

THE MILITANT

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

Boston freedom march

Stop racist drive --All out Dec. 14!

— See page 3



Militant/Donald Gurewitz

Boston, Nov. 30. Civil rights rally builds momentum for Dec. 13 nat'l teach-in and Dec. 14 antiracist actions.



Miners line up to vote on contract. For analysis and on-the-scene reports, see pages 7-9.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 38/NUMBER 47
DECEMBER 13, 1974
CLOSING NEWS DATE—DEC. 4, 1974

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: L1 for eight issues, L2.50 for six months, L5 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

In Brief

IBM WANTS TO FOLD, SPINDLE, & MUTILATE RADICALS: Nineteen IBM security officers attended a seminar prepared by the International Association of Chiefs of Police last month. The course urges the establishment of an intelligence network to spy on radical groups.

The existence of the IBM spy course was first exposed by the **Berkeley Barb**. IBM officials have announced that although the company paid for the police group's counterintelligence program, the document didn't "reflect IBM management's policies."

The "security" course warned that besides terrorist attacks against the data processing firm, IBM should prepare itself to deal with "increasing radical-led political activity" within its labor force. The police chiefs said this could manifest itself as "work slowdowns, active disruption and sabotage, and nonnegotiable demands on nonwage issues such as day-care centers for dependents, women's and minority rights, use of drugs, and the general conditions of labor."

FBI SAYS CHICANO ACTIVIST IS IN CUBA: According to an announcement by the FBI, Francisco Martinez, a young Chicano lawyer from Colorado forced to become a fugitive in the wake of a massive police frame-up in Denver, has fled to Cuba.

Martinez was indicted by a grand jury last November on charges of mailing explosive devices. He has also been implicated in a police-media smear campaign in the placing of bombs in four Denver restaurants. None of the bombs ever went off.

Chicano activists in Denver have denounced the charges against Martinez, who, as attorney for the Colorado Rural Legal Services, won wide respect for his role in defending victims of capitalist injustice. Among others, he defended immigrant workers and inmates at the Colorado state penitentiary.

GI's IN BERLIN STRIKE OVER HAIR: When Rufus Thompson, an Army private in Battery C of the 94th Artillery Battalion in Berlin, was transferred to another base in West Germany, 22 other soldiers went on strike.

Thompson, who is Black, and six white soldiers were facing charges stemming from their refusal to have their hair cut and beards trimmed. The striking Berlin GI's say that Thompson's transfer was made to make the protest against haircuts look like an all-white affair.

Nineteen of the striking soldiers and Thompson are being penalized under Article 15 of Army regulations. They face up to \$100 in fines, demotion in rank, and extra duty for up to 30 days.

The two remaining GI's face a special court-martial for their role in the strike.

MICHIGAN BLACK STUDENTS DEMAND VOICE IN EDUCATION: The Black Student Union at Mott Community College in Flint, Mich., held a rally Nov. 13 in the college's student center to demand that Black students have a voice in determining their education. The students were protesting newly proposed requirements for the nursing program in the school.

Since 1969 the Black student enrollment at Mott has increased by 30 percent, many of them in the nursing program. The students feel that the college administration is now trying to get rid of Blacks by changing the requirements for admission to the nursing program.

The Black student protest forced the administration to

back down on its new proposals. The college officials also said that students would be represented on a committee to rediscuss the program.

CIVIL RIGHTS JOURNAL FORCED TO CEASE PUBLICATION: The November issue of **Race Relations Reporter** is its last. The Race Relations Information Center (RRIC), which published the magazine, is closed.

The abrupt end of the publication is due to the refusal of the Clark Foundation, which had been funding the center, to renew its grant.

The RRIC has over the last 20 years been an indispensable source of information on the problems facing Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other oppressed minorities. The **Reporter** will be sorely missed.

WASHINGTON, D. C., CONFERENCE ON SOCIALISM: Young socialists from cities in West Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia attended the Mid-Atlantic Young Socialist Alliance conference on "Prospects for Socialism in the U.S." in Washington, D.C., Nov. 22-23.

The 120 people in attendance heard Vince Eagan speak on "The Deepening World Crisis—Is Socialism the Answer?" Other speakers were Stephanie Coontz, who spoke on "Inflation and the Crisis of the World Economy," and Tony Thomas, speaking on "Marxism and the Black Liberation Struggle."

Seven people signed up to join the Young Socialist Alliance during the conference.

BLACK STUDENTS NOT RETARDED—JUST NOT WHITE: At a recent news conference, three Black psychologists estimated that 75 percent of the Black children in classes for the retarded in California did not belong there. They said I.Q. tests were "based on white middle-class standards."

The news conference was held to hail a Nov. 27 federal court ruling that I.Q. tests may not be given to Black children in California if the tests do not reflect the students' cultural background.

The ruling came as a result of a suit brought by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and other groups.

WHISTLING IN THE DARK?: High prices getting you down? Don't be blue, 'cause President Ford's WIN ("Whip Inflation Now") program marches on. Literally.

On special request from the White House, composer Meredith Willson, best-known for the 1958 musical comedy "The Music Man" and its hit song "76 Trombones," has written a theme song for all us inflation fighters and energy savers. It's a rousing march, opening with crashing cymbals, and it goes like this:

"Win! Win! Win! We'll win together/Win together, that's the true/American way, today/Who needs inflation?/Not this nation/Who's going to pass it by?/You are, and so am I/Win together/Lose? Never!/If you can win/so can I."

A White House aide explained, "The idea is to rally people as they were rallied for a national purpose in World War II."

After consultation with his Council of Economic Advisers, Ford reportedly turned down theme song suggestions like "Living in the Material World," "Gimme Shelter," "Ain't Too Proud to Beg," "The Night Chicago Died," "(I can't get no) Satisfaction," and even Meredith Willson's own "You Got Trouble." — **NORMAN OLIVER**



The Dec. 14 Freedom March on Boston is supported by Black leaders, unionists, students, and civil rights groups. The Freedom March has a special meaning for the Black struggle. Boston has become the focus of the fight to stop the racists' drive to roll back the gains made during the past 20 years. *The Militant* will continue its coverage of this and other struggles for Black civil rights around the country. Subscribe today.

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Join Dec. 14 freedom march

'Show bigots they don't own Boston'

By WENDY LYONS

A spirited march and rally in Boston on Nov. 30, featuring Coretta King, has spurred forward organizing efforts for the Dec. 13 National Teach-in Against Racism and the National Freedom March for Human Dignity on Dec. 14.

Coretta King told the demonstrators that their struggle to beat back the racist drive against court-ordered school desegregation is of national importance. "Your struggle is just beginning," she said.

On Dec. 13 and 14, supporters of civil rights from around the country will come to Boston to join that struggle.

The teach-in and freedom march, supported by a broad and growing array of students, trade unionists, clergy, and civil rights leaders, are the next steps in a campaign to defend the Boston Black community from the racist assault on its right to desegregated education.

Reminiscent of the days of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which beat back Jim Crow in the South, students are taking the lead in responding to the call for action.

The Dec. 13 National Teach-in Against Racism, to be held at Harvard University, is gaining support from student governments and other campus organizations across the country.

The National Student Association (NSA) has sent out a mailing to all of its student government affiliates and the major campus newspapers, urging active support for the Dec. 13 teach-in and the march the next day. The NSA has also made its national office in Washington, D.C., available as an organizing center to mobilize people in that city to go to Boston.

Ongoing campaign

The Student Committee for the Dec. 14 March Against Racism, which initiated the Dec. 13 teach-in, held a meeting of 75 representatives from 15 Boston-area campuses Dec. 3. The



Militant/Donald Gurewitz

Coretta King, surrounded by her children and civil rights leaders, leads Nov. 30 demonstration in Boston for desegregated schools.

Room 435, or phoned at 617-353-3642.)

All over the East Coast, students have chartered buses to bring people to Boston. The New York Student Committee for the Dec. 14 March Against Racism, operating out of an office in Room 306, Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University, reports growing enthusiasm for the teach-in and march.

"Almost everyone we talk to responds favorably," said Sam Manuel, New York campus coordinator. "It's just a matter of getting the word out to as many people as possible in the time remaining before the actions," he said.

Manuel reported that Columbia has filled one bus so far and the student newspaper, the *Spectator*, will run a full-page ad urging others to sign up to go to Boston.

"We also expect a good turnout from New York University," Manuel said. The Washington Square University

ly sent out a mailing to all of the school's faculty urging them to support the Boston actions and to contribute money to send people to Boston.

Student governments at campuses in the Washington, D.C., area and Philadelphia have also chartered buses.

Appeal for support

A group of prominent individuals is circulating a letter appealing for financial support for the students in their efforts to mobilize the largest possible turnout in Boston.

They are: Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general; Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.); Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Jules Feiffer; Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Barbara Robinson-Jackson, board of directors, NSA; Viveca Lindfors, actress; Eugene McCarthy; Benjamin Spock; Representative Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.); Beulah Sanders, N.Y. Citizens for Welfare Rights; and Harold Taylor, former president, Sarah Lawrence College.

The *Village Voice* recently carried a prominent ad featuring appeals by Dellums and Massachusetts state senator-elect William Owens to join the Dec. 13 teach-in and Dec. 14 march in Boston.

In many parts of the country, solidarity actions will be held on Dec. 14 for those who are unable to go to Boston. Many of these actions will tie in the Boston struggle with local battles against racist opponents of school desegregation.

Students in Northern California are organizing a solidarity action in San Francisco for Dec. 14. Speak-outs leading up to the action have been held in Lincoln High School in San Francisco and in Berkeley High School. The coordinator of Black studies at Berkeley High has made office space available to organizers of the action, which will be held at 1 p.m. at the San Francisco Federal Building.

Trade-union support

Support from trade unionists around the country is also growing. Several local affiliates of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) have endorsed the antiracist actions in Boston.

A number of locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) are backing the action. A recent meeting of AFSCME District Council 37 in New York passed a resolution, introduced by Executive Director Victor Gotbaum, supporting Dec. 14. AFSCME Local 2000 in Chicago has already chartered a bus to Boston.

Local 371 of the Social Service Employees Union in New York is providing leaflets to help build the teach-in and freedom march. Teamster Local 743 in Chicago is also taking a busload to Boston.

Teachers are adding their voices to the outcry against racism in Boston. Unions that have called for support to the protests include: Baltimore Federation of Teachers; Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59; Kentucky Federation of Teachers Local 672; California Federation of Teachers executive board; Hayward, Calif. Federation of Teachers Local 1423; Alameda Federation of Teachers Local 1528; and the Houston Teachers Association.

At its state executive board meeting Nov. 17, Social Services Union Local 535 of California adopted a resolution stating that it "welcomes and endorses the call for a national demonstration supporting integration of the Boston public schools, which has been called for Dec. 14. We call on the entire labor movement to join in support of this march."

'Freedom rides' from South

Civil rights supporters from the South are organizing "freedom rides up north" to Boston.

Reverend Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) opened his church in Atlanta to a meeting on Nov. 26, which formed the Ad Hoc Committee for the March on Boston. At a news conference the next day, the committee announced plans for a Dec. 12 send-off rally for buses leaving for the "freedom ride" to Boston.

James Bond of the Atlanta city council sent a message to the news conference stating: "Boston, Mass., has become the Little Rock, Ark., of 1974. . . . The racist violence in Boston must be answered. For this reason, I wholeheartedly endorse the National March for Human Dignity in Boston Dec. 14."

Continued on page 26



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Arna Washington, president of the Houston Teachers Association, and community leader Dr. Marion Ford announce Dec. 14 solidarity action in Houston.

committee called for a national gathering on Sunday, Dec. 15, to discuss further steps the student movement can take in an ongoing campaign to fight the reactionary offensive against desegregation.

The committee is appealing to students from around the country who are coming to Boston for the teach-in and march, to stay over for this important meeting. (For further information the committee can be contacted at Boston University Student Union,

Council there has allocated \$1,000 to help subsidize buses to Boston.

Organizers for the Dec. 13 and 14 actions at City College of New York have set up shop at the student government office there. They report that three buses have already been chartered for that campus and they plan to charter others. They are getting help from faculty and administrators who back the antiracist actions.

The dean of student activities at New York City Community College recent-

Student leaders plan teach-in against racism

By PETER SEIDMAN

BOSTON—Student leaders from the Boston area held a news conference here Nov. 27 to announce plans for a National Student Teach-in Against Racism to be held at Harvard University on the evening of Dec. 13, just prior to the Dec. 14 antiracist demonstration planned here.

Among the speakers at the teach-in will be Thomas Atkins, head of the Boston NAACP, and Massachusetts state senator-elect William Owens, one of the initiators of the Dec. 14 demonstration.

Paul Mailhot, representing the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism, told the news conference, "We urge the students of this country to mobilize themselves to help defend Black students and Boston's Black community from the racist offensive that is taking place in this city."

Chip Burlet read a statement from the National Student Association (NSA), urging support for the teach-in. "We are being confronted," the statement said, "with a mass movement that wishes to roll back the gains of the civil rights movement. Students were active in the civil rights movement, and we *must* be active in the movement to protect these rights."

"This is why the United States NSA wholeheartedly supports the teach-in against institutionalized racism and violence in Boston. We call on all stu-

freedom march could serve as a "strong catalyst for showing massive support for decent education and the ending of white racist control of the lives and minds of Black people."

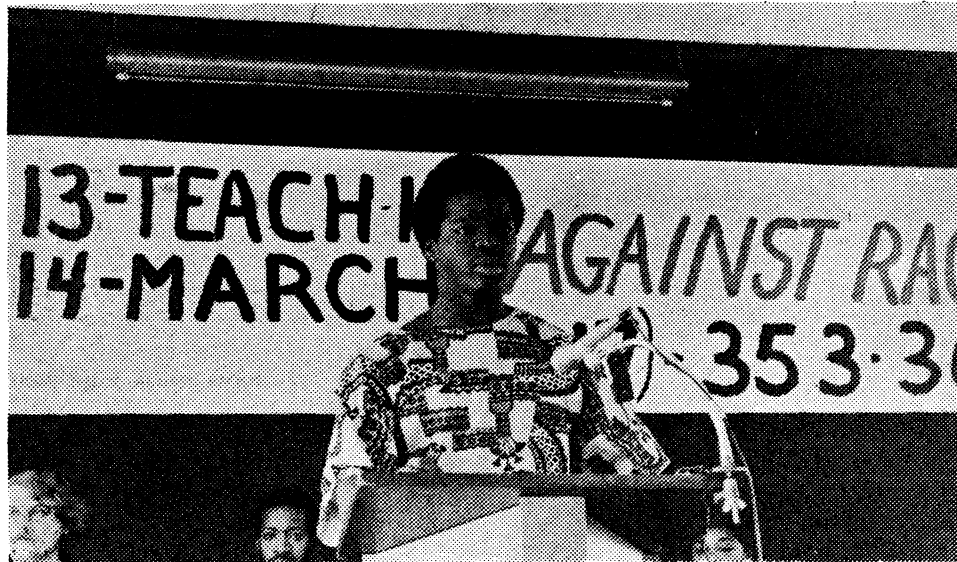
Robert Harper spoke on behalf of the Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students. The association is hosting the teach-in.

"The crisis that centers around Boston is by no means unique to American society. We had Little Rock and Canarsie, Ocean Hill-Brownsville," he said.

"Is it just to throw stones at people who have never done you any harm? Shouldn't the poor from Roxbury to 'Southie' be joined together to fight for common interests as poor people? Isn't the quality of the Boston educational system one of the real issues at hand? . . . We must work together to bring the masses to a common struggle for human rights in America," Harper said.

Willie McKinney Jr., president of the Roxbury Community College student government association, said, "Every citizen should be able to walk the street in peace and not in fear. We must come together to give our support, to ensure that every citizen is given an equal right to have access to equal opportunities and an equal, first-class education."

Also present at the news conference were Diane Pina, president of Uhuru



Robert Harper, of Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students, addresses news conference announcing Dec. 13 teach-in.

dents to join in this project to answer the lies being spread—not only in Boston but across the country."

Ray Sherbill, president of the Boston University student union, urged "all Bostonians and all citizens of this nation to speak out against racism and inequality" by attending the teach-in and demonstration.

He added, "The school committee and the South Bostonians say they are against 'forced busing.' They are also against the law and for racial inequality. It's been 20 years since the Supreme Court called for integration of the public schools. During all that time the Boston school committee has done its best to perpetuate racism and segregation against constitutional mandates. . . ."

"By far the most effective job of teaching that the Boston school committee has done is in teaching racism. That must and shall stop!"

Parthenia Stanton, representing Young Black Voices, a Black writers' organization at Boston University, said, "The issue here in Boston is not busing. The issue is the right of little Black children to get a decent, quality education." She said the teach-in and

SaSa at the University of Rhode Island.

In a statement sent to the news conference, U.S. Representative Ronald Dellums urged, "Now is the time to join in the national teach-in, march, and rally against institutionalized racism and violence in Boston. . . . For too long it has been the racists who have made the headlines. We cannot sit back and allow them to continue in the spotlight, for they do not speak for the majority. We must speak up *now!*" Representative Charles Rangel also sent a message of support for the teach-in.

The Student Committee for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism is urging student governments across the country to provide organizing facilities and charter buses to bring students to the Dec. 13 teach-in and the Dec. 14 march and rally.

The teach-in will be held in Burden Hall Auditorium, Harvard Business School, at 7 p.m.

The student committee has offices in the Boston University Student Union, 775 Commonwealth Ave., Room 435, Boston, Mass. 02215. The telephone number is (617) 353-3642.

YSA organizes for big turnout in Boston

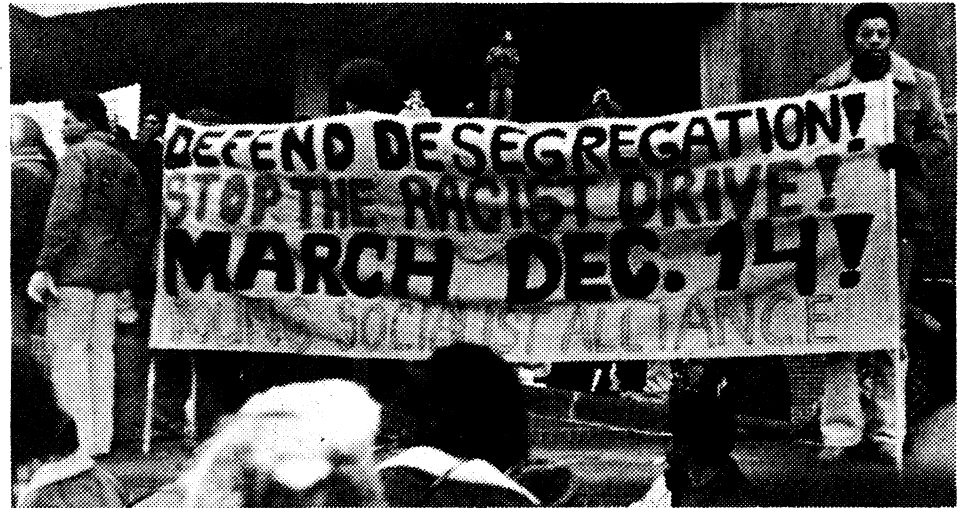
By JUDE COREN

With a little more than a week left before the Dec. 14 Freedom March in Boston, Nan Bailey, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, has been traveling throughout the South building support for the demonstration.

Bailey is one of eight YSA leaders touring the country, publicizing the Dec. 14 march and inviting young

Pittsburgh area before going on to Boston.

YSA locals across the country have been on a campaign to organize support for the demonstration and teach-in in Boston, and for solidarity actions in connection with them. Young Socialist traveling teams have used their remaining time on the road to urge people to be in Boston Dec. 13 and



YSA banner at Nov. 30 demonstration

people to come to the YSA national convention in St. Louis Dec. 28-Jan 1. A major focus of the discussion at the convention will be how to defeat the racist offensive in Boston.

In addition to publicizing the Dec. 14 action, YSA leaders are winning new support for the Dec. 13 National Teach-in Against Racism, which will be held at Harvard University.

While in Knoxville, Tenn., Bailey spoke at a meeting of 100 sponsored by the student government of Knoxville College. At the meeting many of the students said that they would be in Boston on Dec. 14. After the meeting, six people made plans to attend the YSA national convention and three more decided to join the YSA. After a radio interview, Bailey spoke to another 100 students in meetings on campus.

Seventy students came to hear Bailey at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn. The meeting at Fisk was jointly sponsored by the student government and the Nashville Women's Center.

In Atlanta, Bailey spoke at several meetings, urging support for the Boston actions.

Bailey will wrap up her tour in the

14 and to come to the YSA convention in St. Louis Dec. 28.

Thousands of copies of a special four-page supplement to the *Young Socialist* newspaper, headlined "Join Boston Freedom March!" have been printed and distributed by YSA members. A special button saying "End Racist Attacks in Boston" is being sold on campuses.

At a meeting in Detroit, Nan Bailey explained that "the YSA is throwing all of our forces into building this freedom march."

"We are joining forces with activists around the country who will march into the city of Boston and build a movement that can break the back of the racist offensive. We will show this country and the rest of the world that there is a force stronger than the racists. We'll meet their campaign with a campaign of our own to break their movement and support the rights of the Black community."

"We are trying to involve young people all around the country in what may well be the most important action in 1974. Each one of you should plan to be in Boston Dec. 14 and in St. Louis on the twenty-eighth."

Black paper applauds Boston Freedom March

The following is excerpted from an editorial in the Nov. 30 *Philadelphia Tribune*, one of the largest Black newspapers in the country. The editorial was entitled, "We Applaud Those Who'll Oppose Racist Attacks in Boston, Mass."

We are sure that all decent people share our outrage at the recent outbursts of racist violence in Boston. Certainly the ugly spectacle of mob attacks on Black school children and innocent bystanders must be revolting to the decent residents of Boston as well as all persons everywhere who believe in elementary democratic rights and fair play.

But the forces of prejudice and reaction all over the country are emboldened by this outrage. They are mobilizing in every corner of the U. S., using these events as their rallying

cry. The code word [is] 'busing,' but in reality their organizing tool is racist hysteria.

We believe the urgency of the situation requires the broadest possible demonstration of decent people of all races who oppose mob attacks on Black children and who believe in the right of all children to the best possible education and the right to use their potential to the best of their ability.

An ad hoc organization . . . is sponsoring such a demonstration in Boston for Saturday, December 14. Thousands of prominent persons from all over the country are urging participation in the peaceful demonstration. . . . The *TRIBUNE* supports the purpose of the march . . . and hopes it will show all Americans that decent people can never succumb to the forces of racism and reaction.

King: 'Struggle just beginning'

Thousands rally Nov. 30 for civil rights

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—A large outpouring of support for the desegregation of Boston's public schools took place here Nov. 30 in the form of a spirited civil rights march and rally.

The rally, held at Government Center, heard Coretta King call for ongoing actions to deepen and extend the antiracist struggle in Boston.

She told the demonstrators that the struggle in Boston is of national significance, and hailed the Nov. 30 march as "a first step." "Your struggle is just beginning," she said.

"The issue in my view is not really 'busing.' The conduct of certain opponents of busing has made the issue one of racism in its broadest aspects," she said.

"Can anyone believe," she asked, "that people using or condoning violence as well as vulgar racial epithets are making a democratic protest against busing? No. They are making an undemocratic assault on equality. This is why the attacks on schoolchildren and integration must be opposed by everyone—even those who are not fully committed to busing."

The demonstration was called by the Committee for Quality Integrated Education, backed by a broad array of religious figures, members of the NAACP, and several local Black political figures. The action was also supported by the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism.

'We shall overcome'

Marching to the strains of "We Shall Overcome," the demonstrators left the Boston Common in windy, sub-freezing weather. Heading the march was a contingent of civil rights leaders, including King, who was accompanied by her children; Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP; Massachusetts state senator-elect William Owens, the initiator of the Dec. 14 national Freedom March



Many at action took leaflets and signed up to help build Dec. 14

for Human Dignity; and U.S. Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass.)

The crowd swelled to as many as 2,500 at any one time. The *Boston Globe* estimated the total attendance at 5,000. The demonstrators were a mixture of students and older people. They carried signs saying "For Quality Integrated Education" and "Fight Inflation, Not Integration." About one-fourth of the participants were Black.

Elizabeth Hartl, president of the Boston League of Women Voters, chaired the rally. She read an appeal for support and participation in the Dec. 13 National Student Teach-in Against Racism, to be held at Harvard University, and the Dec. 14 national Freedom March in Boston.

"This teach-in will dramatically explain why we march and what the real issues are. It will be a powerful force for the Dec. 14 march and rally," the appeal stated. "All out for Dec. 13 and 14!"

Rabbi Roland Gittlesohn of Temple Israel told the crowd that busing is a

precondition for school integration. "Given the segregated neighborhood patterns in which we live, given the failure of our society to eliminate bigotry and discrimination from employment, either there will be busing as a first step toward integration or there will be no integration of our schools," he said.

Rexford Weng, vice-president of the Massachusetts state labor council, AFL-CIO, urged an ongoing campaign to defeat the racist drive against desegregation. "Anything we have ever gotten from the bosses we have had to get by doing as you're doing now. Go to the streets and demonstrate—that was the only way," he said.

'Join forces for Dec. 14'

Polly Halfkenny, a leader of the Massachusetts Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, told the crowd that much work is needed to defeat the racists in Boston.

"We must demand that politicians be responsible for obeying and enforcing the federal court order to de-

segregate the schools," she said. "We must join forces with people from all over the United States to demonstrate in this city on Dec. 14."

Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins said, "There are those in Boston today who are unwilling to admit that the cradle of liberty has been rocking a little monster called hate."

"It is time to save our children from the narcotic of racial superiority which leads grown men in the South to put on sheets and ride horses."

"We are not trying to take over anyone's schools," said Gwen Reed, a Black high school student. "We have a right to go to these schools our parents paid taxes for," she said.

Enthusiasm for the upcoming national actions was high. Organizers of the Dec. 13 teach-in passed out hundreds of leaflets calling for volunteers to build the national gathering and turn out thousands of people for the march the next day. More than 50 people signed up to help work on organizing the actions.



Militant/Donald Gurewitz

Demonstrators included students and older people. One-fourth were Black.

Open letter urges YWLL to join Dec. 14 action

The following letter was sent to the Young Workers Liberation League on Dec. 3.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

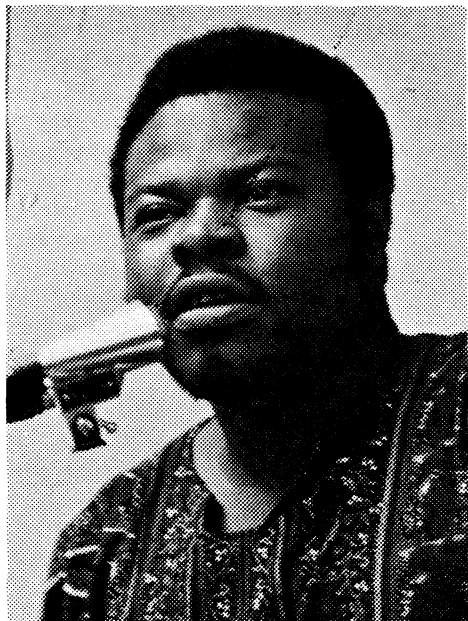
The struggle in Boston against the antibusing forces is currently the focus of a nationwide battle against reactionary attempts to reverse the gains won by Black people during the past 20 years. The recent Supreme Court decisions to limit the use of busing to achieve school desegregation and better education for Blacks in Michigan and Virginia were victories for racism.

