen on hiring for most of our existence, and we are losing key staff right and left because we don't have the grade points to promote them. . . . I don't think N.I.O.S.H. is a viable organization at this time."

OSHA and NIOSH are stymied by two major factors. First, the plastics industry and the big PVC manufacturers have brought suits against the Labor Department to keep it from enforcing the new PVC standards.

The second factor is the normal procedure of Congress and the executive branch whenever they pass a piece of "social" legislation. They generally enact such legislation just before an election campaign. The act, whatever it is, looks fine on paper, but that is all it is until enabling, monetary legislation is also passed to provide for enforcement. And it is this part, the money bill, that is conveniently forgotten.

Money to enforce OSHA and other Labor Department and Health, Education and Welfare Department activities is awaiting action by the current Congress. Funding legislation is being hotly contested by powerful lobbyists for the manufacturing and coal industries.

Meanwhile, workers who have spent the past 20 years in plants manufacturing PVC will begin to fall ill with the dread angiosarcoma (it takes about that long for the effects to surface).

But profits will not die. Life is cheap compared to the almighty dollar.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Blacks in the elections

In the Nov. 5 elections Black candidates scored gains not seen since the days of Reconstruction.

Voters in Colorado and California named Blacks to fill the second-highest state office, lieutenant governor. Although during Reconstruction Blacks held the office of lieutenant governor in Louisiana and South Carolina, they were appointees.

In these and some other cases around the country, Blacks were elected by predominantly white constituencies, indicating that some racist concepts have waned among many white voters and they can accept some Black candidates on their own merits.

The second feat not seen since Reconstruction occurred below the Mason-Dixon line. A staggering 72 percent of Black candidates there who sought legislative office in the elections were successful.

In 1962 there were no Black state legislators at all in Dixie capitals. After this year's elections there will be 97. And there are now more than 1,000 Black elected officials in the South. Nevertheless, even though 20 percent of the people living in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy are Black, only 2 percent of the elective offices in those states are today held by Blacks.

Nearly all of these Black elected officials are from predominantly Black districts. Their election represents the *aspiration* of Black voters to obtain Black representatives in public office who will articulate their needs and struggle for them. This aspiration is part of the growing awareness that Black needs can best be represented by Black people.

Their election represents a gain of the civil rights movement—the *power* of Blacks to obtain such representation, which has come about only because Blacks fought for and won access to the ballot box.

All of the Black elected officials today are members of the Democratic or Republican parties. Under the fire of the Black liberation struggle, the ruling powers were forced to grant major concessions to Blacks, including allowing them to be standard-bearers in their parties to bolster the illusion that these parties can be vehicles for change. But it is these

parties that are responsible for maintaining the deplorable living conditions in the Black community.

All of the Blacks just elected, because they owe their allegiance to the capitalist parties, will be as helpless in designing programs to fundamentally change the conditions Blacks face as other Black elected officials have been.

But the day is coming when Blacks will realize that it is *their* power that put these officials in office—that the Democratic Party needs Black people, but Blacks don't need the Democratic Party—and will move to create an independent Black party to wage a real fight for Black political power.

On Nov. 5 the Socialist Workers Party ran on a program of independent political action that showed how to eliminate the wretched living conditions faced by Blacks.

Just a glance at the number of Blacks running for major office shows a lot about the relative weight given to Black liberation by the SWP and the capitalist parties. The Joint Center for Political Studies, affiliated with Black-run Howard University, undertook a survey of nearly all Blacks running for office.

Despite the relatively small size and limited resources of the SWP, it was running 12 Black candidates for U.S. House of Representatives—*more than the Republican Party*, with 10 Black congressional candidates, and nearly as many as the Democratic Party, with 19. The SWP's Derrick Morrison in New York, the Center reported, was one of only two Black candidates on the ballot for governor anywhere in the country.

In the months ahead you'll be sure to notice another big difference between the SWP candidates and the Democrats and Republicans. While the Black elected officials lie back and spin explanations of why they can't do anything, the socialists will still be working with people on the campuses, in the plants and communities, and in the streets to build struggles that can really bring some change.



Things are tough all over—an administration spokesman recently observed that stockbrokers suffer from inflation more than anyone. This may not be so. A precipitous drop is now expected in the blue-chip painting market, with some speculators fearing it may already be here. For instance, a real estate operator, pressed for cash, put up a Monet for auction in London. He was forced to let it go for \$450,000 even though he had sunk \$604,000 into it just a year ago.

Inflation fighters—In the past year, congressmembers have increased their "expense allowances" from \$16,560 to \$25,840. That's in addition to other such fringe benefits as subsidized life

and health insurance, pensions, cut-rate barber shops, subsidized dining rooms, free swimming pools and gyms and saunas, plus free potted plants from the U. S. Botanical Garden.

Sounds reasonable—Charles Mendiola, a Defense Department official, said inflation might require cutting back on the menu for enlisted personnel. He told this to a reporter while dining at the Gold Room, a Pentagon dining room for ranking officers. "Regular" lunch, \$1.75, was appetizer, red snapper, three vegetables, salad, and baked Alaska. Cut back on that deal? No, he explained, that's a necessary "fringe benefit" to encourage generals and admirals to stay

in the service and to recruit businessmen to the Pentagon.

Remember LBJ?—The city of Austin is financing a Parks Department production of a play based on the life of Lyndon Johnson by Dorothy Dodd, a University of Texas drama professor. She said the play will focus on Johnson's lifelong struggle against prejudice, leading to his becoming the president "second only to Abe Lincoln" in civil rights. Dodd is reported as specializing in children's drama.

Austerity at the White House—President Ford has hired a dog breeder and trainer to teach the new family dog some manners and tricks. May-

be he'll learn the pup how to bite a bullet.

The man's an extremist—Albert Rees, federal wage and price stability director, would like to discourage supermarkets from marking up items after they're on the shelves. People get put off, he observed, when they see a can of beans with 27 cents crossed out and 35 marked in. In fact he added, somewhat intemperately, "you could almost call it price-gouging."

Sociology Dept.—A ground-breaking federal study by a Department of Health, Education and Welfare expert found that the working poor are hardest hit by inflation and unemployment.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Affirmative inaction at UC Berkeley

LOS ANGELES—Will the American university system ever employ Chicano, Black, and women faculty members in numbers proportional to the percentage of Chicanos, Blacks, and women in society?

The way things are going, it looks as though the universities are going to remain dominated by white males for some time to come.

The University of California at Berkeley is currently a testing ground for the efforts to institute "affirmative action"; that is, hiring more women and members of oppressed nationalities.

In 1972 the federal government found UC Berkeley guilty of race and sex discrimination in its personnel policies. In November 1973, the government withheld \$4.4-million in research grants as required by law, until the campus administration could come up with a plan to end the discrimination.

Three unacceptable plans were all Berkeley could come up with. But the government restored the research grants anyway when the administration "promised" to come up with something better. The deadline was Sept. 30 of this year.

But here the government's total lack of concern for ending discrimination was revealed. Martin Gerry, an official of the Office of Civil Rights,

told UC Berkeley officials that their affirmative action plan was just fine, *11 days before it was even submitted!*

According to an attorney for the University of California, Gerry said that what Berkeley has accomplished "is the best any university has done."

Women, Chicanos, and Blacks did not agree; they blasted the university's proposal as being utterly inadequate.

One woman professor pointed out that 34 departments do not employ any women at all. And a representative of the campus League of Associated Women said that the administration's plan would allow certain departments as much as 37 years to overcome discriminatory hiring.

In regard to Chicanos and Blacks, the document draws the outrageous conclusion that there is no "underutilization" of minorities because "the availability pool of eligible persons contains only a minuscule number of minorities." Translated into normal English, that means that even though there aren't enough Black or Chicano faculty, the university can't do anything about it because there just aren't enough "qualified" minorities around.

This is the same old story that has been used by every racist institution to keep the oppressed na-

tionalities out: "We'd love to hire more of you, but you're not qualified."

How do you get "qualified"? What is an "availability pool"? This pool consists of those persons holding PhDs from the 50 leading U. S. universities. As you may have guessed, there aren't too many Chicanos and Blacks swimming in this pool.

Chicanos start getting "unqualified" to teach from the day they're born. Racist teachers and textbooks and suppression of the Spanish language combine to produce the lowest education levels of any people in the United States. "High standards" for admissions and hiring to universities invariably discriminate against Chicanos because only whites can meet them.

There is only one way to break the vicious cycle that keeps women and oppressed nationalities out of institutions of higher learning in the U. S. The racist "standards" will have to be abandoned. Preferential hiring will have to be instituted to make up for past discrimination.

Even this is an inadequate measure. What is needed is to develop the kind of educational system that can use all the talents of the nation and provide a free, quality college education for all. But as a stopgap measure, preferential hiring is the very least that Chicanos, Blacks, and women have the right to expect.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



El Tacon de la Chancleta

The Sept. 30 issue of *Avance*, a magazine published in Puerto Rico, carries as an insert the first issue of a new feminist publication called *El Tacon de la Chancleta*. Initiated by a group of women from Mujer Intégrate Ahora (MIA), a women's liberation organization, the new publication is scheduled to come out on its own shortly on a monthly basis.

A *chancleta* is a slipper or shoe with no heel. It is an object of little value and is only used within the confines of the home. In Puerto Rico a baby girl is often called a *chancleta*. And a man who fathers only girls is called a *chancletero*, the best translation being "inept person."

A *tacon* is a heel. This new magazine aims to put the heel on the slipper, free women from the confines of the home, and "bring to light the situation which has unjustly caused us to be called *chancletas*."

The first issue is well-rounded, educational, and good reading.

The most important article is about the situation in Puerto Rico regarding the abortion laws. The

U. S. District Court in Puerto Rico recently ruled that public hospitals in Puerto Rico must provide facilities for women seeking abortions. It also ruled that no doctors could be forced to perform abortions if doing so violated their consciences.

The commonwealth government, writes Ronnie Lovler, "has taken advantage of this second order to 'discover' that the public hospitals only have doctors whose consciences tell them not to perform abortions."

Other attempts to avoid implementing the court order to provide abortion facilities include the claim by the secretary of health that providing such facilities would be "discriminatory" because it would take medical attention away from other kinds of patients!

Thus, concludes the article, "the rights of women remain suspended in the air" in relation to abortion in Puerto Rico.

Another good article is titled "This is How We Earn Our Living." It's a short biographical article, including interviews, about three women who

work in a furniture factory. These women represent a typical, large layer of Puerto Rican working women. They earn \$1.60 an hour doing back-breaking labor, then return home to children and household chores.

An article entitled "Feminism" sets the nonsectarian, mass approach of the editors of *El Tacon de la Chancleta*. They define the "feminists of the world" as those who "fight in any form for the rights of women," and they call on Puerto Rican women to join the struggle.

Other articles include one on sexist schoolbooks, one on women's liberation and the arts, and one on contraception, entitled "Contraceptives: The Russian Roulette of Sex."

If this first issue is any indication of what we can expect from *El Tacon de la Chancleta*, it's well worth a subscription, especially for those who read Spanish—or want to learn.

The subscription rate is not listed in this issue, but the address is Apartado 21515, Estación de la U. P. R., Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

Calley freed, Kent guardsmen acquitted

By NORMAN OLIVER

The hypocrisy of capitalist justice became clearer to the American people last week with the acquittal of eight former National Guardsmen in the Kent State trial and the release of former Army lieutenant William Calley.

"If anyone mentions faith in the system right now, I'm going to hit them over the head. I'm about at my low point as far as faith is concerned," Elaine Holstein told the *New York Post*. Holstein is the mother of Jeffrey Miller, one of the four Kent State students killed when Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire on an anti-war demonstration on that campus on May 4, 1970. Nine other students were wounded in the National Guard attack on the protest action against the U. S. invasion of Cambodia.

Holstein's loss of faith in the system came after hearing on her car radio that U. S. District Court Judge Frank Battisti had acquitted the eight guardsmen charged with conspiring to violate the civil rights of the students by firing bullets into a demonstration. On Nov. 8 Battisti ruled that the government prosecutors had failed to show "beyond a reasonable doubt" that the eight intended to deny students their civil rights.



U.S. troops in Vietnam. Calley, convicted of mass murder at Mylai, has now been paroled by Army.

"We have four people dead and nine others wounded, and that's evidence enough," Florence Schroeder, whose son William was another one of the slain students, told the *Washington Post*.

The ruling by Battisti was another in a long series of cover-ups about the killing of the four Kent State students. A 1970 Portage County grand jury indicted 25 students on charges so absurd that most were eventually dropped.

In 1971, then attorney general John Mitchell refused to open a federal inquiry into the Kent State murders. It was only the mass outrage over the murders and a campaign led by Arthur Krause, whose daughter Allison was also killed by the guardsmen, that finally forced the government to prosecute the eight.

Actually, "prosecute" is much too strong a word for the lackadaisical effort the government put out. None of the real questions about the Kent

State killings were raised at the brief trial.

The guardsmen were in no danger from the unarmed students, yet they fired on them anyway. An order to fire was given, but from how high up the chain of command is unknown.

James Rhodes, who has just been reelected to his third term as governor of Ohio, was the one who ordered the guard onto the campus to break up the demonstrations. A government interested in real justice would be going after these criminals in the Ohio statehouse—and the White House as well.

Perhaps some of the unanswered questions can be resolved in the course of the \$20-million civil suit filed by parents of students who were killed or injured. The suit, filed against the National Guard and high-ranking state officials, including Governor Rhodes, is expected to go to trial sometime next spring.

In any case, the government cannot be counted on to bring about any real justice. It has shown that its only interest is in covering up crimes and those responsible for them.

The very day of the Kent State ruling, the Army announced that convicted mass murderer William Calley

Continued on page 26

Sostre assaulted again by prison guards

By NORMAN OLIVER

For the seventh time this year Martin Sostre was beaten by guards at Clinton prison in New York. As with the previous beatings, this Nov. 4 attack on the imprisoned Black activist was the guards' response to Sostre's refusal to submit to a dehumanizing, degrading, and unlawful rectal examination.

"I was taken out of [solitary confinement]," Sostre wrote to attorney Laura Zeisel, "shortly after breakfast to go to court in Plattsburgh where pending against me is the framed-up charge that I assaulted the goon squad of seven guards who assaulted me on May 19, 1973. As usual, I refused to submit to the rectal examination. . . . Unlike the previous five times I had refused . . . the guard who asked me to submit to the rectal told me to put my clothes on."

Sostre was then handcuffed, leg-ironed, and dragged off to the Clinton County court where: "A goon squad of eight guards presided over by Deputy Superintendent [of Clinton

prison] Gard was waiting for me. I was escorted to the clothing room where the Superintendent demanded that I submit to the rectal examination. When I refused on the same grounds as I refused in the box [solitary confinement unit], Superintendent Gard ordered the goon squad to attack me.

"They all attacked me at once from all sides. After a short struggle I was subdued, was lifted off the floor and spread-eagled while my face was toward the floor.

"However, one burly guard who had my neck in a choking armlock persisted in squeezing with all his might. . . .

"I could neither exhale nor inhale, my lungs and throat were bursting with excruciating pain—I was deliberately being suffocated. I summoned all my strength to loosen myself from this death-grip on my throat, but the grip tightened even more. My head started throbbing in pain, my vision started getting dimmer, and I lost consciousness."

When Sostre finally arrived in court, he was barely able to speak. He protested the beating to Judge Robert Feinberg, but the judge cut him off, telling Sostre he should raise his complaints through proper channels. Judge Feinberg then set Nov. 12 as the trial date for the trumped-up assault charges still pending against Sostre.

Sostre was also beaten when he returned to Clinton prison after appearing in court.

In another attack on Sostre's democratic rights, attorney Dennis Cunningham, who had flown into Plattsburgh from Buffalo to appear with Sostre, was refused permission to speak with Sostre.

Sostre was convicted on a framed-up narcotics charge in 1968 in Buffalo, N. Y. He is serving a sentence of 25-30 years in prison—the past 16 months of which he has spent in solitary confinement. The continued beatings and now another frame-up trial place Sostre in a grave situation. The Martin Sostre Defense Committee is

asking people to send letters of protest to Judge Robert Feinberg, Clinton County Courthouse, Plattsburgh, N. Y. 12901. For more information about Sostre's case contact the defense committee at P.O. Box 839 Ellicott Station, Buffalo, N. Y. 14205.



Martin Sostre, beaten by guards at Clinton prison for seventh time this year.

Strike, lockout close Cleve. newspapers

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—Negotiations are going on here, under the direction of federal mediators, in the strike and lockout that have closed down both of Cleveland's daily newspapers. But the Newspaper Guild has won the first few rounds against the publishers' strikebreaking tactics and is not about to settle cheaply.

Guild members at the *Plain Dealer* voted on Oct. 17, after six weeks of negotiations, to strike at midnight, Oct. 31, unless they had a new contract and settlement of two disciplinary grievances by that time.

Plain Dealer management threatened in a letter to all employees and in a front-page story Oct. 24 to continue to publish if the Guild struck. The *Cleveland Press* ("Ohio's Largest Evening Newspaper") sent a letter to its em-

ployees affirming that the publishers "will not be divided in their collective bargaining relationships even at the cost of a city-wide shutdown when such [becomes] necessary."

The Guild demanded, and received, equal space and treatment for its reply. A statement by Jack Weir, Guild executive secretary, refuted charges that the grievances had no place in the negotiations, and that without them agreement could easily be negotiated.

He also stated that the Guild was willing to continue negotiations with the *Cleveland Press*. "If the *Press* ceases publishing—in the event of a *Plain Dealer* strike—it will be because of collusion on the part of the two supposedly independent and competitive publishers," Weir said.