Now the racists in Boston are trying to wipe out the use of busing to achieve desegregation altogether. Led by the racist Boston school committee and supported by city and state politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties, the racists have succeeded in mobilizing significant support for their assault on the Black community. This must be answered by a countermobilization of the Black community and all who support the right of Black students to an equal education. The racist violence cannot remain unanswered.

The Nov. 30 march and rally for desegregation in Boston marked a good beginning. The success of the action and the breadth of support it developed indicate that even more

powerful mobilizations can be built. The momentum must be maintained.

The next scheduled actions will occur Dec. 13 and 14 in Boston. On Dec. 13 there will be a National Student Teach-in Against Racism, called by a wide range of student government and Black organizations in Boston, as well as by the National Student Association. This teach-in is being supported by student organiza-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

YSA's PULLEY: 'We must all stand together.'

tions across the country as well as by many Black, trade-union, and other groups.

The next day, on Dec. 14, there will be a national Freedom March in Boston. Originally called by Black elected officials and trade unionists, it is receiving wide support. The student coalition organizing the Dec. 13 teach-in is also organizing support for the next day's demonstration. Coalitions in many cities in the Midwest and on the East Coast are planning to send buses to Boston for these events. In other cities, there will be local support demonstrations Dec. 14.

The racists have taken these actions as a direct challenge, and they are planning a counterdemonstration on Dec. 15 in Boston.

Because of the national importance of this struggle, it is imperative that all groups opposed to racism join in helping to make the Dec. 13 and 14 actions a success. This can deal a powerful blow to the racists.

The Young Socialist Alliance has taken steps to throw our energies into building the teach-in and march. For example, the YSA is holding its convention in late December, and we have had a number of spokespeople on tour to build our convention. When the antiracist actions were called, we focused these tours on organizing to bring people to Boston. We have put

out a special issue of our paper supporting the actions, and our members everywhere are actively engaged in doing everything we can to make the teach-in and freedom march a success.

We urge you to join with us and the many other forces who are encouraging people to go to Boston Dec. 13 and 14.

We note that your present plans include holding your national convention Dec. 13-16 in Philadelphia, and that you are also planning a major public meeting there for Angela Davis and other Communist Party leaders on Dec. 14.

We urge you to reconsider the scheduling of these events. No organization that supports the struggle against racist opponents of desegregation can afford to stand aside from the important events that will take place in Boston that weekend.

We must all stand together. The inconvenience of readjusting your convention schedule can surely be overcome. Routine plans shouldn't be allowed to stand in the way of building the biggest possible turnout and broadest unity around the vitally important actions in Boston.

In solidarity,
Andrew Pulley
National Chairperson,
Young Socialist Alliance

Bigots cheer 'bus burning'

Racist offensive spreads in Boston

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—The highly organized racist campaign against court-ordered school desegregation has branched out from its bases in the predominantly Irish neighborhoods of South Boston ("Southie") and Dorchester into the Italian-American neighborhoods of East Boston.

Capping a three-day Thanksgiving week boycott of the city schools, one of the crudest and most bizarre "anti-busing" events of the fall took place in "Eastie."

To the casual observer, it looked like a traditional high school holiday football game between East Boston and South Boston high schools. At halftime that illusion vanished.

Six thousand people roared their approval as a life-size replica of a school bus was set afire on the field. Loud boos greeted the appearance from the bus of people dressed as pigs and jackasses. They represented Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity, who ordered desegregation, and Senator Edward Kennedy, whom the racists

rail against for his refusal to come out strongly against busing.

A special award ceremony honored four leaders of the bigots with medals of "commendation" for their devotion to the "cause."

One of those honored was Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, East Boston's most popular foe of "forced busing" and a leader of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). The *Real Paper*, a Boston weekly, recently reported her reaction to the near lynching of Jean-Louis Yvon, a Black Haitian who was dragged from his car by a white mob while riding through South Boston: when she saw the incident on television, she leaped to her feet and yelled, "Serves you right, nigger—what were you doing in Southie anyway?"

Racists such as Palladino are whipping residents of East Boston into a frenzy over the prospect that their schools will be included in a final court-ordered desegregation plan that would go into effect next school year.

In the Nov. 27 issue of the *Real Paper*, Burt Solomon reports, "Vir-

tually everyone in East Boston agrees that things will be terrible come September. Likely worse than they've been in Southie. There will be marches, pickets, and name-calling, they predict. Rock throwing and fist fights. . . . And possibly, the grapevine ventures to report, the tunnels [leading into East Boston] themselves will be blown into the harbor."

Solomon reports on a schism between the "moderates" and "extremists" in the racist movement. The "moderates" oppose desegregation but favor legal methods to fight it, while calling for peacefully accepting its implementation. They have been threatened by the "extremists."

According to Solomon, one "staunchly antibusing parent" charges that leaders of the antibusing movement "have intensified the panic and frightened a lot of young mothers by telling them their kids are going to be sent to [predominantly Black] Roxbury and raped. Antibusers who don't go along with ROAR on everything are accused of being closet pro-busers, and kids who don't care to join marches are scared they'll be labeled 'nigger lovers.'"

Meanwhile the South Boston Information Center, one of the offices of the racist resistance, is a beehive of activity. It is staffed by parents and some boycotting students. It distributes papal decrees on the sanctity of the family—an apparent reason to oppose desegregation. It sells the flag of ROAR, an Italian tricolor with a shamrock in the center.

Included in the literature it distributes is a reproduction of a magazine advertisement showing the director of the Miller Brewing Company shaking hands with a Black leader after an agreement on minority hiring. There is no comment on the reproduction, but the message is clear: "Boycott

Miller."

On the Monday before Thanksgiving, white students attending South Boston High walked out of their "neighborhood school" in response to the racist call for a boycott. They demonstrated outside with parents.

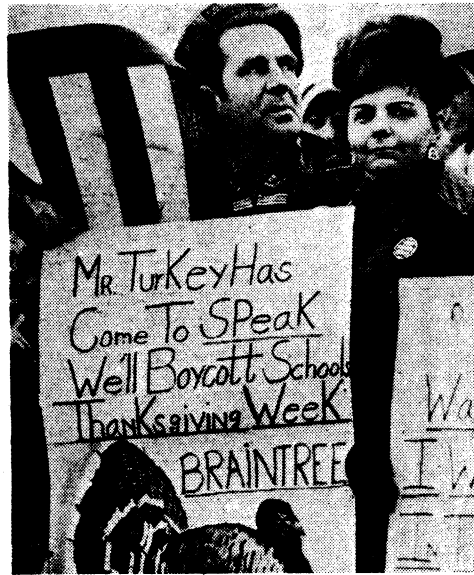
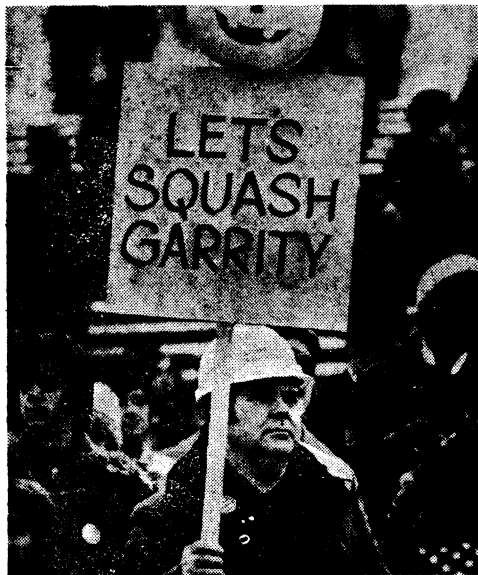
Headmaster William Reid knew of the boycott plans in advance but did nothing to stop them. The students demanded the "right" to wear Afro combs, claiming that Black students use them as weapons. "Sure," said Reid, "It's okay as long as you use it just for your hairstyle."

They complained that police stationed in the school escort Black women to the restrooms, but not whites. The racist students oppose the presence of the police in the school because it has kept them from declaring open season on the Black students, whom they outnumber in spite of the boycott.

On the last day of the Thanksgiving week boycott virtually no whites attended school at South Boston High. As school was let out and Black students started heading for the buses, groups of whites began walking toward the school. As Black students, surrounded by police, boarded the buses, the whites made obscene gestures and shouts of "nigger" broke out. One could hear the whites threaten, "When I get my hands on one of them. . . ."

The buses finally rolled off down the street past a wall proclaiming, "This is Klan country—Nigger go home."

All foes of racism should get the message loud and clear from these incidents. The forces of racism must be answered and the tide turned. Your presence is urgently needed in Boston on Dec. 14 to march for freedom and human dignity.



Racists demonstrate against school desegregation in East Boston Nov. 24.

Blacks, bus drivers map protest

Pasadena, Calif., school board attacks busing

By ANDREA BARON

LOS ANGELES—A Nov. 24 meeting in the Black community of Pasadena, Calif., called for a Freedom March Dec. 14 to protest attacks on school desegregation in Boston and Pasadena.

The meeting was attended by parents, teachers, students, school bus drivers, and other individuals and groups concerned with the attacks on school desegregation.

Pasadena is a city of more than 100,000 in Los Angeles County. The majority of its school population is Black, Chicano, or Asian. A 1970 federal court decision ordered the Pasadena schools desegregated. A plan was adopted by the school board and desegregation was begun.

In 1973, however, three "antibusing" candidates were elected to the five-member school board. These three, plus one of the two remaining members of the old board, have used every available means to try to stop the court-ordered desegregation. The school board meetings have been the scenes of many stormy confrontations with community activists protesting the racist policies of the board.

After spending thousands of dollars from the school budget for lawyers' fees and other expenses in its fight against desegregation, the school

board recently announced that it was running out of money and was therefore "forced" to make cutbacks.

One of the areas cut back was the bus service provided for the students. The bus drivers' hours were cut, with the result that the wages of many of the drivers were slashed almost in half.

The Pasadena bus drivers, members of Teamsters Local 640, have been organizing to protest the cutbacks.

One of the bus drivers described the situation: "The school board is trying to use the drivers in the fight against busing. The students are suffering from the lack of funds because the board has used thousands of dollars to fight the busing and has stated that it would use \$200,000 more if necessary."

"We are asking support from the community to turn back deteriorating conditions in the schools caused by the racists on the school board."

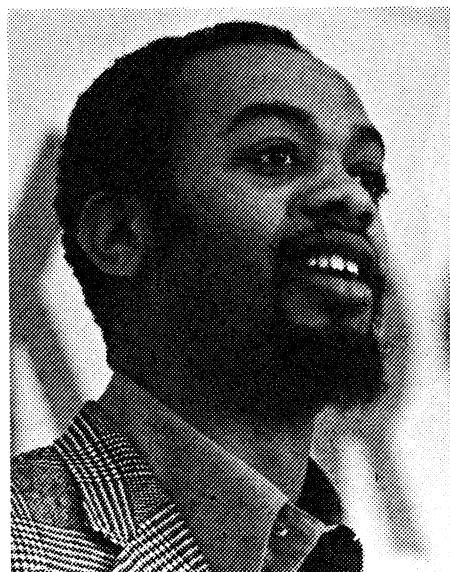
The drivers who are active in protesting these conditions face constant harassment from the school board. In a recent incident, one bus driver was fired from her job after filing a grievance over a safety violation resulting from the cutback in funds.

More than 60,000 signatures have been collected on petitions calling for

the recall of the three racist members of the school board.

Participants in the Nov. 24 meeting discussed the importance of solid- arizing with the fight against racism in Boston.

Omari Musa, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, stressed the importance of supporting the fight in Boston to help prevent the racists from doing the same thing in cities across the country.



Militant/John Gray

Omari Musa of SWP stresses link between Boston, Pasadena struggles.

Michael Zinzun, who has been a leader of the Pasadena Community Information Center, called on the meeting to "build the largest possible demonstration in Pasadena on Dec. 14 to protest the attacks of the racists on school desegregation."

The demonstration will assemble at 11 a.m. at La Pintoresca Park, at Washington Boulevard and North Fair Oaks, in Pasadena. Demonstrators will march to city hall, where a rally will be held at 1 p.m.

Initial endorsers of the Freedom March include a number of school bus drivers; Cortez Hubert, Welfare Rights Organization of Pasadena; Leo Griffith, Black Student Council, Pasadena City College; Reverend Edgar Edwards, Immanuel United Church of Christ; the Socialist Workers Party; Socialist Union; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A teach-in against the racist attacks in Boston and Pasadena will be held Dec. 10 at Pasadena City College.

Supporters of the Dec. 14 march will also hold a picket line and news conference at the Pasadena school board Dec. 10.

For more information on the Freedom March, contact the Dec. 14 Freedom March Committee, 980 North Fair Oaks, Pasadena, Calif., or phone (213) 465-0242.

Power of union democracy

Lessons of miners' strike for U.S. labor

By FRANK LOVELL

DEC 4—Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) are still in the process of voting on the proposed contract negotiated by UMWA officials.

The outcome of the vote, and of the three-week-old nationwide mine strike, will be watched carefully by workers throughout the country.

Whichever way the vote goes, the experience of the mine workers holds lessons for other trade unionists.

For one thing, the UMWA has demonstrated the advantages of union democracy in winning gains for the rank and file. This will be the first time in UMWA history that the working miners will have been able to vote on the document establishing the condi-

AS WE GO TO PRESS:

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 5—Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers of America, announced here this morning that members of the union have voted to ratify the new three-year contract covering 121,000 soft-coal miners. The vote was 56 percent in favor, 44 percent opposed.

Next week's *Militant* will carry full coverage of the contract terms.

tions they have to labor under every day. The right of the miners to have the final say makes the union immeasurably stronger when it confronts the mineowners.

The bosses and the editorial writers of the capitalist newspapers—who are paid to argue the bosses' case—understand very well that the rank and file's right to vote strengthens the union. That's why, despite all their rhetoric about supporting democracy, they are against giving the ranks of the UMWA—or any other union—control over all union affairs.

An editorial in the Nov. 28 *New York Times* provides an example of the real attitude of the employing class toward union democracy.

The *Times* editors denounce the miners who are exercising their right to oppose the contract as "obstructionist elements," "disrupters," and "demagogues." They claim that rank-and-file rejection of the contract would be "reckless" and that a continued strike would "drag the whole economy much deeper into recession."

For the *Times*, apparently, the right to vote should only apply to those who vote "yes." Those who vote "no" are disrupters.

Gov't prepares attack

It is clear that if the proposed contract is rejected, the government is ready—majority vote or no majority vote—to throw its strikebreaking powers against the miners union to force them back to work.

The Democratic and Republican politicians will try to turn public opinion against the miners—accusing them of intensifying the energy crisis, exacerbating unemployment and inflation, and even, no doubt, of harming "national security."

All this will be designed to lay the groundwork for hitting the union with a Taft-Hartley injunction to force the miners back to work for 80 days.

In this way the government could directly block the democratic rights of the mine workers, overriding the decision of the membership and trying to force the miners back to work without any contract.

But the UMWA today is in a strong position to confront such attacks, as a result of changes that have been taking place in the union movement and in the country as a whole.

Prior to the victory of the new leadership headed by Arnold Miller, the UMWA had suffered from the general decline that affected the whole union movement in the 1950s and early 1960s.

This decline was reflected in the fact that the operators were able to get away with uncontrolled and reckless mechanization of the industry, in the decline by two-thirds in the number of working miners and an even more drastic decline in union membership, in the imposition of longer-term contracts, and in the reappearance of non-union mines, among other things.

Like many other unions, the UMWA drifted into inactivity, more and more victimized by the employing class and riddled with corruption.

New resurgence

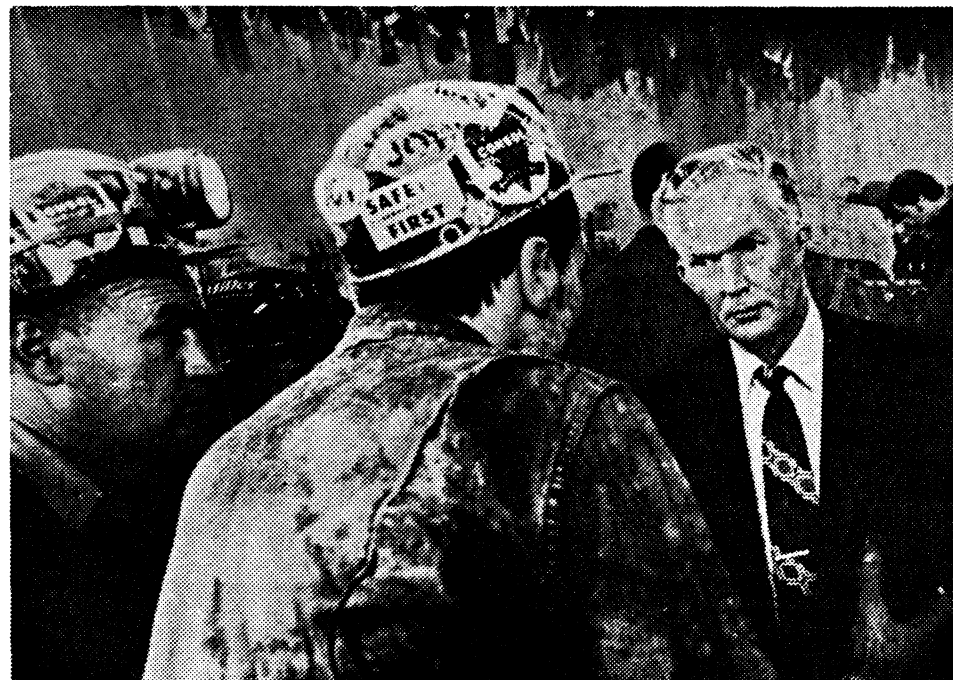
But the influx of younger workers into the mines and the insurgent movement against the Boyle machine—along with the deepening mass radicalization in society as a whole and the rising tide of working-class militancy spurred on by the current economic and social crisis—have worked to transform the miners union. Today the UMWA is in the forefront of a new resurgence in the labor movement.

The new leadership of this union is not as inexperienced as some critics try to make out. These men are the products of miners' struggles during the past 10 years. They demonstrated leadership ability, and this is why they are the elected officials of the union. No one appointed them to their present positions. There is no evidence of corruption, as some of their eager detractors—including holdovers from the old Boyle regime—charge.

But the way Arnold Miller and his immediate associates conducted the contract negotiations this year shows that they still suffer from some of the same limitations that helped bring about the decline of the unions in past decades.

One of these limitations is seeing the union's field of action only within the narrow confines of what can take place over the union-management negotiating table.

What goes on in the negotiations



UMWA President Miller (right) talks with miners. New rank-and-file rights have strengthened the union.

only reflects the relationship of forces. The union side can greatly strengthen its position by mobilizing the union ranks and those forces who can be convinced of the justice and importance of the union's cause.

But this requires a break from the traditional methods of collective bargaining, which rely on keeping everybody outside the negotiations—including the union membership—in the dark about what's going on until a proposed settlement is finally worked out.

Furthermore, Miller weakened the union's bargaining position by getting himself into the position of publicly backing the proposed contract before the rank and file had a chance to read and discuss it. He took the position of "selling the contract" rather than listening for the rank and file to express their view.

Can't get more?

If the membership rejects the proposed contract, Miller's public statements that "I don't think we can get any more" from the bosses will have put the union in a weaker position to continue the strike. The government and the coal companies will be able to use such statements against the union, claiming that even its own leadership considers the miners' demands unrealistic.

The mineowners operated in a different way from the union negotiators. The miners' demands were modest enough, nothing the operators couldn't afford. Yet the operators took a tough position from the beginning, determined to drive a hard bargain and deprive the miners of as much as possible. And instead of keeping their sights simply on the negotiating table, the owners sought support from outside the industry, looking especially to the power of the government to curb the union's power.

Sympathy for miners

The UMWA has the potential of mobilizing strong support from outside the industry as well. The sympathy of the entire labor movement is with the miners in their present struggle. This was reflected in the prompt and unqualified endorsements of such usually slow-to-act top AFL-CIO officials as George Meany and I. W. Abel.

The ranks of the union movement everywhere are behind the miners, hoping that their struggle will weaken the grip of the giant monopolies.

Sympathy for the miners extends beyond the unions. Millions of poor

people, Blacks and other minorities, students and the growing mass of unemployed want the miners to win.

They identify their own hard conditions of life with what they know of the danger and deprivation in the mine regions, and they instinctively feel that if the miners can make some gains they will also benefit.

The mine operators are seen by many people as a big part of this country's problems. They have destroyed vast regions of land. They care nothing for the welfare of communities or the lives, health, and safety of miners and others in their coal domain.

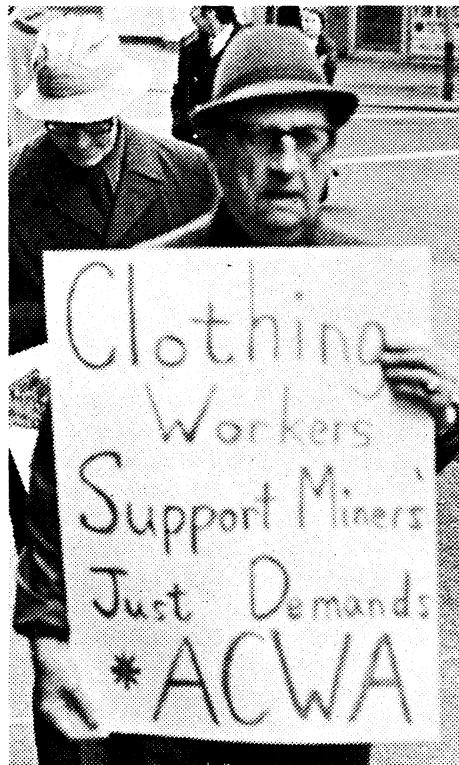
They show not the least concern for the social and economic problems created by the energy crisis, which delights them because they are reaping profits exceeding their wildest dreams.

Looking at this broader picture, it is clear the potential exists to build a powerful movement behind the miners' demands. The union has only to mobilize the support that exists and relate its struggle to the larger issues facing all working people in this country.

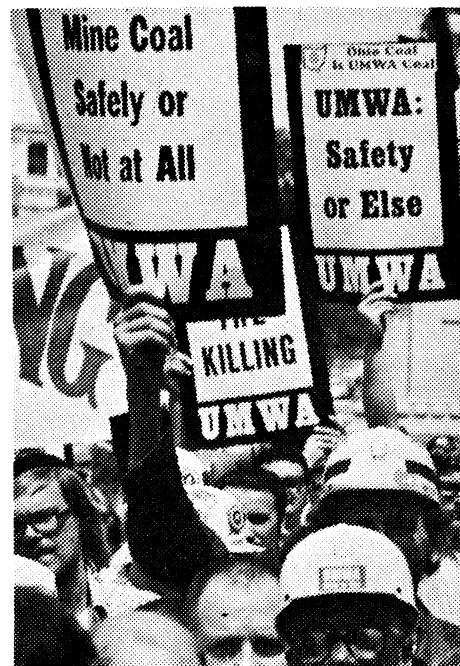
For example, the UMWA could wage a public campaign to expose and scandalize the coal companies. The union could turn the spotlight of publicity on their bloated profits, refuting claims that the workers' wage demands are to blame for the country's economic problems.

Union researchers already have much information assembled that

Continued on page 26



UMWA could mobilize support of whole union movement.



Fight for safety is struggle of all workers.

Cite problems of rotating shifts

UMWA Local 1670 debates contract

By PAT HAYES

FREEBURG, Ill. — More than 450 mine workers jammed the American Legion hall near this southern Illinois town Dec. 2 to debate and vote on the proposed national coal contract. United Mine Workers of America President Arnold Miller and the *United Mine Workers Journal* have described the proposal as "a breakthrough pact" that will "mean gains of 60 percent or more" over the period of the contract.

The men, all members of 500-member Local 1670 at the River King Mine, remained unconvinced. Most of the miners, who had driven long distances in freezing weather on icy, snow-covered rural roads to voice their opinions on the new contract, had already decided their votes by the time they arrived. They were overwhelmingly for rejection of the proposed agreement.

At 8:15 a.m. cars and pickups began to pull off the narrow country road to park on the edge of a snow-covered cornfield. The men stayed in their cars until Don Yurtec, secretary-treasurer of Local 1670, arrived with a huge stack of the bright blue-colored *United Mine Workers Journals* containing the proposed contract.

Then, as dozens of cars began to arrive, the men walked quickly through the bitter early-morning cold into the hall. Asked how they felt about the contract, every man was eager to speak his mind, each waiting while the others had their say.

"I don't like it. I'm voting against it," said one.

"Not enough," said another, "I'm ready to stay out just a little longer."

"It would have been a great contract," said one young man, "if we'd got it four years ago."

"The contract? The contract ain't shit," said another, who walked by into the warmth of the hall.

The story was the same all over the hall, as men gathered into groups to examine the contract proposal. With only one exception every man this reporter spoke to said he was against the new contract and planned to vote

against it.

The miners ranged in age from about 18 to 55 and in appearance from long hair and Army field jackets to very short hair and hunting coats. They spelled out a number of reasons for their rejection of the contract.

The two key disagreements that nearly everyone brought up were rotating shifts and the gap in pay between the highest-paid and the lowest-paid in the contract. Pension provisions were also raised by both older and younger men.

'You're always tired'

Gary Franklin, one of the young mine workers, was especially emphatic about the problem of rotating shifts.

"I won't go back unless we get to vote [in the local areas] on these rotating shifts," he said. "I don't mind working straight shift, and I don't care—first, second, or third, it doesn't matter. But these rotating shifts—you're always tired, can't get any sleep, and there's no routine."

Behind him, another man said, "I quit a good job" because of rotating shifts, and "I'll quit this one too."

The gap between the highest- and the lowest-paid under the contract was on the minds of most of the men. The older ones, who would most likely be the higher-paid, seemed just as concerned as the younger ones.

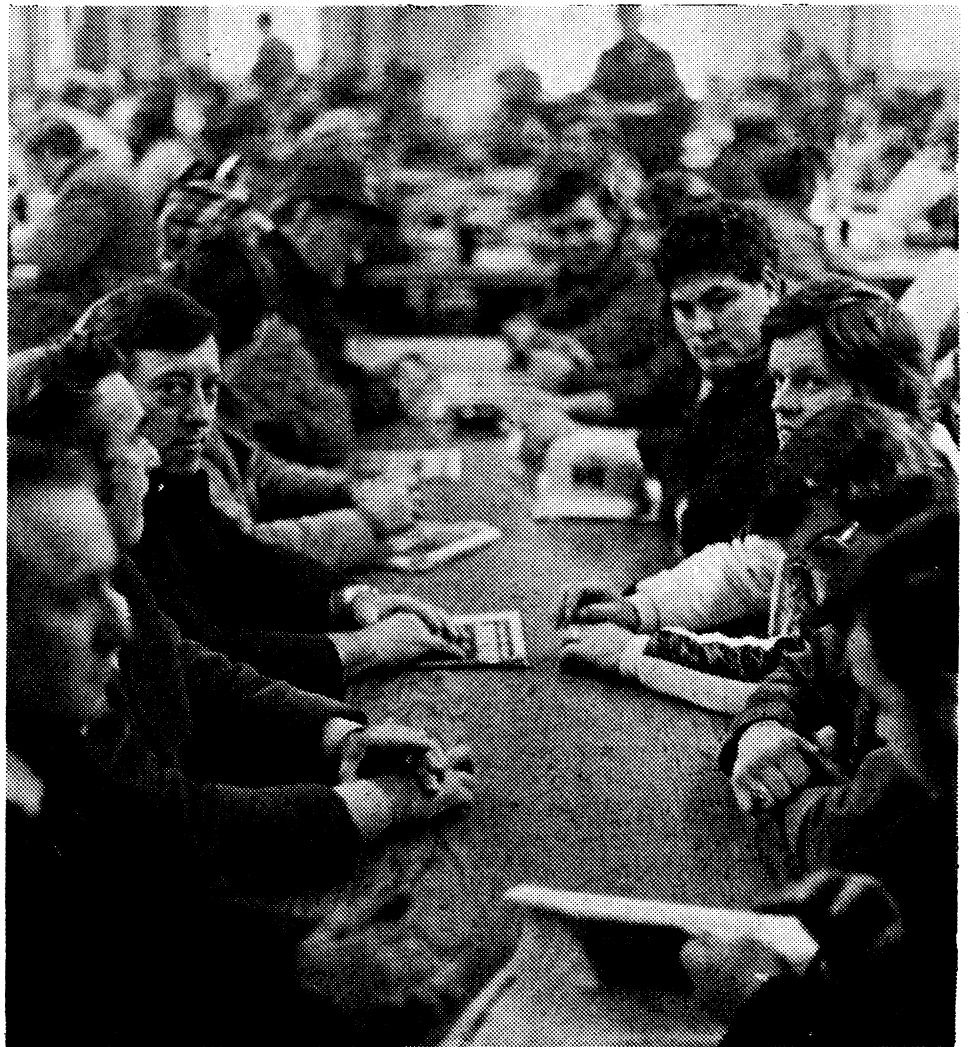
One man argued, "It takes every man to mine coal, so why shouldn't we all get paid the same?"

The gap under the proposed contract provisions will amount to about \$10 a day.

Pension provisions were under attack also. Many of the miners had carefully underlined their copies of the proposed pension provisions. They were concerned that they would lose their pensions if this particular mine closed down.

James Schramke said, "Under this contract, if the mine closes, we get nothing."

Men who face retirement before completing the 40 years required for full pension coverage were opposed to ratification as well. Other miners were dis-



Militant/Pat Hayes

Members study contract proposal, preparing to vote for first time in UMWA history

pleased with the wage increases. Some were skeptical about the provisions for settlement of grievances and the vagueness of the absentee provision. Most thought that the safety measures were an important improvement.

One view among the miners was that Miller and the negotiating committee had bowed to the combined pressure of the mineowners and the government. One man said he thought it was strange that "the bargaining council voted it down, then two hours later they turned right around and passed the same package. It just doesn't sound right to me," he said.

Some workers expressed mixed feelings about Arnold Miller. They like the fact that they have the right to vote on contracts now, but some thought Miller put the union on the spot by publicly supporting the contract.

By 9 a.m. the meeting hall was jammed with men waiting for the meeting to begin. Jim Price, Local 1670 president, and Don Yurtec had dragged a couple of tables to the front of the hall.

Price, noting that many men had come a long way and that most had already made up their minds, pro-

posed that anyone who wanted to vote immediately could do so if they left the meeting hall and didn't participate in the debate.

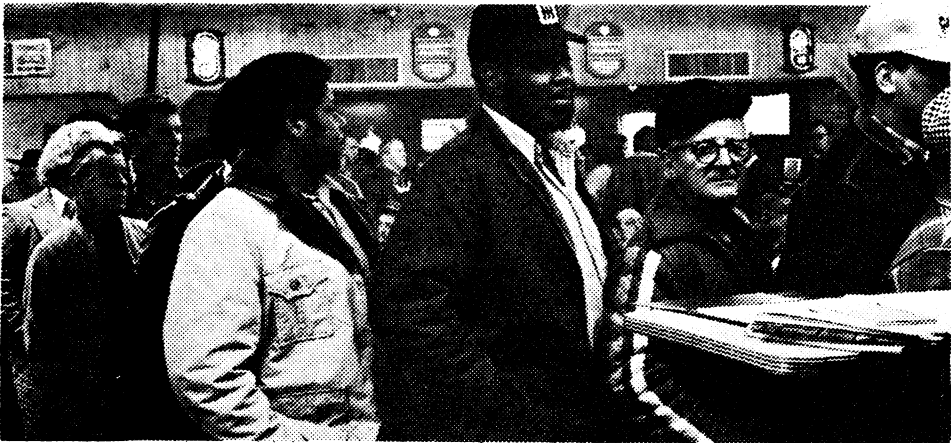
First chance to vote

About half of the men rose to form lines to mark their ballots. This reporter asked about 20 of the men who remained seated why they decided to stay and how they felt about the contract. Most said they were staying because it was the first chance they had had to vote on a contract and they wanted to stay for a debate. All said they would vote against ratification.

Asked how they cast their ballots, only seven of about 60 of the men who voted early said they voted for ratification.

The others simply shook their heads in an emphatic "No," or turned their thumbs down as they walked out into the cold.

After a three-hour debate, followed by lunch, a second vote left only 50 men in the hall to continue the debate. The final vote was expected to come between 4 and 5 p.m. Although it will take hours to count the ballots, most believe that the local will vote the contract down.



Lined up to cast ballots

Militant/Pat Hayes

Detroit bus drivers give ovation for UMWA

DETROIT—A resolution in support of the strike of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) was unanimously passed Nov. 23 with a standing ovation by members of Division 26 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). Division 26 represents the 1,500 bus drivers of the city of Detroit's department of transportation.

The resolution condemns the threats by the government "to invoke the union-busting provisions of Taft-Hartley against coal miners," noting that "we face similar attacks on our right to strike for a better standard of living under the guise that we are public

employees."

The Hutchinson Act in Michigan makes it illegal for bus drivers to go on strike.

The resolution says, in part: "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 a great solidarity in support of the coal miners, who are now on the front lines of all labor struggles to defend our living standards,

"Therefore be it resolved that Division 26 of the Amalgamated Transit

Union declares its resolute support to the UMWA in this strike" and that copies of the resolution "be sent to the international headquarters of the ATU and the Detroit Metropolitan AFL-CIO, urging them to take organizational steps to mobilize the support of Detroit labor to help achieve a speedy and victorious conclusion to the strike of the United Mine Workers."

The meeting, which was made up almost entirely of Black workers, ended on a tone of labor solidarity when \$100 and greetings were voted

to striking members of Local 1301 of the ATU. Local 1301 is the Detroit local of Greyhound bus drivers. Both of these actions were the first such acts of solidarity taken by Division 26 in many years.

In introducing the UMWA resolution, Steve Beumer, Division 26 member, stated that "solidarity will be the key word in the trade unions in the coming months." Citing the effects of inflation in eating away wages, he concluded, "We should join with the miners in their timely slogan, 'We've been down too long!'"

Older miners hit unequal pensions

Miller supporters differ in sizing up pact

By CINDY JAQUITH

MONONGAHELA, Pa. — "I think there's still a bite or two left in that apple," said one miner here when asked whether the proposed new United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract is acceptable. He was referring to the statement by UMWA President Arnold Miller that the union had already "bitten the apple down to the core" in terms of getting concessions out of the mineowners.

The voting here in western Pennsylvania, in UMWA District 5, is running very close. The earliest returns, on the first day of voting, showed those voting "yes" on the contract ahead by only 514 to 512.

The outcome of the ratification vote here is important, because District 5 is considered a stronghold of support for the reform leadership headed by Miller. District 5 President Lou Antal, a widely respected union official here, has placed his personal support behind the contract proposal. And UMWA Vice-president Mike Trbovich campaigned here for the contract during the voting period.

Nevertheless, many of the older members of UMWA Local 2244, interviewed here at their polling place in Monongahela, were dissatisfied with the contract. The miners work at the Mathies Mine, which is owned by Consolidation Coal, a subsidiary of Continental Oil. More than half of the local's 500 members are older workers.

"It's no good," one miner said. "The pension's no good and there's no additional vacation. I've worked in the mines for 44 years and I'm only going to get a \$250 pension, whereas people who work for General Motors and U.S. Steel for 25 years get a \$600 pension."

Some miners said that under the new contract they would have to postpone their retirement plans so as to qualify for the higher pension rates that only start in 1976.



'People don't understand what miners have to go through. . . . Young men are not getting enough pay for the dangers in the mines.'

One man added that pensions that sound good now may be worth a lot less in three years. "What do we know about the cost of living three years from now?" he asked. "We have the cost-of-living clause to protect the working man, but the pension is going to increase only by a small, fixed amount."

Several miners also pointed out that the wage increases for new miners leave a great deal to be desired. "I've worked with young fellows and have seen them get crippled for life," said one.

"People just don't understand what miners have to go through. I've been in the hospital seven times for mining accidents that were not my fault. I was in the hospital once for 27 months with my back broken in two places."

There is also dissatisfaction among younger miners over the gap between the daily wages of the lowest-paid workers (\$45 the first year) and the highest-paid (\$55). One older miner

said he agreed with the younger miners. "These young boys are not getting enough money for the dangers in the mines. Bring the lower man up to the top man—close the gap."

Other miners said they voted for the contract despite its weaknesses, because it is a step forward from what they had before. "The union's been messed up by [former UMWA president W. A. 'Tony'] Boyle and that outfit," said one. "The new guys can't fix it all in one clip."

Another miner said he was on the border line. "I can't see why our president couldn't get just a little bit more," he said. "We work for Continental Oil, and they'll up the price of coal regardless of what they give us."

Another miner suggested that "Miller should have talked to the people more. He should have seen what they wanted. Not just go in there and get us something and then ask us if we want it."

"He should have bargained for twice

as much and then he would have gotten just what we wanted.

"I voted for Miller," he said. "I've lost all the faith in the world in that man now."

There's growing talk of what will happen if the contract is rejected and the strike continues. At the Nov. 30 meeting in Pittsburgh for Districts 4 and 5 where local delegates discussed the tentative settlement, several miners talked to reporters about what would happen in the event that the strike continues.

"When the lights go out, people will recognize that the coal miner is no groundhog," said one.

"But your lights will go out too," responded a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*.

This comment brought laughter from the miners: "Man, we live in the dark already!"

If the Taft-Hartley Act is invoked and the government tries to break the strike, added another, "they won't get one pile of coal."

'Close the pay gap,' say Colorado miners

By JACK MARSH

TRINIDAD, Colo. — One local of the United Mine Workers of America that voted to reject the new contract proposal negotiated by the UMWA leadership was Local 9856. The local represents miners at the Allen Mine, located about 30 miles outside Trinidad. More than half the members are Chicanos.

According to an *Associated Press* tally, the vote here was 125 in favor of accepting the contract, 175 against, and 150 members not voting.

News reports based on unofficial results indicated that the entire District 15, encompassing Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and New Mexico, has voted against the contract.

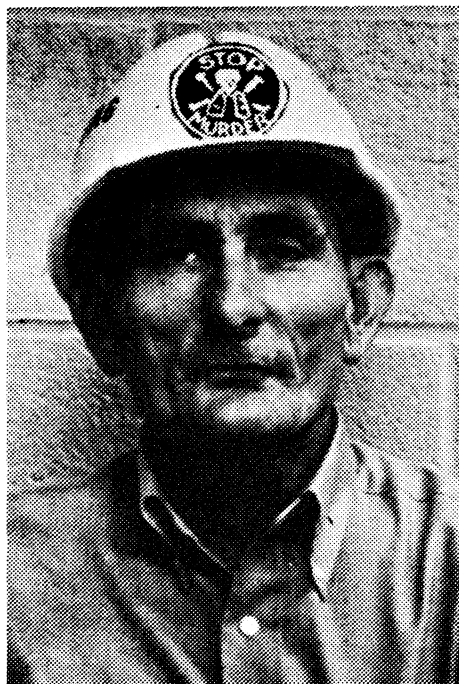
Along with other UMWA locals around the country, Local 9856 met Dec. 2 to read, discuss, and vote on the proposed contract.

The main reasons expressed by miners here for the high vote against the contract were the wage differentials between highest- and lowest-paid miners and the new pension plan. The wage differential at the beginning of the contract period would be as high as \$12.25, if trainees are included, and would increase to \$13.13 by the expiration date in 1976.

"Don't get fooled by the high wage increases," Local 9856 President Leonard Carnavale told the assembled miners. "Differences are still there. This is no good. They should have closed

the gap." This statement was greeted with cheers and applause from the membership.

The other major objection to the contract proposal was to the new pension plan, which provides for a 67 percent increase by 1977. The miners objected almost unanimously to the fact that those who had already retired, or who would retire by 1976,



'Men who have already retired, those who built our union, can't get the increased pension benefits.'

would not get the increased benefits.

"If those men who have already retired, those men who built our union, can't get these benefits, then what pension money there is should be spread equally around to include them," said one member.

What was reported as one of the "most discussed items" at the previous regional union meeting—the cost-of-living clause—did not require much discussion at the local meeting. Everyone agreed that the 8 percent annual limit for cost-of-living protection did not belong in their contract.

"What if prices go up 12 percent in the next year?" asked one miner. "If we're going to have a cost-of-living clause, let's have a real one with no limits."

There were other clauses that, while they represented advances for miners in other parts of the country, were actually setbacks for the members of Local 9856. For example, if a miner works for any amount of time at a job above his regular job classification, according to a local agreement under the old contract he gets paid for the entire shift at the higher pay scale. Under the new contract he must work at least 30 minutes under the higher job classification to receive the higher pay.

The miners, while angry at having received copies of the contract only on the morning they had to vote on it, were excited about having for the first

time in their history the right to vote on the contract under which they will have to work.

The local meeting was structured so that the miners would have the best possible picture of the contract before they would have to vote. The leadership read each section of the contract in the miners' presence, and after each section the floor was open for discussion and questions.

The proposals were presented by three members of the local executive board, two of whom are working miners and one of whom was recently elected to the staff of District 15 after having spent 25 years in the mines. The president of the local, Leonard Carnavale, also a working miner, gave the closing address before the voting took place.

"We must be concerned with the pensioners of the future and the pensioners of the past," he told theminers.

He caught the mood of the entire local on the question of the wage differentials. "There are no differences between men in the coalfields. A \$12 to \$13 differential between the highest-paid and the lowest-paid is simply not justified.

"We've got to look to the future," Carnavale continued, "and this contract doesn't look to the future. Five percent of this contract is good—the big-print part. This contract is stealing from the low man to pay the high man's wages."

Pretrial hearings begun in Attica frame-up

By KURT HILL

BUFFALO—Pretrial hearings are continuing here in the frame-up murder case against Attica defendants Charles "Charley Joe" Pernasilice and John "Dacajewiah" Hill. The two Indians are charged with the murder of William Quinn, an Attica prison guard.

Two former Attica inmates, Leland Spear and William Rivers, recently appeared on the stand as key prosecution witnesses. Spear claimed he saw an individual with unusually short hair attacking Quinn with a club in

the "Times Square" area of the prison during the first day of the uprising.

He stated that he subsequently identified John Hill from a stack of photographs provided by the Bureau of Criminal Investigation (BCI). He said the photograph he identified was one showing Hill with closely cropped hair.

Rivers also testified that he witnessed Hill attacking Quinn. Rivers claimed that he was able to identify Hill not only by his short hair but by the "slope" of a Native American's eyes.

Defense attorneys Ramsey Clark and

William Kunstler vigorously attacked the credibility of the state's witnesses. They pointed out that Spear had arrived at Attica only 10 days before the rebellion and did not know Hill by name. They revealed that the photograph of Hill included in material provided to the defense, taken only two weeks after the assault, shows Hill with relatively long hair.

In fact, the defendant had been disciplined for wearing longer than regulation hair only two days before the rebellion.

On Nov. 26, BCI investigator Frank Demler was called to the stand. Under interrogation by defense attorneys, Demler admitted that the investigators assigned to the Attica cases were instructed not to retain notes of their interviews with informers such as Spear and Rivers.

Demler also stated that this was the first time in his 17 years as an investigator that he had been ordered not to make a notebook of a case. "We were told not to use notebooks. And if we had any information it was to be given to one of the 'state attorneys,'" he said.

When asked by Kunstler if the reason for these instructions was to prevent the defense from gaining access to the information, Demler replied that this was his understanding of the orders.

During this trial as well as in the

case of Willie Smith a month ago, defense attorneys have repeatedly sought to obtain notes and notebooks of investigators. With the exception of one sheet of notes provided in the Smith trial, they have been unsuccessful. In fact, police investigators testified last month that such notes were probably shredded by state police.

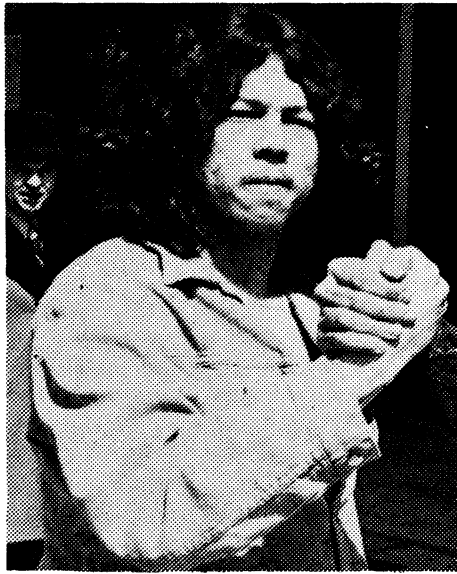
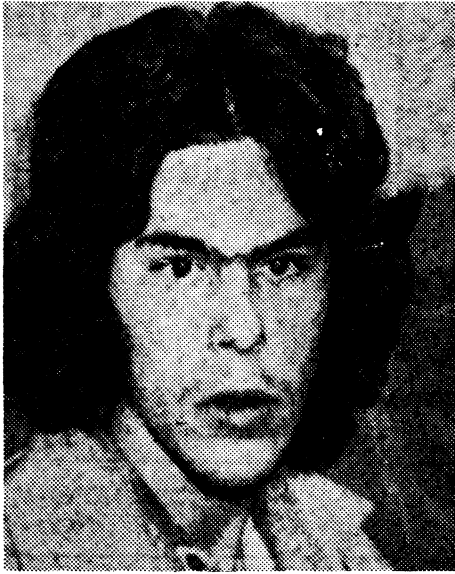
The defense has denounced these acts as blatant attempts by the state to destroy pertinent defense material.

Defense attorneys submitted several pretrial motions, including a demand to terminate several grand juries still sitting in Wyoming County.

The defense also submitted a series of affidavits documenting their charge that prisoners who have information favorable to the Attica defendants are afraid to come forward because they believe that the government will use the grand jury to indict them in retaliation. The defense noted that the juries are composed of friends, relatives, and neighbors of Attica prison guards.

Judge Gilbert King denied the motions.

The defense, however, did win two other motions. King is allowing both defendants to remain seated when he enters the court. He also has agreed to permit Pernasilice and Hill their constitutional right to speak in their own behalf during the hearings.



Charles Pernasilice (left) and John Hill are Attica defendants framed for murder of guard.

Georgians set Jan. march for ERA passage

By MARY JO VOGEL

ATLANTA—Jan. 11 is the focus of the battle in Georgia over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). On that day Georgians demanding ratification of the ERA will march to the state capitol.

Five more states are needed to ratify the amendment before it becomes law, and a broad coalition of feminist, civil rights, and union organizations in Georgia is demanding that Georgia be one of them.

Following a statewide ERA conference in November, which was attended by 350 people, organizing for the Jan. 11 demonstration has stepped up.

Eight campuses around the state are planning to bring carloads of marchers to the demonstration. "Each group will be marching under its own banner," according to Linda Hughes, co-

ordinator of Georgians for the ERA. "If this response materializes, we can expect large student contingents in the march."

Support for the march is also strong in the Black community. The Atlanta chapter of the National Black Feminist Organization; the staff of the Black Women's Employment Project; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; J. Lowell Ware, editor of the *Atlanta Voice*; Mayor Maynard Jackson; and U.S. Representative Andrew Young (D-Ga.) have all given their support.

In addition, a new city-wide group called Black Women's Ad Hoc Committee for the ERA is leafleting the campuses, scheduling speaking engagements, and holding a public forum on the ERA in order to organize a Black contingent for the march.

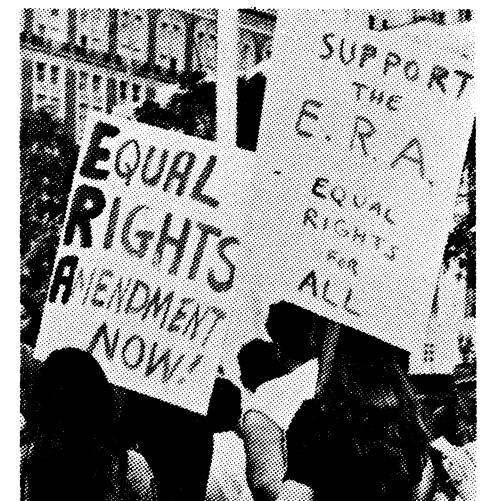
Endorsers of the march also in-

clude several trade unions and union officials. Among them are the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Office and Professional Employees International Union; John Wright, president, Atlanta Labor Council; and Herb Green, international representative of the United Auto Workers.

Other organizations supporting the march include the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Socialist Workers Party, the YWCA, several church groups, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Last January a march of 1,000 people in support of the ERA forced the Georgia legislature to debate the amendment for the first time. Although the amendment was defeated, the demonstration and other activities brought the ERA to public attention and laid

the basis for much broader support for the ERA. The Jan. 11 march is expected to be the strongest show of support for the ERA that Georgia has witnessed.



Judge refuses Wash. SWP exemption request

By HELEN MEYERS

SEATTLE—A motion to reopen hearings on the Socialist Workers 1974 Washington State Campaign Committee's request for exemption from disclosing names of its contributors was turned down Nov. 25 by Thurston County Superior Court Judge Frank Baker.

The socialists had earlier gone before the state Public Disclosure Commission (PDC) to request exemption from the financial disclosure provisions of the state's campaign "reform" law.

The SWP contends that making available to the government the names, addresses, and places of employment of its contributors—under Washington law this includes those donating as little as \$1—would ex-

pose them to harassment by the FBI and other federal and local government agencies.

In a two-day hearing before the PDC, held in Olympia in mid-October, American Civil Liberties Union attorney Roger Leed, who is representing the socialists, produced 79 affidavits as proof of the harassment.

Testimony was also heard from Seattle police Sergeant Archie Porter, who had been in charge of the police intelligence division through early 1972. Porter admitted that the police department "investigated" the SWP and had planted an informer in the party.

Under questioning from commission members, Porter further admitted that this surveillance was carried out even though the SWP was never at any time suspected of violent or criminal activ-

ity.

"As a matter of fact, it was just the opposite," Porter testified. "They [the SWP] stated, in essence, we don't want any violence, and as I stated earlier in my testimony, there never was any at their rallies, marches, and etc."

Although the FBI was subpoenaed by the commission, its agents refused to appear or testify. Central to the SWP's exemption request are the admitted surveillance and harassment of its members and supporters by the FBI.

It was because of the FBI's refusal to answer questions that Leed and the SWP went to court seeking to reopen the PDC hearing and to force the FBI to testify. Without FBI testimony, Leed argued, the commission's 3-to-1 decision against the socialists could not

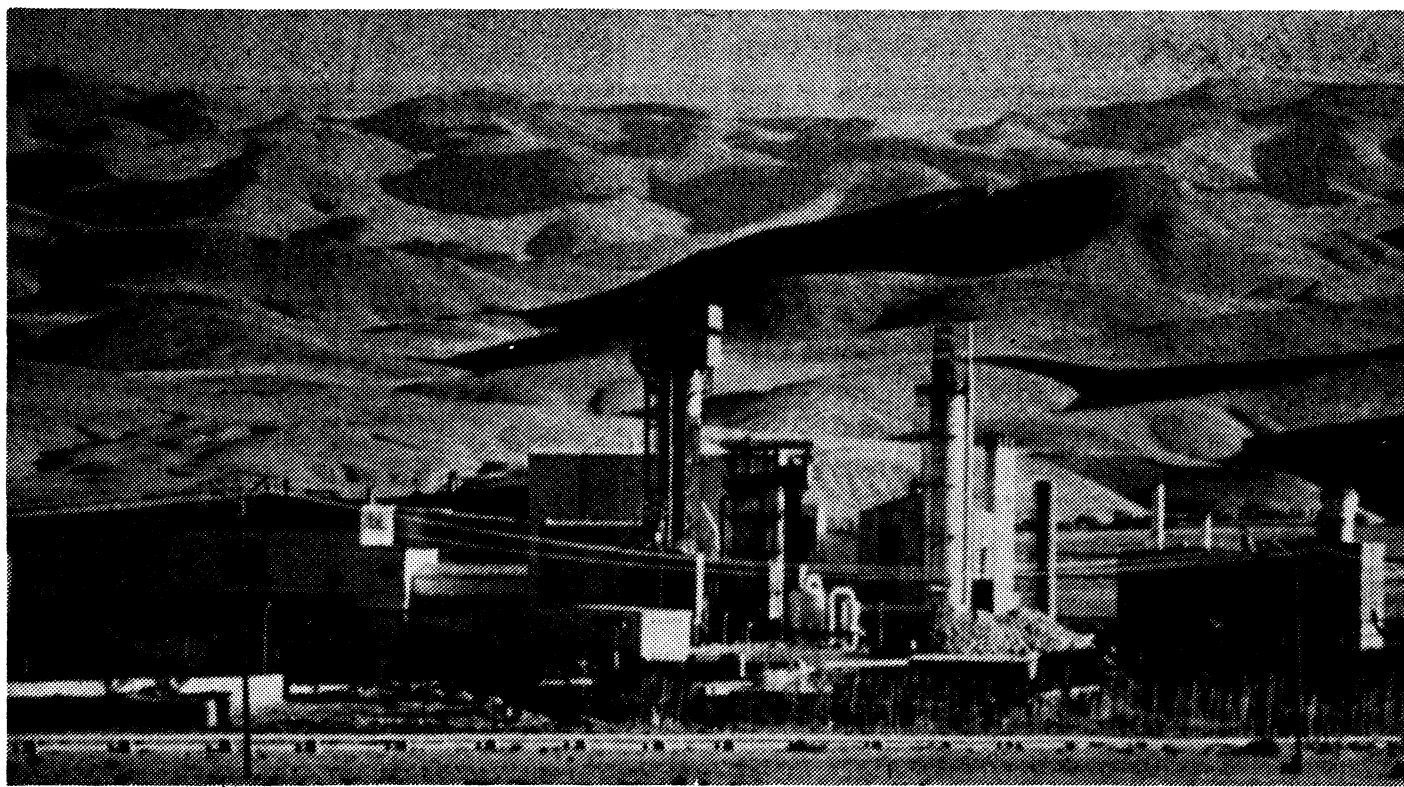
be an informed one.

Leed pointed to the recent release of FBI documents on Cointelpro ("counterintelligence program") operations against the SWP, and to FBI director Clarence Kelley's statement that he would continue to use such methods, as further evidence of the need for FBI testimony.

The judge denied Leed's motion on the technicality that the court could not rule on the decision of a state administrative body before that body issued its report.

It is expected that the PDC will issue this report, its "Findings and Orders," at its Dec. 17 meeting, and that the report will require the SWP campaign committee to disclose its contributors.

The socialists plan to appeal the court decision.



The real U.S. plan: keep oil prices high

By DICK ROBERTS

The most repeated central point of U.S. propaganda against the Arab oil-producing countries and Iran is that they are responsible for high oil prices.

"The producers are able to manipulate prices at will and with apparent impunity," Secretary of State Henry Kissinger charged in Chicago Nov. 14. Kissinger said high oil prices threaten a "breakdown of international order."

But high oil prices are a long-term objective of the U.S. oil industry and the federal government.