On Oct. 31 the *Plain Dealer* secured a court restraining order preventing

the Guild from striking over the two disciplinary grievances.

At 6:00 a.m., Nov. 1, the Guild struck the *Plain Dealer* after voting overwhelmingly to reject the company's contract offer. The next day the *Press* reported: "Plain Dealer management had announced it would publish a paper today, with supervisory people substituting for the striking reporters and editors. It was unable to do so when the craft unions honored the Guild picket lines."

The *Plain Dealer* then attempted to get a federal court order to compel the pressmen, printers, mailers, and stereotypers to cross the Guild lines and work. In the hearings *Plain Dealer* business manager Leo Ring admitted 19 advertising and circulation employees had been sent to Oklahoma Sept. 4 to learn how to operate presses

in case the pressmen walked out in support of other unions.

Late on the night of Nov. 8, in an unprecedented 27-page ruling, U. S. District Court Judge Ben Green denied the *Plain Dealer's* request and upheld the craft unions' contention that any attempt to cross the picket line would result in violence.

The *Press* then announced it would deliver the combined paper to *Plain Dealer* subscribers as well as its own. Teamster union spokesperson Anthony DePalma announced on television that the drivers would not deliver to subscribers of the struck paper.

The next day, shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the "3,500 loyal and devoted people" who work for the two papers, the *Press* locked out all its employees and suspended publication.

Hits corruption of 2 capitalist parties

Willie Mae Reid challenges 'Boss'

The following is a speech given by Willie Mae Reid at a Nov. 2 Socialist Workers campaign rally in Chicago, where she announced her campaign for mayor. In the past election, Reid was the SWP candidate for Congress from the 1st C.D.

By WILLIE MAE REID

With the election for mayor coming up here in April, Chicago will be the focus of national attention. This city has for a long time been the stronghold of the most powerful mayor in the country—King Richard, Boss Daley. But now, the Daley machine, the last of the big-city political machines, is in trouble.

The machine is still very much in control of this city, but it is facing the election this time around with some important nuts and bolts missing.

As long as two years ago, we had some of the first signs that the power of the once untouchable Daley machine was beginning to be challenged. The unseating of the Daley-controlled delegation to the 1972 national Democratic Party convention by new political forces within the Democratic Party was one sign. The defeat in the November election that year of state's attorney, Edward Hanrahan, who was responsible for the murder of Panther leaders Hampton and Clark, was another sign.

Then last year we began to see Boss Daley's authority further weakened when the corruption and incompetence of his closest associates began to be exposed.

John Conlisk, longtime friend of Daley and head of the police department, came under attack when the Black and Latino communities organized massive protest meetings in the fall of 1973, demanding an end to police brutality.

Police brutality

The *Chicago Tribune*, a Republican newspaper, got involved and ran a series of articles that described the men, women, and children brutalized by cops and exposed the complicity between the courts and the cops.

The newspaper exposures and the mass meetings protesting police brutality forced even Daley to admit a problem existed in the police department. So he replaced Chief Conlisk with a slicker but basically no different chief, James Rochford.

In the past months, more nuts and bolts have been dropped from the machine as one longtime friend of Daley's after another, friends who just happened to be "public servants," have been investigated, indicted, and convicted.

Thomas Keane, leader of the city council and Daley's right-hand man, was convicted of 17 counts of mail fraud and one count of conspiracy. Alderman Paul Wigoda, another associate of Daley,



Militant/Bruce Bloy

REID: Running to end government by and for the rich

was convicted of bribery. And Earl Bush, Daley's personal "idea man" was convicted on 11 counts of mail fraud.

There is widespread disillusionment with Daley. People are tired of the corruption, of the repression, of Daley's brutal cops. And there is widespread speculation about the future of Daley, and the Daley machine, because of Daley's recent illness. No one knows for sure yet whether Daley will run or whether the machine will put up a new candidate.

All of this has brought about great interest in the coming election, and already five challengers of whoever will be the machine candidate for mayor—four Democrats and one Republican—have announced.

Another thing that makes this upcoming mayor's race particularly important is the national context in which it takes place. As a result of the deteriorating economic situation nationally, the people of Chicago are facing all kinds of problems that neither Daley nor any of his Democratic or Republican Party challengers have answers to.

Poverty and unemployment

Unemployment in Chicago is getting worse. And even our city government, which is infamous for its widespread system of patronage, is cutting jobs.

Already in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities two to three times as many of us are out of work. It was reported in the *Chicago Daily Defender*, Sept. 9, that 45 percent of the Black males on the West Side of Chicago are not working and 70 percent of the families there are living at or below the poverty line.

Locked out of the job market by blatant discrimination, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican people hold only 24.7 percent of the city jobs. The many special "Chicago plans" to encourage increased minority participation in the skilled trades have had little effect on the pattern of discrimination and segregation in Chicago.

Just last week in the *Chicago Sun-Times* a study showed the 10 most segregated cities in the nation, and Chicago ranked third. Third, far ahead of even Boston, where racist violence now threatens the lives of Black children being bused to achieve educational equality.

The Democratic Party and the Daley machine have fostered these evils. It was Daley's hand-picked state's attorney, Hanrahan, who ordered the raid on the Black Panther Party headquarters. It was Hanrahan's police who murdered Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. It was Daley's coroner and hand-picked judges who acquitted those murderers.

Segregation in housing

How many Black people do any of you know who live in Daley's neighborhood? Not one! When one Black man moved into that neighborhood several years ago, Daley's neighbors, with Daley's silent approval, very quickly moved him out. They chased him home at night and threw rocks into his apartment.

There is no plan for open housing being discussed in Chicago. When the communities of the oppressed minorities become blighted from poor upkeep by absentee slumlords, Chicago urban renewal removes those Black people, poor whites, and Chicanos and "renews" the land with high-income apartments.

And what about the problems of the schools in our communities? It's Daley's hand-picked school superintendent and personally approved school board that is responsible for the conditions in our schools. That school board is not improving or expanding the schools in our communities. They are cutting back on teachers, materials, classes, classrooms.

And Chicago is at the top of another list. This city ranks in the upper 10 cities with the highest cost of living. This is the beef center of the nation, with the stockyards located in the middle of the city, but we pay exorbitant prices.

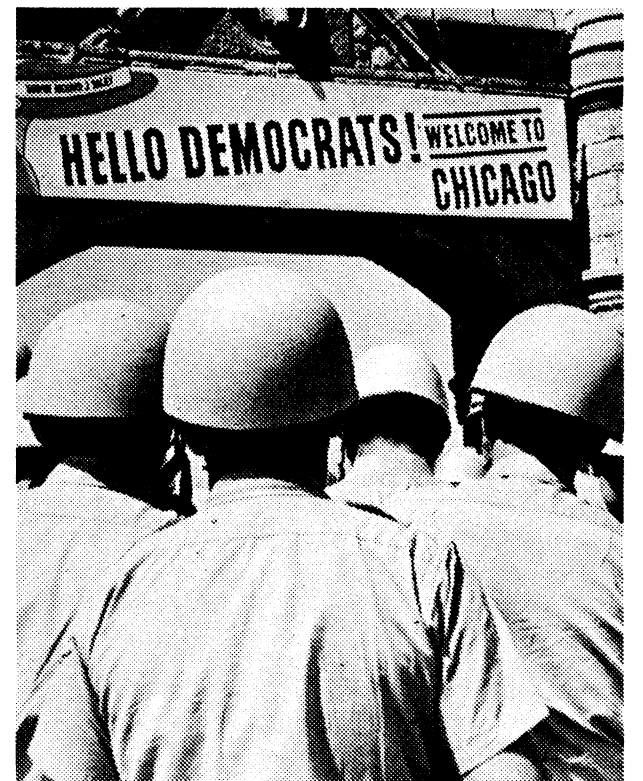
Do you think a Democratic or Republican Party politician can change these things? You bet they can't!

None of the announced Democratic or Republican Party challengers to the Daley machine have a program that can deal with the deep-going problems facing us today. They are all representatives of political parties that are controlled by the rich, the very people who are responsible for our problems.

Democratic Party challengers

Three of the challengers to Daley are Black Democratic Party candidates. They claim that their election would help solve the problems of the minority people of this city, who make up more than 50 percent of the population.

But these candidates, as long as they are a part of the Democratic Party, which is controlled by big



Chicago cops, notorious for brutality, at 1968 Democratic Party convention.

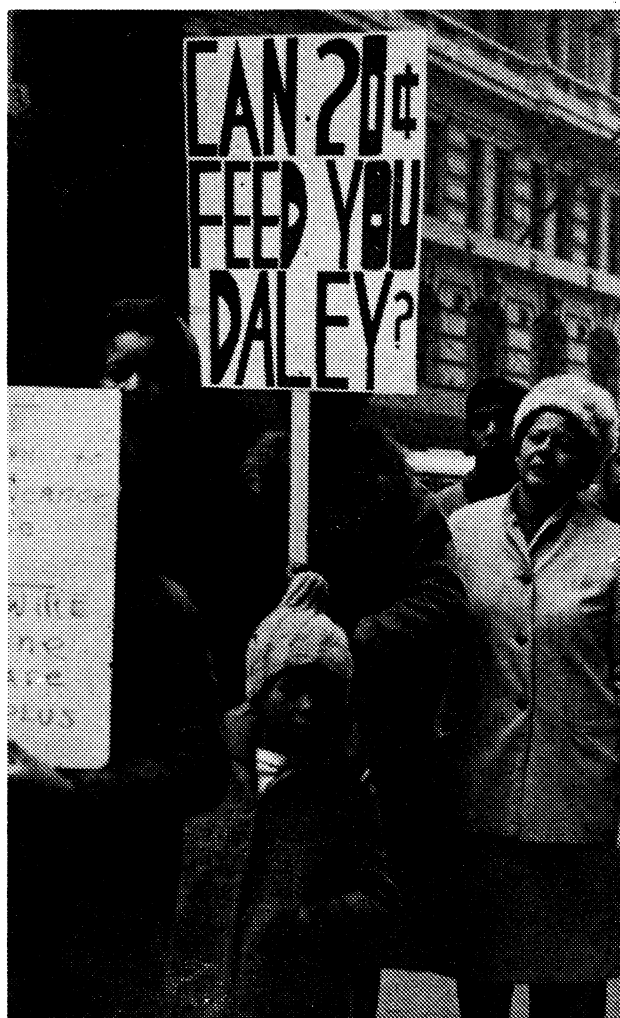
business, cannot and will not have any solutions. And this can be seen in their platforms. Not one significant issue, not one real solution to the problems we have, has been discussed in their campaigns.

Nor would the white liberal Democrat, William Singer, the most serious challenger yet to the Daley machine, be able to represent the interest of the working people in this city.

What is needed in Chicago is not just another politician as mayor who will give us a lot of talk. We don't need more representatives of political parties who claim to be the *friends* of Black people and other working people. What we need is a mayor who is the representative of a party *made up of* working people who are ready to organize and fight for fundamental change.

That's why I'm running for mayor. That's why I'm running on a socialist program that can change the inhuman conditions that exist now.

In grappling with just one of the most important issues facing working people today—the issue of inflation—we have proposals that would deal with this problem now. We champion the right of work-



Welfare mothers demonstrating at city hall in 1964. Daley machine has brought no improvement.

Daley in Chicago mayor's race

ing people to have cost-of-living clauses in union contracts so that wages would automatically go up along with prices. We would also put such clauses in Social Security payments, retirement pensions, and welfare benefits.

The flat-grant system of welfare needs to be junked and assistance given to families as they need help, and at union wages so that they can have a decent standard of living.

To deal with rising unemployment, we call for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay so that the available work can be spread around to all people who need it. We will also institute vast public works programs so that the unemployed can have jobs building the quality housing, the better schools, and the additional health-care facilities that are needed so much.

These programs can be financed now by fighting to get rid of the \$100-billion defense budget and by taxing the rich. These public works projects should first employ those of us—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans—who are already experiencing the highest unemployment rates.

Redistribute the wealth

These are the kinds of solutions that are needed to redistribute the wealth in this country. These are the kinds of solutions that will begin to put an end to the government of the rich, for the rich, by their puppet politicians, the Democrats and Republicans. These are the kinds of solutions in the Socialist Workers Party program.

I'm a socialist, running for mayor, because working people in this country need a party that represents us.

I'm a socialist, running for mayor, because the racism and sexism that keeps us down in this society will never be eliminated until we expose the ruling rich as the profiteers from these oppressive institutions.

I'm running for mayor because the alienation that this profit-hungry system spreads among us, forcing us to look for escape through drugs and other means, can only be alleviated by the creation of a new society, a society really for people.

I'm running for mayor because the desperation that causes the crime in our communities will only be dissipated when people, not profits, are the number one priority.

I'm running for mayor because this dying system, like the ailing Daley machine, needs to be challenged now.

The Socialist Workers Party is ready to make that challenge.



After Chicago's ghetto revolt in 1968. Today 45 percent of Black males on West Side are jobless.

To carry out this campaign, we are going to collect more than 65,000 signatures so that we will appear on the ballot in April. This is something that has never been done before by a party independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

You know, the way things have been run in this city, city hall has had a way of laughing in the face of any opposition. The ballot laws that the machine has gotten passed require that Daley only get a few thousand signatures on his nominating petitions. An independent, on the other hand, has to collect signatures equal to at least 5 percent of the total votes cast in the previous election.

Moreover, even if you do collect the signatures, this is no guarantee that you will get on the ballot.

Sidney Holtzman, the former head of the election board, is quoted in the book *Boss* as saying, "We throw their petitions up to the ceiling and those that stick are good."

Well, with all of the dirt being swept from under the rug with the exposures of the Daley machine corruption, if we put up a real fight for our right to be on the ballot, they will end up with plenty of glue on the ceiling!

It's never been as clear to people as it is today

just how corrupt, how bankrupt this Daley machine is. Even Ford was joking the other day, no doubt trying to get people's attention away from Watergate. He commented that if they didn't catch that kangaroo that's running around the streets of Chicago, he'd probably vote on election day, at least once.

The Watergate scandals nationally have made people more conscious of the real nature of the Democratic and Republican Party politicians. People are tired of the corruption and they want to see a change. We think that large numbers of Chicagoans will want to sign our petitions and will be ready to join us in the fight for our right to be on the ballot.

With the help of our supporters, like you here tonight, we're going to collect those signatures in greased-lightning time! It will be an enormous task, but we can do it. Our success in getting on the ballot will loosen another screw in the Daley machine.

We've got to put the Daley machine and its corrupt practices in the museum with all of the rest of the antiques. We've got to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in 1975.

Chicago SWP launches historic ballot drive

By SUZANNE HAIG

CHICAGO—A massive campaign was launched here Nov. 9 to collect between 65,000 and 70,000 signatures to place on the ballot Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid. Campaign supporters took to the streets and collected 10,472 signatures the first day.

The election takes place next April. In addition to Reid, the SWP is running Antonio DeLeon for city clerk and Nancy Rosenstock for city treasurer.

The petition drive is of special significance for socialists, and for all supporters of democratic rights, since up to now the machine of Mayor Richard Daley has succeeded in keeping all independent challengers off the ballot in the municipal elections.

Boss Daley needs to collect a number of names equal to only one-half of 1 percent of his party's vote in the last election in order to get on the ballot, and the same goes for the Republicans. This usually amounts to three or four thousand names.

But an independent candidate or a political party other than the Democrats and Republicans needs signatures representing at least 5 percent, and no more than 8 percent, of the entire vote cast in the last election.

The Socialist Workers Party is aiming to collect a total number as close to the entire 8 percent as possible, so as to be in a good position to fight for the right to be on the ballot. Many of these signatures will be collected on five consecutive "campaign Saturdays." Campaign supporters throughout the city will petition during the day and then gather at the campaign headquarters

for a dinner and to hear a speech on an important issue.

The first talk was given Nov. 9 by *Militant* staff writer Dick Roberts on "Rockefeller and the ruling class: hidden money, hidden power." Future speakers will include Fred Halstead on the busing crisis in Boston and Derrick Morrison on the Black struggle today.

On Thanksgiving weekend, supporters of Reid's campaign will take part in a special effort. Petitioning will take place on Friday and Saturday, to be followed each evening with dinner and a talk by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes.

Already, during the first day of petitioning here, campaign supporters found plenty of enthusiasm from people wanting to see a socialist alternative on the ballot. Many people wished the petitioners "good luck" in taking on the Daley machine.

The petitioners reported that many people were initially suspicious, but it was different than in past petitioning drives they had participated in. This time, instead of being afraid or suspicious about signing petitions to put socialists on the ballot, many people wanted to first make sure that the candidates they were signing for were *not* candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Many of the signatures collected were those of Black women who signed because they wanted to see a Black woman on the ballot.

In addition to the Saturday mobilizations there will be petitioning during the week at rush hour. A team of full-time petitioners has also been assembled to help spearhead the effort.



DALEY: Needs only 3,000-4,000 signatures to get on ballot.

All supporters of Willie Mae Reid's right to be on the ballot are invited to help petition and to attend the special campaign events on Saturday evenings. For more information on this, call the campaign headquarters at (312) 939-0756.

N.Y. SWP: 'Elections over, struggle goes on'

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—"The socialist campaign will not end on Nov. 5," declared Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, at a Nov. 2 campaign rally here.

"We know that after the elections the capitalists will continue trying to drive prices up and real wages down, that inflation and unemployment will continue to spiral. All our candidates and the entire Socialist Workers Party will continue participating in the struggles of working people, in the historic movements that will lead to a new society, a socialist society."

The election-eve rally was the final event of a weekend conference on "Prospects for Socialism," which drew 400 people, including students from 24 campuses and high schools.