This fact, which has been stressed by *The Militant* since the emergence of the energy crisis a year and a half ago, has been admitted by a top-level U.S. official and was repeated Nov. 27 in the financial section of the *New York Times* by *Times* international monetary expert Leonard Silk.

The U.S. official is Thomas Enders, assistant secretary of state for economic and business affairs. According to Silk, "Enders is regarded by insiders as the chief architect of Secretary of State Kissinger's energy policy." Enders disclosed the essence of the administration's oil policy at a forum at Yale University.

"The startling news broken by Mr. Enders at Yale," said Silk, "—startling against the background of repeated declarations of high American officials that OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] nations must reduce their exorbitantly high prices—is that the United States is now founding its strategy on the \$11 price."

The "\$11 price" is roughly the upper price for oil now prevailing in world markets.

Silk pretends to be startled by this news, and he writes his article as though the high-oil-price strategy is a "new plan."

But the fact of the matter is that higher oil prices have been the linchpin of the strategy of the oil trusts from the outset of the energy crisis. Through higher prices the oil companies considerably raise their profits on domestically produced oil and make it profitable for themselves to develop alternative sources of oil and other energy resources (oil shale, offshore oil, coal, and nuclear energy).

An explicit aim in developing these

alternative energy sources is precisely to break the back of the Arab and Iranian hold on the world oil market. This has been true from the beginning—long before OPEC actually raised its oil prices.

In a typical article, which appeared in the Council on Foreign Relations quarterly *Foreign Affairs* in July 1973, coal-mining executive Carroll Wilson wrote, "The objectives of my proposal are to achieve, by 1985: first, the independence of the United States from critical reliance on imports of energy in any form . . . second, energy costs below some target level. . . . I suggest as a goal keeping energy costs for premium fuels such as gas or oil below \$1.00 per million BTU [British thermal units]. This is equivalent to oil at \$6.00 per barrel, roughly twice present prices."

Global search

Before the October 1973 Mideast war, a doubling of the price of oil was all the energy executives dared hope for—at least in public. Now, with the world awash in a wave of anti-Arab propaganda—which the oil trusts themselves have played a major role in promoting—the oil companies have launched a global oil hunt. They could do this, as they had planned to, only when they got the high prices needed to make it profitable. This is what State Department spokesperson Enders explained at Yale.

According to Silk, "Mr. Enders stated that the present high world prices—starting at about \$10 a barrel . . . for Persian Gulf crude—had started a worldwide oil boom."

"Substantial finds of oil have been reported from Mexico, Peru, China, Indonesia," he said, "and the wave of exploration is just beginning."

The alternative sources will ultimately force OPEC to retreat on prices. Silk said, "OPEC members will try to sustain the high price by cutting production. They are now working at less than three-quarters of capacity, according to Mr. Enders. How long they can sustain the existing price will depend on how fast the world market develops for oil. . . ."

"Mr. Enders implied that the United States thinks the cartel could fall apart."

The hypocrisy of the oil trust's position on high oil prices was all the more revealed by the oil companies' concern that prices might fall before they built up their global reserves: "Paradoxically," said Silk, "the United States is worried that such a downward break in world oil prices could come too soon, and be devastating for heavy American and other Western investment in the development of alternative energy sources, based on the assumption of a continued 'real' oil price of \$11 a barrel."

'Catch-22'

But it doesn't stop there. To add insult to injury, the oil trusts envision that even when they have forced down foreign oil prices *they will be able to maintain domestic oil prices at the current high foreign rate.*

Unbelievable? Here's what Silk says: "What is important, Mr. Enders argues, is that all the major oil companies adopt policies having the effect of creating stable investment expectations at a level of return *roughly equivalent to present oil prices.*"

"This is what, in informal discussion, he called the Catch-22 of the United States position: It is designed to reduce Western dependency on foreign oil and ultimately break the OPEC oil price, *but when the oil price comes down, the United States and its partners will hold up their own oil prices. . . . [and] would continue to pay \$11 to their domestic producers.*" (Emphasis added.)

It sounds like Catch-22 at first hearing, but it is no more contradictory than the private profit system itself. If higher-priced alternative energy sources are developed now, and they succeed in breaking OPEC's prices, they will still be higher-priced in the future. Consequently, to protect the future profitability of these investments, the continuation of the current high price must be guaranteed. There would then be a "two-tier cost structure for energy."

Enders explained: "One [tier] that assures the consuming countries their desired degree of independence; the other balances a constant demand and growing supply for imported oil at prices that diminished, or even reversed, the accumulation of assets by producers."

The words are the jargon of foreign diplomates. What the first "tier" means is high prices in the United States, Europe, and Japan so the oil trusts can continue to gouge out profits while prices have fallen abroad.

The second "tier" means that the underdeveloped oil-producing nations will be deprived of this source of income, *even to the point of reversing their present accumulation of assets.*

It is hard to recall a more straightforward statement of the predatory character and aims of imperialism.

War danger

And it doesn't stop here either.

What about the open threats on the part of high U.S. officials that Washington may go to war in the Middle East if necessary to drive down oil prices? That is what Kissinger (advised by Enders) has been implying all along.

Silk explains, "Behind the United States position on energy, as developed by Mr. Enders, is the belief that the only way the United States can get a handle on the crisis is via its international dangers—and that is also the only way Americans can be brought to see the urgency of the crisis."

"The steady and vastly mounting flow of arms to the Middle East, from France, the United States and others, to pay for oil imports, is one dimension of the problem to which Mr. Enders did not address himself. But that may be the most critical dimension of all."

"And the most paradoxical aspect is that the United States, in fighting to bring down the OPEC price, means to keep its own price high."

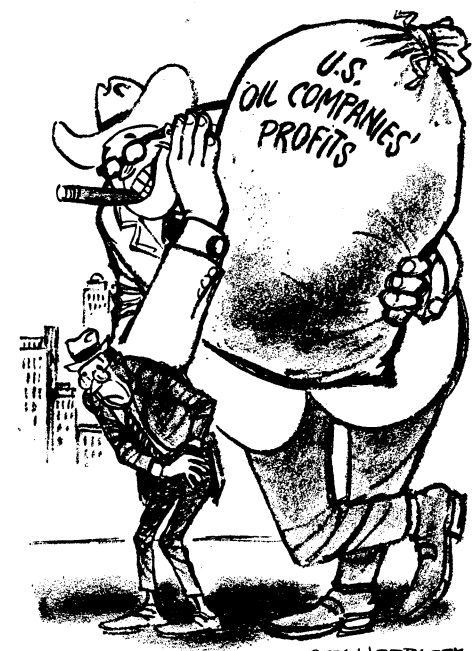
In other words, the United States might go to war in the Middle East in the name of driving down high oil prices and never do it, because this is not its aim.

Without coming right out and saying so, Silk is calling to the attention of his colleagues the danger of admitting that they don't want to bring prices down: *it reveals their real aim, namely, to bring the semicolonial nations into line, to deprive them of a share in the take from their own oil resources.*

The imperialists do not favor nationalization of resources or any other form of government participation by the underdeveloped countries in the profits derived from the once-solid imperialist monopoly of raw materials.

On the economic front the imperialists are engaged in a global offensive to weaken this price-sharing attempt on the part of the OPEC nations.

But the imperialists are also preparing a military offensive, and they will go to war if they believe that the timing is right and they can get away with it. This makes it doubly imperative to expose the lies about Arab oil prices, which are the main underpinnings of the propaganda on both the economic and military fronts.



'Keep an eye on those Ayrabs, boy'

Nuclear threat

The Israeli regime has responded to increasing pressure with threats of war—including nuclear war. The most brazen yet came Dec. 1 from Israeli President Ephraim Katzir.

"It has always been our position to prepare a potential for making atomic weapons," he said during a reception in Jerusalem for international science writers touring Israel. "If we need them, we will have them."

Commenting on Israel's isolation, Katzir said, "Our people will become more and more bitter. If necessary, Israel will protect herself with all means possible."

Asked whether the nuclear potential was a cause for concern, Katzir shot back cavalierly, "Why should it worry us? Let the world worry."

Having nurtured and armed the Israeli state as a bulwark for its interests in the Arab East, Washington has created a Frankenstein, which is now capable of initiating the universal destruction that was once the sole prerogative of the U. S. ruling class.

Katzir's A-bomb-rattling statement brings into focus the terrible alternative that the capitalist system has placed before humanity.

In the sphere of economics, capitalism sets into motion forces that even the most powerful governments are unable to control, as is clear from its periodic crises. This system is responsible for unleashing the irrational and the suicidal in the sphere of politics as well, as has been demonstrated through two world wars and by the current threat of nuclear war from Israel's rulers.

Apparently considering Katzir's threats to be too damaging to Israel's image, the editors of the staunchly pro-Israel *New York Times*—the newspaper that claims to cover "all the news that's fit to print"—decided to make no mention of Katzir's speech at all.

As is the tradition with capitalist rulers when preparing a war, the Zionists have assured the world that anything they do will be in self-defense. They insist they will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Zionist regime tries to justify its nuclear ultimatums by fabricating a supposed danger to the Jewish people. But what the Zionists hold up as the "threat" to the Jewish population in Israel is simply the prospect of living together with the Palestinians in a single, secular state.

The real danger to Jewish existence—and to the existence of everybody else in the world as well—comes not from the Palestinians, but from the Zionist state and its backers in Washington.

Valentyn Moroz

Valentyn Moroz, a 38-year-old Ukrainian historian, is on the verge of death.

Sentenced to nine years of imprisonment and five years of exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" in November 1970, Moroz began a hunger strike on July 1 of this year. He had been subjected to savage beatings by inmates egged on by guards, confined with insane prisoners, and administered mind-destroying drugs.

This vicious treatment has been handed out to Moroz because he wrote four essays detailing the repression in the Soviet Union and the Stalinist policies aimed at the destruction of Ukrainian culture and domination of Ukraine by the Great Russian nationality. "As you well know," Moroz told the judges at his trial, "I am not being tried for any crime. I am being tried for my role in a movement of which you disapprove."

Even if Moroz really had committed some crime, the inhuman treatment he has received would not be justified. The extreme length of his prison sentence and the vindictive tortures he has been subjected to inside prison—topped off by forced feeding since he initiated his hunger strike—are attempts to break Moroz's spirit and his will to struggle. They are worthy of the torturers in Chile and Saigon, not of any regime that pretends to speak for the socialist future.

The torture of Moroz and others like him is a shameful scandal, a blot on the name of the Soviet Union placed there by a bureaucratic leadership that has nothing in common with socialism, or even with the most elementary standards of human compassion and solidarity. The Stalinist parties around the globe, like the Communist Party USA, have remained silent on the Moroz case or, even worse, supported such outrages. They share in the responsibility.

Free Valentyn Moroz!

Cannon fund-I

When I read the story about the murder of the Argentine revolutionists in the Nov. 15 issue of *The Militant* I recognized the photo of César Robles, the comrade of the PST, whom I heard speak last year. To remember seeing him less than a year ago and then to think of his tragic demise gave me a very profound gut-level feeling about this system and the value it places upon human life. Please accept my rather belated contribution of \$50 to the Cannon fund.

A reader
Bloomington, Ind.

Cannon fund-II

Here is a check for \$10. I wish I could give more to the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund. My Social Security pays me only \$206.10 per month, and that is all I have to live on.

I feel good that I can give something to the greatest cause I know and in honor and memory of a wonderful human being and a true Marxist socialist.

A reader
Morongo Valley, Calif.

[The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was established in August, following the death of this great American revolutionist. One of the main purposes of the fund is to help in publishing Cannon's speeches and correspondence.

The fund now stands at \$61,892.72. Donations should be sent to: Cannon Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.]

Why not us?

The article in the Nov. 22 *Militant* on Haitians in Canada by Paul Kouri was dynamite. More, please!

There are many Franco-Americans in New England and New York State. Some friends of mine recently had their car ripped apart by border goons. They had family in Canada. This kind of oppression is written up in *The Militant* when it applies to Latins—why not us?

Consider the 800,000 of us in Massachusetts and Maine: a small number, maybe, but the largest single group. Don't ignore our needs. Why not an analysis of Québécois independence or of Canada's view of Franco-Americans?

D. M.
Belchertown, Mass.

Fear of unemployment

Detroit, the heart of the auto industry, is rapidly becoming a city of unemployed. With the announcement by Chrysler that it will lay off almost 50,000 workers during December, and Ford and General Motors making daily announcements of more temporary and permanent layoffs, fear of unemployment is gripping auto workers and their families.

With the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy taking the position of a mendicant before the employers, the auto workers can expect little from either the local or international union officers.

The 1973 UAW contracts with the Big Three now expose the bankrupt-

cy of the union leadership. The \$625 limit on pensions for those retiring as of Oct. 1, 1974, has limited retirements to less than 30 percent of those eligible to retire.

Some UAW officials have suggested that the cost-of-living increases be placed in the pension fund to enable the companies to increase monthly pension payments. They are in effect advocating that the workers take a wage cut.

The failure of the UAW leadership to protect the worker on the job has already forced some UAW members to take direct action.

If hundreds of thousands find they are ineligible for nine days of holiday pay at Christmas and New Years there may be some explosive actions not only against the companies but against the international union leadership.

John W. Anderson
Dearborn, Mich.

More posters

Could you please send me additional Boston Freedom March posters? I intend to display them in as many places on campus as possible.

Hopefully a group from Roger Williams College will participate in this necessary march against virulent racism. Thanks so much.

Steve Moniz
Tiverton, R. I.

[Additional copies of the poster ("Join the Freedom Ride to Boston") printed in the Nov. 29 *Militant* are available for 10 cents each. Order from the Militant business office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.]

Finch vs. Clark

Planting false stories in the press to discredit an opponent in an election campaign is a "dirty trick" most people associate with Nixon and, more recently, with Rockefeller.

But it seems that even those who claimed to be the staunchest campaigners against Watergate politics don't hesitate to stoop to such tactics when they think they can get away with it—especially if the target is a "minor" party like the Socialist Workers Party.

The "Week In Review" section of the Nov. 17 *New York Times* printed an article by Victor Navasky, who was campaign manager for Democrat Ramsey Clark in his recent bid for U. S. Senate from New York. The article reports the following anecdote:

"An attractive young woman approaches and introduces herself as Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers party candidate for the U. S. Senate, and asks isn't it hypocritical for Clark to demand debates with [Republican candidate Jacob] Javits yet consistently refuse debates with Finch?"

"She is almost convincing. Will she consent to include in such a debate the candidate of the U. S. Labor party?"

"Of course not," says Ms. Finch, shocked at the idea. Why not? "Because everybody knows the U. S. Labor party is fascist."

For anyone who takes this little story at face value, the lesson is



Cruel and unusual punishment

plain: While Clark is a "reasonable" fellow who has no objection to talking about the issues, by a clever ploy he has exposed the socialists as a slightly nutty fringe group with no serious commitment to an inclusive debate.

Navasky's anecdote is a complete fabrication. It is designed to shift the responsibility for Clark's refusal to debate onto me. It is the kind of political dishonesty typical of Democratic and Republican Party politicians, liberals and conservatives alike.

During the entire course of the campaign, I and the other SWP candidates fought for the democratic rights of *all* parties to appear on the ballot and to receive equal coverage. Our record in vigorously fighting the state Democratic Party's attempt to knock the smaller parties off the ballot this year is proof of this consistent stance.

As Navasky knows full well, I approached Clark's staff on three occasions to request a debate and was answered each time with the same evasiveness: Ramsey Clark would debate me only if I could persuade Jacob Javits to also participate.

I call upon Ramsey Clark, who says he stands for honesty in politics, to repudiate the deliberately dishonest account written by his campaign manager.

Militant readers might also be interested to know that the *New York Times* has so far refused to print a letter from me correcting their false story.

Rebecca Finch
New York, N.Y.

Not 'qualified?'

I am very disappointed with your paper. Most of the authors seem to be highly opinionated and have no evidence to back up what they say. Their qualifications are not given, so evidently they are not "worthwhile" qualifications.

Please cancel my paper immediately and send refund for the remainder.
Scott Fane
Trenton, N.J.

Commendable

Please start a one-year subscription to *The Militant*.

May I say that having previously subscribed for two years, I give *The Militant* and its entire staff my highest commendation for its accurate reportage and editorial leadership.

Thank you for publishing such a fine news magazine.
R. B. S.
McAllen, Tex.

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.

District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, struck private hospitals and nursing homes in New York City in November 1973. The strike, involving 35,000 underpaid hospital workers, lasted one week.

It was a direct challenge to the authority of the federal government's Cost of Living Council—the first and only strike called against the wage-control policy of the Nixon administration.

The response of the government was swift and vindictive. Federal Judge Robert Carter issued a no-strike injunction against the union. Two days after the strike began he imposed a fine of half a million dollars on the union and additional fines of \$7,500 each against individual officers. He fined union President Leon Davis \$10,000. The charge was "contempt of court." The fines escalated daily and amounted to \$723,500 by the time the strike ended.

This was cruel and unusual punishment, but appeals have failed. The money must be paid to the federal government out of the meager earnings of these hospital workers. As a last resort Leon Davis has appealed to President Ford for a pardon, asking that the fines be set aside. In an open letter to Ford, published in the November issue of *1199 News*, Davis writes:

"Certainly, in view of your all-inclusive pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon for all crimes he has or may have committed against the people of the United States, we feel our request has merit. Richard M. Nixon's crimes are much more serious than any our members or officers could have committed. Richard Nixon's transgressions transcend the civil offenses Judge Carter decided we were guilty of."

The circumstances of this case cry out for justice, independently of the favored treatment given to Nixon. The union and its officers committed no crime. The crime was perpetrated upon them. Involved in this were the rich foundations that operate the private hospitals, the Cost of Living Council under the direction of John Dunlop, and the Nixon administra-

tion. Judge Carter was the direct instrument of this sinister combination.

The strike was provoked by the refusal of the Cost of Living Council to approve a 7.5 percent wage increase amounting to only \$12 a week.

The strike was a service to all workers who were, being robbed of wages by the Cost of Living Council, and it could have destroyed the council and Nixon's wage-control machinery if the trade-union officialdom had backed the determined action of the hospital workers.

The strikers were forced back to work for a \$9 weekly pay raise. They lost \$3 every week from July 1973 to May 1974, when the government temporarily shelved wage controls. For the 35,000 hospital workers this was a total loss of \$4.6-million—the amount the private hospitals gained at their expense.

On top of this the federal government is now extracting another three-quarters of a million dollars because the hospital workers dared to defend themselves against the larger robbery.

This is a matter that should not be left with an appeal to Ford for a pardon. His past performance shows that he is disposed to uphold criminals and punish their victims. The general election this year, though, was seen as a popular repudiation of what Ford stands for, and the new Congress has been hailed as largely "labor endorsed." Surely this body should redress the wrong suffered by the hospital workers.

A special law should be passed by the 94th Congress the day it convenes, reversing Judge Carter's punitive ruling and ordering the hospitals to pay back the \$4.6-million that rightfully belongs to the hospital workers. This would be an act of justice. But justice is not usually dispensed as speedily from Congress as the special acts it habitually passes on 24 hours' notice to halt strikes by public workers.

If an appeal to Ford is worthwhile, then surely it wouldn't hurt to ask for an act of Congress. This is something the hospital workers ought to consider. It would be a good test of their newly elected "Friends."

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Chicanos in 'Goldwater country'

On Nov. 5 Raul Castro was elected governor of Arizona, and Jerry Apodaca governor of New Mexico. They are the first Chicanos to fill those posts since 1912 and 1918 respectively.

Their election signifies that racist barriers against Chicanos holding public office are beginning to crumble.

But don't get your hopes up that this means that changes for the better are in the offing for *la raza* in these states as a result of having a Chicano in the governor's mansion. Both Castro and Apodaca are Democrats. And the only reason they got the nod from their Democratic Party bosses is that they both have made it clear that they intend to preserve the status quo.

Castro has a long record of faithful service to the capitalist system. He began his political career as a prosecutor in Tucson, becoming notorious for his "law and order" stand. He did such a good job, they made him a judge for five years, and he got the chance to send plenty more Chicanos to jail.

He served as ambassador to El Salvador and Bolivia under the Johnson and Nixon administrations, respectively. It was Johnson who sent thousands of Chicanos to their deaths in Vietnam and invaded the Dominican Republic with marines to overturn the elections.

Castro is against hiring quotas for oppressed minorities. He opposes the right to abortion and amnesty for draft resisters.

To show how these capitalist politicians of both parties stick together, Castro defended his Republican opponent, Governor Jack Williams, when the United Farm Workers tried to have him recalled for anti-farm worker stands.

"This is Goldwater country," says Castro. "You'd better be establishment."

Both candidates had to reassure their Anglo party chiefs that they were not part of any attempt by

Chicanos to win some political power.

As one political observer in New Mexico noted, "If the Spanish-speaking expect wholesale turnover to them, they will be disappointed. Apodaca is not a militant Chicano." During his campaign Apodaca said that he would "probably go out of my way" not to favor Chicanos in his appointments.

"I don't wave any banners as a Mexican," is the way Castro put it.

The election of Apodaca and Castro represents a concession by the Democratic Party to the large Chicano population in those states. In New Mexico it is 40 percent of the total population.

Despite the *supervendido* stance of Castro and Apodaca, there is evidence that many Chicanos identify with them. Castro, for example, comes from a poor background. He is a naturalized citizen, having been born into a large family in Sonora, Mexico.

But the aspirations of Chicanos for political representation and a better life that were placed in Castro and Apodaca are not going to be realized.

To achieve real gains for Chicanos, we have to fight the Goldwaters, not join them. And that means fighting both of the capitalist parties in "Goldwater country." It is these two parties that are responsible for maintaining the racist oppression of Chicanos.

There is now unprecedented sentiment against the two capitalist parties. And with the large numbers of Chicanos in these two states there exists an opportunity like never before to build an independent Chicano political party like La Raza Unida Party.

In Arizona and New Mexico it is realistic to think that Chicanos could elect independent candidates to many posts. These positions could be used to win further gains for Chicanos.

Not the least of the advantages is that the candidates of such a party would not have to apologize for waving a Chicano banner in Goldwater country.



Don't spend it all in one place— Touched by the plight of the poor in these inflationary times, the federal government has hiked food-stamp benefits. Top increase goes to a family of four. They'll receive an additional \$4 a month, better than three cents a day each.

Fringe benefit— Since its statistics indicate coffin-nail addicts have more fires in their homes, one insurance company is offering a lower fire insurance rate to nonsmokers.

White male chauvinist pig of the week— Singer Vicki Carr, a Chicana, performed at a White House state dinner.

Afterward, she invited the Fords to her home for a Mexican dinner, asking Mr. Ford, "What is your favorite Mexican dish?" The president responded, "You."

It figures— Kremlin bureaucrats are weighing the idea of holding an international women's year in the USSR in 1975. A commission was established to study the idea. The chairperson of the commission, reported TASS, is a man.

Every little bit helps— The Episcopalian bishop of the New York area is

asking his flock to skip meat once a week and give the money saved to help the hungry. Vegetarians are asked "some similar discipline." And for those already meatless for economic reasons, "I ask at least your prayers."

Catch-22 set aside— Congress granted 40 acres of land to a 60-member colony of Paiute Indians in California in restitution for land ripped off from them a century ago. The Interior Department had argued against such restitution, claiming they were ineligible because they weren't a recognized tribe. Why weren't they recognized? They had no land base.

Really the blues— California Governor Ronald Reagan warned the Los Angeles Petroleum Club that a "dangerous wave of populism" is gripping the country and that big business in general, and the oil industry in particular, are major targets. "Faith in our institutions," the governor lamented, "has never been lower."

Inoperative— The Miami-Dade, Fla., Community College board of trustees voted to rename the north campus building the Miami-Dade Institute of Criminal Justice. Previously it was the Richard M. Nixon Criminal Justice Building.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A Caribbean drama that's not all tinsel

The setting for this drama is the Caribbean island of Jamaica and the South American country of Guyana. The heroes are the people of the two nations. Cast as the villains—though twirling no mustaches—are six of the world's largest aluminum companies, all U.S.-owned. The plot involves a struggle between the two governments and the companies over the imperialists' plundering of the countries' deposits of bauxite, from which aluminum is made.

Let's look in:

"Our fundamental objective is to bring the industry under [the] control and direction of Jamaica," Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley said in September.

These companies "not only have exploited the resources of I.B.A. [International Bauxite Association] member countries, but have even reached the position to claim certain extraterritorial rights," Forbes Burnham, Guyana prime minister, charged in November. "They have raised themselves above domestic law and jurisprudence to the host countries. . . ."

Jamaica and Guyana have the world's second- and fourth-largest known deposits of bauxite, after Australia. The United States, with virtually no bauxite, has to import almost 90 percent of its requirements. Sixty percent of this amount comes

from Jamaica alone. U.S. investment in Jamaica bauxite production is estimated to be more than \$1-billion.

Driven by mounting mass pressure to take action against the immense poverty in these countries, the governments of Jamaica and Guyana have begun talking back to the aluminum companies.

In June the Jamaican government legislated an eightfold increase in the tax it collects from the aluminum companies, from \$25-million to \$200-million. If the government gets the \$200-million it wants, the figure will top the amount the island got from tourism in 1972 and will equal almost one-third of the 1975 budget.

So far the companies have complied with the new tax law, though grudgingly.

But in Guyana, spokespeople for Reynolds Metal Company threatened in October that the company would abandon its \$20-million bauxite facility rather than meet the government's demand for a higher tax on bauxite.

A demonstration of several thousand, addressed by Burnham, was held in Guyana's capital city early in November to back up the demand.

Although neither Burnham nor Manley have any intentions of confiscating the companies' holdings—"Our bauxite will always be available to them as long as they pay a fair price," Burnham

has said—cries of blackmail and warnings of an embargo have been heard from the piqued plunderers.

Richard Reynolds Jr. of Reynolds Metals, though, explained that the governments of Jamaica and Guyana, although they've been emboldened by the Arab oil-producing countries, could not pull off an embargo as those countries did. Why? "Because each of the bauxite-producers lack the total package of facilities required for producing aluminum, the product most sought after by consuming nations," he said.

Manley, however, is aware of this and is moving ahead with plans to construct aluminum smelters in Trinidad.

For now, the curtain has fallen on act 1. What will happen next? The imperialists have made it clear—through measures such as their actions in Chile and their current war threats against the oil-producing lands—that they will tolerate no serious threat to their profit rights. They will employ subversion, coercion, and outright military invasion if necessary to get their way.

The interests of the people of Jamaica and Guyana lie in an uncompromising fight against the plundering of their bauxite resources.

Within this conflict lie the seeds of a major struggle.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Catch-22 for welfare mothers

A new federal action, designed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), has opened the door for states to force welfare mothers to take unpaid, menial jobs to "work off" their relief checks.

On Nov. 4 HEW revoked a long-standing ban on the use of federal funds for such forced-work programs.

The slave-labor scheme is not a new one. The government has been trying to move in that direction, not without public resistance, for several years now. Richard Nixon's so-called Family Assistance Plan of 1971 had forced-work provisions in it. This plan was protested by a demonstration of 50,000 people, many of them children, in Washington, D.C., on March 25, 1972.

New York State tested out its plan of forced labor at rock-bottom wages in South Brooklyn in 1971. The program was officially called the "Incentives for Independence" plan, but was commonly referred to as the "Brownie Point" program. This plan too was met with a demonstration of angry welfare recipients demanding "Jobs for All" and "Free Child Care."

Through these programs the government tries to reinforce the myth that welfare recipients are

shiftless, lazy freeloaders who will only work if forced to. At the same time, the plans are designed to further exploit the most oppressed and drive people off welfare without providing jobs.

Eighty-five percent of the people on welfare rolls are mothers and their children. In most cases the woman is solely responsible for her own and her children's survival. These women are forced onto welfare by the lack of child-care facilities, jobs, and training.

The welfare mothers and children have been battered around in a Catch-22 system for years. This past September in New York, for example, a new fee scale for public child-care facilities went into effect. The new scale restricted the use of child-care facilities to welfare recipients or people whose net income fell below a very low level. Although protests forced the city and state governments to come up with some funds, several thousand children were thrown out. This forced many women who wanted to work onto welfare because they couldn't afford to pay the new fees for child care.

The main slogan at the large demonstrations protesting the cutbacks in child care and the new fees was "Child Care, Not Welfare!"

Now that these women have been forced onto

welfare rolls, the government is trying to force them off again by making them work at miserable jobs for no pay. The welfare recipients are caught in a cruel dilemma not of their own making.

The new federal plan is being challenged in a suit filed on behalf of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). NWRO says that "work relief is seen by some state officials as a way of obtaining cheap labor for public agencies, since regular civil-service salaries and other employee benefits do not have to be paid."

NWRO also points out that states, such as New York, that have already implemented the forced-work projects for some categories of welfare recipients have "maintained freezes on regular hiring despite the need for more workers in part because of availability of cheap labor under the work-relief program."

Instead of the present degrading, inadequate welfare system, the obligation of society should be to provide everyone with a decent standard of living. That would include jobs at union wages for all who want to work; free medical care for all; free 24-hour child-care facilities; and adequate unemployment and Social Security benefits.

Chicano student organization holds California conference

By MIGUEL PENDAS

FRESNO, Calif.—The United Farm Workers (UFW), La Raza Unida Party (RUP), and Chicana feminism were the main topics discussed at a Nov. 16 statewide gathering of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) chapters.

The conference was significant for what it reveals about the current state of the Chicano student movement in California.

On practically every campus in California where there are Chicanos, there is a MECHA. The campus MECHA chapter has inevitably been the organizational vehicle for Chicano students to protest the war in Vietnam, to fight racist discrimination on campus, and to deal with other Chicano issues.

The conference was principally organized by activists in the Fresno City College MECHA. Most of the 400 delegates were from small campuses, junior colleges, community colleges, and the like. A large number were from Fresno itself and other parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Others came from Sacramento, San Diego, San Jose, and Oakland. Practically none came from Los Angeles.

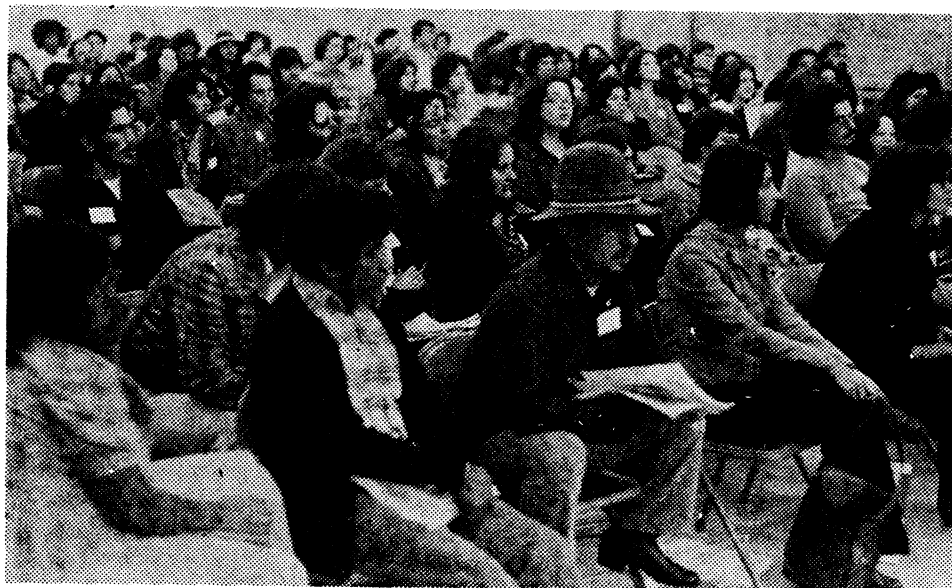
The small number from the Los Angeles area, where there are more Chicano students than anywhere else, is due mainly to the lack of a leadership that could have mobilized a good turnout.

The fertile San Joaquin Valley is one of the most profitable farming areas in the world; it is agribusiness country. But there is a large Chicano population here. This is where the UFW has its main base of support. The development of a strong Chicano movement here would be significant indeed.

UFW members attended and addressed the conference. The delegates enthusiastically reaffirmed their commitment to the boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine.

But in the workshop on La Raza Unida Party, the UFW leadership's political strategy of supporting liberal Democrats was widely questioned. "Why doesn't César Chávez support La Raza Unida?" many activists inquired.

Most participants were aware of the electoral victories of the Texas Raza



Four hundred delegates attended statewide MECHA gathering

Militant/Miguel Pendas

Unida Party. But while favoring La Raza Unida, a few wondered if it was practical to build the RUP in California, where Chicanos are not the majority as they are in many Texas towns. One person suggested that perhaps Chicanos should remain in the Democratic Party long enough to build a power base before breaking away.

Workshop chairperson Catarino Hurtado, a local RUP leader, answered these questions. He rejected the idea that Chicanos could get anywhere inside the Democratic Party. He characterized the Chicano Caucus, a grouping of Mexican-American legislators in California, as "a tool of the system" that only perpetuates illusions among Chicanos that the Democratic Party can be a vehicle for solving their problems.

In his remarks Hurtado also spoke in support of the efforts to defend undocumented Mexican workers in this country against *la migra*. There was no opposition to this view.

In other comments, Hurtado expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people, comparing their plight to that of Chicanos.

The sentiment of the conference participants was strongly in favor of building La Raza Unida Party in California. Resolutions were adopted to form RUP organizing committees in every MECHA; to make an effort to promote the RUP in regular academic classes; and to register all MECHA members into La Raza Unida.

If these recommendations are carried out, this action would be one of the biggest boosts the independent Chicano party has had in California to date.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the conference was the deepening of Chicana feminism evidenced.

Most Chicano conferences in the past have had workshops on Chicanas that were the scenes of heated debate as to whether Chicana feminism divided the overall struggle for Chicano liberation. Men usually led the arguments, asserting that it did, and often many women would acquiesce or agree. Those women who affirmed that Chicanas had their own unique problems as women and their own struggle as women, and that this was not at odds with the movement as a whole, were usually in a minority.

The strong participation and leading roles of Chicanas in the conference itself was strong testimony against the notion that feminism divides the movement. The main organizers of the gathering were women, and about half the participants were

women. Chicanas participated in the discussion and gave reports both in the workshops and in the general session.

The Chicana workshop was the biggest at the conference, swelling to 80 or more persons as the day went on. Men were invited in order to draw out their views.

Birth control and abortion were the main topics discussed.

Many women expressed indignation that the burden of using contraceptives that are often dangerous is always on women, and favored the development of contraceptives for men.

One person objected that abortion was "immoral" because it meant taking the life of a fetus, and that if a woman doesn't want to get pregnant, she doesn't have to "mess around" in the first place. Several women answered that fetuses are not human beings, and that when unwanted pregnancies result, women should be the ones to determine whether or not to end them.

One man tried to argue that "pregnancy isn't always such a bad thing. . . ." "When was the last time you were pregnant?" one of the women replied. Women and men alike cheered her response.

To understand the significance of the spread of Chicana feminism it is necessary to take into account the fact that it is among Chicanos that the reactionary ideology of the Catholic church has the strongest sway. The church preaches that women should be submissive to men and opposes the right to abortion.

One woman at the workshop said, "I think tradition is the greatest enemy of Chicana liberation. Who is the pope to tell us what to do?" She too was cheered.

One of the resolutions adopted by the workshop pointed to the need for Chicana counselors on the campuses to give gynecological advice to Chicanas. It was felt that Anglo women and Chicano men as counselors on this matter are inadequate.

Feminist consciousness was also evidenced by the spreading use of non-sexist terminology such as "chairperson."

The Chicana workshop report to the general session by workshop leader Lupe Gomez from Merced College was well received. A motion from the floor against forced sterilization was approved.

Another motion was made from the floor that MECHA work to abolish homecoming-queen beauty contests because they are degrading to women. The speaker said that Chicanas want to be listened to, not looked at. Her motion was passed by acclamation.

East L.A.: fight for self-rule to continue

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A meeting of pro-incorporation candidates took place here Nov. 19 to discuss the aftermath of the unsuccessful attempt to incorporate East Los Angeles. The ballot proposition to make this 90-percent-Chicano urban area into a self-governing city was defeated Nov. 5 by a vote of 7,197 to 5,256.

The postelection meeting was called by the Committee for Responsible Self-Government, one of the two Democratic Party city council slates in the incorporation election. Among the 40-45 persons attending were other Democratic candidates and also those of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) and the Socialist Workers Party.

There was a consensus among those present that the incorporation effort should be carried forward and tried again.

Juan Arroyo, a technical adviser to the now-dissolved Ad Hoc Committee to Incorporate East Los Angeles (Actiela), reported to the meeting that there were some 16,400 votes cast in East L.A. Nov. 5. But only about 12,400 were counted as voting for or against incorporation.

Apparently some 4,000 voted for statewide offices and proposals but abstained on incorporation. It is possible that many Chicanos failed to vote on incorporation because they were confused by the propaganda of the opponents of incorporation and Actiela's failure to answer it. Nonetheless, it was agreed that a recount would be demanded to investigate the possibility of a vote fraud.

All present were in agreement that they should constitute themselves as a temporary committee to supervise the recount, with the perspective of forming a more defined structure to put incorporation on the ballot once again as soon as possible.

A political assessment of why incorporation failed also took place. SWP representatives asserted that the election did not show that Chicanos do not want incorporation, but that this sentiment was not mobilized by the Democrat-controlled Actiela.

Actiela concentrated its efforts on trying to reassure the racists and the conservative Mexican-American opposition to incorporation that cityhood would mean maintaining the same status quo. This prospect was not very appealing to the vast majority of East L.A. residents—poor and working-class Chicanos—who are suffering from inferior schools, housing, and health care, inflation, unemployment, and police brutality.

In the discussion several people, including Actiela members, agreed that the next effort to incorporate had to be different.

Daniel Zapata pointed out that his party, La Raza Unida, has had discussions on why incorporation failed, and members felt that they should have attacked the racist opposition more strongly than they did. Arturo Sánchez, also of the RUP, added that if incorporation is to succeed in the future, it will be necessary to make a greater effort to raise the political consciousness of the Chicano community.



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Lupe Gomez gives report on Chicana workshop to general session.

Militant interviews

Texas Raza Unida leaders dis

By HARRY RING

Harry Ring, head of The Militant's Southwest Bureau, spent two weeks traveling in Texas to obtain a firsthand picture of the present stage of development of La Raza Unida Party (RUP). The trip took place just prior to the Nov. 5 elections.

This week, Ring reports on interviews with three leaders of La Raza Unida Party. Next week's Militant will contain his analysis of the Texas RUP and where it is going.

Gutiérrez

José Angel Gutiérrez, who was recently elected judge in Zavala County, Tex., on the Raza Unida Party ticket, was the founder of the party in Crystal City. Apart from Ramsey Muñiz, the 1972 and 1974 gubernatorial candidate of the party, Gutiérrez, 29, is the best-known public figure in the organization and is perhaps the most influential.

Gutiérrez employs what he sees as a pragmatic, "practical" approach to political organizing. He mainly favors electoral efforts in predominantly Chicano areas, where substantial votes can be gained, rather than statewide campaigns that have general political-educational value, but can't be "won." He has also put forward a "balance of power" concept: that if La Raza Unida shows substantial strength at the polls, it can win significant concessions from the major parties.

Both these views have evoked controversy within the movement. It is argued that the "balance of power" approach leaves the door ajar for political deals that would compromise the party's independence and that statewide efforts are needed to involve Chicanos in all communities, including those where they are a voting minority.

Just prior to the recent elections, Gutiérrez granted an interview to *The Militant* in Crystal City. In the interview he outlined his views on a number of political issues.

'Emphasis on local level'

Discussing the party's perspectives, he said that with no statewide office up for election in 1976 other than U.S. senator, the party would be able to focus its efforts in those local areas where it got good vote returns in 1972 and 1974.

"Our emphasis has to be on the local level," he said, "which was our original starting point way back."

There was talk in the party, he added, of running a candidate for U.S. senator in 1976, but he was not particularly enthusiastic about the idea. The presidential contest, he said, will be more important for Raza Unida.

Since there is no talk of running a Raza Unida Party candidate for president, I asked, was he then proposing to endorse one of the major party candidates?



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José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of Crystal City Raza Unida Party, was recently elected district judge in Zavala County.



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Raza Unida Party election victory rally in Crystal City last spring. From its origins in Crystal City, RUP has spread to major cities in Texas and has run large statewide campaigns.

"No, no," he said. "What we want to do is make the presidential candidates take a position on us."

If a presidential candidate wants to carry the Rio Grande Valley, he said, and sees the voting strength of Raza Unida there, "he'll have to decide. Either he goes with the white liberals, the Mexican-American Democrats, the Wallaceites for Briscoe, or us. And without us doing a damn thing. Because our effort is going to be working at the local level. It doesn't make any difference who's president, we still get screwed."

Muniz for governor campaign

I asked Gutiérrez what he thought of the way Ramsey Muñiz had conducted his campaign for governor, particularly how he had deemphasized the name of the party, not including it on various pieces of campaign literature, and so on. Muñiz had also projected the idea that La Raza Unida Party was not really a Chicano party, but for all the poor and all those favoring better government.

Gutiérrez said that such an approach had been decided on by state leaders of the party last summer.

The party wanted to win 20 percent of the vote to win full legal status, he explained, and at that point was coming under attack from liberal Democratic publications and writers.

"We weren't so confident of making the 20 percent," he said. "We decided that Ramsey ought to go out and appeal to everybody—in his rhetoric, in his campaigning, and so on. We realized full well there was going to be some criticism about that position."

"But we also realized that if our best expectations happened—that all the whites all of a sudden voted for him—the party structure wasn't going to change, the control and direction of the party wasn't going to change. The only thing that was going to change was the votes that Ramsey got."

What about Muñiz's presenting the Raza Unida Party to Anglos as the "united people's party"?

"We were reacting to its being translated literally, 'united race,'" Gutiérrez responded. "So we've gone just the opposite, saying it really means people. So now that's being presented as a populist-type thing, or a liberal kind of position. So we're being misinterpreted both ways. We're still maintaining that La Raza Unida is simply a concept of all kinds of people being together—all kinds of *our* people."

"We're trying to get whites out of the bag of our being a 'united race' party. The press uses it all the time. You leave yourself open to the charge of the party being racist."

"No," he said, "the party is at the same place it was before. Maybe some stickers, some posters, maybe some of the rhetoric gives a different impression. But it's still on target, on course."

On other questions Gutiérrez was less ambiguous. Discussing the prospects for a Chicano-Black po-

litical alliance, he took the position that if a meaningful alliance was to develop it would be on the basis of Blacks breaking with the major parties and establishing their own independent party as Chicanos have.

He discussed the speech that Imamu Baraka, Newark leader of the Congress of African People, had made as a guest speaker at the recent state convention of the Raza Unida Party. Baraka made the point that his experience in Newark had persuaded him that electing Black Democratic politicians to office contributed nothing to solving the problems of the Black community.

Gutiérrez commented: "I think they're trying to do the same thing we're doing, in terms of building a Black party. But their explanations of why they continue to work with some of the Black Democrats and some of the other Black leaders who are following and supporting the Democratic Party haven't satisfied us. But I guess that's up to them at this point."

Gutiérrez also took a categorical stand in opposition to the drive against undocumented Mexican workers.

"People have a right to go anywhere, look for any kind of employment," he said. "The country belongs to anybody who wants to work it. The biggest handicap is the laws they're trying to pass. The Kennedy-Rodino bill will just increase the blackmail and extortion of the undocumented workers. This is not going to deter the *coyotes* [smugglers of undocumented workers across the border], all the ones who bring people over for a fee. It's not going to stop the exploitation."

A supporter of the United Farm Workers, Gutiérrez sharply criticized the present demands of the UFW leadership for expulsion of the undocumented. It's a "very bad" position, Gutiérrez said. "They seem to be looking for a scapegoat for the losses they've suffered. The real enemy is the growers and the Teamsters—agribusiness, not the undocumented workers."

Peña

Albert Peña III was an early builder of La Raza Unida Party in Texas. He grew up with a firsthand knowledge of the Democratic Party. (His father is the leading Chicano Democrat in the San Antonio area.) Peña was one of those who early in the game concluded that it was essential that La Raza Unida Party be clear-cut in its independence from and opposition to both major parties.

In 1972, Peña, an attorney, ran for the Texas legislature in San Antonio's principal barrio. He chose to challenge a Chicano Democrat at a time when others in La Raza Unida were reluctant to do this.

Now in Corpus Christi, Peña served as campaign

crucial issues facing the party

manager for George Treviño, a Raza Unida candidate for the state legislature from that city. Toward the end of the campaign, Peña talked with *The Militant* about where the party is today and where he feels it should be going.

For some time Peña has been concerned that the party think through a long-term perspective for building the kind of party that will not be a Brown replica of the major parties but one that will serve as an instrument for Chicano liberation.

Peña disagrees with those in the organization who feel that the party can gain ground by putting the emphasis on its public figures rather than on the party itself.

'The party, not personalities'

"The party is what we should be pushing, not personalities," Peña said. "That became clear to me when I was campaigning in San Antonio. Going door-to-door I found the people were disillusioned with politics, tired of it. It drove it home to me that if we're going to appeal to them on the same basis as the others, we're just wasting time."

"All of this talk about the people being apathetic—what it is, I think, is not so much being apathetic as feeling that they don't have a choice. We have to provide a choice."

"The next two years will be very important for us," he said. "It will decide what kind of party we're going to be. Realistically, we're talking about

of going in the right direction. He is encouraged by the fact that many of the newer people coming into the party tend to be independent-minded and that some of the old-timers are thinking for themselves more than previously.

"Initially," he said, "we were all—to varying degrees—awed by the people who were in the forefront of starting the party. Many have now realized that they're human beings like we are. We all make mistakes. So there's much less blind loyalty and blind following of individuals as opposed to a principle, an idea, a goal."

More independent thinking

"This is now manifesting itself throughout Texas," he said. "I think it's right. They're asserting their independence. Even within the party that we've set up to be an alternative, we'd better have our own voice within the party or we're not doing much. We're just setting up another party like the Democrats and Republicans."

"That's why I'm glad a lot of people are now expressing opinions," he said. "There's not this situation where only certain people were talking, where everybody would defer to the chieftain. I have a lot of confidence in some of the people who are now expressing their opinions. They don't all agree with me 100 percent. But at least they're expressing opinions, which is what I admire."

Youngblood

Guadalupe Youngblood, recently elected state chairperson of the Texas Raza Unida Party, was active in the organization from its inception. Now 27, he was a member of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) while attending Texas A & I and was one of the MAYO activists who participated in the initial organizing efforts for the RUP.

For the past two years Youngblood has been building the party in his hometown of Robstown, a small, predominantly Chicano community near Corpus Christi.

Just prior to the elections I spoke with him in Robstown.

I asked him how he happened to run for state chairperson of the party. The activists in Robstown, he explained, felt someone should run for the post who would help improve communications between the areas.

They felt that they were isolated in their efforts and they had found that other towns and regions had the same problem. "Everybody was just trying to establish something locally," Youngblood said. "We needed to take what we established in the different areas and make something cohesive out of it."

His principal efforts in his new post, he said, will go into promoting an exchange of information and a discussion of ideas. He feels this will give a big impetus to organizing in the various communities throughout the state.

Discussing how he became involved in the Chicano movement, he said: "There has been a prevailing attitude of hopelessness among our people about the possibility of bettering our lives, of dealing with the oppressive *gringo* society. When the movement began it caught my attention because it was telling me: You can do something, you can change it, if you get enough people fighting together you can accomplish what you want."

"You know," he continued, "We've spent generations in an oppressive situation, and it's inevitable in such a situation that people develop certain attitudes that are negative."

"Regardless of how many elections you can win, regardless of how many cops you can get fired, you have to go further. We're groping for a social order that's different, that will negate all the bad things that have developed from living in the present society."

'A new social order'

"Today people are groping, they're lashing out at the wrong things. The frustration, the anger resulting from the oppression is directed in wrong ways. This is one of the main questions for the party. A new social order is required, I think."

Did he think such a change could be achieved by trying to affect the course of development within the major parties?

"It can't be done," Youngblood responded. "I say that from experience. There are a lot of us in the party who were active in liberal Democratic politics. When I was in junior high school I was leafletting in the barrio. We've seen that it's to no avail, that we've been used."

Commenting on the fact that in the 1974 elections the RUP challenged a number of Chicano Democrats, Youngblood said: "Many times you can't get to the core of things because of the flak-catchers. Well, in politics you have the flak-catchers too."

"Locally, we've always had that problem. The Democratic politicians—usually a handful of rich whites—find one or two, or a handful, of Chicanos whom they can buy and manipulate. In that way they neutralize the potential power in bloc voting."

"The experience has been that they put whites—the establishment cats—running for the top posts. Then they chose a Chicano to run for justice of the peace. That candidate's job is not to get Chicanos to vote for him but to vote for the ticket."

Role of Chicano Democrats

"In many places, that's the only way they can win. We've tried to get around these Chicano liberals, but they're well entrenched and we can't go around them any more."

"In many small towns in Texas, the places where Chicanos are a majority, all the positions are held by Chicanos. But it still doesn't work. Being Chicano doesn't guarantee that you're going to think Chicano or act Chicano."

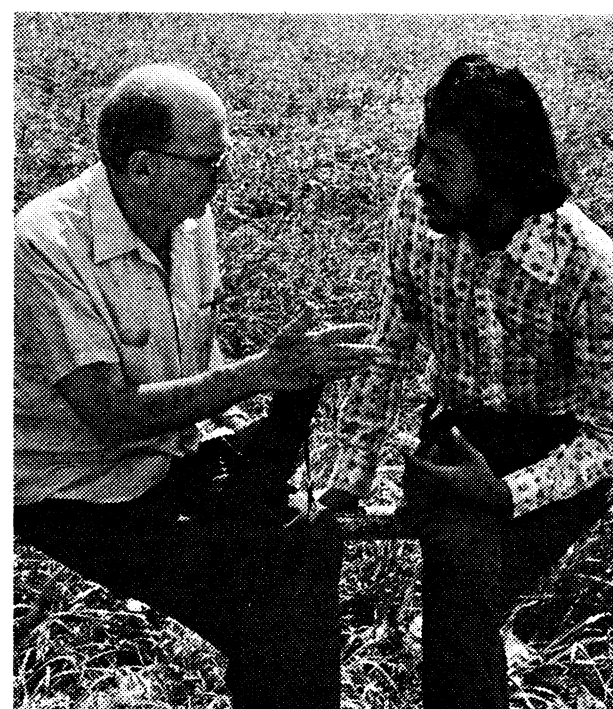
"It's like Baraka said at our convention. You have Black faces in high places, but it's no different. You have the same conditions, the same oppression. The people must become aware of that—it's essential."

I asked him if he felt the party would be under pressure to back one of the major presidential candidates in 1976.

"I don't see that happening at all," he replied. "I think we've gotten away from that since 1972, when McGovern was running. Very early in that campaign we decided that we understood among us what we had to do. We've been the pawns of liberal politicians for generations. That's one of the things that isn't going to work any more."

While Youngblood feels the party will increase its voting strength, he emphasized that he did not consider this decisive. "I really hate to measure success on a win or lose basis," he said. "There's a tremendous amount of education that's part of an election campaign. Through a campaign people begin to become aware of what's happening. They're learning about the political structure of the state—of the whole country, really."

"That to me is the tremendous success of the party—getting people to realize what's happening to them, and that there must be some changes made."



Guadalupe Youngblood (right), state chairperson of Texas RUP, talks with Militant correspondent Harry Ring.



Albert Peña III, who challenged Chicano Democrat in 1972 state elections, believes 'next two years will decide what kind of party we're going to be.'

a presidential year coming up. We're going to be forced to make decisions. There will be heavy pressure. It would have been heavier if Ted Kennedy had stayed in the race. I don't think the party will make a deal, but it's not going to be easy. But that's why it's such an important period. This will make us or break us."

At the national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso in 1972, he said, after a brief flirtation by some of the Texas RUP leaders with McGovern, "we came out of the convention saying we were going to be independent. We weren't going to be beholden to anyone. We weren't going to make any deals. At that time I think we made the right decision. But we haven't really formalized it or crystallized what kind of party we really are."

"I think all of these things have to be resolved pretty quickly," Peña continued. "We can't wait until we're faced with the 1976 presidential election and be making a decision where we're shooting from the hip."

"We have to plan ahead. The handwriting is on the wall. The pressure is going to be there. People are going to be approached. So we have to get together and decide just where we're going, where we want to go—where it's in the best interest of the Chicano people that we go."

Peña feels that the party has good prospects

CP counts votes: real world vs. 'Daily World'

Readers of the Communist Party's *Daily World* newspaper might have been puzzled by a Nov. 22 article (reproduced on this page) on the vote totals for the Communist Party candidates in Illinois.

While the pro-Moscow Stalinists' line of backing "lesser evil" liberal Democrats has not changed, they have stepped up their own election campaign efforts in the past couple of years, and they are trumpeting their showing at the polls this fall as a sign of mass support for the CP.

The *Daily World* article is clearly intended to give the impression that the CP's vote was very high, while that for the Socialist Workers Party candidates was low. At the same time, however, the *Daily World* seems to be offering its readers tentative excuses for why some people might have voted SWP.

The puzzle is that through all these contortions the *Daily World* never once gives a direct numerical comparison of the votes for the CP and the SWP.

The mystery is resolved, though, and the reason for the *Daily World's* convolutions becomes evident, as soon as one looks at the actual returns,

which are printed below. The SWP got higher votes for every single position than did the CP. These figures speak for themselves.

It should be added that comparative election returns for the various left-wing parties in this period are of limited value as an indication of their relative strength and influence in the class struggle.

Many of the votes cast for both the SWP and the CP are protest votes and not votes cast for the program of either party. In addition, the votes for both parties are so low (Heisler's vote represented 0.49 percent of the total in Cook County; Flory's, 0.32 percent) that they are easily affected by extraneous factors such as ballot position.

Since the *Daily World* has raised the comparison, however, with typical Stalinist falsification and slander, the record should be set straight.

(Note: The *Daily World* did not even manage to record the votes for the CP candidates accurately. The figures it gives as the Cook County totals for Flory and Ashby are actually their Chicago returns only.)

	Cook County	Statewide
U.S. Senate		
SWP: Ed Heisler	6,790	12,413
CP: Ishmael Flory	4,399	5,873
State Treasurer		
SWP: Suzanne Haig	11,211	20,240
CP: Lorraine Ashby	5,439	8,070
University of Illinois board of trustees		
SWP: Antonio DeLeon	23,023	34,165
Brian Williams	22,269	34,266
Mary Wismer	31,800	50,752
CP: John Lumpkin	11,404	17,256
Jay Schaffner	10,996	17,099
Valerie Witzkowski	17,648	27,006

The SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 1st C.D., Willie Mae Reid, was credited with 620 votes, or 0.77 percent of the total. The CP backed incumbent Democrat Ralph Metcalfe, who was reelected.