The keynote speech opening the conference was given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes and attended by 350 people. Barnes stressed both the urgency of building the socialist movement and the enhanced prospects for doing so in the face of the crises, social explosions, and sudden breakdowns characteristic of world capitalism today.

The conference also included classes and discussion groups on "What is Socialism?"; "Marxist Economics"; "Marxism and the Black Liberation Struggle"; and "The Soviet Union and China: A Marxist Analysis."

The highlight of the election campaign rally was a slide show depicting 10 months of active campaigning by the socialist candidates.

Rebecca Finch opened the program by stating the SWP's unequivocal support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their stolen land. She contrasted this to the racist anti-Arab slanders and warlike threats with which her Republican and Democratic opponents, Jacob Javits and Ramsey Clark, had been trying to outdo each other in the last weeks of the campaign.

Finch then read a message from Ibrahim Ebeid of the New York staff of the Palestine Liberation Organization thanking the SWP "for your solidarity and support for the Palestinian cause."

As the slides were shown, Finch described the scenes of SWP candidates participating in demonstrations, rallies, and picket lines. These ranged from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day rally and protests for release of political prisoners in U.S.-backed dictator-



Militant/Jo Hendrickson
Katherine Sojourner reads greetings to SWP rally from District 1 activists.

ships around the world to strike picket lines and demonstrations against cop terror.

Finch also detailed the victory achieved by waging a public campaign for the SWP's right to ballot status and described the ongoing fight to win exemption from state and federal campaign finance disclosure laws.

Greetings to the SWP campaign rally were received from the Macmillan Strike-Outreach Committee, which thanked the SWP candidates for their support on the picket lines. Greetings were also received from James Haughton, director of Harlem Fight Back, an organization of Black and Puerto Rican construction workers.

A message from an Attica indeltee said in part, "Derrick Morrison [SWP gubernatorial candidate] was the first office-seeker who made Attica a significant part of his campaign, while members from both the Democratic and Republican parties were afraid to even discuss Attica."

Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 18th C.D., which includes Manhattan's Lower East Side, read messages of support and appreciation from many of those involved in the struggle of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities for control of the schools in District 1.

Messages came from the president of the Parent Association at Public School 63; from the four principals of P.S. 34 and 188, ousted because of their support for the parents; and from Luis Fuentes, the ousted pro-community-control school superintendent.

Sam Manuel, a leader of the New York Young Socialist Alliance, urged those who supported the SWP campaign to continue their involvement in the socialist movement by joining the Young Socialist Alliance, as 25 young people in New York City have already done this fall.

The final speaker was Derrick Morrison, who spoke about the struggle for school desegregation in Boston and about the recent massive layoffs that have hit auto workers in the New York area.

It was reported that New York campaign supporters distributed 175,000 pieces of literature during the course of the campaign. The candidates had 50 radio and TV interviews totaling 18 hours of air time.

Also, 78 articles on the socialist campaign appeared in 48 newspapers throughout the state. The candidates spoke in 15 cities and on 45 high school and college campuses.



Militant/Jeannie Reynolds
Derrick Morrison addresses Filipino demonstration. Candidates joined many protests against U.S.-backed dictatorships.

Campaigning for socialism

400 ATTEND CALIF. SOCIALIST RALLY: Four hundred people from all over California attended a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally Nov. 2 in San Francisco.

The crowd greeted SWP gubernatorial candidate Olga Rodriguez with a sustained ovation. In her speech Rodriguez lashed out at the government's racist drive to deport undocumented workers. She blasted Attorney General William Saxbe for his recent call to deport one million "alien" workers and his threat to "then find those who have burrowed more deeply into our society."

The government is trying to blame rising unemployment on "illegal aliens," Rodriguez explained, to divert the anger of working people away from the real culprits: the capitalist profiteers and their government.

Rodriguez has been campaigning for an immediate halt to the deportations and for granting full civil and trade-union rights to all workers regardless of citizenship.

Rodriguez reported that "we have won many new fighters for socialism"

ferred solutions that would perceptibly change the present status quo, or even give rise to new hope. This is why the candidacy of Socialist Stacey Seigle should be supported.

"Her platform calls for drastic changes, including public ownership of all energy systems, collective ownership of all means of production, free education and free health services. There are, of course, many other changes offered in the Socialist platform."

"A victory for Seigle is not expected in this particular race for governor. But a strong showing for Seigle might do much to prod the next governor into thinking of some non-traditional solutions to Oregon's problems. Both the Democratic and Republican parties need to take a hard look at their platforms. A large turnout for Seigle would provide the impetus for that hard look."

... AND IN COLORADO: The Nov. 1 *Colorado Daily*, student newspaper at the University of Colorado



Militant/Ron Payne

Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California, addresses San Francisco rally.

in the course of the campaign. During the socialist educational weekend of which the rally was a part, 14 people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The rally also marked the successful completion of a drive to sign up endorsers of the SWP ticket. In the previous six weeks 1,500 people signed cards supporting the SWP candidates as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

PORTLAND STUDENT PAPER ENDORSES SEIGLE: In a Nov. 1 editorial, *Vanguard*, the twice-weekly student newspaper at Portland State University, endorsed Oregon SWP gubernatorial candidate Stacey Seigle. The editorial reads as follows:

"The choice for governor is especially difficult this year. The traditional parties are offering candidates who are in turn offering traditional solutions to age-old problems. Democrat Robert Straub and Republican Victor Atiyeh are men of long political experience, both having served in elected positions.

"In a time of rampant inflation, high unemployment and soaring energy costs, neither candidate has of-

fered solutions that would perceptibly change the present status quo, or even give rise to new hope. This is why the candidacy of Socialist Stacey Seigle should be supported.

"The University Board of Regents has long been dominated by conservative, old men whose only qualification to make University decisions was that they had graduated from college—20 or 30 years ago.

"This year voters have the opportunity to elect a student to the board.

"Socialist Workers Party candidate Joyce Tally is running for the at-large regent seat and the *Colorado Daily* has chosen to endorse her over three other competitors for several reasons.

"For one thing, she is a student—a student who has been involved in campus politics and has always advocated more student and faculty control of the University.

"Tally is also the only regent candidate who has publicly criticized the regents' decision not to hire Marxist Prof. H. Bruce Franklin.

"She says she will fight for a viable, low-cost daycare center and the expansion of chicano, black and women studies programs. . . .

"Though her opponents include some of the same positions in their platforms, Tally's platform is by far the broadest. . . ." —ANDY ROSE

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 22, 1974

'State of siege' in Argentina; PST offices raided

By Gerry Foley

The Argentine government issued a decree November 6 putting the country under a state of siege as of 4:30 that afternoon.

At a news conference Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora explained that the decree had been made necessary by threats from an unspecified source against schoolchildren. Allegedly some group sought to close down the schools for a certain period. Rocamora did not indicate for what reason.

The government's first move under the emergency rules was to raid the national headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) and arrest six members there.

The raid took place at 7:50 a.m., November 7, according to the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*. The police were accompanied by the chief and deputy chief of the Policía Federal themselves.

"The police report said," the November 8 *Clarín* reported, "that pistols and rifles were found, along with clubs, brass knuckles, and pictures of public officials, police chiefs, and military officers."

"According to the report, there was also a photo lab, slide projectors, and several pictures of public mass meetings, as well as others of the assassinated former chief of police Alberto Villar, and his successor, Luis Margade."

"Police sources added that sandbags had also been found, arranged to serve as barricades."

Apparently the police report did not mention that the PST national headquarters includes the offices of the party's newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*. Had this been noted, the presence of photographic equipment would have been self-explanatory. Moreover, since there were pictures of many public figures, why was it necessary to point out specially that there were also photos of the assassinated chief of police and his successor?

The claims about finding weapons in the PST headquarters were in particular bad faith. The police could not have been unaware, since the chief of the Policía Federal was present, that the PST had been given special authorization by the minister of the interior to defend itself against the right-wing terrorists.

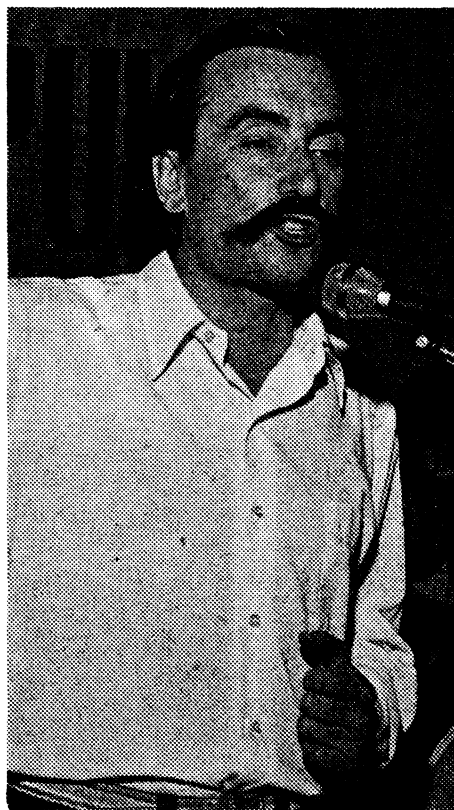
In fact, the raid came less than a week after three members of the PST were murdered by rightist commandos who claimed to be policemen. It came in the wake also of a long series of terrorist attacks on PST headquarters throughout the country.

On the other hand, by emphasizing (and greatly exaggerating, according to a statement by PST leader Juan

Carlos Coral in the same issue of *Clarín*) the defense of the PST headquarters, the police were only pointing up their own failure to stop the rightist gangs who have been murdering and raiding with full impunity for many months.

"Instead of looking for those who have attacked our members and our headquarters," *Clarín* quoted Coral as saying, "the police are raiding us, the victims."

The leader of the main opposition party, Ricardo Balbín of the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union, the bourgeois liberal party), did not challenge the government's right to impose the measure, *Clarín*



PST leader Coral

reported, but said that it would have to be "applied in a discriminate and just way in order for it to be effective and do credit to the government. Otherwise, it threatens to provoke the most lamentable and tragic division among Argentines."

The UCR leader made a statement on October 29 condemning an earlier raid on the PST headquarters in Córdoba. Juan Carlos Coral, the general secretary of the PST, had a meeting with Balbín after the raid on the party's national headquarters, the November 8 *Clarín* noted.

If the Argentine government were really concerned about stopping the violence, there is abundant evidence that it would not have to look very far or very hard for those most responsible for it. Although leftist guerrillas have carried out a number of assassinations of police and military officials that tend to obscure the realities of the situation, it is the rightists who inspire the most fear.

"For the first time since Perón's triumphal return to Argentina," *Le Monde* correspondent Philippe Labreveux wrote in the November 3 issue of the Rome weekly *L'Espresso*, "the high official who received me in his house, surrounded by familiar and reassuring objects, came to the point of talking frankly with me. He served the General [Perón], and perhaps more than anyone else had received tokens of esteem and recognition from him; this official continues to serve Perón's wife . . . but every day more reluctantly. In fact, the entourage of Señora Estela Martínez de Perón inspired only fear in this official. 'They are gangsters,' he said with his voice trembling, 'intriguers hungry for power and money. They have no scruples, even about murder.'"

Rightist assassination squads, the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance), began operating openly after Perón's death, Labreveux explained. (It was then that the Argentine bourgeoisie lost much of its confidence in the future, since Perón was the only bourgeois politician still able to keep the masses in check.)

"They work with complete impunity and the obvious complicity of the police, as well as the other repressive forces. Their threats are taken seriously. Those whose names appear on their death lists go into hiding or leave the country."

"The organization's backers rejoice almost openly: 'We don't know who the "AAA" is,' *Semana Política*, a weekly financed by [José] López Rega [the minister of social welfare and strongman of the Peronist right] wrote, but it is clear that in a few days its activity has demobilized the leading cadres of the far-left groups."

Labreveux found himself on the AAA death list, Gian Santiago wrote in the next issue of *L'Espresso*, and was forced to flee to Peru.

In the November 3 issue of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*, Mats Holmberg described the case of the kidnapping and murder of three Uruguayan political refugees who had taken asylum in Argentina after being forced to leave Chile by the Pinochet coup. Since the three had been granted asylum in Sweden, and one had a United Nations passport as a recognized political refugee, their murder became an international scandal.

Two other Uruguayan refugees kidnapped at the same time—Nicasio Romero and Ribera Moreno—lived to tell the story, proving the Argentine government's responsibility.

"The kidnappers wore civilian clothes. They identified themselves as police. Daniel Banfi recognized one as a member of an ultraright student organization in Uruguay. . . .

"The refugees were taken to an abandoned house, where their captors identified themselves as members of the

AAA. They began questioning their prisoners under torture about their past political activities in Uruguay and any contacts they might have with left groups in Argentina.

"They knew everything we did going back a year," Nicasio Romero and Ribera Moreno reported. 'And in one place—we think it was a police station in La Plata—they showed us a report from the police in Uruguay on all the Uruguayans wanted for political offenses.'"

By unleashing this reign of ultrarightist gangster terror, the Argentine government has taken a dangerous course. A number of clumsy operations by the AAA indicate that spectacular scandals could be touched off at any time.

The clumsiness of the AAA and the Peronist right offer good possibilities for blocking the regime's plans to legitimize massive repression of the left by exposing those who are really responsible for the violence, by pointing out that the tracks of the most brutal and "indiscriminate" killers lead right to the government.

Message from SWP

[The following message was sent to the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) on November 4, following the assassination of three PST members by rightist thugs.]

Many of us in the Socialist Workers Party personally knew comrade César Robles. He had won our admiration and respect for his consistent dedication to the struggle against all forms of tyranny and oppression, and for a socialist world. His role as leader and participant in Argentine working-class struggles was unblemished.

Although comrade César lived and carried on the struggle as part of the Argentine working class, his fight for justice was not limited by national boundaries; it was international in scope and effect.

The cowardly murders of comrades César Robles, Juan Carlos Nievas, Rubén Bouzas, and other working-class militants by fascist goons bring home to us the need to solidarize ourselves more firmly than ever with their struggle, which is also our struggle.

We pledge to redouble our efforts toward building a worldwide movement of solidarity with those now fighting against the terror unleashed by the oppressors in Argentina.

We are confident of final victory.
Political Bureau
Socialist Workers Party

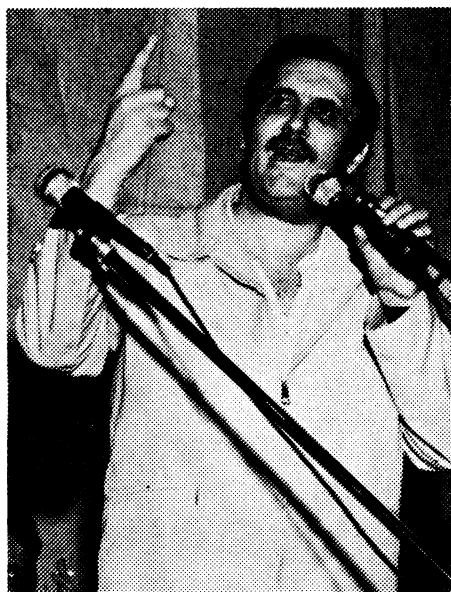
Interview with Nahuel Moreno

Argentine revolutionist explains meaning of rise in ultraright terror

[The following interview with Nahuel Moreno, one of the leaders of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina), was obtained October 7 in Buenos Aires. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. What is the AAA?

Answer. First of all, I want to clear up a confusion that exists over these initials. According to some bourgeois newspapers, AAA stands for Alianza Anticomunista Argentina [Argentine Anticommunist Alliance], according to others, Alianza Antimperialista Argentina [Argentine Anti-Imperialist Alliance]. Whatever its real name is, there can be no doubt about its po-



Nahuel Moreno

Avanzada Socialista

litical character; it is a typical fascist terrorist organization. Its links to one sector of the government and to the repressive forces are evident, and there are facts to prove this.

A few days before the assassination of Silvio Frondizi by the AAA, twenty young members of the ERP¹ staged a "lightning" rally on the block where the headquarters of the Juventud Socialista² is located. Leaving aside the fact that objectively this was a provocation, we noticed that it took only five minutes for twenty police cars to reach the spot.

Exactly the opposite occurred when Frondizi was assassinated. He was dragged into the street in the midst of a battle between the murderers and his family (his wife, daughter, and son-in-law), who tried to keep him from being taken away. As a result of the fight, the son-in-law died.

Once in the street, the killers had to struggle fifteen minutes with Frondizi before they were able to overpower him. All the neighbors witnessed the fight. Traffic had been stopped by the AAA. In spite of all the commotion, the police didn't show up.

Moreover, up to now not a single member of the fascist gangs has been arrested, tried, or investigated, but a

great number of guerrillas are in prison.

The AAA's principal goal right now is to sow terror among the prominent persons who collaborate with the guerrillas, with the Montoneros,³ and with the Camporaist opposition to the current Peronist leadership.⁴

We must not confuse the AAA with other fascist terrorist organizations, like the goons in some unions, in the CNU,⁵ or in the C de O.⁶ There are ties between them, but at the moment they don't have the same targets. The goons focus on trade-union activists; the CNU and the C de O, on the Marxist left.

Q. What can you tell us about the guerrillas' actions?

A. Unfortunately, by declaring a mini-civil war against a government that has the support of 90 percent of the population and 98 percent of the working class, the guerrilla groups objectively tend to provoke violence from the rightists.

They also provide the pretext for rightist actions and for reactionary legislation by the government. By denying the legitimacy of the government, they brush aside the opinions of the workers movement and ignore the necessity to "patiently explain" in order to win the workers movement away from giving political support to a bourgeois party.

To put it in a nutshell, all bourgeois governments are illegitimate for us as Marxists, but only in the most exceptional objective circumstances do we declare civil war against them.