Chicago SWP tops 65,000 petition goal

By ELIZABETH STONE

CHICAGO—Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid announced here Nov. 30 that her supporters had succeeded in collecting the more than 65,000 signatures needed to place her name on the April 1 ballot.

Cheers and applause greeted the announcement, which was made at a forum sponsored by the SWP campaign committee. Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, was the featured speaker.

Many of those attending the meeting were petitioners who had braved cold weather and snow during the Thanksgiving weekend to collect the final 15,000 signatures needed to put the drive over the top.

Asking everyone in the audience who had helped with the petitioning to stand, Reid said, "It's been the efforts of wonderful people like you, who went out and worked so hard, that have given us this victory."

A special round of applause was given to those volunteers who had taken time off from jobs and school in order to petition full-time during the past month.

Reid is the first independent candidate during Mayor Richard Daley's five terms in office to try to collect the outrageously high number of signatures required.

Reid's campaign supporters are preparing for a sustained fight to insure that her name will appear on the April ballot. Daley's election board is notorious for declaring "invalid" the petition signatures of non-machine candidates for municipal offices.

In the last days of the drive, the petitioners faced harassment by police and right-wingers. Police repeatedly kicked petitioners out of the subways where petitioning is legal.

The right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees, which masquerades as the "U.S. Labor Party," harassed petitioners at some shopping centers, telling people the socialists were "fascists," "CIA agents," and "lovers of Rockefeller."

Despite the harassment, signatures were collected rapidly, because of the enthusiastic response of thousands of people. This response to the socialist candidate reflected the disillusionment of many people with the Democratic and Republican party politicians. It also reflected the desire by many, especially Blacks, to see a Black woman on the ballot.

The race for mayor is already at-



Militant/Bruce Bloy

SWP mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid addresses community meeting of 200 on 'A Black Mayor For '75.'

tracting a lot of interest here, partly because of the uncertainty about whether Daley will run, the entry into the race of former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan, and the widespread desire in the Black community for a Black mayor.

Also on Nov. 30, a South Side community forum on "Black Politics: A Black Mayor For '75" attracted more than 200 people. All five Black candidates who have announced so far were invited to address the meeting. The three Democrats running—State Senator Richard Newhouse; E. Duke McNeil, a former leader of the Woodlawn Organization; and Edward Allen, a housing developer—were present along with Reid and Republican Brenda Perry.

Of all the candidates, Reid clearly received the best response and was repeatedly interrupted by applause. Focusing on the deepening economic problems of working people in this country, she said, "We're in a crisis, but the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties go about their business as usual as though nothing had happened."

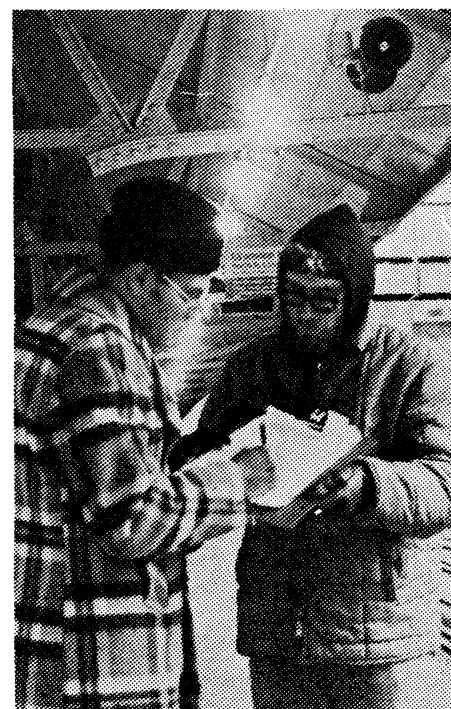
"It's as though they assume people will continue to have to suffer," she said. "They assume the layoffs will have to continue, that people's incomes will have to go down."

She warned that as the crisis deepens, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans will be made the scapegoats for the problems of white workers. She cited Attorney General William Saxbe's racist attacks on Mexican workers without documents—the so-called "illegal aliens"—as an example of this.

She urged all of those present to support the Dec. 14 march against racism in Boston.

Reid condemned the weak-kneed response by the capitalist politicians to the recent entrance into the mayor's race of Edward Hanrahan, the man responsible for the Chicago police attack that killed Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark five years ago.

Members of the audience cried out, "Tell it like it is!" and applauded when Reid said, "You have a murderer, Edward Hanrahan, running for office, and the Democrats and Republicans are afraid to call him what he is."



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Petitioners were harassed by cops, but met enthusiastic response from working people.

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Communists gained Cook County voters

By TED PEARSON

CHICAGO—The official canvass of votes from the November 5 election in Cook County, including Chicago, is in, and the vote for the most popular Communist Party candidate is more than twice the vote for any Communist candidate in the 1972 election. This is in spite of 700,000 fewer people voting this year.

Valerie Witzkowski, one of three Communist candidates for University of Illinois trustee, polled 17,648 votes in Cook County. John Lumpkin, the most popular Communist candidate on the '72 Communist slate, polled 7,839 two years ago in Cook County.

Other figures

The current Cook County votes for the other Communist candidates were: Ishmael Flory for U.S. Senator—3,511; Lorraine Ashby for Treasurer—4,472; for University of Illinois Trustees, John Lumpkin—11,404. Jay Schaffner—10,996. and Witzkowski at 17,648.

Mary Wismer, a candidate of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, polled 1,800 votes in Cook County. The SWP dropped almost all other activity during the elec-

tion campaign, and ran very hard on a reformist, social democratic and anti-Soviet program. Their candidate for the U.S. Senate, Edward Heisler, polled 2,707 fewer votes this year than the Socialist Labor Party candidate for Senate did in 1972. (In 1972 the SWP was not on the ballot in Illinois; in 1974 the SLP was not on the ballot.)

Ishmael Flory, on the other hand, won almost 600 votes more in Cook County than the Communist candidate for U.S. Senate in 1972.

Apparently Heisler's rabid anti-Sovietism did not sit well with leftward moving voters, while some others, looking for a protest vote, but not ready to vote for a Communist, saw the SWP candidate for trustee as their opportunity.

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 13, 1974

New documentation

Reign of terror in Brazil

By Judy White

In September 1974 Aurélio Perez, a São Paulo metalworker, was arrested by the Brazilian army's secret police. He was beaten, subjected to high-voltage electric shocks, and suspended for fourteen hours on a torture instrument called the "parrot's perch." The case was reported by Marvin Howe in the November 4 *New York Times*. The source of the information was a letter from the prisoner's wife to the National Conference of Bishops in Rio de Janeiro.

There had been much speculation in the press about a "relaxation" of repression when the new Brazilian president, General Ernesto Geisel, was inaugurated last March. But the Perez case and others like it show that there has been no letup in the torture of the regime's political opponents.

On April 3 a prominent lawyer, Wellington Rocha Cantal, was detained by São Paulo police. He charges that a hood was placed on his head, that he was stripped naked, kicked, beaten, suspended by his arms from hooks, given electric shocks, and kept without food or water for several days. Twenty-seven days later he was released but not before receiving death threats against his entire family if he revealed the treatment he had been subjected to.

In August, the archbishop of São Paulo and 800 members of the Brazilian Bar Association drew up a list of about twenty political prisoners who had disappeared while in custody. Archbishop Paulo Evaristo Cardinal Arns presented the list to federal authorities on August 7 and requested information on their whereabouts. Church sources believe several of those listed to be dead. As of November 4, the Geisel regime had not replied to the church's inquiry.

Howe also described a clandestine 96-page document dealing with the organization of Brazil's national security apparatus and methods of torture. It includes the names of more than 300 persons who have administered torture—police officials, military officers, drug traffickers, businessmen, and members of extreme right-wing groups.

The report, dated February 1974, also contains a list of seventy-nine political prisoners who died as the result of torture. One death was re-

ported in 1965. The rest occurred since 1969, with only a small decline since the end of 1971, when, according to Howe, "revolutionary organizations were virtually crushed."

The information was compiled by a group of lawyers, relatives of political prisoners, former prisoners, and Roman Catholic activists. Independent sources—including priests, professors, and journalists—have corroborated its authenticity.

Edwin McDowell, writing in the November 1 *Wall Street Journal*, reported some of the activities of Brazil's infamous death squads, the gangs sponsored by the police that are reported to have summarily executed more than 2,000 persons in the last ten years. Their practice is to detain, torture, and murder their victims—often before the "suspect" ever reaches police headquarters.

McDowell made this qualification, however:

"Foreign critics sometimes equate Death Squad activity with the torture of political prisoners in Brazil, but they are not directly related. Death Squads are composed almost entirely of state Civil Police, plainclothesmen responsible for investigating crime and under the command of the Secretary of Security in each state. . . .

"Political torture, on the other hand, is said to have been the handiwork of an elite special police unit that was formed within the army yet enjoys a rare autonomy. Little is known about CODI, an acronym for 'Coordination of Internal Defense.'"

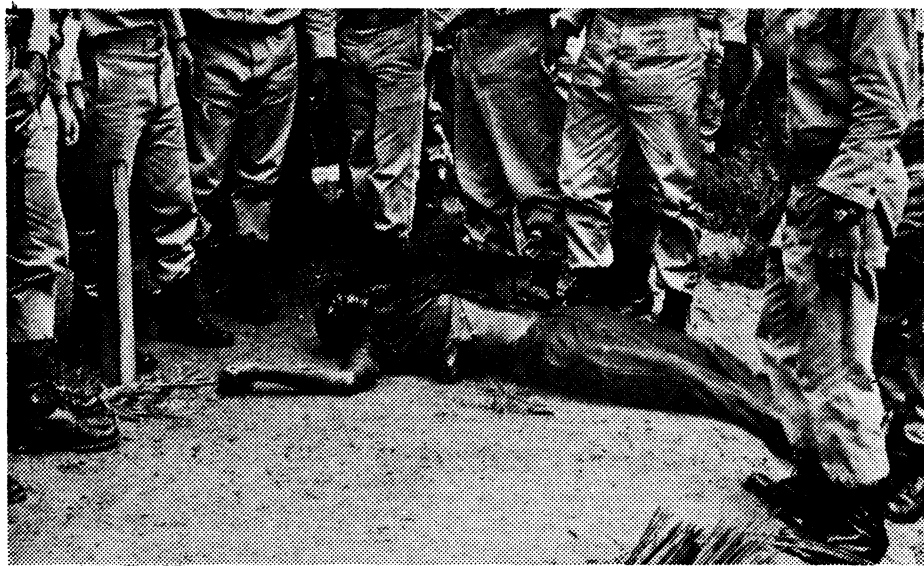
The report Howe summarized also mentioned CODI as "the principal organization for antisubversive activities."

The various repressive bodies work in close coordination. This was shown by the role of Sergio Fleury, former São Paulo police commissioner and leader of the death squads.

Fleury is widely reported to be the murderer of several Brazilian revolutionists, including Carlos Marighela, Joaquim Camara, and Eduardo Leite.

The February 1971 issue of the bulletin of the Frente Brasileiro de Informações (Brazilian Information Front) contained the following account of Leite's death:

"Eduardo Leite, known by his companions as Bacuri, was being held at the headquarters of the Operação Bandeirantes, which is the army's repressive body. His legs were paralyzed



A victim of the Brazilian government

by the time he was turned over to the São Paulo political police, where they administered truth serum—pentathol. He didn't talk.

"Later, the government newspapers announced the escape of Bacuri, which did not happen, since he was with me and fifty other companheiros in prison. Three days later, at 1 a.m.,

Eduardo was taken out of the cell by the Death Squad, headed by its delegate, Sergio Paranhos Fleury. He was taken to Santos beach, where he was found dead on December 8 [1970]. All his bones and teeth had been totally smashed, his eyes poked out, one arm ripped off, and his mouth cut from ear to ear."

A U.S. journalist's story

Fred B. Morris, a U.S. journalist and former United Methodist missionary, was recently arrested and tortured by military officials in Recife, Brazil. Morris, 41, had lived in Brazil for most of the past ten years. He was working as a stringer, or part-time correspondent, for the U.S. newsweekly *Time* when he was jailed.

In the November 18 issue of *Time* he reported the treatment he had received at the hands of Brazilian authorities:

"After a chance meeting on the street, my Brazilian friend Luis Soares de Lima, 27, and I were getting into my car when about a dozen men in jeans and sports shirts, armed with machine guns and .45-cal[iber] automatics, surrounded us, covered our heads with hoods, forced us to the floor of a station wagon and roared off."

Morris and Soares were taken to Fourth Army headquarters. They were separated, Morris was ordered to take off all his clothes except his underwear, and was placed alone in a small cell. Within fifteen minutes he was taken for his first—"interrogation": one-half hour of questions about his and Soares's political affiliations, accompanied by beatings. This was followed by another hour of questions interspersed with high-voltage electric shocks.

After a fifteen-minute respite, the tortures and interrogation began again, continuing for eight hours.

"Finally," Morris reported, "the real reason for their interest in me emerged: my inquisitors began asking

endless questions about Roman Catholic Archbishop Helder Câmara. . . ."

Helder Câmara has received wide publicity for his outspoken criticism of the Brazilian dictatorship's denial of human rights. But because of his massive popular following in the country and his reputation abroad, the regime has been unable to silence him with its customary methods.

Morris had filed several stories with *Time* and the Associated Press about Helder Câmara's activities.

At one point during the first day's questioning, Morris reported, his life was threatened by the most vicious of his torturers, Luis Miranda Filho, known in Recife to have conducted countless torture sessions. Morris also identified Colonel Meziat, chief of intelligence for the Fourth Army, as one of his torturers and the man responsible for his arrest.

On the third day, reported Morris, "They used a new (to me) shock device. It was some kind of wheel with spikes on it, which they rolled across my back, scratching me. As they pushed down on it, it also gave me a severe electric shock."

On the fourth day, Morris got some relief. The U.S. consul, Richard Brown, was allowed to see him, and he began the process of getting Morris released.

After seventeen days, an order for Morris's expulsion from Brazil was issued. He was escorted to the airport in Rio de Janeiro and told that he would go to prison for up to four years if he ever returned to the country. No official charges had ever been made against him.

Millions stop work in general strike

French workers in biggest action since May '68

By Dick Fidler

More than a million workers are reported to have marched in demonstrations throughout France, and millions more stopped work, in the general strike on Tuesday, November 19. The strike was called by the country's major trade unions in support of strikes by post office workers and other government employees currently under attack from the Giscard d'Estaing government.

In Paris, the march from the Place de la Bastille to the Gare de l'Est was "the biggest trade-union demonstration since May 1968," according to *Le Monde*. Some 400,000 persons marched behind the common banner of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT—Confédération Générale du Travail) and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT—Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail). The banner read: "The workers in the public and nationalized sector, and in the private sector, demand that the government negotiate in good faith to meet their demands." Another banner was inscribed: "For respect of the right to strike; no restrictions on the unions."

Marching at the head of the demonstrators with linked arms were the leaders of the CGT and the CFDT, which had called the strike, and of the teachers union, the National Education Federation (FEN—Fédération de l'Education Nationale), which had thrown its support behind their initiative.

Following them, *Le Monde* reported, came "an army of postal workers and delegations from all the sectors on strike: gas and electricity workers, railway workers, public service workers, teachers, municipal workers, hospital personnel, and so on. Immigrants in their blue work uniforms—chants of 'Same bosses, same struggle'—nurses in their white caps, garbage collectors in their leather aprons, immigrant workers from the Antilles wearing dashikis. [More than 80 percent of the garbage collectors in Paris are immigrants, and three out of four of them come from Africa or the French colonies in the Caribbean.]

"And especially, everywhere in the crowd, the blue and gray caps of the post office, telephone, and telecom-

munications workers. An immense, joyous throng, elbow to elbow, singing 'La Carmagnole' [a Jacobin song from the French revolution] or the tune of 'Nini peau de chien' but with new words: 'At the post office, we're fed up with being exploited!' . . .

"A multitude of uniforms, of choruses and slogans: 'Lelong, c'est fichu, les postiers sont dans la rue!' ['Lelong, you're done for, the postal workers have taken to the streets']; Pierre Lelong is the minister for Postal and Telecommunications Services; 'Chirac, tu matraques, tu vas casser la baraque!' ['Chirac, if you bludgeon us, you'll bust up your whole outfit'; Jacques Chirac is prime minister]; 'Valéry au tri, Anne-Aymone au téléphone!' [which would make President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing a mail sorter, and his wife a telephone operator].

"And members of the Ecole Emancipée [Emancipated School, a left-wing faction in the FEN], marching to a syncopated, rhythmic tune: 'La hiérarchie, c'est comme les étagères, plus c'est haut et moins ça sert!' ['The hierarchy are like shelves, the higher they are the less useful they are']."

Another chant was "Postiers, usagers, solidarité!" ("Postal workers, post office clients, solidarity!")

Le Monde's reporter noted a significant feature of the demonstration: "It was the first time in a long while that the slogans of May 1968, chanted by a great many young people, had been heard in a trade-union demonstration."

Massive demonstrations were held in other cities, too. Here are some official union statistics on their size, as reported in the November 21 issue of *Le Monde*:

Marseille, 60,000; Toulouse, 50,000; Lyon, 30,000 to 40,000; Bordeaux, 30,000; Grenoble, 30,000; Saint-Etienne, 20,000; Dijon, 6,000; at Lille and Saint-Brieuc, 5,000 each. The police reported 8,000 demonstrators at Brest; 5,000 to 6,000 at Toulon; 10,000 at Nice; 4,000 at Orléans; and thousands more at many smaller centers.

The 24-hour general strike shut down a large part of France's public-transportation sector and many schools, as well as a considerable number of private firms throughout the country.



Garbage piling up in Paris streets is one of the signs of French strike wave.

The general strike and demonstrations had been called by the CGT and CFDT under the pressure of the strike wave touched off by the post office workers' struggle, which began in mid-October. The strikers' key demands include a 200 francs (1 franc equals about US\$0.22) across-the-board increase in monthly wages to counter inflation; a minimum wage of 1,700 francs a month; and the hiring of more full-time workers to cope with the growing work load.

Substantial wage increases and creation of more jobs are at the center of demands by the unions in the civil service and nationalized industries, the focal point of the current strike wave.

Retail prices in France are rising at an annual rate of 17 percent. And the latest unemployment statistics, published November 22, revealed that 630,000 workers (the figures are "seasonally adjusted" and thus understate the actual number) are listed as looking for work—an increase of 100,000 in a month.

An elaborate government scheme to provide full take-home pay to most workers laid off for economic reasons, scheduled to begin in January, has failed to stem the workers' upsurge.

The unions are also protesting the

government's announced plans to dismantle some vital public services as part of its current "austerity" program. Some government members in the National Assembly have even gone so far as to demand turning over the post office (which includes France's telephone system) to private enterprise.

The government has rejected out of hand the unions' demands for a renegotiation of 1974 contracts to take account of inflationary inroads on the workers' salaries. This question, it says, should be left to the negotiations over next year's contracts. Giscard has stated flatly that his government's economic policy is "not negotiable."

In a November 18 interview with the Paris daily *France-Soir*, Finance Minister Jean-Pierre Fourcade charged that the unions are seeking to "blow up the 1975 budget" and to "dislocate the economy." The minister expressed unease that if "the social crisis is aggravated," France could "slide toward an Italian-style situation."

Premier Chirac has bitterly attacked the strikers for "challenging the state institutions" and called the postal workers "demons" acting against "the interests of the French people." In a television interview on the eve of the November 19 general strike, he launched what was perhaps his most vicious attack to date, labeling the unions "wrecking teams."

The government's hard-line approach has not been limited to public slanders of the unions. In several cities, riot police have been sent against the post office strikers, and the army has been called in to sort mail and collect garbage.

These actions belie the government's claim that it is the trade unions that have "politicized" the current strikes, that is, set out to provoke a confrontation with the regime. Any strike by government employees has "political" implications, of course. And, as CFDT leader Edmond Maire pointed out in a November 6 speech, even the most elementary demands of the workers necessarily run counter to Giscard's austerity program.

The regime's confrontationist approach has been bolstered by the trade-union bureaucrats' expressed readiness to make concessions. CGT leader Georges Ségué, a longtime Stalinist, has been particularly forthcoming in this respect. In a November 5 "open letter" to the president, the prime minister, and the head of the employers council, Ségué proclaimed his union's desire for "acceptable compromises" in a "responsible and constructive spirit."

In a front-page article published in the November 18 issue of *L'Humanité*, the Communist party daily newspaper, Ségué repeated that "when a conflict of this scope occurs, it is necessary to know how to make concessions, if you want to end the conflict."

"We are ready to do so. . . ."

The government has shown little inclination to accept the union leaders' offers of compromise, however. For example, the post office workers have demanded the creation of 30,000 new jobs; the ministry itself has stated that 12,000 are needed to keep existing services up to standard. But Fourcade's proposed budget projects an increase of only 4,000—indicating the government's readiness to downgrade ser-



French workers demonstrate against inflation

World news notes



French labor minister Durafour (right) with union negotiators. Government has taken hard line against strikers despite eagerness of labor bureaucrats to compromise.

vices in the interests of "belt-tightening."

Confronted with the continued upsurge of workers' militancy, some elements in the bourgeoisie are calling on Giscard to moderate his stance.

In the November 19 *Le Monde*, Pierre Viansson-Ponté, an editor of the influential Paris daily, urged the government to seek a "political solution" to the strikes.

"To assure economic coherence and political stability to a regime based on the rejection of the workers' demands and the crushing of their organizations," he wrote, "that regime must arouse at least positive acceptance, if not enthusiasm, among other social layers—the big bourgeoisie, the upper-middle and middle classes, professional layers, and farmers, and it must eventually, through its success in doing so, rally the support of a section of the working class. But while the civil servants and the working class are saying no to Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, it does not appear that the manufacturers, the businessmen, the professionals, peasants, technicians, white-collar and salaried workers are ready to take to the streets to give him their support."

In fact, Viansson-Ponté observed, the government has failed to measure up even to the expectations of the voters who last May gave Giscard a narrow victory over his popular-front opponent, François Mitterrand. As the French economy encounters increasing difficulties, he said, "the government has seemed disconcerted, giving the impression that it lacks ideas, imagination, a capacity to act, in short, a policy. . . . It has disoriented its most loyal supporters, and has failed to win the lasting support of those inclined to hesitate and ask questions. Doubts and disappointment have developed among its electorate of yesterday, while the Left, despite its divisions, has gained confidence

and again begun to demonstrate a resilience whose firmness and scope derive from the hopes borne within it."

The *Le Monde* editor was rather vague on just what sort of "political compromise" the Giscard government should or could propose, however.

Meanwhile, the workers are standing firm against the government assault. When Chirac rejected union demands to reopen negotiations with the postal workers, claiming the government had made enough concessions, reporters noted that the government had not yet succeeded in getting a contract agreement with any union, not even the conservative Force Ouvrière (Workers Power) or the Catholic unions.

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as initial steps toward solving the city's housing crisis. To combat inflation the socialist candidate demanded a cost-of-living escalator clause in every contract. She also called for shortening the workweek to 32 hours to spread available work, with no reduction in pay, to combat unemployment.

These campaigns are charting the way to the only type of solution that can solve the crisis of the cities in the United States or in Canada: the establishment of working-class governments on a national as well as a local level, and the abolition of capitalism.

Chile: the junta takes a hostage

The Chilean Supreme Court has refused to issue a writ of habeas corpus for Laura Allende, sister of former president Salvador Allende. According to a report in the November 21 *Washington Post*, the court action cut off hope of obtaining her release or at least learning where she is being held. Allende, who is sixty years old and suffers from cancer, was arrested in Santiago November 2. She is reportedly being denied cobalt radiation therapy while imprisoned as a way of forcing her son, MIR leader Pascal Allende, to surrender.

Canada proceeds with deportation of Haitians

A young Haitian deported from Canada November 7 was arrested as he stepped off the plane in Port au Prince, according to sources in the Haitian immigrant community in Montréal.

He was one of 118 Haitians who have already lost their final appeals against deportation rulings. Ottawa has moved to deport up to 1,500 Haitian immigrants, despite threats by the Duvalier regime that it regards many of them as "essentially subversive" elements.

Immigration Minister Robert Andras has rejected demands that the Haitians be granted special status as refugees from their country's brutal dictatorship. These demands were backed in a demonstration October 24 in Ottawa by the Comité d'Action Anti-Déportation, a committee formed in Montréal to fight the deportations.

The committee's offices were raided recently by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. As a result, two Haitian women, Rose Pradiou and Francisca Duquesne, have been charged with helping a Haitian immigrant stay illegally in Canada. The two women face up to six months' imprisonment as well as possible deportation.

According to the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*, several Québec trade unions are demanding that the Québec provincial government offer to grant legal status to the Haitian immigrants. The Québec government has challenged Ottawa in the past to grant it some authority over immigration into the French-speaking province.

Spanish oppositionists face trial

Two persons have been indicted in connection with the assassination of Spanish Premier Luis Carrero Blanco last December. They are also charged with membership in the Spanish Communist party.

The indictments, handed down November 13, named Dr. Genoveva Forest de Sastre, feminist and wife of a leading antigovernment playwright, and Antonio Durán, a construction worker.

Forest and Durán were arrested as part of a group of nine alleged Communist party members last September. All were accused of participating in the Carrero assassination and of collaborating with ETA (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna), a Basque nationalist organization, in the September 13 bombing of Bar Rolando in Madrid.

A report of the indictment that appeared in the November 14 *Washington Post* mentions only Forest and Durán and does not specify whether charges concerning the Bar Rolando bombing were included in the indictment.

When finally allowed to see her lawyer November 2, Forest stated that she had been physically and mentally tortured by the police after her arrest. Since Durán is still being held incommunicado, it is not known what treatment he has received.

An international campaign in behalf of Forest and Lydia Falcón, another of those arrested in September, has been launched by the Swedish section of Amnesty International.

Swiss government bars revolutionists

On the eve of the October 20 referendum in Switzerland on a proposal to limit the foreign population there, the Swiss government banned three speakers who had been invited to address public meetings in opposition to the racist referendum.

The three were Tariq Ali and Edgardo Pellegrini, leading members of the British and Italian sections of the Fourth International; and Salli N'Dongo, secretary of the Association of Senegalese Workers in France.

They had been invited by the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire, the Swiss section of the Fourth International, as part of its campaign against the referendum proposal.

The meetings, scheduled in Lausanne, Geneva, and Zurich October 16-18, were held anyway. Pellegrini, together with members of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire, the French Trotskyist organization, and of a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, addressed the meetings by videotape.

The ban exposed the hypocritical nature of the opposition many bourgeois politicians expressed to the referendum proposal, which had been initiated by the right-wing National Action party. Instead of denouncing its xenophobic nature they complained that its acceptance would mean that the Swiss themselves would have to perform lower-paying and less-skilled jobs.

The Swiss Trotskyists, in contrast, campaigned energetically for a "no" vote around demands defending the right of free immigration and equality of political and trade-union rights for all who work in Switzerland. In a statement protesting the government ban, they linked it with previous bans against left-wing speakers from other countries, including Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, and Santiago Carillo and Dolores Ibarruri, two leaders of the Spanish Communist party.

...Canada

Continued from page WO/4

Campana's campaign has attempted to point out, as one LSA statement put it, that "not the 'citizen-participation line' of the reform movement, but only the class-struggle program of socialism can advance the interests of Toronto working people."

Campana called for the launching of a massive program of low-rent quality housing and the nationalization of corporate housing developers

40,000 march in Montreal

Quebec workers demand wages tied to cost of living

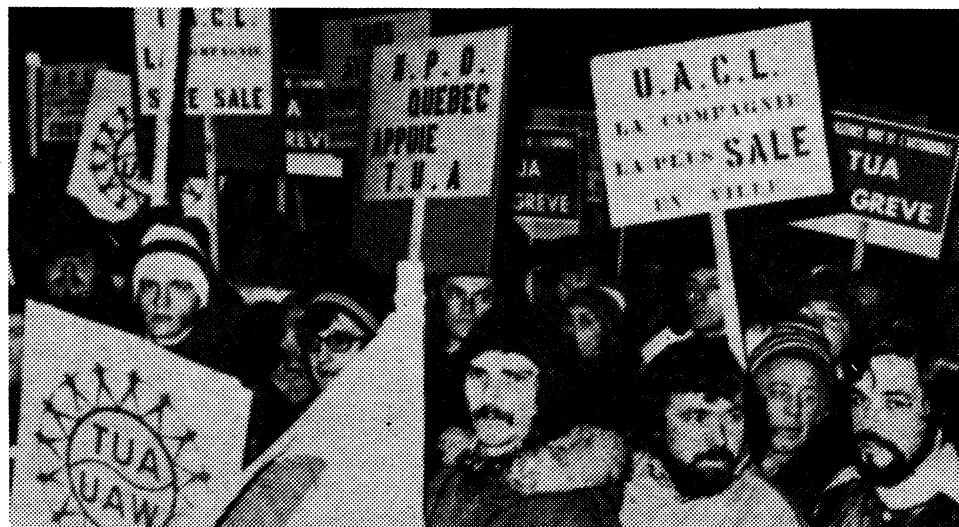
[The following article is reprinted from the November 18 issue of *Labor Challenge*, the newspaper of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

By Robert Simms

Eight workers were needed to carry the huge banner "Against the Justice of the Bosses" leading the largest labor demonstration in Québec history. More than 40,000 workers marched in Montréal October 29 against the Bourassa government, demanding indexation of wages to protect them against inflation and protesting the escalating government repression. Labor struggles in Québec have been attacked recently by the courts, injunctions, royal commissions, and police squads.

The vanguard of the march arrived at City Hall, rallying point at the end of the two-mile route, while hundreds were still forming ranks at the departure area. The demonstration was led by the contingent of workers from United Aircraft, who have been on strike since January. Police and injunctions have been used several times to break up their picket lines. There were contingents from the Firestone workers in Joliette, the Québec Telephone workers in Rimouski, and the workers of St. Lambert Hospital, who have been locked out for five weeks. As these workers walked past St. Luke General Hospital, the nurses inside signalled their support.

The speakers' platform was headed by Yvon Charbonneau, president of



Quebec workers in strike solidarity demonstration earlier this year. Inflation and government attacks on unions have led to increasing working-class militancy.

the Québec Teachers Federation, and Louis Laberge, president of the Québec Federation of Labour (QFL). Laberge told the mass assembly, "If the government tries to ignore 50,000 workers marching through the streets, then we'll have a much hotter autumn. . . . This is a peaceful but determined warning."

It was a great demonstration of labor political action.

In the past year, the fight against inflation has become a focus for intense struggles in Québec. Last April, a common front of the three labor federations in Québec was reestablished to launch a drive against the ravaging effects of inflation on living standards. During the past few months, the daily number of strikers has averaged in the thousands. To the strikes

for cost-of-living bonuses and for indexing wages to the cost of living, the government has replied with the heavy use of court injunctions, as in the Montréal Metro (subway) workers' strike.

To drive a wedge between the two central trade-union organizations, the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) and the QFL, the government has set up a commission of inquiry into violence and "trade union freedom" in the construction industry. Using the incident of damage at a James Bay construction camp as a pretext, the government is intervening in the unions and is carrying out a smear campaign against the QFL leadership.

The demonstration was an angry rebuttal to these government moves.

The action, however, failed to over-

come one of the central weaknesses of Québec labor—the disunity created by the rivalries between the leaderships of the QFL and the CNTU. Since the common front was launched last April, relations between the two organizations have deteriorated over the issue of construction-union jurisdiction.

The October 29 demonstration was organized solely by the QFL. Militants from all three federations, the QFL, the Teachers Federation, and the CNTU, faced a difficult task in opening up the march to all trade unions. Certain leaders of the CNTU were barred from the action by the FTQ brass. A similar anti-inflation demonstration, organized by the CNTU in September was not supported by QFL leaders.

This situation could change if unionists in other areas of Québec followed the example of the Joliette workers: they launched the common front with a conference representing all the unions composing the front, and they adopted a twenty-two-point non-raiding pact between the federations in their area.

Workers in all three federations need a common struggle against the bosses for indexation and against stepped-up government interference in their affairs. What is needed is a conference of all Québec unions to find an agreement to end the divisions in construction, and to draft concrete plans for the struggle against inflation. If this were accomplished, the militancy and strength of the present course of union struggle could be channeled into a powerful tide.

Canadian elections

Trotskyists offer socialist alternative

By Tony Thomas

In municipal elections across Canada this fall, thousands of voters chose to support the candidates of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the pan-Canadian section of the Fourth International.

One of the most impressive campaigns was the campaign of Brenda Dineen for mayor of Winnipeg, Manitoba, one of Canada's largest cities. Dineen received 6,171 votes, 5 percent of the total, placing second behind incumbent Mayor Steve Juba in the October 23 elections.

In Edmonton, Alberta, more than 1,000 voted for LSA candidate Carl Austin for mayor and 1,104 voted for Angela Mueller, candidate for alderwoman, in elections held the same day.

Montréal's municipal elections were a contest between Mayor Jean Drapeau's Civic Party; the RCM (Rassemblement des Citoyens de Montréal—Montréal Citizens Movement) candidate, Jacques Couture, a Jesuit priest;

and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière's candidate, Paul Kouri, a teacher and trade unionist.

Drapeau was reelected with 55 percent of the vote—a decline from the 92 percent he received in 1970. At that time Montréal was under martial law during the "war measures" adopted by the Canadian government against the Québec nationalist movement.

Couture received 39 percent, and the RCM was able to elect eighteen city council members. Kouri received 2,145 votes, slightly less than 1 percent.

Kouri opposed the RCM, a "reform" coalition uniting trade unions, liberals, community activists, and the procapitalist Parti Québécois (PQ). He called on the labor movement in Québec to launch its own political party rather than relying on the PQ or multiclass blocs such as the RCM.

A central focus of the LSA campaigns, both in Montréal and across Canada, was to defend struggles of workers and the oppressed. Kouri supported the strike of Montréal's sub-

way workers and spoke at their mass rally, built the massive October 29 anti-inflation demonstration, and defended Haitian refugees facing deportation by the Canadian government.

The LSA also ran five candidates for city council and three candidates for school board in Vancouver, British Columbia. This election was held November 20, but LSA returns have not yet been reported.

In that campaign the LSA urged a vote for the candidates for local office of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's reformist labor party.

In a debate with representatives from the NDP and COPE, a reformist municipal coalition primarily backed by the Canadian Communist Party, LSA representative John Steele outlined the differences between the LSA and the reformists.

"The NDP represents an organizational break from the big-business parties," he said. "We say this even though we don't support the NDP pro-



Labor Challenge

Joan Campana, socialist candidate for mayor of Toronto.

gram, which advances reforms but does not challenge the capitalist system."

"All the points in our program are designed to point the way towards socialism, to explain that capitalism cannot be reformed. Only mass struggles will eliminate it—and that's what we're promoting in this election campaign."

Since a bloc of liberal reformers gained control of Toronto's city government in 1972, all sorts of schemes for "community control" and "citizen participation" have cropped up as solutions to that city's crisis. One candidate who does not see these proposals as solutions is Joan Campana, the LSA's candidate for mayor of Toronto.

Continued on page WO/3

Socialist speakers assess the changing political moods on college campuses

By CAROLINE LUND

"People are worried and a little scared," said Socialist Workers Party leader Linda Jenness, describing the mood of audiences at her speaking engagements on the campuses this fall.

"There is a new kind of fear. Students are worried about being able to find a job, about the recession, about whether there is going to be a war in the Mideast," she said.

Comparing her speaking tour this fall with her meetings in 1972, when she was the presidential candidate of the SWP, Jenness said that today, "I don't have to convince any of my audiences that there is a serious crisis in this country. People are becoming convinced of this, and more students are open to proposals for socialist solutions as a legitimate viewpoint to be considered."

The four cochairpersons of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee fanned out through the country in October, speaking in support of the 129 local SWP candidates. In addition to Jenness, those on tour included Maceo Dixon, Peter Camejo, and Debbie Bustin.

In discussing the mood on the campuses today, Camejo agreed that there is a new openness to the socialist perspective, but stressed his feeling that "the economic problems this country is now facing have not really sunk in yet in terms of student consciousness on a mass scale."

"What is happening is that a certain interest, or questioning, is beginning," he continued.

"Up to the very recent period, most students—who generally reflect cynical views of society—believed that the U. S. had many things wrong with it. Many felt that these problems stemmed from the very nature of a highly industrialized, computerized society and that these dehumanizing factors could not be totally eliminated. And they also noticed that this system, despite its drawbacks, seemed to be more productive each year; it seemed to be able to progressively raise people's standard of living.

"So there was a certain hopelessness about the possibility of social change. This view was most highly expressed in Herbert Marcuse's writings, but I think it generally permeated student radicalism."

Decline of the system

Camejo went on: "But this perspective falls apart when the capitalist economic system enters a serious crisis, as it has today.

"And I noticed a certain openness now to the socialist perspective that the workers will move and that social change might occur on a broader scale because of the economic down-

turn. Today the more politicalized students see, as a realistic perspective, the development of a massive social movement that would be broader than the one specific issue such as the Vietnam war."

The growing interest in socialist ideas was reflected in larger meetings for all four speakers. Bustin said the typical size of her meetings was 40-70 students, but often meetings were much bigger. One hundred and fifty people turned out to hear Jenness in Edinboro, Pa; 250 came to hear Camejo in Fort Collins, Colo.; and Dixon spoke at a number of meetings of 100-200.

Bustin said that more people expressed interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance after her talks than was the case during her spring speaking tour—"often three or four people at each meeting, rather than one or two." Dixon reported that many young people who weren't sure about joining the YSA were interested in attending classes on "What is Marxism?"

Jenness felt that one of the reasons socialist ideas are looked at as a more legitimate alternative is that the government has been thoroughly discredited. "Many of the things we as socialists used to have to argue with people about—like the fact that the Democrats and Republicans are controlled by big business—people are now convinced by Watergate and other events," she said.

But, Camejo added, "along with this cynicism toward the government, there's also an element of cynicism toward organizations fighting for social change."

He contrasted the situation on the campuses today with the "solidarity-type atmosphere" that existed at the time of the antiwar movement. He said, "While students look down on the government, many see those who seek a social change as simply idealists. This is different from the antiwar movement, when any radical speaker sensed a general sympathy from students, as part of the same broader movement they were a part of."

"But," he said, "this of course will change as soon as new struggles break out and students are again involved in actions."

One of the ways in which the tours by the SWP leaders helped to promote such an action perspective was through urging students to organize actions in solidarity with the Black community in Boston against the attacks by racist, antibusing forces there.

"I got a very good response," said Dixon, "especially among Black students. People wanted to know, what can we do about it?"



Militant/Robb Wright

Brooklyn College. Students today are more aware that this country faces serious crises in economy and other spheres.

Dixon continued: "One of the things I did was, at the end of my talks, to ask people who were interested in doing something about Boston to gather at the YSA literature table after the meeting to discuss concretely what to do.

"At my meeting in Carbondale, Ill., an ongoing committee of Blacks and some whites was formed to organize protest action around Boston on the campus there.

Camejo found that "students were completely ignorant about what was happening in Boston. Up to now, the whole way the mass media has handled the situation has been designed to demobilize or prevent mobilization of Blacks and students in support of the Black community in Boston.

"But I think that when the facts of the situation are presented to students, they react rather rapidly in being willing to do something about it."

Dixon spoke at a number of meetings on Black campuses and meetings sponsored by Black student unions. Asked what kinds of concerns are on the minds of Black students, he answered that "there is most interest in the question of a general perspective for social change."

Famine in Africa

"The whole question of the famine in Africa, the questions of pollution and of the economic crisis, affects Blacks as much as anyone else, and Black students want to know how to deal with these things as well as how to deal with racism. They see there are monumental world problems."

Dixon said interest in the question of the world famine was especially high among Black students. "Last winter and spring, many Black students participated in forming groups to send food to the victims of the African drought," he explained. "But what has happened is that these groups have folded up or are not doing anything.

"In my opinion this is because people have seen the enormity of the whole crisis; that it's not just a few thousand people dying, and it's not just due to the drought, but it's a question of the social system, of the

role of the giant U.S. agribusiness corporations that control the world market in food products, and so forth.

"This whole question of the masses of Black people dying in Africa really hits home to Blacks here in the U. S. They directly link up with that," said Dixon.

While the growing crises in the world have made more people open to radical solutions, Jenness felt that this is not yet reflected in the sphere of political action. Many students do not yet understand the need for a radical break from the Democratic and Republican parties.

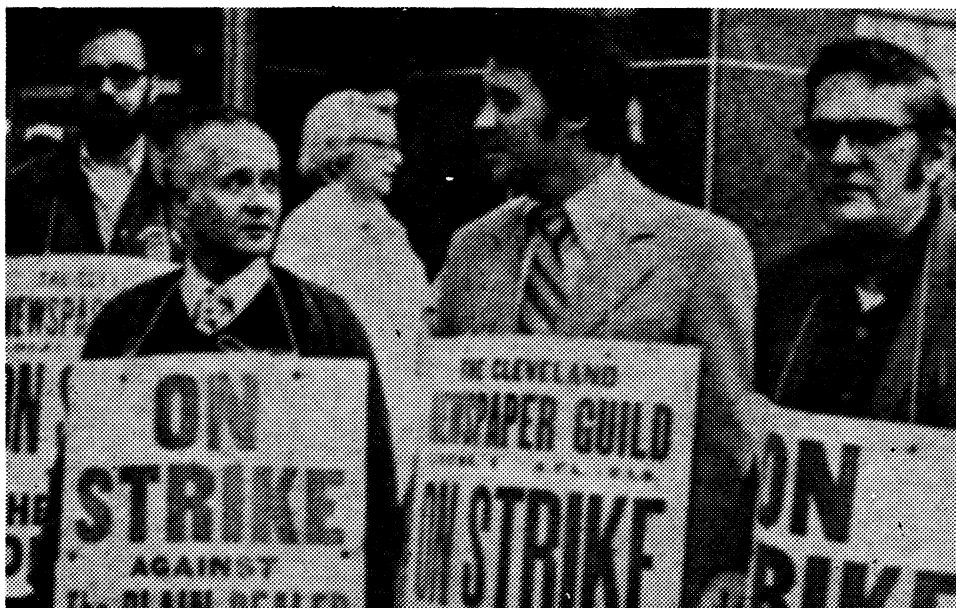
"When it comes to voting, the overriding view is still that it is more realistic or practical to support the 'lesser evil' and try to reform the Democratic Party. In the 1975 and 1976 elections, this will be the main confusion in the minds of young people that the SWP candidates will have to deal with.

"We will have to explain why it's not more practical to simply elect more politicians like Ron Dellums and Bella Abzug, and why the American people will have to go beyond the confines of the capitalist parties for solutions to the sharpening problems we see today," Jenness concluded.

One thing the SWP leaders noted was that the SWP election campaigns and sales campaigns of *The Militant* have had a definite impact during the past years in making the SWP rather widely known among politically conscious students, Black people, and others.

Dixon commented, "Many people are aware that there are a number of radical groups that have come and gone—like Students for a Democratic Society, or the Progressive Labor Party. But they see that the SWP and the YSA are still here, not like many other less-serious groups."

Many of the young people who came to hear Jenness, Dixon, Camejo or Bustin will be attending the YSA convention in St. Louis Dec. 28-Jan. 1. Participants will discuss how socialists can take advantage of the growing interest in radical ideas on the campuses and how to build the biggest possible SWP election campaign for 1976.



Decline of economy has brought wider acceptance of possibility that masses of workers will go into motion as force for social change.

'History has been cheated'

A socialist speaks out against Stalinist

The following is the text of a speech sent by Ken Coates to the Nov. 22 meeting in defense of Czechoslovak political prisoners held at Columbia University in New York.

Coates, a director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, was denied a U.S. visa until it was too late for him to make arrangements to attend the New York meeting. In the course of his efforts to obtain a visa, Coates was asked to furnish details of his political associations and all his visits to the workers states. It was only after the intervention of Leonard Boudin, the noted civil liberties attorney, that Coates was finally granted his visa at all.

The text has been abridged for reasons of space.

I had fully intended to be with you at your important meeting, organized in solidarity with the socialist prisoners who are being held in Czechoslovakia. Indeed, the Russell Foundation had deferred its own London demonstration on this issue until Nov. 29, in order to allow me to participate in both gatherings.

Unfortunately, the authorities in your London embassy do not, it seems, favour protests about the ill-treatment of socialists, even when this takes place in Czechoslovakia. Whether I shall ultimately be awarded a visa I do not know, but it certainly appears likely that I shall not be given one in time to attend your meeting.

I should like to know what such freedom fighters as Senator [Henry] Jackson think about this, since they have recently made so much complaint about the conditions of prisoners and dissident minorities in the USSR, although they have not, hitherto, seemed so concerned about the other victims of oppression whose cause has been taken up by Bertrand Russell and this foundation.

Is one disqualified from access to



Brezhnev, Kosygin, Suslov, Stalinist repression is meant to defend privileges of officials like these.

the USA because one wishes to see the political prisoners in the USSR, which recently celebrated its fifty-seventh anniversary, set at liberty? Or are impediments normally placed in the way of intending visitors who sympathize with the cause of civil liberties in socialist countries? There is some little evidence that this is not the case.

Latin America

But then, of course, the Russell foundation has not confined its appeals for civil liberty to the authorities in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Like the Czechoslovak socialists we are now meeting to support, the foundation has been energetically involved in opposing the intrigues of the CIA in Chile, the vast repression unleashed in that hapless nation by stooges of your military and commercial establishments, and the terrible consequences of the U.S. government's wry application of the infamous "domino" theory to Latin America.

We have seen how the dominoes have fallen first in Brazil, then in Bolivia, in Uruguay, and next in Chile, and we fear that every attempt

is currently being made to tip them over yet again in Peru. We also saw, and exposed in the work of the first Russell Tribunal, the previous enactment of this same strategy in South-east Asia, where U.S. forces ravaged Vietnam and Laos, embroiled neutralist Cambodia in a continuing desperate struggle, and along the way subverted Indonesia and maintained the Philippines as a paradise for executioners and concentration-camp guards.

Indeed, whether we have found ourselves campaigning on behalf of prisoners in Greece or in Bolivia, in Indonesia or in Spain, it has always been as likely as not that some anonymous State Department strategist has carried the ultimate responsibility for the situation which led to their incarceration.

A fortunate choice

In a sense, Senator Jackson has been fortunate in his choice of victims, because they are among the few remaining in the world in whose confinements your government has had no hand, direct or indirect, or from whose captivity it draws no real or

imagined benefit of security for its interests.

Many socialists are therefore curious about why we should wish to attend and assist in meetings such as this. After all, they ask us, in Indonesia, on the most cautious estimates, half a million people were butchered in an anticommunist bloodbath which directly followed the intrigues of the CIA. In Cambodia, an old and beautiful country has been laid waste, its populace decimated, its modest resources burnt out, in testimony to the capacities of the same conspirators.

In Chile, in Greece, and all over Latin America, the torturers have all had their licenses to maim and kill directly franked in Washington. Why, they say, in a world so cruel as this do you concern yourselves with the comparatively lesser offences of the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies against civil freedom?

What happened in history could normally be left in history, but only because history would normally have already claimed it in a vast body of impassioned debate and some considerable scholarly effort. In this case, in the USSR, history has been cheated—choked with a gag—and so what was a million-headed nightmare throughout yesterday, the whole savage Gulag madness, remains unpurged and officially unrepented. For this reason, officially, it remains all too contemporary.

Intermittent relaxation of the worst villainies of arbitrary rule has certainly taken place in the USSR since 1956, and despite serious lapses, repression, though sharp, is notably less severe than formerly it was.

Yet, for all the limited progress towards "socialist legality," we are bound to observe that sane men and women are still forcibly confined in lunatic asylums because they disagree; that state prisoners are held on charges which in every other advanced country would be laughed out of consideration; that writers are ban-

Demand release of Czechoslovak dissidents

Teach-ins in support of Czechoslovak political prisoners took place in Boston and New York Nov. 21 and 22. About 150 people turned out at Harvard University to hear Karel Kovanda, president of the Czech student union in 1969; Gerald Berlin, former chairman of the board of directors of the Massachusetts American Civil Liberties Union; Professor Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, an exiled Soviet dissident; and Marilyn Vogt of the Socialist Workers Party.

At New York's Columbia University 100 people heard Kovanda, along with Dave Frankel of the Socialist Workers Party; David McReynolds of the War Resisters League; Jeri Laber of Amnesty International; and a representative of the Committee for Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

In addition, Antonin Leihm, former editor of the Czechoslovak Writers Union newspaper, introduced a short film depicting the regimentation of art under the Stalinist regime.

The teach-ins were organized in response to an appeal for an international campaign for Eastern European and Soviet political prisoners initiated by Soviet dissidents Andrei Sakharov

and Pavel Litvinov; Jiri Pelikan, a participant in the "Prague Spring"; and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

At both meetings an open letter sent by 30 former Czechoslovak political prisoners to the Union of Czechoslovak Lawyers was read. The letter stated the solidarity of the senders with the political prisoners in Chile, while condemning the hypocrisy of the lawyers who protested about Chile but said nothing of the repression in their own country.

Kovanda noted at the New York meeting that Americans, Chileans, Czechoslovaks, and Ukrainians were speaking out in behalf of the two prisoners whose cases were singled out by the teach-ins, Jiri Muller and Jaroslav Sabata. He commented that this internationalism was especially appropriate because Muller first ran into trouble with the Czechoslovak government when he tried to set up a Vietnam defense committee.

Later, during the Prague Spring, Muller again came into conflict with the authorities—this time the liberal reformers of the Dubcek regime—because he encouraged solidarity with striking Polish students.

Sabata and Muller were arrested in November 1971 for distributing leaflets on the elections being held at that time. Both were charged with subversion and sentenced to prison—Muller for five-and-one-half years and Saba-



Karel Kovanda, former president of Czech Student Union, speaking at Harvard.

ta for six-and-one-half years. Both are being held in solitary confinement, and the health of both is deteriorating.

In Boston, Kovanda concluded by saying, "What we really want is the release of all political prisoners, but we talk about Muller and Sabata because it is easier to bring the plight of the body of political prisoners to light by focusing on particular individuals."

Also singled out at the teach-ins was the case of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian who is on the verge of death after a five-month hunger strike. Moroz is demanding that he be transferred from the prison where he is being held in solitary confinement and denied medical care to a labor camp, although it is feared now that he will die unless he is taken to a hospital.

An emergency rally in support of Moroz sponsored by the Harvard chapter of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners drew 75 people Nov. 25.

In addition to these actions, a meeting of 60 people was held Nov. 19 at Indiana University in Bloomington. Roman Kupchinsky of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners was the speaker.

repression

ished because they wished to express themselves freely; and that distinguished men are robbed of their citizenship, like Zhores Medvedev, without benefit of any judicial process whatever.

We are compelled to witness similar infringements of basic democratic rights, which directly violate both the Soviet Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights promulgated by the United Nations, not only in the constituent republics of the USSR itself, but also in allied nations such as Czechoslovakia, whose government was directly dismissed, reconstituted, and rearranged.

And we are unable to avoid the reflection that this all takes place in 1974, a time in which, as we have already said, the Russian revolution is remembered as an event of 57 years ago. If some form of transitional regime is imaginably necessary after a socialist revolution, if men must always compromise with their ideals, does such an imperfect arrangement have to eat up more than half a century before the people can be entrusted again with that modest degree of political liberty which they had previously possessed under bourgeois rule?

Is it conceivable that the publication of Medvedev's graphic account of the Rise of Lysenko, or Solzhenitsyn's succession of extraordinarily powerful accounts of life in the penal camps, or even his later mystic gibberish and reactionary hymn-singing, would, if tolerated in Moscow, bring back the stock exchange and the rule of the Dow Jones index?

Pepsi-Cola & Nixon

Paradoxically, we might reflect, it was neither Dr. Medvedev nor Solzhenitsyn, wise though the former and ingenuous though the latter may sometimes be, who invited the First National City Bank, or Pepsi-Cola, or even President Nixon and the ubiquitous Dr. Kissinger, to Moscow.

It was not Major-General Grigorenko who detained the Moscow Soviet with detailed proposals for a new golf course for visiting United States entrepreneurs. Vladimir Bukovsky did not bring Fiat to Togliattigrad.

Recently the Russell foundation received from the British post office a sum of nearly £500 in compensation for "lost" registered letters mailed to the USSR. Most of these had been written a year previously and concerned the United States intervention in Cambodia. A handful of these letters got through to their addressees. The rest were presumably intercepted, and it is beyond doubt that they "disappeared."

As Zhores Medvedev has shown in his quite exceptionally revealing and well-balanced work, *The Medvedev Papers*, there exists a vast department of state in the USSR for reading other



'Sane men and women are still forcibly confined in lunatic asylums because they disagree.' Above, Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko, who was released from such an asylum this summer.

people's letters, tearing pages out of such seditious journals as *Nature*, deciding not to allow foreign visits by most scientists, and in general carefully watching for the least and littlest symptoms of unconventional thought. I suspect that it works somewhat after the fashion of the visa department of your own London embassy.

Who is protecting whom in all this tomfoolery? What great interest requires that Russian citizens should not read our appeals for Cambodia, which were publicly endorsed by socialists and communists in almost every capitalist country in the world?

It seems reasonable to ask this question. At the same time, it seems reasonable to add another observation with it: that all this grossly undemocratic and irrational lumber is no part of that dream of a new social order which has possessed the imaginations of generations of socialist and communist activists throughout the rest of the world.

Whoever it defends inside the Soviet Union, it can only hamper and impede the struggle for social justice and freedom in the rest of the world. If Senator Jackson had no Russian Jews to protect, it might be marginally more difficult for him to explain and vindicate the labours of his government's goon squads, who are deployed across half your neighboring continent and looking for employment in another five-and-a-half.

Solidarity among jailers

Whatever may be the complex result of détente, it is abundantly clear that oppression creates its own psychotic submorality, its own species of brute indiscriminate solidarity between the jailers, and its own uniquely distorted partial vision.

There will be no human liberation within such a partial view. When we see men who defied the KGB, with just cause, fall in with the CIA or the Springer press, we may well sadly understand how pain can warp the human judgment, but we must never for one moment suspend that judgment.

Angela Davis, who turned away from Jiri Pelikan's appeal for the Czech prisoners we are defending, has her opposite numbers among the Soviet émigrés who do not wish to condemn the vicious results of United States intervention in Vietnam or Chile. But on any sane view, after deliberate consideration, the men of the CIA and their imitators in the KGB will be found to serve a similar cause, and to merit a similar universal condemnation.

'Less-than-honorable' discharges plague vets

By NORMAN OLIVER

The armed forces of the U. S. government would like everyone to think that racism doesn't exist in the military. The Navy has gone so far as to advertise, "You can be Black and Navy too."

Hundreds of thousands of Black GIs have found it otherwise.