If, on our own, we declare civil war, as the guerrillas do, our action takes on the character of an unfortunate adventure that aids the reactionaries.

3. One of the main left-wing Peronist groups.

4. Campora is associated with the liberal Peronists.

5. Comando Nacional Universitario—National University Commando Group.

6. Comando de Organizacion—Organization Commando Group.

More than ever what is needed is to mobilize and unite the working masses and the armed organizations so that we can defend ourselves in the streets against the attacks of paragonovernmental armed gangs. At the same time, we must systematically denounce these gangs to show that it is they, not us, who are using terrorist methods.

Q. What immediate likelihood is there of a coup?

A. If the guerrillas step up their actions considerably and the police can't cope with them, the possibility of a coup like the one in Chile or the one in Uruguay would soon arise. Most probably it would be the Uruguayan variant, except in an extreme, unusual situation.

At the moment we do not see any likelihood of a coup. We shouldn't forget that the current government is an indirect consequence of the defeat administered to the military dictatorship by the working class. This was not a total defeat; it was partial and negotiated. But it was a defeat.

Both the armed forces and the bourgeoisie have learned lessons from this experience. The most important is that they need bourgeois democracy and Peronism in order to be able to pull together a united front of the exploiters to confront and derail the workers movement.

This state of affairs is diametrically opposed to the situation in Brazil, Uruguay, or Chile before the military coups took place there. In those countries the military take-overs came after many, not just two or three, years of bourgeois democracy. In no sense does this mean that we will have many years of bourgeois democracy. It only means that up to now the bourgeoisie and the armed forces have not decided to change course.

An abrupt change in the class struggle—which could occur in the near future, since the workers movement has kept its fighting capacity intact—would once again put the possibility of a coup on the agenda.

Q. What was the PST's position on

the president's invitation to a national conference, which was extended to all political parties as well as trade-union and bourgeois organizations?

A. Of course we accepted. For several reasons.

First, it is an official meeting with a semiparliamentary character. Not to attend would mean risking the legality that our party won with such difficulty.

Second, 98 percent of the workers movement supports the current government. It is a critical support, and it is eroding, but it is support. We want, and we look for, opportunities to publicly confront a government that has the support of the workers movement. Our goal in such gatherings is to expose the government as the class enemy of the workers.

The third reason is that we consider one of the great advantages of legality to be the chance it gives us to publicize the party's positions within the working class. Such meetings are useful for this. Millions of workers learn our positions through the news media.

Q. What is the situation in the workers movement?

A. In recent weeks there was a wave of important strikes that in general were not successful. On the contrary, they provided the government with a pretext to get an ultrareactionary law through congress. Among other things, this law revokes the right to strike and provides penalties of up to three years in jail for activity in connection with strikes.

SMATA⁷ and Ongaro's printers union⁸ have been taken over by the government.

However, the sugarcane workers in the north of the country have begun a hard fight. It appears that the negotiations the government has been forced into could lead to a victory that would more than compensate for the other defeats. The greatest capitalist development is in the Northwest, where Ledesma—the factory with the largest number of workers in the country—is located.

The teachers union is another one that has not been defeated.

Everything seems to indicate that

Continued on page WO/4

7. Sindicato de Mecanicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades.

8. Raimundo Ongaro is head of the Buenos Aires printers union.



Funeral protest after assassination of three PST members last May by rightist goons

1. Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary People's Army.

2. JS—Socialist Youth, the youth group in political solidarity with the PST.

Canada steps up drive to deport Haitian refugees

[The following article is reprinted from the November 4 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly, *Labor Challenge*. The author is the candidate for mayor of Montréal of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Québec branch of the Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

By Paul Kouri

Montréal

The Canadian government is accelerating its drive to deport back to Haiti hundreds of refugees living in this city. During the past three months, at least 80 refugees have lost their final appeals against deportation orders. A number of them have already been expelled from Canada. In Haiti, they face imprisonment and possible death. There is evidence that several persons were arrested by Haitian

authorities after being deported from Canada. Others have not been heard from since they were sent back.

Leaders of the 13,000-strong Haitian community in Montréal warn that 1,500 Haitian immigrants who have come to Canada since November 1972 are threatened with a similar fate. The Haitian dictatorship says the 1,500 are communists and subversives.

In spite of this clear threat to their safety, Immigration minister Robert Andras declared October 27 that Canada will not halt the deportation of the Haitians.

The government admits that more than 900 are appealing Immigration Department rulings which deny them landed immigrant status and order deportation. Only one appeal is allowed to Immigration Appeal Boards before deportation can be carried out.

Labor Challenge interviewed Reverend Paul Dejean, director of a counseling service for the Haitian community in Montréal, and a leader of the defence campaign now underway. Dejean was expelled from Haiti five years ago together with seven other priests.

Dejean explained that the government is speeding up its handling of the cases. "Up until August, there was only one appeals court. After August, two were processing the Haitian appeals. Now a third court is being set up to handle more cases."

According to Dejean, the government's stepped-up persecution of these immigrants increases the danger daily. The immigration courts are rejecting nine out of ten Haitian appeals. Deportation can come at any time after that. The mass expulsion of more than 1,500 Haitians from Canada is quickly becoming a reality.

The thousands of Haitian immi-

grants are refugees from one of the most hated and tyrannical regimes in Latin America. For nearly twenty years, the Duvalier family has ruled Haiti with a reign of terror administered by the "Tontons Macoutes," the secret police. Political oppositionists who are caught are secretly executed. Under Jean-Claude Duvalier, who succeeded his father, "Papa Doc," the repression has continued unabated. Only now slightly more discretion is used. "The Tontons Macoutes no longer make arrests in plain daylight," said Dejean.

Dejean explained that fierce repression and economic stagnation force thousands to get out of Haiti. Many have emigrated to Canada looking for work and safety. Now, by forcing them to return to the clutches of the Duvalier regime, the Canadian government threatens their very lives. Furthermore, because the Haitians emigrated to find work, the Canadian government makes it nearly impossible for any of them to claim political asylum in Canada.

"However," Dejean said, "we say that in all cases, even if these Haitian workers were not active in political movements in Haiti or outside the country, the simple fact that they have lived outside Haiti means that they are suspect. Anything can happen to them."

In an October 17 press conference called by those organizing the defence of the Haitians, Michel Chartrand, president of the Montréal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, pointed out, "They are Black, they speak French, they are militant. That's more than enough reason why the Royal Canadian Mounted Police don't like them."

Chartrand put in clear simple terms the racist nature of the government's

attack. The Haitians are one of the few groups coming to Canada that adapt quickly to the francophone population of Québec. This factor heightens the discrimination they are facing.

Through a series of restrictive guidelines, the government practices racial and political discrimination in immigration. The new regulations announced by Robert Andras, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, on October 22 are intended to make it even more difficult for Blacks to enter Canada. The treatment of the Haitians in Montréal is a graphic illustration of what the government's immigration policy is based on: blatant racism and Canadian nationalism.

The deportation of 1,500 Haitians from Canada in the next few months would be an act of brutal violence. The Haitians are already organizing to protest this government plan and to force its reversal. One of the most prominent groups has been the Comité d'Action Anti-Deportation. CAAD has already staged several picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations.

The government is trying to keep its operation as quiet as possible. What is required is a campaign to get the truth out to the Canadian people. Telegrams and letters should be sent to [Prime Minister Pierre] Trudeau and Andras. Political groups, labor organizations, and civil rights associations should demand that the deportations be stopped and the Haitians be given legal status in Canada.

Paul Dejean told *Labor Challenge*, "Every week the appeals courts sign more expulsion orders. The question is very urgent."

A massive response could win a victory for the Haitians.



Haitian militiamen feared by refugees

French CP carnival: commercialism and sexism

By Irving Herrera

Paris

On September 5 and 6, I attended the "Fête l'Humanité," the annual festival organized by *l'Humanité*, the central organ of the Parti Communiste Français (PCF—French Communist party). With its 400,000 members, the organization is the second largest Stalinist party in the capitalist world. It has between 30,000 and 50,000 full-time functionaries either paid directly by the party or by the many mass organizations, trade unions, and municipalities under its control.

Notorious for its bureaucracy, the PCF nevertheless retains a strong base in the working class.

Political "fêtes," or festivals, are a tradition in France, particularly with the left-wing parties. They consist of a big weekend gathering marked by debates, sales of literature, and perhaps music and other cultural activities. Nothing, however, can compare with the "Fête l'Humanité" because of both its size and its crass commercial atmosphere.

It was held at La Courneuve, one of the working-class suburbs that make up the "Red Belt" of Communist-controlled municipalities surrounding Paris. The festival grounds covered hundreds of acres. On September 19, *l'Humanité* reported that in the six

weeks before the event, 619,370 tickets had been sold by Communist party members at the reduced rate of 9 francs (one franc equals about US\$0.20). This meant a take of more than \$1,110,000. Besides this, sales at the gate at the rate of 12 francs were brisk. The Paris daily *Le Monde* estimated that more than one million persons attended during the two days of activities—one out of every seven in the greater Paris area.

There were more than 500 political stands or pavilions, including 275 sections of the PCF. Each section is generally composed of 5 to 10 cells with between 10 to 40 members each.

In addition to a circus, a troupe of Russian gymnasts, and a theater, a "Kiosque de Musique" featured well-known singing groups from around the world.

To top it off, at "Cité Commercial" major capitalist corporations displayed the latest in camping equipment, automobiles, fashions, and furniture. In short, something was provided for every taste.

Near the entrance to the festival grounds was "Cité Internationale" with pavilions set up by other Communist parties, ranging from the giant display of the Soviet Union to the little booth of the American Stalinist newspaper, the *Daily World*.

Continued on page WO/4



"I am a Communist, why not you..." The cover of the guide to the "Fête l'Humanité" is not modeled on the current sexist advertisement of the American airline that has a stewardess saying, "Fly me!" Instead, the artist stands faithfully in the tradition of Stalinist-style recruiting (and politics) as practiced for more than four decades—and not only in France.

4,000 march in London for troops out of Ireland

By Robin Hunter

London

"Troops Out of Ireland! Internees Out of Jail!" "A Victory for the Irish Is a Victory for Us All!" "For the IRA—British Troops Out Now!" These were some of the slogans chanted when 4,000 demonstrators marched through London October 27 to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

The demonstration, which drew forces from a wide spectrum of the left, was the first major mobilisation for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland in two years. Called jointly by the Troops Out Movement (TOM) and the British Peace Committee (BPC), the march upheld the right of self-determination of the Irish people and demanded "that Labour immediately implements a policy of political and military withdrawal from Ireland." Six Labour members of Parliament were among the sponsors of the march.

Participating groups included the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International; the International Socialists (IS); and most other groupings of the British left with the exception of the sectarian Workers Revolutionary party. Also much in evidence were Irish groups, Troops Out committees, trades councils, and Black and women's groups.

In spite of its disciplined and peaceful nature, the march was obstructed and harassed by government authorities. The police attempted to deny access to a main artery, Fleet Street, on the basis of an archaic law barring disturbance of church services. The Department of the Environment banned the rally from Trafalgar Square on the grounds that no meetings concerning Ireland are permitted

there. Later, at the end of the march, while the demonstrators were listening to speeches, the police charged the crowd at several points, following a scuffle which many believe to have been a provocation.

Speakers at the rally included Eamonn McCann, an early leader of the struggle in Derry and a spokesman of the International Socialists. He argued that the demonstration's theme was three years late in British politics, but that the forces now gathering behind the Troops Out demand were more solid than ever before. He stressed a point made by several of the speakers: that the techniques and methods of repression being developed in Ireland are ultimately aimed at the British working class as well.

Alistair Renwick, speaking for the Troops Out Movement, emphasised the lack of enthusiasm for the war on the part of the British people, citing a *Daily Mail* estimate that 60 percent of the population favours withdrawal. He argued that this was reflected in the continuing low morale of the troops themselves.

Labour member of Parliament Joan Maynard spoke against the present "bipartisan" policy Labour follows hand in hand with the Tories. In support of the right of self-determination for the Irish people, she demanded the repeal of the Emergency Provisions Act. Urging "a change in the direction of the Labour and trade-union movement" on Ireland, she called for a special conference of the British trade unions to deal with the question.

Regarding the British army, Maynard said, the troops should be withdrawn. "Whether early or late, the government must set a date for the completion of the withdrawal." At this, a large section of the crowd shouted,



Part of London demonstration October 27

"Now! Withdraw them now!"

This response to Maynard's call for a phased withdrawal was indicative of the division just under the surface throughout the crowd. It was given further voice by Michael Knowles, secretary of the Hackney Trades Council, who explained that Hackney had affiliated with the TOM and had endorsed the demonstration explicitly on two points: self-determination for Ireland and the *immediate* withdrawal of the troops.

The division within the movement is not surprising. It reflects the differences between those who are accommodating themselves to the interests of British imperialism, allowing it to buy time to leave Ireland on the

best terms possible for big business, and those who stand firmly for Irish self-determination. In the former camp stand the Labour "left-wingers," the Communist party, and its stepchild the BPC. Against them stand the IMG, the IS, and some activists in the Troops Out Movement.

The size and militancy of the October 27 action, in the wake of the renewed mass mobilisations against British rule in Northern Ireland itself, indicate that the issues raised will remain as long as British imperialism tries to hold its oldest colony. The debate on immediate versus staged withdrawal within the trade unions, the TOM, and the country as a whole will continue.

...Moreno

Continued from page WO/2

no more big struggles will take place until next year but that the workers movement has its reserves intact—or rather, that they are growing as the movement learns from the partial defeats.

Q. How is the PST doing at present?

A. I have gone on too long already so I will give—almost in "telegraphic" style—three facts so that you can draw your own conclusions.

First, of the ten regions in which our party is divided, without doubt the northern region of Greater Buenos Aires has received the heaviest blows. That is where our comrades were murdered. Because of the attacks by fascist gangs, we have been forced to close four of the five headquarters we had there. On Sunday, October 6, we passed a tough test in that region—organizing a general meeting of members and worker sympathizers in the Northern Zone.

For these general meetings we generally have a barbeque, because the sessions last all day. We sell tickets to members and sympathizers in advance. To come to the point, 800 tickets were sold, and 650 worker compañeros attended the general meeting—this in the region hardest hit by

the reactionaries. It was a complete success.

Second, our party is now printing more than 25,000 copies of *Avanzada Socialista*. More than 22,000 of them are distributed to members and sympathizers, making the paper the most influential political weekly in the country. The percentage of renewals on subscriptions is very high.

Third, the top leadership of the Ledesma union is composed of party members. One of our members was the leader of the whole sugar strike in the north of the country.

...France

Continued from page WO/3

Under a banner calling for "Massive Signing of the Petition for Strict Application of the Paris Accords," the Vietnamese Communist party sold Vietnamese food and stickers inscribed, "Thieu must free all the political prisoners."

Nearby, the Portuguese Communists sold the pamphlet *Such a Model of Heroism: Salvador Allende*. The Cambodian pavilion had a big banner reading, "Long Live the Royal [!] Government of National Union of Cambodia."

A main theme of the "fête" was recruitment of new members. Attendants everywhere wore the large sticker "*Je*

suis Communiste, pourquoi pas vous..." (I am a Communist, why not you...)

And everywhere was the central slogan of the fête—"For a Union of the People of France for Democratic Changes."

Later *l'Humanité* published the result of the recruitment drive: 5,574 new members.

In addition, the Movement of Young Communists launched a separate recruitment drive during the fête. Their goal for the weekend was 15,000 new members, and their progress was recorded on a giant "thermometer chart."

The emphasis on youth was very strong. The banner headline describing the fête in *l'Humanité* was "Innumerable Youth." While many young people displayed their "*Je suis Communiste...*" stickers, a much larger number were clearly there solely for the music and entertainment. Although the statistics may be exaggerated, it is clear that even among the youth the PCF is hardly isolated.

During the fête the Central Committee of the PCF met and approved a draft resolution for a special congress to be held October 24-25. The course laid out in this document extends the line of the "Union of the Left," the "Common Program" agreed to by the PCF, the Socialist party, and the bourgeois Left Radicals.

The 49% vote received by François Mitterrand, the candidate of the Union of the Left last May, greatly encour-

aged the French Stalinists. They smell the possibility in the coming period of being included in a coalition government to help preserve capitalism in France.

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New attack on community control

N.Y. Dist.1 parents fight redistricting plan

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—This city's board of education, in conjunction with the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), has launched a new offensive against the struggle by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in school District 1 for control of their children's education.

The latest attempt to block the momentum of this community-control struggle consists of a redistricting plan to reduce the number of school districts and to include more white voters in District 1.

District 1 parents and supporters attended a hearing on the redistricting plan held by the central board of education Nov. 6. Parents pointed out that the move to redistrict is motivated by the racist considerations of UFT President Albert Shanker and his cothinkers on the board of education.

"The attempt to racially gerrymander District 1 lines is yet another and more serious attempt to exclude minority parents from any voice in our children's education, and we will fight it!" one parent told the board.

The pretext for the redistricting move is a state law passed last year that requires each of New York's 32 school districts to have at least 15,000 students. District 1 falls below this number. To bring the number over this minimum, the school board wants to incorporate an area that would bring in only 1,500 new children but 30,000 new white voters, most of whom have no children or put their children in private schools.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Pro-community-control board hired first Puerto Rican school district superintendent, Luis Fuentes.

In addition to redrawing the district lines, Shanker wants the number of districts reduced from 32 to 10 or 15.

The real reason for these changes is to cut down the influence that Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents have begun to win in some districts and to enable Shanker to more easily control the district boards.

The central board is moving now in order to try to get the districts changed prior to the spring elections for local school boards. "The board had sought the city's legal opinion to make any changes necessary in advance of the biannual local school board elections scheduled for next May," wrote John McQuiston in the Oct. 21 *New York Times*. The board fears that Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents will gain even more representation on the boards.

In addition to the redistricting plan, another ploy of Shanker and the city administration has been to raise a great hue and cry about "fiscal mismanagement" in several school districts, including District 1.

The charge against District 1 is that it spent too much money on its lunch program. According to the Oct. 30 *New York Post*, auditors from the central board of education have charged "that the district ordered more food than was required, and then distributed the surplus free to adults after the pupils got second helpings." How atrocious!

The reason for the uproar over fiscal "mismanagement" is plain: to try to line up public sentiment for a retreat from the city's 1970 school decentralization law. The Oct. 31 *New York Times* stated: "The disclosures of district irregularities caused widespread concern yesterday among both supporters and critics of the city's controversial shift in 1970 to decentralized school operations. Some supporters feared a move to centralize the city schools again."

The school decentralization law was a concession to the growing militancy among the Black and Puerto Rican communities in demanding control of their children's education. While very limited, the law grants local school boards in each district control over certain decisions, such as on administrative personnel.

In District 1, for example, a pro-community-control local school board was able to make some important initial gains. It hired the city's first Puerto Rican district superintendent, Luis Fuentes. Bilingual education was increased. Parents chose competent



Militant/Mark Satinoff

District 1 parents protest Shanker-backed slate in last spring's school board campaign. City wants to redraw district before next election to insure defeat of community-control forces.

principals. And there was a large increase in the hiring of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese teachers and personnel.

But for the racist city administration and Shankerite leadership of the UFT, the decentralization concession proved to be a headache. Instead of dampening the militancy of Black and Puerto Rican communities as they hoped, parents have organized to fight for even more rights and control over education, in addition to adequate funding.

In the past, Shanker has been able to play on the fears and racism of the nearly 50 percent of the adult population in District 1 that is white, predominantly elderly, and with no children in the public schools. But there has been a steady growth of support in the district for representatives chosen and backed by the parents. Ninety-five percent of pupils in the schools are Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese.

The racist coalition of the city administration and the UFT has fought every step of the way against the gains won by the parents. In the past several months, with the help of a 5-to-4 pro-Shanker majority on the local board, they succeeded in suspending the district's superintendent Fuentes and in firing nearly 150 Black and Puerto Rican paraprofessionals, teachers, and parent-chosen principals. Bi-

lingual education programs have been sabotaged.

Shanker's aim is to maintain the UFT as a white job trust, rather than allying the union with the struggle of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities for better schools. Such an alliance is where the real interests of the teachers lie.

Parents in District 1 are demanding that the law requiring 15,000 students in each district be changed and that District 1 boundaries remain where they are. If the central board of education goes through with the racially motivated redistricting, the parents could appeal to the Justice Department under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This law forbids changing of voting districts in order to deprive racial minorities of equal representation and protection under the law.

The outcome of these maneuvers by Shanker and the central board is not yet clear. It's certain that there's a lot of activity going on in smoke-filled back rooms as the powerful racist forces in the city try to figure out how to change the composition of District 1.

The one thing that Shanker and the city administration have not been able to get around is the tenacity, courage, and growing political awareness of the parents, who are not going to give up the right for a decent education for their children.

New York State retreats on school busing

By WENDY LYONS

Supporters of the Black community in Boston have been warning that the reactionary offensive against busing there is part of a nationwide drive to beat back efforts to desegregate education in the United States.

They have argued that the do-nothing policy of federal and state officials in the face of violent attacks against Blacks will embolden anti-desegregation forces around the country.

These warnings were strikingly confirmed on Oct. 25 when the New York Board of Regents, which control education in New York State, issued a statement making substantial concessions to racist opponents of its current policy of using busing to achieve desegregation.

The new policy gives parents the right to challenge busing orders if

they feel that "the rights of their children to health, safety, and access to quality education have been imperiled, contravened, or denied in the course of the assignment of pupils to schools, whether within or outside their neighborhoods."

This decision gives the green light to parents to postpone or even overturn busing plans that involve sending white children to predominantly Black schools. Racists in Boston and around the country have masked their opposition to desegregation with the argument that they are only concerned about the "safety" of the children and want "quality education" for all.

Iver Peterson, writing in the Oct. 26 *New York Times*, reported, "Manifestly sensitive to the expected charges that the new statement represents a dilution of the Regents' past support

for busing, the board devoted four pages to quotations from past position papers favoring integration as the ideal for a multiracial society. Not until the fifth and last page are the new restrictions on busing spelled out."

Nonetheless, Peterson noted, the new ruling "was quickly seen here as a dilution of the Regents' previously strong support of busing as an integration tool."

The decision was sharply attacked by Kenneth Clark, the one Black member of the board, as an "embarrassing retreat." "Dr. Clark said he voted 'no' because he felt the new policy ignored the rights of black people," the *Times* reported.

Clark charged that the ruling "panders to the primitive fears and racial prejudices of the majority of the American people."

"This document says that the con-

cerns of some parents about their children are more worthy than the concerns of other parents," he said.

"Systematic studies of the desegregation process of the past 25 years make it very clear that ambiguity and equivocation—double talk—on the part of responsible officials, rather than lessening resistance, intensifies violence and resistance."

The new policy will encourage opponents of desegregation throughout the state to try to reverse existing busing orders and challenge new ones. Racist white parents in Queens are already fighting court-ordered busing that directs white students from Queens to attend predominantly Black Franklin K. Lane High School in Brooklyn. The parents have argued that the busing is dangerous and would result in inferior education for their children.

Soviet dissident near death in hunger strike

The health of Valentyn Moroz, an imprisoned Ukrainian dissident, has reached a dangerously critical stage, reports a Nov. 6 news release from the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

Moroz, a 38-year-old historian, has been on a hunger strike at Vladimir prison outside Moscow since July 1. According to the defense committee, he has announced he will continue his strike until Jan. 1, 1975.

"... Moroz has stated that if by this date the prison authorities have not relaxed their inhumane treatment of him and have not at the very least transferred him to a communal cell and allowed him to work, he will commit slow suicide," the defense committee states.

Moroz has been imprisoned twice for protesting the Soviet bureaucracy's repression in the Ukraine. He is currently serving a 14-year sentence on the phony charge of disseminating "anti-Soviet propaganda."

Moroz's weight is down to 110 pounds and, in addition to a serious liver ailment, he has suffered several heart attacks. Prison attendants treat Moroz "worse than an animal," according to one of the prison guards.

Moroz's wife, Raissa, and his father and 10-year-old son visited him Nov. 5. "Contrary to the 'promised' visiting rights," reports the defense committee, "the authorities at first refused the prisoner's wife and young son permission to see Moroz. They were willing to allow Moroz's father to meet with Moroz, but only on the condition that he try to persuade the prisoner to end his hunger strike and recant."

However, the three were finally



Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz has been on hunger strike since July 1.

granted permission to see the prisoner. "The meeting itself bore a nightmarish quality," reports the defense committee. "The guards would not permit Raissa Moroz to speak. They clapped their hands to her mouth, threatened her, demanded that she speak only in Russian and about 'nothing political.'"

"At parting, the guards tore Moroz's son away from him by force, twisting his arms and prying open his fingers for fear that he might have passed a message to the prisoner."

The KGB, the Soviet secret police, has threatened Raissa Moroz with loss of her job, eviction from her apartment, and arrest if she continues her efforts to win support for her husband.

Berkeley students hear of repression in Iran

By MINA AZAD

BERKELEY, Calif. — The harsh repression in Iran, victims of which include artists and intellectuals of all types, students, political dissidents, and members of oppressed nationalities (which make up 60 percent of the country's population), was described at a meeting at the University of California here Oct. 29.

Speaking at the meeting were Bahram Atai, a spokesperson on national tour for the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), and Ying Lee Kelley, a Berkeley city council member.

CAIFI is a U.S.-based committee established to publicize the persecution faced by artists and intellectuals in Iran and to bring world opinion to bear on the shah's regime in behalf of democratic rights. CAIFI endorsers include I.F. Stone, Kate Millett,

Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and others. It has been supported by PEN, the American writers association, and collaborates with organizations such as Amnesty International.

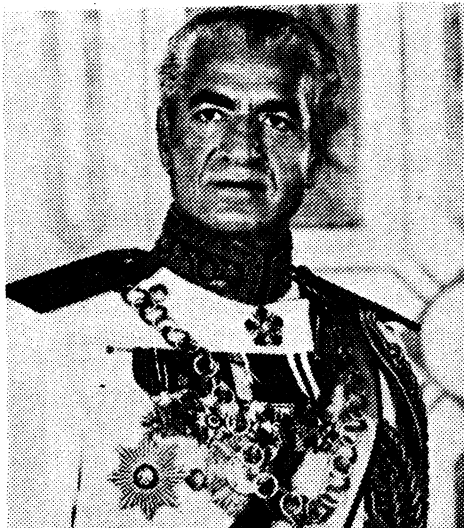
In his speech Atai explained that CAIFI was centering its current efforts on the cases of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi and Dr. Ali Shariatti. Tabrizi, a research sociologist at the University of Tehran, was arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, although the government never made public any charges against her.

She has been subjected to such savage torture that she has lost the sense of feeling in her hands and feet and can no longer menstruate. In addition, she has developed a heart condition, a circulatory disorder, and meningitis.

Dr. Ali Shariatti, a major figure in Iranian religious circles and a well-known writer, was imprisoned in Tehran by SAVAK, the Iranian secret-police agency, in September 1973. No charges against him have been made public, and recent reports indicate that Dr. Shariatti's father, who is more than 70 years old, was also arrested. Both have been tortured and denied visitors, even from their immediate families.

In supporting the efforts of CAIFI, Kelley stressed the importance of Americans opposing the despotic rule of the shah, who is most sensitive to public opinion in the United States.

In addition to the campus meeting, the local chapter of CAIFI arranged a number of radio and press interviews for Atai.



SHAH OF IRAN: Torturer-in-chief

Hosea Williams faces jail in gov't frame-up

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA — "When they can't stop you, they try to get you to prison, or they do the same thing they did to Malcolm X and Dr. King," said Black activist Hosea Williams. Williams was speaking to 300 people at a rally Nov. 4 for his defense against city, state, and federal attempts to railroad him to jail.

In two quick trial victories for Williams this week, Fulton County juries have found him innocent of assaulting a police officer, carrying a concealed weapon, and carrying a pistol without a license. The jurors said they could not believe the stories of police officers who testified against him.

But Williams is still slated for trial Dec. 2 on a federal charge of trying to board a plane with a concealed weapon at Atlanta's Hartsfield International Airport.

Racist officials have many reasons to put Hosea Williams on their enemies list. Most recently, he led demonstrations to demand the removal of a racist Atlanta police chief and an end to the wave of killings of Black people by Atlanta cops. Previously, Williams helped organize a series of strikes by Black workers.

On one of these strikes, against the Martin Luther King Nursing Home in 1972, Williams was removed from the picket line and arrested by a hot-headed cop whose charges against him were so baseless that the district attorney had to drop all charges against him except one, "simple battery on an officer." This two-year-old case was suddenly revived to put Williams on trial this week.

The policeman who says Williams assaulted him is one A. L. Bradfield, the very same cop who shot and killed 16-year-old Brandon Gibson last June touching off angry marches against the police.

The trial on the assault charge lasted only one day, and the jury returned its not-guilty verdict in just 20 minutes. The second trial, on the state weapons charges, concluded with an equally rapid verdict of not guilty.

Now Williams is demanding that the federal government drop its gun charge, which would constitute double jeopardy since he was already found not guilty in Fulton County.

The state and federal weapons

charges stemmed from an incident last March 9, when Williams took a pistol from an intoxicated man at a Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) soup line, to prevent the man from harming anyone. Williams put the gun in his briefcase and forgot about it. Later that day the pistol was found in a routine search at an airport checkpoint. Anyone intending to conceal a weapon obviously would have known that the gun could not pass the metal detector.

Guests on the stage with Williams at the Nov. 4 rally were Reverend Ralph Abernathy, national director of SCLC; Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia Vince Eagan; and Frank Wills, the Black night watchman who discovered the Watergate break-in.

While Williams was in court the next day, election day, Black voters were electing him to a seat in the Georgia house of representatives. "They want to convict me," Williams said, "so they'll have an excuse to deny me my seat in the Georgia legislature, so they can say a convicted felon shouldn't represent Georgians."

Williams was elected as a Democrat, but Georgia's overwhelmingly Democratic state legislature has a history of attempting to deny seats to Blacks. Twice they voted to deny Black Democrat Julian Bond his right to serve in the legislature.

Socialist Vince Eagan told this reporter, "The greatest need is for a strong public defense of Hosea Williams. He is being framed up by the same racist government officials who developed secret plans to destroy the Black Panther Party, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, and every other organization that has fought for the rights of Black people. The FBI has admitted those secret plans, including attempts to 'disrupt' my organization, the Socialist Workers Party."

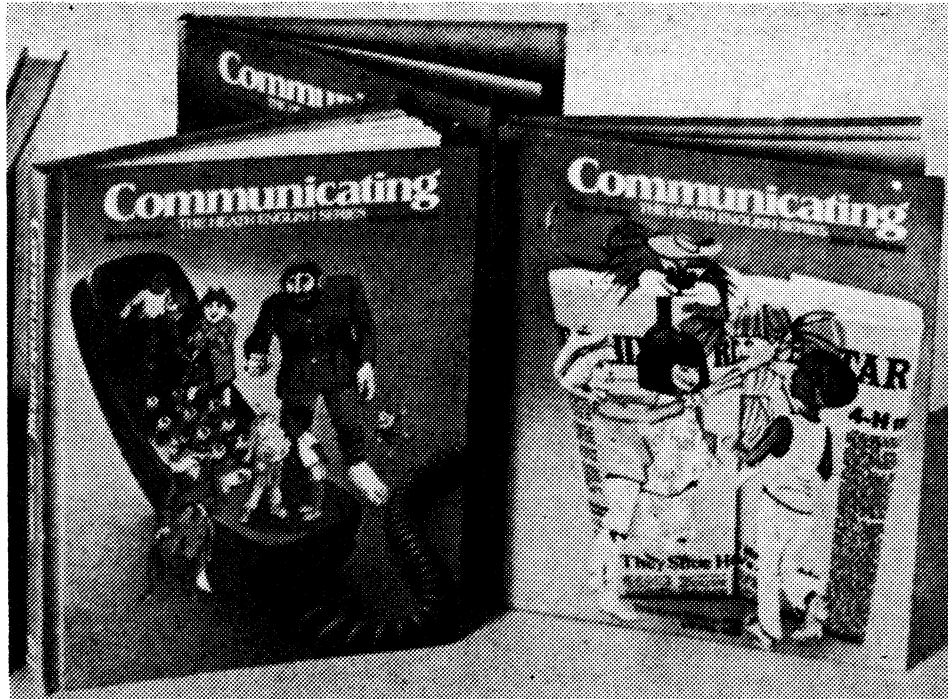
"It is not surprising that the real criminals want Hosea Williams behind bars," Eagan said. "The real criminals, the capitalists who run the city of Atlanta, the U.S. government, and the Democratic and Republican parties, are tired of Hosea Williams helping to expose their racist police and their racist employment and job practices."



Militant/George Basley

Atlanta police attack march protesting their brutality. Hosea Williams is speaking at top left.

Behind racist book-burning drive in West Virginia



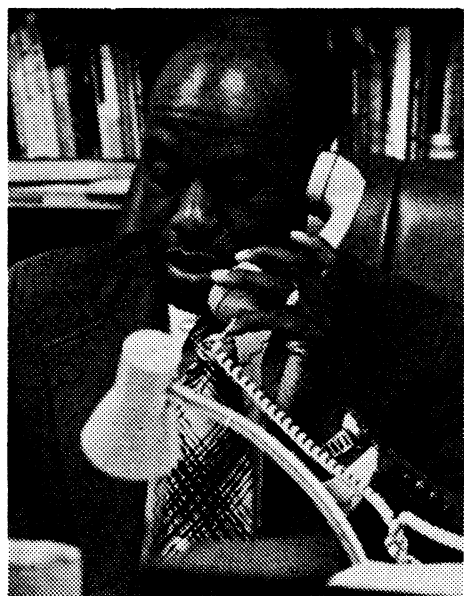
Grade school texts being protested as 'anti-Christian' and 'anti-American'

By CINDY JAQUITH

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — As you drive into Charleston from the south-east, a spray-painted sign on a bridge greets you: "Dirty coon books out of the schools!"

This racist slogan speaks volumes about the real issues underlying the present controversy here in Kanawha County over school textbooks.

On Nov. 8, after two months of school boycotts, bombings, and strikes, the Kanawha County board of education voted to reinstate most of the textbooks that are at issue, in a



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

"They want to pick our heroes," says Reverend Ron English, a leader of textbook supporters.

victory against censorship and anti-Black prejudice.

The board's decision was a compromise, however, permitting parents who object to certain books to have their children read substitute texts. The antitextbook forces, moreover, have made it clear they consider the fight far from over.

Roots of controversy

What is behind the ban-the-books campaign, which has condemned the works of such diverse authors as Mark Twain, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rudyard Kipling, Malcolm X, Ogden Nash, James Baldwin, Ernest Hemingway, and Eldridge Cleaver — not to mention a second-grade version of "Jack and the Beanstalk"?

In an interview with *The Militant*, Reverend Ron English, a well-known figure in Charleston's Black community, described how the conflict began.

Last spring, when the county board of education considered the books to be used in the schools for the fall, board member Alice Moore raised strong objections to the writings by Blacks such as Cleaver, Malcolm X, George Jackson, Angela Davis, and James Baldwin. Moore disavowed racist motives, claiming that her objec-

tions were based on Baldwin's being "a homosexual" and on Cleaver's being "a rapist" and "an exile."

All of a sudden, English said, the attacks on the Black writings were expanded to include denunciations of hundreds of other titles, which allegedly were "anti-American" and "anti-Christian."

"I don't know whether Moore wanted to extend her political base, or whether she wanted to smokescreen the fact that it was the Black writers that were particularly troublesome to her," explained English.

Fundamentalist preachers in the area soon began to take command of the book-burning campaign.

The preachers and their followers charged that the textbooks taught "disrespect" for parental and government authority, were "dirty," and promoted "anti-Christian" ideas.

By a 3-to-2 vote, however, the board of education approved the books for use in the schools.

School boycott

When schools opened on Sept. 3, roughly 20 percent of the students were absent, in part because of a boycott organized by the antitextbook forces. That day an antitextbook rally in Campbell's Creek, a small town south of Charleston, drew 2,000.

The right-wing offensive escalated in the following weeks. More and bigger rallies against the books were held. Ultraright groups such as the John Birch Society lent their support to the drive. The antitextbook movement got a big boost when thousands of coal miners in the area honored picket lines set up by the book burners and went on strike for a short period. City bus drivers also struck briefly.

The campaign took on more and more the character of a hysterical McCarthyite drive to intimidate anyone in favor of the books. Violence played a big part in this.

Two schools were bombed and reporters were beaten up by the right wingers. The most serious attack was the dynamiting of the board of education building in Charleston Oct. 30.

Board retreats

Under this kind of pressure the board of education continually retreated. It withdrew the books from the schools for a "cooling off" period. Then a review committee was set up to read the books, and it returned a majority report endorsing most of the texts.

Throughout the struggle, the voices of those supporting the books have been muffled by the media. While newspapers around the country have reported on the right-wing demonstrations, barely a word has been said about the counterprotests of high school students, teachers, and Blacks.

When the books were taken out of the schools, for example, walkouts occurred at a number of schools in support of the books. The largest strike was at George Washington High, a virtually all-white school.

The sentiment of the students, as Wyatt Hanna, student body president at Stonewall Jackson High put it, is that "we have been denied the right to a free education."

A group called Kanawha County Coalition for Quality Education was formed to fight for restoration of the books. This coalition cosponsored a march in favor of the books on Oct. 26 with the Classroom Teachers Association (CTA). The CTA represents all the teacher members of the West Virginia Education Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA).

The Oct. 26 march drew 1,000 people, many of them teachers. Speakers at the rally included Lauri Wynn, a prominent Black NEA leader from Wisconsin. The right wingers—who insist racism is not a factor in their campaign—protested Wynn's visit as an attempt "to make this a racial issue!"

Blacks speak out

The Black community in Charleston, and in the county, is tiny—less than 10 percent. Reverend English told *The Militant* that for a long while "the media exposed basically only white responses" to the controversy. To find out what Blacks thought about the books, a survey was taken

in the Black community, organized through the Black churches.

The survey found that 78 percent of Blacks wanted the books back in the schools; that less than 25 percent thought the books were "anti-Christian" or "immoral"; and that more than 60 percent considered racism the real reason behind the antitextbook campaign.

The Blacks feel that the book burners are trying to deny Black children their heritage. "They want to pick our heroes for us," English said.

Another Black minister active in defending the books, Dr. Frank Horton, said on a recent TV program, "I just look through my daughter's books with joy when I see the Black presence there. When I was going to school, it wasn't there. But now when you open a textbook, you know that Black people have been in America."

A Black student at nearby West Virginia State College made the same point in a different way: "We've been reading about white people's culture all our lives. Now it's time to read about Black people's culture."

Some of the teachers in the county are Black, but the overwhelming majority are white. At one point in the fight this fall, many teachers wanted to go on strike in support of the books, although they ended up not walking out. NEA officials here explain that many teachers rightly fear that if censorship can be reinstituted in the schools, the next step will be to demand the firing of teachers whose

Continued on page 26

Books they want to ban

The antitextbook forces in Kanawha County, W. Va., want to suppress any ideas that challenge the racist, sexist, "America First" prejudices this society tries to ingrain in young people. The book burners vehemently oppose writings such as the following poem, *Love Your Enemy* by Yusef Iman, which expresses Black anger and pride:

Brought here in slave ships and
pitched overboard.
Love your enemy.
Language taken away, culture taken away.
Love your enemy.
Work from sunup to sundown.
Love your enemy.
Work for no pay.
Love your enemy.
Last hired, first fired.
Love your enemy.
Rape your mother.
Love your enemy.
Lynch your father.
Love your enemy.
Bomb your churches.

Love your enemy.
Kill your children.
Love your enemy.
Forced to fight his war.
Love your enemy.
Pay the highest rent.
Love your enemy.
Sell you rotten food.
Love your enemy.
Sell dope to your children.
Love your enemy.
Forced to live in slums.
Love your enemy.
Dilapidated schools.
Love your enemy.
Puts you in jail.
Love your enemy.
Bitten by dogs.
Love your enemy.
Water hose you down.
Love your enemy.
Love.
Love.
Love.
Love.
Love.
Love for everybody else. But when
will we love ourselves?

Minority construction activists indicted

By CECIL LAMPKIN

NEW YORK—Five members of the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition of Construction Workers have been indicted by a federal grand jury here on frame-up charges of extortion and bomb threats.

The five activists—James Sims, Frank Sims, Cleo Black, Warnell Vega, and Carlos Cuadrado—are all leaders of the coalition, which for three years has been leading struggles to gain jobs for minorities in New York's construction industry.

They were arrested at the end of October and held on bonds ranging from \$10,000 to \$50,000. The indictment charges them with interfering with commerce through threats and violence, and violating federal statutes on explosives.

Not one shred of evidence has been presented to support the explosives charge. The other charge is based on an incident when two of the defendants told a contractor that if the Black-owned guard service they recommended were hired, it would guarantee that his equipment would not be damaged or stolen. The grand jury has chosen to interpret this as a threat.

The construction industry in New York and elsewhere is rife with bribes, payoffs, extortion, and all sorts of petty racketeering. This is how the contractors "expedite" their dealings with government functionaries, union bureaucrats, and each other.

Government officials are of course

right in the thick of this corruption, and they look the other way so long as it suits them to do so. It is a situation ready-made for selective prosecution and frame-ups of those who infringe on these cozy relationships or try to break down the white job-trusts maintained by construction-union officials.

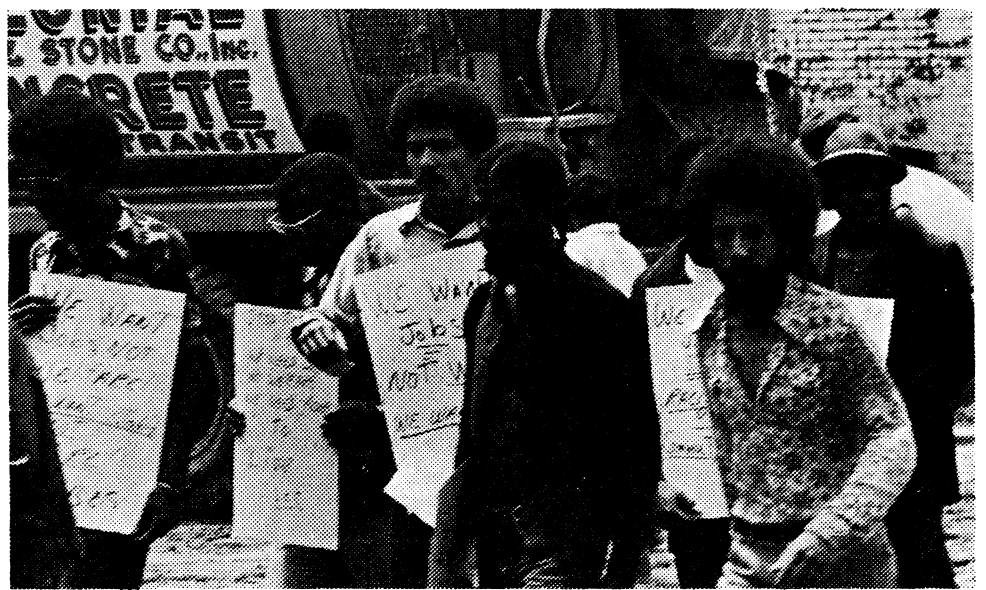
The sequence of events leading up to the arrest of the five Black and Puerto Rican activists makes it clear that their prosecution is really an attack on the struggle to win jobs for minority construction workers.

Last August the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition joined with 15 other organizations and minority contractors to form the Manhattan North Coalition. This coalition was organized to confront contractors and the city, state, and federal governments to win minority jobs.

After months of futile negotiations with the State of New York Dormitory Authority, the coalition decided to shut down a \$50-million construction site at City College of New York on Oct. 3. They demanded that 50 percent of those hired be minority workers, and that 25 percent of the subcontracts be awarded to minority contractors.

Broad community and student support for this struggle, and wide media coverage of the site takeover, forced the dormitory authority to give in to the coalition's demands.

Immediately after this victory, rumors of grand jury investigations began to circulate. In separate negotiations between the coalition and the



Extortion indictment is gov't response to Black and Puerto Rican demand for more minority hiring in construction industry.

city of New York, the mayor's office threatened to arrest all the negotiators for extortion if they persisted in the demand for jobs for minorities.

Three weeks after the shutdown at City College and one week before the indictments were handed down, a leaflet began to be distributed among white construction workers by an organization calling itself the "White People's Defense League." This leaflet stated that the prosecutor was going to "indict 18-20 niggers, spics, and chinks" to "end there [sic] advance on our last white strong hold."

Speaking at the Nov. 8 West Side Militant Forum, Moses Harris of

Black Economic Survival, another group in the Manhattan North Coalition, reported that "the coalition has been meeting with growing opposition from within the building-trades unions." He told of an incident in which a large group of workers, "paid up to \$100 each, showed up with chains, pipes, and guns to stop us from closing down a site in Brooklyn."

The arrest of five activists in the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition is part of this racist opposition to the hiring of more minority workers. A defense committee is being formed and plans a rally Nov. 16 to protest this frame-up.

Macmillan workers press for union recognition

By CAROL LISKER

NEW YORK—Striking and fired employees from Macmillan, Inc., are maintaining an informational picket line at the publishing company's midtown offices here to protest the massive firings last month and to gain union recognition.

Meanwhile, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) is conducting formal hearings on a petition filed by Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), AFL-CIO, for a union election at Macmillan.

One hundred people joined the picket line Nov. 7 to demonstrate their support for the Macmillan strike. Among them were members of the New York Library Guild, Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees;

District 65 of the Distributive Workers; and the Museum Workers Association of New York City.

Workers from other publishing houses, including Harper & Row, G.P. Putnam's, Globe, and Simon & Schuster, also took part in the spirited picket line.

The day before the support demonstration, the New York Supreme Court ruled against Macmillan's request for a court order to force Local 153 to limit the number of pickets in front of the building to four.

Judge Thomas Chimera expressed amazement that the company would even attempt to impose such a limit when it had fired more than 200 people.

In the NLRB hearings of Nov. 4-5, a representative of Macmillan management claimed that only 363 out of

1,018 Macmillan employees would be eligible for union membership. He argued that only so-called menials should be part of a collective-bargaining unit, and that editorial and other personnel are considered a part of management.

The union is contesting this argument and these figures. It contends that according to NLRB standards, management includes only those employees who have the power to hire and fire other personnel, so that the bargaining unit should be much larger than 363 workers.

Macmillan's use of the term "menials" was an obvious attempt to divide workers and appeal to any backward feelings of snobbery on the part of editorial employees. The workers, however, were outraged by this tactic.

Management is also trying to drag

out the hearings and thus delay the union election for as long as possible.

While the hearings continue, the NLRB is also taking depositions from Macmillan employees on Local 153's charge of unfair labor practices by Macmillan.

The Macmillan strikers, while maintaining a small picket line, are also seeking support from those who have returned to work, in order to assure a union victory when the election does occur.

In a related development, the Association of Harper & Row Employees voted 153 to 71 to affiliate with the newly established publishing local of District 65 of the Distributive Workers. The association is the independent union that recently waged the first successful strike in the book-publishing industry.

Striking Teamsters tell UPS: 'Open the books'

By FRED RICHARDS

NEW YORK—On Nov. 11 United Parcel Service (UPS) sent letters to 4,500 striking workers threatening to shut down its operations in the metropolitan New York area on Nov. 20 unless Teamsters Local 804 accepts the company's "final offer" for a new contract by then.

Local 804 President Ron Carey responded by renewing his demand that UPS open its financial records to back up its claim that it had been losing \$8-million yearly on its New York operations.

UPS is in fact the biggest money-maker of U.S. motor carriers, with profits of \$57-million last year.

Along with demands for higher wages, a key issue in the strike is the union's demand for limiting the number of part-time workers at UPS.

UPS claims it wants to use part-timers to increase its flexibility and efficiency in sorting the 265,000 par-

cels it delivered every day (before the strike) in the New York area.

What UPS really wants to increase, though, is its profits. UPS pays part-timers less than half the hourly wages of full-timers and gives them virtually no benefits.

In addition, UPS hopes to undermine the union by replacing the full-time workers, who are the backbone of the local, with part-timers, who are often students who only work at UPS for a short time and are less committed to the union.

The New York strike, which began Aug. 28, is the only major challenge nationally to UPS's part-timer scheme. Most contracts for UPS workers around the country were imposed on the workers by the national Teamsters union leadership without local ratification.

Local 804 is strong enough to have won the right to local ratification, but

in its attempt to stop the UPS part-timer drive in New York it has gotten no help from the national Teamster leadership.

In fact, when Local 804 tried to picket a major UPS shopping depot in nearby Secaucus, N.J., Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons ordered them to halt the picketing or lose strike sanction.

Nevertheless, the strike has definitely made an impact. The U.S. Postal Service reported Nov. 1 that it is handling 80 percent more parcel-post deliveries in the metropolitan area than before the strike. A spokesperson for the garment industry says it has already lost more than \$2-million because of the strike.

With the approach of the Christmas-season increase in parcel mailings, UPS, local industry, and the government are all anxious to break the strike. This is what lies behind the company's ultimatum.

...millions starve while food profits soar

Continued from page 28

farmers to keep land out of production.

Now, with food shortages growing and prices booming, U. S. agribusiness has decided it can make even greater profits without government-held reserves. With the abandonment of the price-support program by the obedient Department of Agriculture, U. S. grain reserves have been largely liquidated.

The only hope

The immediate question, however, is not just how to build up future reserves, but how to get massive amounts of emergency aid to the millions who need it right now. As *U. S. News and World Report* put it, "The only immediate hope for 700 million people around the globe who face starvation lies in the granaries of the U. S. and Canada. . . . Actually, the great bulk of grain available for famine relief is in U. S. bins."

But in Kissinger's speech in Rome there was no mention of how much of such emergency aid the U. S. is willing to provide.

This callous stance became so embarrassing to some of the U. S. politicians present at the conference that Butz finally felt compelled to cable President Ford for permission to announce a "doubling" of current U. S. food aid. This would be from one million tons to two million tons. The food deficit of only the most serious affected famine areas is estimated at seven to 11 million tons.

But actually this promise of "doubling" U. S. aid was nothing but a public relations maneuver. "Our food aid is actually running at a rate of 1.5 million tons over last year, anyway," admitted one member of the U. S. delegation.

It's not that the U. S. doesn't have more food that could besent—the price just isn't right. For example, *New York Times* correspondent William Robbins wrote from Rome that "the United States is trying to get many of the hungry countries to accept rice, of which the United States has a record crop, in the preferential-sales portion of food aid. But despite easy credit, many of those countries consider the rice too expensive." There are 1.5 million tons of rice available.

As famine has spread in past years, U. S. food aid has drastically decreased. Last year it was only about three million tons, as compared to nine million tons in 1972 and 18 million tons in 1965.

But even these figures are deceptive. Of the food aid budgeted for this year—\$1-billion—four-fifths is not really aid at all but is sold to anti-communist regimes at low interest rates. Seventy percent went to the Saigon and Phnom Penh regimes. Food distributed free amounts to less than \$200-million.

At the Rome food conference the example of China highlighted the fact that population increase is not the cause of the food shortage. *The Chinese delegate pointed out that his country of 800 million has become self-sufficient in food.*

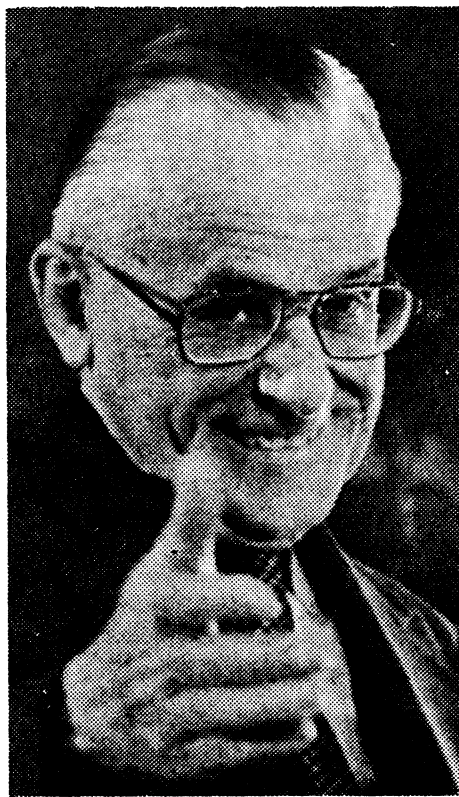
Famines have broken out only in the capitalist world and not in the workers states. This was recognized by *New York Times* reporter Harold Schmeck Jr. in an Oct. 6 article on the food crisis. He wrote:

"Several nutritionists and experts in child health have been surprised and much impressed by the lack of visible malnutrition in mainland China. . . . Many who have been to China believe she has indeed managed to provide adequate food for her 800 million people. Visitors to North Vietnam in recent years have reported much the same thing."

No population problem

Scientists have also confirmed that the famines do not stem from too many people. An article in the September *Scientific American* estimates that if the earth's present arable land were put under cultivation applying the level of technology of a typical Iowa farm, the produce could easily feed 10 to 13 times the present population of the earth.

Even the researchers of the Department of Agriculture have to admit that population is not the problem. Sources in the Agriculture Department leaked to the *Washington Post* information about a study done by the Economic Research Service of the department. This study concludes that it is economic and political policies such as artificial price structures that have caused the famines, not population growth.



BUTZ: 'Hunger is relative. If your larder is empty, cut back a little.'

This study, according to the Oct. 21 *Post*, concludes that by 1985, "a continuation of present trends could result in a surplus of 51.9 million tons of food in developed nations and a deficit of 47.6 million tons in developing countries . . .—more than double the present 'food gap.'"

That is, there is enough food, but the rich nations are getting richer and the poor nations poorer.

The *Post* said release of this study was "postponed" until after the World Food Conference in order not to draw attention to it.

The reason the so-called underdeveloped nations cannot produce enough food is because they have been superexploited by imperialism. The imperialists, in conjunction with local capitalists and landlords, have warped the economies of these countries, promoting the production of cash export crops like coffee, tea, cocoa, rubber, or cotton.

Investments that would increase food production by increasing the productivity of agricultural labor or expanding acreage under cultivation are not made because that is not where the profits are. Large proportions of



Even children who survive malnutrition are stunted for life.

land in the colonial and semicolonial world are owned by rich landlords and kept fallow, while poor peasants who want to work the land are landless.

The famine now sweeping the world is gruesome testimony to the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. Despite the tremendous advance of agricultural technology since World War II, the masses of people of the colonial and semicolonial world—the majority in the capitalist world—cannot benefit from it. The profit system can only create abundance for the few and poverty for the many—on a national as well as international scale.

The food crisis is another in the series of social and economic breakdowns that have grown to ever greater proportions in the past few years—the environmental crisis, the international monetary crisis, inflation, and the contrived fuel shortage.

It is further proof that in this interdependent world the productive forces have grown to be so powerful that they can destroy humanity—through environmental destruction, famines, or nuclear war—unless they are taken out of the hands of the profiteers and used rationally to serve human needs.

Rally demands: Stop Ford's visit to S. Korea

By GEORGE JOHNSON

LOS ANGELES—More than 125 Koreans demonstrated here Nov. 10 against President Ford's planned visit to South Korea at the end of this month and against political repression by the Park Chung Hee government.

The demonstrators first held a rally

at the Federal Building and then drove in a motorcade through Korean-populated areas of Los Angeles to the South Korean consulate.

The demonstration was organized by a coalition that included religious leaders; members or supporters of the New Democratic Party (NDP), the bourgeois opposition party in South

Korea; and Koreans for Freedom. It also included members and past or present leaders of most of the Korean organizations in Southern California.

Several speakers at the rally were former officials in the Seoul government. One was Lee Young Won, formerly an admiral in the Republic of Korea navy and chief of naval operations. Kim Sang Don, who chaired the rally, is a former mayor of Seoul, the South Korean capital.

Those who attended the rally were primarily elderly, including a large number of women. Some students and young workers were present. A young woman spoke in the name of Korean students in the United States.

Speeches at the rally focused on opposition to Ford's visit and to the suppression of civil liberties in South Korea by the Park government. These points were also made in banners and placards, a number of which had been prepared in both Korean and English for the demonstration. The main banner read, "We oppose President Ford's visit to Korea." Placard slogans were: "Free all patriots from jail," "Stop in-

human torture tactics," "Guarantee academic freedom," and others.

One placard called for the release of Kim Dae Jung, the NDP candidate for president in the last South Korean elections, who was kidnapped from Japan by Park's Central Intelligence Agency and who is now in prison. Another placard demanded freedom for Kim Dae Jung to travel outside Korea.

A resolution was adopted by the rally demanding, besides the cancellation of Ford's visit and freedom for political prisoners, that Park resign, that democratic rule and fundamental human rights be restored in Korea, and that the KCIA, Park's secret political police, be disbanded.

The motorcade, which displayed banners and placards from the rally on vehicles, met with an excellent response from Koreans along the route. It was evident that there is much sympathy among Koreans here for the movement in South Korea against Park's repression and for democratic rights, despite KCIA threats and fears of trouble from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.



Militant/George Johnson

Protest brought sympathetic response from Korean community in Los Angeles

Bleeding-heart liberal picks up the gun

Death Wish. A film by Michael Winner. Presented by Dino De Laurentis. A Paramount release starring Charles Bronson.

There is a human instinct to defend oneself against abuse, an instinct forged by the need to survive.

It is this native urge that the movie *Death Wish* exploits in the context of mounting "urban crime" and the failure of the police to stem its tide.

The death wish itself possesses Paul Kersey, a white, middle-class liberal who lives on Riverside Drive in Manhattan. Kersey (played by the hulking Charles Bronson), is accused by a right-wing colleague in the engineering firm he works for of being "a bleeding heart for the underprivileged." He has a change of heart when his wife is killed and his daughter is turned into a human vegetable after a brutal assault by three thugs.

Kersey is persuaded by this event and by a trip for his firm to Arizona—where shoot-first-ask-



Charles Bronson as gun-toting vigilante in 'Death Wish'

Film

questions-later frontier justice built America, he is informed—to cease the posture of "cut and run" that characterizes the "innocent victims of street crime."

He is given a gun and begins to use it.

It is here that the abstract concepts of revenge and self-defense cease and the code words of "urban crime" and "the breakdown of law and order" take on their real meaning.

Kersey's family has conveniently been attacked by whites. His first act of revenge with his pearl-handled .32 is against a white. So much for pretense. The nitty-gritty begins with Kersey roaming the subways with grocery bags (bait for potential muggers), flashing a conspicuous wad of bills in a sleazy bar, or slowing his pace in empty parks at midnight to flush out an assailant.

Virtually all of the attackers are Black or Puerto Rican. All of their deaths are notches on the gun of the hero-figure personified by Kersey—"the vigilante."

Just as racist opposition to desegregation hides behind the code words "forced busing," so too racism is thinly concealed behind the cover of

Kersey's oh-so-justified private antimugging crusade.

There seemed to be a certain moment when the Blacks in the audience where I saw the film stopped cheering Kersey's "righteous anger": An ultra-chic cocktail party in a Manhattan penthouse takes place where the chief topic of discussion is "the vigilante."

"Of course he's a racist," one white racist notes.

"Not really," says another in response, "There are more Black muggers than whites. What do you want him to do? Kill only white ones?"

Death Wish makes no pretense about examining the causes of street crime in the cities. Such investi-

gation is the task of do-nothing bleeding hearts. Crime is crime is crime is Black crime is the real meaning of *Death Wish*. The ordeals that prompt Kersey to retaliate are carefully orchestrated to get that pitch across.

The police cannot and will not end crime because they are part and parcel of a dying social system whose poverty and misery breed crime. Facts like these are missing from *Death Wish*.

But the cops are elated by Kersey's work. They tail him and ask him to leave town because they can't arrest him (he'd be a martyr), while at the same time they note his work has cut in half the number of muggings!

All the preposterousness of *Death Wish* is incidental to its politics, for it is one of the most political films to emerge from Hollywood in a long time. It is part of the racist campaign by the rulers of this country to paint the color of the criminals uniformly nonwhite. Their solution is: more cops. Of course, the fact that such crime most adversely affects and is directed against Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities is totally missing from the film.

Death Wish should be seen precisely because it is a political film and makes, in a most deliberate way, a political statement whose impact is deeply felt. That's what you get in Boston (where I saw the film).

The outbursts of white mob violence that greeted court-ordered desegregation, the lynch-mob attack by 300 whites against a single Black man, and numerous incidents of white harassment of Blacks, make the message of *Death Wish* all the more clear.

In leading the racist opposition to desegregation, Boston school committee chairman John Kerrigan and City Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks issued a statement that more than 100 united Black murderers of white people roam the streets of Boston's Black community. Such statements are the fuel for the fire *Death Wish* seeks to kindle. In the fake name of "self-defense" it inflames and justifies race hatred against "the Black criminal element." It is not some updated Western where a modern-day good guy gets the bad guy.

And in Boston, where "combating urban crime" and "stopping forced busing" have a cruelly similar meaning, *Death Wish* is the movie that's packing them in.

—JON HILLSON

'Swastika': fascism as a mass movement

Swastika. A documentary by Philippe Mora.

The newly released documentary on Hitler's Germany called *Swastika* is not the anti-Nazi film it purports to be. This shouldn't be surprising since the movie consists of footage from Hitler's personal films. In spite of this, however, the movie is worth seeing.

The film gives the viewer a real sense for one aspect of fascism—its mass character, its deep roots among the masses. Never have I viewed so many scenes of mass support for the Nazis—

attempt is made to outline the economic, social, and political problems in Germany that led to the victory of this mass fascist movement. This may be too much to expect from a compilation of Hitler's personal films, but the introductory remarks about the need to get to know Hitler's "human side" should be seen in this context.

Since the social and economic crisis that gave



Film seeks to show Hitler's 'human side'

rise to the fascist movement is not brought to light, this concentration on Hitler's personality is misleading. We are treated to scene after scene of Hitler and his associates and friends at his residence, and the beautiful countryside surrounding his home. But the film fails to include footage showing the Nazis' obliteration of the unions and other mass organizations of the working class.

Although the great majority of scenes from this film are about Nazi activities, a few scenes of anti-fascist gatherings outside Germany are shown. One of these is of an antifascist demonstration in New York City being broken up by the cops.

We witness one of the organizers of the demonstration being hauled away. We then see a picket sign with an antifascist slogan on it. The words at the top of the picket sign, identifying the organization that sponsored the action, read: "Socialist Workers Party."

This demonstration was sponsored and built primarily by the SWP in 1939 and drew 50,000 people. The party was protesting a fascist meeting in Madison Square Garden and was also involved in a campaign that demanded that the U.S. government open its borders to the Jews fleeing Nazi persecution. The government refused to do this.

Even in these clippings from Hitler's personal films that message comes across.

—STEPHANIE SHAFER

Film

mass rallies of hundreds of thousands of people shouting "Heil Hitler"; thousands of Hitlerite youth marching and singing Nazi songs; the Nazi flag flying at every conceivable event and outside hundreds of buildings.

Swastika points out that fascism is indeed a mass phenomenon. Those radicals of today who throw around the word "fascism" and pin the label "fascist" on every reactionary politician should see this film to get a taste of what fascism really means.

Because these powerful scenes are such a large part of the movie, it's a little disappointing that no

76 percent of goal sold

Subscription drive picks up as deadline nears

By ROSE OGDEN

The *Militant's* drive to obtain 12,000 new subscribers by Nov. 24 has picked up considerably in the past two weeks.

Since the last subscription scoreboard, printed in the Nov. 8 *Militant*, our supporters have sent in 2,774 new subscriptions. This brings the total to 9,112, which is 76 percent of our goal and only 6 percent behind where we should be to be on schedule.

What is needed now is to continue at this pace for the remaining two weeks of the drive. We need 2,888 more subscriptions to meet the national goal.

A total of 12 cities are on or ahead of schedule, having obtained at least 82 percent of their quotas.

Philadelphians recently completed their quota through organizing a weekend of subscription selling on campuses and in the Black community.

Washington, D. C., supporters have initiated subscription sales in the Black community there. One team of salespeople sold 30 subscriptions and 60 copies of the Nov. 8 *Militant* in a couple of hours.

Boston also is going door-to-door in Black neighborhoods and has found a good response. In addition, Boston sold 104 subscriptions in campus dorms.

Although Houston is behind schedule, supporters there plan to spend a day selling subscriptions on campuses both in the city and nearby, and they are confident that they will go over the top.

Chicagoans are focusing on on-the-job subscription sales. Some supporters there regularly sell to co-workers and they plan to urge people to take



Militant/Janice Cline

advantage of *The Militant's* introductory offer of \$1 for a two-month subscription.

The traveling Young Socialist teams have also stepped up their subscription sales. These teams often set up literature tables on the campuses they visit and have found that many of the people who stop by the table are interested in subscribing to *The Militant*.

The Militant's subscription drive is being held in conjunction with the *International Socialist Review's* drive to obtain 2,300 new subscribers. To date 1,600 *ISR* subscriptions have been sent in, which is 70 percent of the goal. Supporters report that many new readers are interested in getting introductory subscriptions to both publications for \$2.

A number of cities fell short of their single-copy sales goals with the Nov.

8 *Militant*. Consequently the national total was only 8,623, 90 percent of our goal to sell 9,600 each week. However, 16 cities out of the 36 reporting did make their goals. And supporters in Denver, Detroit, Central-East L.A., Portland, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Twin Cities have successfully met their goals each week of the fall campaign.

Philadelphia sold 150 percent of their goal of 400. Two-hundred fifteen of these were sold in the Black community, mainly around the back cover on the Boston school desegregation struggle. Also, 45 were sold in the Puerto Rican community, where people were especially interested in the article on the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day rally held in New York.

Detroit supporters sold 635 copies. They found that people were particularly interested in *The Militant's* analysis of the economic crisis.

Both Central-East L.A. and Lower Manhattan supporters met their goals and report that interest in the socialist election campaigns helped sales. Central-East supporters sold 100 copies at a California statewide SWP campaign street rally.

During the course of the fall sales campaign many readers have joined the effort by selling *The Militant* regularly in their cities.

Recently a Black studies group from Southern University in New Orleans requested a weekly bundle of 30 *Militants* to sell on campus. A woman from that group explains that they saw a copy of the Oct. 18 issue headlined "STOP BOSTON LYNCH MOBS!" and decided that *The Militant* was a paper they wanted students at Southern University to become familiar with.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
Ann Arbor, Mich.	30	36	120
Denver	325	346	106
Philadelphia	300	306	102
Portland, Ore.	275	277	101
Twin Cities	500	490	98
St. Louis	300	282	94
Cleveland	400	352	88
Nashville, Tenn.	25	22	88
San Francisco	500	423	85
Logan, Utah	50	42	84
Pittsburgh	300	250	83
Chicago	400	333	83
Detroit	475	377	79
Washington, D. C.	350	264	75
Atlanta	350	260	74
Brooklyn, N. Y.	400	290	73
Seattle	325	235	72
Oakland/Berkeley	700	480	69
East Lansing, Mich.	80	57	69
Milwaukee	100	68	68
Boston	700	465	66
L. A. (West Side)	350	226	65
Tallahassee, Fla.	50	30	60
San Diego	275	161	59
Upper West Side, N. Y.	400	232	58
Cincinnati	20	11	55
State College, Pa.	15	8	53
L. A. (Central-East)	350	178	51
Houston	400	173	43
Indianapolis	25	10	40
Greenville, N. C.	5	2	40
Lower Manhattan, N. Y.	400	157	39
Albany, N. Y.	15	5	33
Madison, Wis.	15	5	33
Bloomington, Ind.	75	23	31
Sacramento, Calif.	20	6	30
Louisville, Ky.	25	7	28
San Jose, Calif.	30	6	20
Edinboro, Pa.	15	2	13
Santa Barbara, Calif.	20	2	10
General		298	

YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS			
Upper Midwest	180	216	120
Pennsylvania	240	226	94
Northwest	240	190	79
Mid-Atlantic	240	178	74
Michigan/Indiana	240	181	75
Missouri	240	153	64
Ohio/Kentucky	240	128	53
N. Y./N. J./Conn.	240	115	48
Illinois/Wis.	240	106	44
Southern Calif.	240	88	37
Colorado	210	69	34
Northern Calif.	240	80	33
Texas	240	69	29
Southeast	240	64	27
New England	240	52	22

TOTAL TO DATE	9,112
GOAL	12,000



Militant/Martha Harris

...anti-Arab campaign threatens Mideast war

Continued from page 7

chief of the U. S. armed forces reminded his listeners, "Throughout history nations have gone to war over natural advantages such as water or food, or convenient passages on land or sea."

Similar warnings were voiced by U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who spoke at the United Nations that same day. These threats of military action were dismissed by some as mere bluff. Former State Department official George Ball, for example, claimed in the Oct. 21 issue of *Newsweek*, "Nor can anyone sensitive to today's strategic realities seriously envisage a military adven-

ture to seize the oil-production facilities."

The record of past U. S. action, however, gives rise to the opposite conclusion. U. S. troops occupied Lebanon in 1958, and were poised for intervention in the Mideast in 1967, 1970, and again in 1973. The willingness of the capitalist rulers to risk nuclear war over their interests in that region was demonstrated by the worldwide alert of U. S. forces in October 1973. Although carried out by Nixon, who was already deep in the Watergate mess, this action was supported by the ruling class as a whole.

Furthermore, an unpredictable element is added to the entire situation

by Washington's Israeli client-state. The amount of aid pumped into Israel by Washington since the October war will soon exceed the total previously given by Washington from the time Israel was founded in 1948.

While the Israelis have established decisive military superiority over their Arab neighbors for the time being, they see the new-found oil wealth of the Arab world as a long-term threat, and they view the anti-Arab offensive of the U. S. rulers as creating a favorable political atmosphere for attempts to seize more land in a renewed war.

Analysts in the State Department, Pentagon, and CIA, writes Dana Adams Schmidt in the Nov. 11 *Chris-*

tian Science Monitor, "Feel the Israelis are likely to calculate that their only chance of heading off unmanageable Arab military superiority is to strike soon, preemptively, thereby not only establishing once and for all Israel's right to exist in the Middle East but perhaps its right to a share in the region's wealth." (Emphasis added.)

The danger of an imperialist military move against the Arab oil-producing countries—either directly by the U. S. or by its Israeli surrogate—is becoming more real each day. That is the meaning of the sustained anti-Arab propaganda campaign, of the open threats, and of the unprecedented arms aid to Israel.

Calendar

ATLANTA

WHICH WAY FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT? Speaker: Eva Chertov, coordinator of 1974 Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment march, director of the 1974 Georgia SWP campaign. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

TEACH-IN ON REPRESSION IN THE USSR AND E. EUROPE, WITH FOCUS ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Speakers: Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics, MIT; Professor Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, Soviet dissident; Gerald Berlin, former chairman, Mass. ACLU; Karel Kovanda, president, Czech Student Union 1969; Marilyn Vogt, writer on Eastern Europe for Intercontinental Press. Thurs., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. Harvard Science Center, Room D, Cambridge. Ausp: Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Americans for Democratic Action, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Socialist Workers Party. **DEMONSTRATION TO DEMAND RELEASE OF CZECH POLITICAL PRISONERS, JAROSLAV SABATA AND JIRI MULLER.** Speaker: Karel Kovanda, president of Czech Student Union 1969. Fri., Nov. 22, 12 noon. Park Street Station, Boston. Ausp: Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

ARGENTINA: A STATE OF SIEGE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CLEVELAND

WHAT MINERS ARE FIGHTING FOR. Speaker: Ed Heisler, 1974 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave., 4th Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 591-5553.

HOUSTON

A CONFERENCE ON PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM, NOV. 22-23. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m.: Why the 'system' won't work. Speaker: Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party; Sat., Nov. 23, 1:30 p.m.: Racism in the USA: a panel. Speakers: Armando Gutierrez, La Raza Unida Party; Felix Spencer, American Indian Movement; Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance; 3:30 p.m.: What socialist America will look like. Speaker: Sara Johnston, Young Socialist Alliance. University of Houston Pacific Room. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

SEVEN ANTIWAR VIETNAMESE STUDENTS FIGHT DEPORTATION FROM U.S. Speakers: Vietnamese students; Leonard Weinglass, attorney. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

CONFIDENTIALITY OF NEWS SOURCES. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Second Floor, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

THE DEEPENING WORLD CRISIS: IS SOCIALISM THE ANSWER? Speaker: Macao Dixon, national executive committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

FEMINISM AND MARXISM: WHAT ROAD TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION? Speakers: Cynthia Adcock and Rosalie Buck, course facilitators for Free Women's School, Univ. of Pa.; Karen Sandis, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

SAN DIEGO

'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD': A FILM. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE MINE WORKERS' STRIKE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

...Israel

Continued from page 6

Israeli pounds out of a total budget for the current year of 35 billion pounds. This is thought to be the highest per capita outlay for defense in any country of the world."

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin said in a television speech that these measures were only the first step and that more severe measures could come soon. He claimed that this was necessary in order to increase Israeli armaments.

In his own way, Rabin was saying that such attacks on the standard of living of Israeli workers were going to continue as long as Israel continues to exist as a settler state based on aggression against the Arab peoples.

To stop the drive against their standard of living, the Israeli workers must understand that their interests lie with the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and not with Zionism. A united, socialist Palestine, in which Palestinians and Israelis have equal political, economic, and social rights, is the only way out for the Israeli masses.

...books

Continued from page 21

views—or color—don't suit the witch-hunters.

"This is a battleground here," said Don Crislip of the teachers association. "The antitextbook people want to see if they can stop these books here, and other parts of the country are watching to see if they do." Crislip is editor of the state association's monthly journal.

There are many parallels in the situation here to the right-wing antibus-

ing campaign in Boston that is trying to turn back the gains made by Blacks in the civil rights movement. As Dr. Horton pointed out, "Racism is still present in our country. It's still very much alive—look at the whole Boston situation."

Here—as in Boston—the right wing has thus far been able to outmobilize the book supporters through appeals to the anti-Black, anticommunist prejudices of many white workers.

"We've seen abdication of leadership all down the line," said Reverend Jim Lewis, a leader of the Coalition for Quality Education. Lewis said virtually all elected officials have either capitulated to the racists or remained silent. Democratic Senator Robert Byrd, for example, encouraged the book burners, telling a delegation of them that he could understand their protests given the content of the textbooks.

The strongest union in the area is the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). While UMWA officials urged the miners to end their strikes, the union took no public stand on the books themselves. Union officials say that many miners struck not out of sympathy with the book burners, but because it is UMWA tradition to honor all picket lines. However, by not taking any public position on the antitextbook movement, the union has allowed the right wing to claim all the miners as supporters of the reactionary censorship campaign.

The fight against the book burners in Charleston deserves the backing of all who support free speech and the right of Blacks to a decent education. As Charleston NAACP President William Lonesome pointed out, the antitextbook forces "want to dictate how the minds of our children should function."

"The racism evident in the textbook protest must be fought," Lonesome said, "or Blacks again will be swept under the rug by white-supremacy advocates."

...Kent

Continued from page 15

would be paroled.

Calley had been found guilty by a military court in 1971 of murdering at least 22 Vietnamese civilians in the village of My Lai in 1968. His original life sentence was later trimmed to 10 years. Last September U.S. District Court Judge Robert Elliott overturned Calley's conviction, but the

Army appealed.

Just a few hours after the Army parole decision was announced, Elliott released Calley on \$1,000 bond.

Army Secretary Howard Callaway had signed the parole order Oct. 30, but the decision was kept secret until after the Nov. 5 elections.

Calley—after spending three years "confined" to a bachelor's apartment in Fort Benning, Ga.—is free. The persons responsible for the Kent State massacre have yet to be brought to justice.

These two cases, along with the Nixon pardon, are further confirmations of the fact that poor and working people have no justice in America.

Readings on the Mideast

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism by Gus Horowitz, an EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS publication, 8x11 format, \$1.00

MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. CAPITALISM by Dick Roberts, \$35

ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST War Anthology, taken from the pages of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 8x11 format, \$.75

SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE MIDEAST: A Debate from the pages of THE MILITANT and DAILY WORLD, Dave Frankel versus Tom Foley, \$.60

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: The Socialist View by Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas, \$.60

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

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

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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.

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

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FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 877-5787.

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Urbana: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

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.

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Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

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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.

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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.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

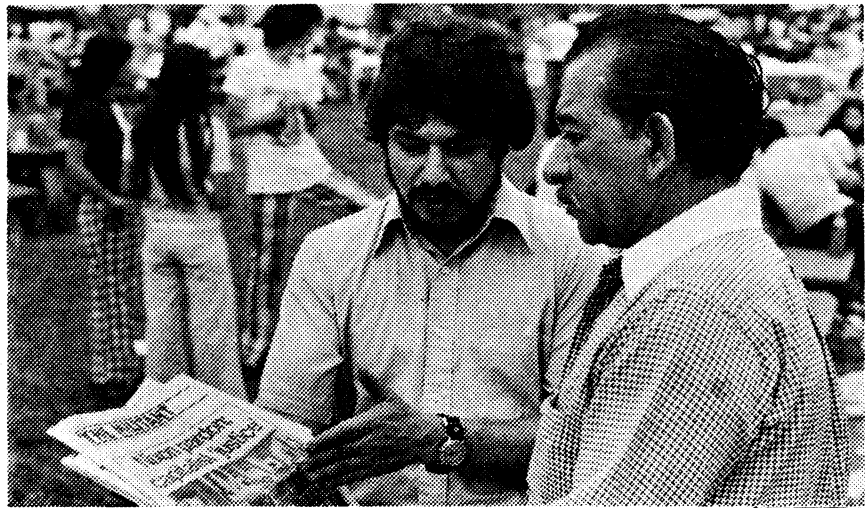
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Join *The Militant's* sales campaign by taking a regular bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

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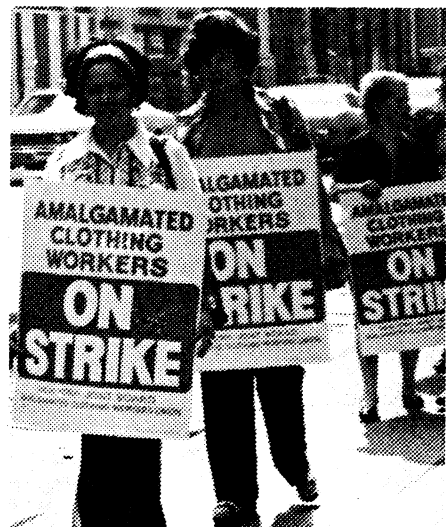
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A fighting program for labor



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—WASHINGTON, D.C.—

A conference on prospects for socialism

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22. THE DEEPENING WORLD CRISIS—IS SOCIALISM THE ANSWER? Speaker: VINCE EAGAN, leader of recent struggle in Atlanta against police brutality and 1971 cochairman of Georgia Black Alliance. 8 p.m., GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY STUDENT CENTER (21st and G Streets N.W.) Donation: \$1.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23. Three two-part classes on WHAT IS SOCIALISM?, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA: A MARXIST ANALYSIS, and MARXISM AND THE BLACK STRUGGLE. Part one, 10:30 a.m.; part two, 1:30 p.m. INFLATION AND THE CRISIS OF THE WORLD ECONOMY. Speaker: STEPHANIE COONTZ, associate editor of *International Socialist Review*. 3 p.m., GWU STUDENT CENTER. Donation: 75 cents per session, \$2.50 for entire conference. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

Maxime Rodinson

ISRAEL: A COLONIAL-SETTLER STATE?



"It makes a very useful contribution to an understanding of the Arab opposition to Israel."— *The Book Exchange* (London)

Can Israel be characterized as a colonial-settler state, and the Palestinians, concomitantly, as a colonial people oppressed by Israel? Can Israel be equated with such white racist states as South Africa, Rhodesia, and Algeria under

the French? This is the central question probed in this well-documented and provocative study. This work, now available in English for the first time, sparked an international controversy when it appeared in a special issue of Jean-Paul Sartre's journal, *Les Temps Modernes*.

128 pp., \$4.95, paper \$1.75

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY

THE MILITANT

Butz: 'Let them starve'

Food profits soar as millions face famine

By CAROLINE LUND

The world is threatened with mass starvation on a scale never seen before in history.

The United States has the potential to produce enormous food surpluses, and U.S. corporations control almost the entire world food market.

However, at the World Food Conference in Rome, Washington has agreed to nothing but new international committees for "discussion" and "coordination" of Band-aid measures and promises of token increases in food aid.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger also proposed a "global nutrition surveillance system"—as if the problem were to take a better look at the millions facing starvation.

The magnitude of the pending human catastrophe is hard to imagine. The most conservative estimates are that 460 million face starvation. Ten million will die this year, most of them children. Other experts say that the total of those suffering from severe malnutrition is more like one billion—a third of the human race.

The effects of malnutrition are much broader, however, than just starvation. Children who grow up malnourished, or whose mothers were malnourished, are physically and mentally stunted for life.

What has been the response of U.S. rulers to this enormous breakdown in the food distribution system of the capitalist world?

At the Rome conference Kissinger used his keynote address to try to do a Madison Avenue job for the imperialist system, the system that is to blame for the current crisis.

"No social system, ideology or principle of justice can tolerate a world in which the spiritual and physical potential of hundreds of millions is stunted from elemental hunger or inadequate nutrition," he stated.

He went on to "proclaim a bold objective—that within a decade no child will go to bed hungry, that no family will fear for its next day's bread, and that no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition."

But Kissinger's high-flown phrases were shown to be nothing but hypoc-

risy by the head of the U.S. delegation, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz.

"We have always had hungry people in the world," said Butz, who insists there is "no world food crisis."

Another statement from this well-known humanitarian was directed squarely at the millions facing starvation: "Hunger is relative—if your larder is empty, you cut back some."

One food analyst quoted in the Nov. 11 *Newsweek* said that the "Farm Bureau people [the organization representing the interests of agribusiness] believe that if there are hungry people in the world, they should have to pay the high going rate to the private sector in order to eat."

Let them starve

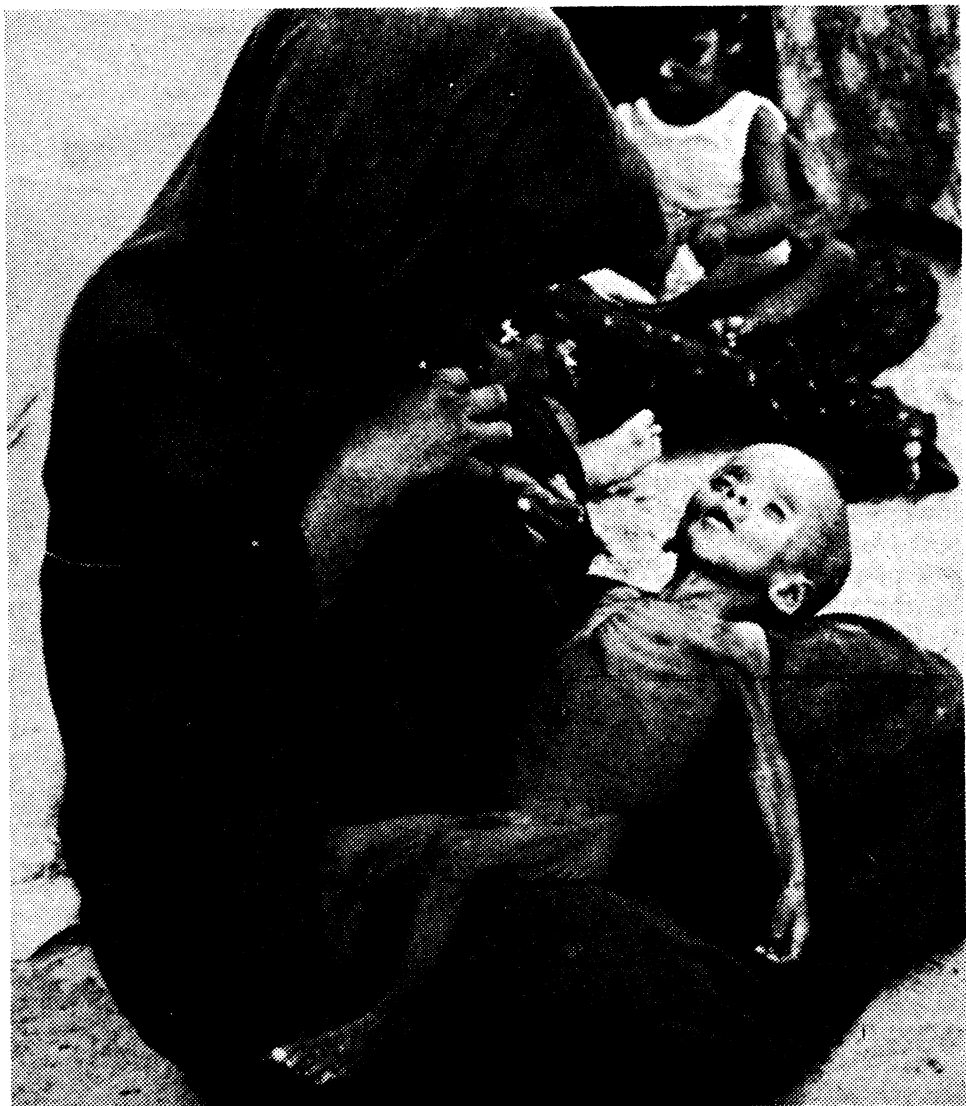
Then there are the "experts" who are openly urging that the U.S. should just sit back and let the famines get rid of "excess" population—a theory called "triage." *Time* magazine described it in this way: "If the U.S. decides that the grant [of food aid] would simply go down the drain as a mere palliative because the recipient country was doing little to improve its food distribution or start a population control program, no help would be sent. This may be a brutal policy, but it is perhaps the only kind that can have any long-range impact."

This approach of "let them starve" is basically the one being followed by the U.S. rulers, despite Kissinger's rhetoric. In his Rome speech, the closest Kissinger came to talking about concrete steps to ameliorate the crisis was his proposal for an international food reserve coordinating committee. But he called for a reserve of no more than 60 million tons. Of this, 10 million tons would be earmarked for emergency relief.

Food experts interviewed by the *New York Times* said that 60 million tons was "not nearly enough."

"When you look at India's needs alone," said one analyst, "10 million tons for emergencies is pitifully low."

Moreover, even the 30-60 million tons was merely a proposal. Kissinger never specified how the U.S. would contribute to such a reserve or the mechanics of coordinating it internationally.



Ten million will die this year, most of them children

Last month a *Wall Street Journal* article on the Rome conference quoted an "old hand" at such conferences as saying that the food reserve proposal will never even be carried out. "It won't happen at Rome or after," he said. "The main questions about a reserve system are: Who produces the grain? Who pays for it? Who stores it? And who has the key to the stockpile? These won't be answered."

Agribusiness blackmail

U.S. agribusiness is against any effective reserve program because it would tend to depress prices of agricultural products.

In fact, Edward Cook, president of Cook Industries—one of the five corporations that control 90 percent of U.S. food exports—threatens that creation of a reserve could increase the food shortage. He told *Business Week* that "when reserves are held by any government, the uncertainty of how they will be used discourages planting."

For more than 25 years, the U.S. government maintained large agricultural reserves under the price-support program. The profits of agribusiness were bloated because the government bought up food when the prices went below a certain amount, and paid

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