Take Thomas Aiken, for example, a Vietnam veteran from Queens, N. Y. He sustained serious head and body wounds in Vietnam combat. When ordered to perform janitorial duties while confined to a hospital bed, he refused. He got that order because he was Black, and Aiken was sick and tired of the racist treatment he'd been receiving in the service.

For standing up for his rights, Aiken was given a less-than-honorable discharge. He tried to obtain Veterans Administration treatment for his wounds, but the VA denied it to him because of his bad papers. As a result, Aiken lost an eye.

Aiken was one of several vets who spoke at congressional hearings last year on the effects of bad discharges. There are more than half a million Vietnam-era veterans with less-than-honorable discharges.

Veterans with general discharges (the lower of the two types of discharges under honorable conditions) are entitled to VA benefits—but at the discretion of the VA. Veterans with less-than-honorable papers can't receive any benefits.

According to Wallace Andrews of the United Black Association in New York City, the vast majority of veterans with bad papers are Black. The association aids veterans in upgrading their discharges. "Of the guys who come here for help," Andrews told *The Militant*, "90 percent are Black, 8 percent are Hispanic, and the other 2 percent are white."

Andrews feels that there is such a high percentage of Blacks getting bad papers because of "the system." Young Blacks, who can't find work, see the military as an alternative to the degradation of unemployment. However, the racism and exploitation that permeate society as a whole run through the military as well.

Besides the racist attitudes and practices of the military brass, Andrews said, "the Nam just completely killed everybody. Because, first of all, we had no business being there. Black GIs were put into something that was totally immoral. So I can see why guys were turned off."

It was because they spoke out against the war and against racism that more than 560,000 Vietnam-era veterans received less-than-honorable discharges.

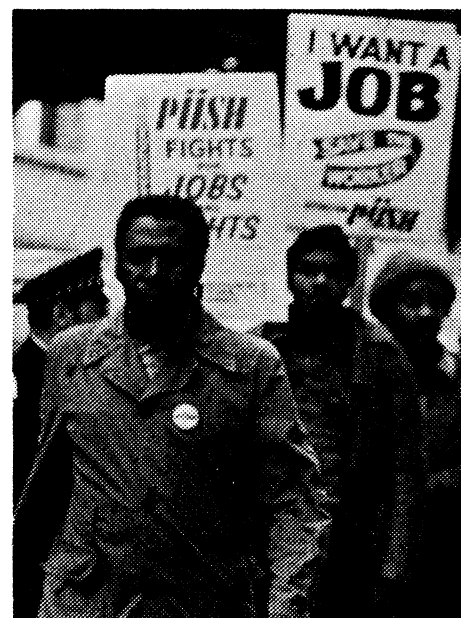
Until recently, veterans could be penalized through the use of a code called Separation Program Number Designator (SPN). SPN codes on a veteran's discharge papers allowed prospective employers and the VA to know whether the vet was, for example, a "habitual shirker," "sexual deviate," or was marked by "unfitness—unsanitary habits." SPN codes, which

appeared on all veterans' discharge papers, enabled employers and the VA to penalize "troublemakers" by denying them jobs and GI benefits.

Because of protests from veterans and others, the Pentagon was forced to abolish the SPN code system last March. In its place, GIs discharged for prejudicial reasons will have in their records only a written narrative. The Pentagon claims this will be available only to the veteran concerned. However, the meaning of SPN numbers was also supposedly secret, but employers managed to get copies. There is no reason to doubt that bosses will have access to veterans' files under the new policy.

As a result of the present economic crisis, even veterans with honorable discharges find it difficult—if not impossible—to maintain a decent standard of living. Unemployment among vets is nearly 10 percent, and benefits received under the present GI bill are entirely inadequate.

On Nov. 26 President Ford vetoed a bill that would have increased the education benefits available under the GI bill by 22.7 percent—short of the increase in the cost of living since the last bill was passed, but a step in the



Militant/Tom O'Brien

Black veterans are swelling ranks of unemployed.

right direction. Ford said he objected to provisions that would have allowed veterans to borrow \$600 a year to supplement their benefits and would have extended veterans' eligibility for benefits from 36 to 45 months.

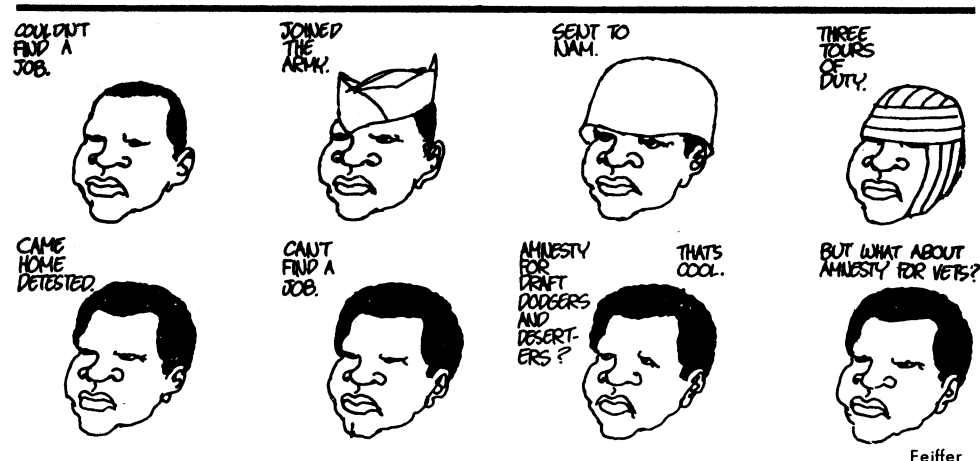
The president claimed the bill was inflationary and would add another "half-billion-dollar load to the already overburdened taxpayer."

One of the best things Ford could do to begin to halt the inflationary spiral would be to end the massive military spending of the government. That Ford vetoed the GI bill raise while maintaining that the \$84-billion defense budget needs increasing, shows how hypocritical his "concern" for Vietnam veterans is.

For Vietnam-era veterans, Ford's exhortation to bite the bullet to whip inflation means biting the dust.



It is bureaucrats, not the dissidents they persecute, who have been responsible for inviting capitalist enterprises into Soviet Union.



Feiffer

Democratic miniconvention—'regulars' battle 'reformers' over affirmative action

By BAXTER SMITH

A simmering debate over the role and number of Blacks in the Democratic Party hierarchy, an issue that has torn some party functioning in the past few months, is sure to grab the spotlight at the Democratic Party miniconvention in Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 6-8.

The issue has kept some ranking Black Democrats in a huff despite the Democratic runaway in the elections, where Blacks posted gains not seen since Reconstruction. It has even prompted threats by some Black politicians to bolt the party and form a Black political party.

Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher warned that Blacks "may be forced out of the Democratic Party and into a third party," according to the Sept. 28 *Black Panther*. Hatcher is a prominent Black member of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the body within which most of the debate has occurred.

The dispute is over affirmative action in the party, and it has been boiling since the party convention in 1972. But it surfaced publicly when a group of Blacks, led by California Assemblyman Willie Brown, walked out of the DNC's Charter Commission meeting last August.

In October, 35 ranking Black Democrats issued a warning to the DNC that unless it stops bowing to what they termed conservative elements who seek to limit Black participation "in all party affairs," they would urge Blacks to boycott the miniconvention.

Currently, of 300 DNC members, 35 are Black. In the past, Blacks have demanded 25 percent of the seats. The miniconvention will adopt a permanent charter for the party that may include language limiting the number of Blacks in the party hierarchy.

The boycott threat was addressed to DNC Chairman Robert Strauss. It was presented by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young on behalf of Hatcher, DNC Vice-chairman Basil Paterson, Congressional Black Caucus spokesperson Charles Rangel, and others.

Tied to the party

The likelihood of a Black boycott of the miniconvention appears remote. These Black Democrats realize that their livelihoods and political futures lie with the Democratic Party. By their threats, they hope to bolster their positions in the party. If granted any concessions, they will proclaim to the Black community that in a skirmish with the Democratic Party chiefs, it's possible to win.

An example of this was the election of Harold Ford, a Black from Memphis, Tenn., to the House of Representatives.

Originally Ford was given little chance of unseating Republican incumbent Dan Kuykendall. Neither Strauss nor Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, who is head of the DNC's



Protest and maneuvers by Black politicians within Democratic Party can do nothing to abolish miserable conditions in Black community.

campaign committee, wanted to campaign for Ford as they had done for other Democratic hopefuls. Instead, they told him "to point to '76."

The high-ranking "Democrats believed," one observer said, "that Ford was making too much of a pitch to the Black community."

Ford's district is 47 percent Black.

Under pressure from leading Black Democrats, however, Strauss conceded and went to Memphis to stump for Ford, though late in the campaign. Ford managed to squeeze out a narrow victory, which he credited to Strauss's trip.

'Regulars' vs. 'reformers'

Feeling the weight of the radicalization of the 1960s—the Black awakening, the rising women's liberation movement, and the antiwar movement—Democratic Party reformers began building the impression that the party could become the vehicle through which the demands of Blacks, women, and young people could be won.

As a result, at the 1972 Democratic convention in Miami, delegate-selection rules allowed for more representation from Blacks, women, and young people than ever before.

Some old-line party "regulars," led chiefly by the Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy, put the blame for the McGovern debacle on the "reform" movement within the party. Since then they have led a crusade to try to limit the participation of Blacks, women, and young people in the party.

The rift surfaced at the August meeting of the Charter Commission when the meeting refused to adopt some of the language in the draft of the charter rules drawn up in March. Those rules, which would govern delegate selection for the 1976 convention, were proposed by the Commission on Delegate Selection and Party Structure, headed by Baltimore city council member Barbara Mikulski.

The Mikulski rules said that "minority groups, Native Americans, women

and youth" should have "full participation . . . in all party affairs . . . as indicated by their presence in the Democratic electorate." But the rules prohibited mandatory quotas to achieve this.

Nevertheless, just the language of the rules caused party regulars to bridle. They saw the rules as an assault on their control of the party and as the specter, if not the substance, of quotas, the same ogre they are opposed to in other areas, including education and the unions.

The August walkout occurred, however, not over the affirmative-action language, but on a proposal to write unit-rule voting into the charter.

The unit rule requires all delegates from a given state to vote in a bloc for a particular candidate. It does not allow for minority representation.

This amendment was proposed to undercut the provision for proportional representation that is also written into the Mikulski rules.

When the amendment was introduced, Willie Brown, a supporter of proportional representation, declared: "I am walking out. It's a travesty on the whole process to gut the charter like this. . . . This is the nail that closes the coffin for Willie Brown."

Earlier, Brown had said that if Blacks were forced to walk out it would cost the Democratic Party a number of close elections in November. The elections, he said, would be "spread with Black blood and women's blood."

'Hip-pocket politics'

Willie Brown's flair for the dramatic, the war clouds, and the bluster exhibited by Black Democrats like Hatcher fall into the category of idle threats.

In 1972, at the Gary, Ind., Black political convention held prior to the Democratic Party convention, Hatcher made similar threats, hoping to frighten some Democratic Party officials into making concessions.

"This convention signals the end of hip-pocket politics," he said then. "We ain't in nobody's hip pocket no more!" . . . We say to the two American political parties: this is their last clear chance. They have had too many already."

But he added: "I, for one, am willing to give the two major parties one more chance in the year 1972 to redeem themselves, but if they fail us—a not unlikely prospect—we must then seriously probe the possibility of a third-party movement in this country."

Today, more so than in 1972—with unemployment at near-depression levels in the Black community and more layoffs around the corner; with uncontrolled police violence against

Black youth, and major assaults on school desegregation in Boston and other cities; with a bipartisan-inspired effort to derail and discredit the Black struggle through government-sanctioned violence and sabotage; and with Blacks feeling the squeeze of the economic crisis and inflation more than anyone else—Hatcher's words ring hollow indeed.

His latest maneuvering with the Democratic Party chiefs shows that far from abandoning hip-pocket politics, Hatcher and his colleagues have nestled in even more, and have been totally unable to construct a program of action that could lead Blacks out of this dilemma.

'Outside looking in'

Hatcher told the *Black Panther* that if a charter is adopted at the miniconvention that denies Blacks quotas, Blacks will "have no effect whatsoever and we will find ourselves as we have been traditionally, standing on the outside looking in."

"The implication," he continued, "is that the party can discriminate, it can shut out Blacks, it can do whatever it wants to." That's right. It can.

The Democratic Party is controlled by big business and run in the interests of big business and the capitalist system of profit and exploitation. It will never be a party run in the interests of Blacks, women, youth, or labor or controlled by them.

The Democratic National Committee and all its subcommittees do not exist to provide for popular control over the party by Blacks, women, youth, or labor. They exist merely to give the illusion that there is popular control. In reality the important shots are now and always will be called by big business.

"The Democratic Party seems to have a kind of death wish," Hatcher said. "Any Democrat that thinks that Black people have nowhere else to go but the Democratic Party could be very greatly surprised."

That's the whole point. Those who control the Democratic Party realize that it is vital to keep Blacks in it. They will use Black Democrats like Hatcher and Brown precisely for this purpose, putting up with their periodic protests in the meantime.

At the same time, these Black Democrats realize that all they have going for them are the sheer numbers of Blacks who vote Democratic, and whose vote is essential to winning almost every major election. A large-scale pull-away—which they will never lead—will spell doom for them and for the party when it occurs.

Thus the Democratic Party chiefs have to bow to the demands of Blacks from time to time, allowing Blacks on its leadership bodies and running them for office. Despite this, the party is fundamentally a racist party whose interests are antagonistic to Black interests. Those who control the party no more want large numbers of Blacks in key positions in it than do the most racist of labor bureaucrats now leading the campaign to stop affirmative action.

All of this infighting underscores the fact that the Democratic Party is not run in the interests of Blacks and that what is needed is a separate, independent Black party: a party that can represent Black needs.

The recent elections showed that Blacks do possess the strength to vote Black candidates into office who can represent their needs. But that political power is dissipated when it is put behind the Democratic Party. The present struggle inside the party proves that.



Willie Brown (left) and Richard Hatcher threatened Black boycott of miniconvention to pressure party hierarchy into more concessions.

New repressive laws pushed through

British gov't whips up anti-Irish hysteria

From Intercontinental Press

By GERRY FOLEY

In the week following the November 21 bombings in Birmingham, which the Wilson government and the capitalist press blamed on Irish nationalists, sweeping repressive legislation was rushed through the British parliament.

"The bill completed its commons passage at 9 a.m. after an all-night session," a November 29 dispatch reported in the *Washington Post*. "Some 20 minutes later it reached the House of Lords and passed in minutes through all stages without dissent. A messenger rushed it to Buckingham Palace, where Queen Elizabeth signed it. . . ."

Describing the bill's provisions on November 25, British Home Secretary Roy Jenkins said that it would empower his office "to proscribe organisations concerned in terrorism or in promoting or encouraging it with respect to affairs in Northern Ireland."

"The Bill will specify the IRA at least, but additional proscriptions which may well be necessary will be made by Order. It will be an offence to belong to a proscribed organisation or to support such an organisation financially or in other ways."

"The maximum penalty will be six months' imprisonment or a £400 fine, or both, on summary conviction, and five years' imprisonment or an unlimited fine or both on conviction on indictment." (Quoted in the *Financial Times* of London, November 26.)

The law can be used to penalize anyone who sympathizes with the political objectives of militant Irish nationalists or even objects to the persecution of individual activists. It threatens not only those who maintain the Irish tradition of resistance to British rule in Ireland but any non-Irish citizen of the British state who might defend the victims of imperialist repression.

"It will be an offence, punishable on summary conviction with a maximum of three months' imprisonment, or a £200 fine or both," Jenkins continued, "for a person to display in a public place any item of dress or other article so as to arouse reasonable apprehension that he is a member of, or a supporter of, a proscribed organisation."

"It will thus be an offence to wear clothing or armbands which are plainly IRA insignia but which fall short of the requirements for a successful prosecution under the provisions of the Public Order Act, 1936, which pro-

hibits the wearing of political uniforms, and it will be an offence to carry banners in support of the IRA."

The main banner used by the Irish nationalists and their supporters is the national flag of Ireland. Display of this symbol was banned in Northern Ireland by the Flag and Emblems Act passed by the Belfast parliament in the 1950s. The largest attacks on the Catholic ghettos before 1969 were police pogroms aimed at suppressing the display of Irish national symbols.

In addition to threatening a ban on the symbols of Irish separatism, the British home secretary made it clear that persons born in the part of Ireland incorporated into the British state do not have the full rights of British citizens:

"An exclusion order may be made against a person if it appears to the Secretary of State that he is concerned in the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism, or is attempting, or may attempt, to enter Great Britain for that purpose, or has knowingly harboured such a person or any person against whom an exclusion order has been made."

Because of the importance of extended family and local ties for Irish persons forced to emigrate to England to find work, the provisions penalizing anyone associated with political "undesirables" (a large percentage of the Catholic population of Northern Ireland) seemed designed to intimidate the entire immigrant community.

The number of Irish driven to emigrate to Britain, as a result in the last analysis of British imperialist control of their country, is estimated at anywhere from a third to a half that of the population of Ireland as a whole. Because of the pattern of temporary emigration, too, a large proportion of workers in Ireland have worked for periods in Britain or can expect to be forced to do so in the future.

The new legislation also seemed to introduce something like the special powers long used by the Protestant colonialist police and the British troops in Northern Ireland:

"The police will be able to detain for 48 hours (and for five more days with the consent of the Secretary of State) and to fingerprint a person arrested under these powers or for a major offence under the Bill."

"These powers will, among other things, enable the police to hold a suspected terrorist while they question him, investigate his background and check his fingerprints against their records."



Although billed as antiterrorist measures, new repressive laws will be used to attack all manifestations of solidarity with Irish struggle, such as this march.

The oppressed Catholic people of Northern Ireland have learned through long experience that a lot of things can happen to a person while he or she is being "detained" forty-eight hours, to say nothing of five days. In particular in the climate of chauvinist frenzy that has prevailed since the Birmingham bombings, any Irish person "detained" will be in danger of being brutally treated.

Jenkins admitted: "These powers are Draconian. In combination they are unprecedented in peacetime."

The justifications the British government and the big capitalist press gave for this legislation amounted to condoning chauvinist hatred of Irish nationalism. In the debate in parliament November 28 (quoted in the November 29 *London Times*), Jenkins said:

"I have never claimed, and do not claim now, that proscription of the IRA will as of itself reduce terrorist outrages, but the public should no longer have to endure the affront of public demonstrations in support of that body."

In an editorial November 27, the *London Times* said: "Proscription of the IRA, and power to proscribe its front organizations, will not cause them to disappear, but it is appropriate to the general feelings of indignation that they should [not] be permitted to exist within the law."

The way the special powers legislation was speeded through the parliament left no doubt about the lynching spirit of British ruling circles. The parliamentary leaders were obviously unconcerned about establishing responsibility for the bombings, which the Provisional IRA denied carrying out. No evidence was presented that any Irish organization was responsible.

However, the only opposition to immediate and unanimous passage came from the Conservatives led by the Tory shadow home secretary, Sir Keith Joseph (who gained notice recently by explaining the need to discourage what he thought were inferior human beings from breeding). The Tories wanted to take advantage of the situation to restore capital punishment.

It was clear that the new legislation was intended to be used indiscriminately against the Irish nationalist organizations. In the debate in the House of Commons November 28, Jenkins was asked if the provisions referred to both the Official and Provisional IRA. His answer was yes. However, the Official IRA has stressed

for some years now that it is opposed in principle to a terrorist campaign in Britain.

The *London Times* tried to justify the witch-hunt against Irish nationalists in these terms in its November 27 editorial: "The IRA command spokesman in Dublin has disclaimed his group's responsibility for the Birmingham murders, and in past incidents some reliance could be placed on what their official spokesmen said. Against that is the intention recently declared by Mr David O'Connell [Daithi O'Connell] on behalf of the Provisional IRA to carry into Great Britain an enlarged campaign of bombing of military and administrative targets. And there are indications which suggest that IRA killing squads in Great Britain act without reference to the Dublin command. In that case IRA responsibility is indirect but sufficient, and exceptional counter-measures are in any case warranted whichever the precise faction of murder."

In other words, violent acts carried out by any persons of Irish origin who believe or say that they are striking a blow for their people can be used to condemn Irish nationalist organizations, regardless of whether these acts are carried out under their discipline or with their political approval.

In the absence of any mass workers leadership in Britain with the courage and principle to oppose the anti-Irish campaign, there is a real danger that some backward sections of the British working class will be swept along by the witch-hunt.

"It is at work that naked passions are least easily contained," two correspondents wrote from Birmingham in the November 24 issue of the *London weekly*, the *Observer*: "One trade union leader who described Friday's factory demonstrations as 'frightening,' compared them to the London dockers' marches in support of [the racist demagogue] Enoch Powell when dockers sang 'Bye-bye blackbird.'"

Whatever the attitude of the masses of the British people, the objective fact is that they do not benefit from the imperialist domination of Ireland and have to underwrite the costs of maintaining it. Furthermore, it is an objective fact that the development of the world recession, and of the British economic crisis in particular, is opening up a deep split between British workers and the imperialist circles that are directing the campaign against the Irish people.



British troops at work in Northern Ireland. Denial of right of Irish people to self-determination is forcing British rulers to introduce same repressive techniques at home that they use in Ireland.

Puerto Rico: troops mobilized to break strike

By DAVE FRANKEL

Having failed to break the strike of 3,000 waterworks personnel by jailing their leaders, the Puerto Rican government called out the National Guard Nov. 28, using acts of sabotage against the government-run water system as a pretext.

The strike against the Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillados (AAA—Aqueducts and Sewers Authority) began Oct. 30 in defiance of a court injunction. On Nov. 4 a jail sentence of 30 days was handed down against 11 strike leaders for violating the court order.

However, the workers refused to participate in any negotiations while their leaders were in jail, and a general strike was threatened by the Puerto Rican labor movement.

On Nov. 8 the sentencing judge backed down and released the 11 union leaders, giving them five days to negotiate an end to the strike or face imprisonment once more. When the deadline ran out without a settlement, Governor Rafael Hernández Colón chose to pardon the 11 rather than face the prospect of a general strike.

The new attack on the AAA strikers

parallels the action of Hernández Colón in July 1973, when the guard was called out against striking firemen and electrical workers.

The latest use of the National Guard was followed on Dec. 1 and 2 by a series of bombings directed mainly against U.S.-owned corporations. Although it is not at all clear who is responsible for these bombings, Hernández Colón and the capitalist press lost no time in using them to red-bait the strikers.

The governor charged that the bombs had been planted "by persons who pretend to align themselves with the working class although their chief aim is to impose their political ideology on the labor movement."

He said that "although no direct link has been established between the bombings and the strikes, I believe it all falls within the context of the strike."

Additional National Guard units were called up to supplement the 1,300 men already on duty, and the leaves of all policemen were canceled.

Taking its cue from Hernández Colón, the *New York Times* in its Dec. 2 story on the bombings tried

to link them not only to the strike, but also to the Puerto Rican independence movement. It noted in connection with the bombings that "the striking Aqueduct and Sewers Authority Workers Union has received active support from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which seeks independence from the United States. . . ."

The *Times's* attack was aimed not

only against the AAA strike, but also against Puerto Rican militants such as Carlos Feliciano who have been framed up on bombing charges in the U.S.

As for the AAA walkout, strike leader Héctor René Lugo noted Nov. 14 that this could only be settled at the bargaining table. "We will not accept arbitration," he insisted.



National Guard was also called out in July 1973 against striking firefighters and electrical workers.

Delegation protests jailings and torture in Iran

A delegation of concerned Americans presented more than 2,000 petitions Nov. 22 to the Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C., urging the release from prison of two Iranian intellectuals.

The group included Kate Millett, the

feminist author; Ann Roberts of the National Organization for Women; Allan Silver, a professor of sociology at Columbia University; Tristram Coffin of the American Center for PEN (Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors, Novelists); David Weissbrodt,

representing Amnesty International; and Fariborz Khasha of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

The delegation was denied permission to see the ambassador or any of his aides at the embassy door. A staff member from the embassy, who refused to identify himself, categorically denied requests for future appointments.

The two intellectuals named in the petitions were Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi and Dr. Ali Shariati. Tabrizi, a sociologist at the University of Tehran who was researching the living conditions of Iran's peasant population, was arrested in July 1972. She was sentenced by a secret military court to an eight-year term in Ghasr prison and has been subjected to savage torture.

Shariati, who holds a doctorate in sociology from the Sorbonne in Paris, is the author of numerous books and articles. He served as the educational director for an Islamic theological school in Tehran that was closed by the government in 1972 as a center for political opposition. Shariati was arrested by SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, in September 1973.

CAIFI has initiated a campaign for the release of Tabrizi and Shariati as a means of focusing public atten-

tion on the repression in Iran. In the past year the shah's government has implemented a full-scale plan of intimidation against writers, artists, and intellectuals, purging the Iranian newspapers and executing two prominent writers, Khosrow Golsorkhi and Karamat Daneshian. The delegation to the Iranian embassy was organized by CAIFI.

At a news conference held after the refusal of the embassy to admit the delegation, Coffin said, "The regime has listed the 25,000 political prisoners as 'terrorists' and denied that writers and intellectuals are jailed. But information supplied by the Writers Union in Iran and other sources makes quite plain that any who voice opposition may be arrested."

Millett said of the shah, "He is the master of a society run virtually upon terror. . . . the arrests are continuous, and informers are everywhere. . . . The methods are the most vicious and barbarous torture, both physical and psychological. . . ."

"To help these many thousands of prisoners . . . it is an absolute necessity to marshal world opinion and to focus world opinion as strongly and consistently and effectively as we possibly can."



Iranian peasants. Vida Tabrizi was researching living conditions of peasant population when she was arrested by Iranian secret police.

Haitians rally in D.C. for 'freedom & sanctuary'

By FLOYD FOWLER

The demand for asylum for more than 300 Haitian refugees fighting deportation back to Haiti—where they face imprisonment or death—was carried to Washington, D.C., Nov. 20. One hundred people picketed the White House, where they delivered an open letter to President Ford demanding fair treatment and working papers for the Haitian refugees, who are now in Florida.

From the White House the demonstrators marched to the Justice Department, which was also picketed, and then went to the capitol steps, where a rally was held. The demonstrators included seven refugees, and supporters from Boston, New York, Baltimore, Florida, and the Washington, D.C., area.

Pledging their support at the rally were four members of the Congressional Black Caucus: Caucus chairperson Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.); Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.); Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.); and Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.). Also present was Representative Claude Pepper of Florida.

Pepper charged that "freedom does not exist in Haiti. It is a dictatorship." He demanded "freedom and sanctuary" for refugees seeking asylum.

Rangel, speaking for the Black Caucus, announced, "We have come here to politically and personally support your cause!"

The show of congressional support for the two-year-old fight of the Haitians for political asylum was probably prompted by the publicity generated by a similar case in Canada. The plight of 800 Haitian refugees

facing deportation there has caused the Canadian government some embarrassment.

Of the Haitians in Miami, 74 are still in jail. Despite legal requirements, the Haitians held on charges of "illegal entry" into the United States have been denied legal counsel at Immigration department hearings. On Oct. 1 the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans ruled that the Immigration Service's procedure in processing the asylum requests of the Haitians had to be reviewed in court—a grudging admission that "irregularities" did occur.

Those Haitians who have been released from jail on bail posted by the National Council of Churches have been denied working papers by the Labor Department. This is an attempt

to deprive them of any means of subsistence and to make it easier to label them as vagabonds.

The White House rally was chaired by Reverend J.E. Jenkins, chairperson of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, which organized the demonstration along with the Rescue Committee for Haitian Refugees in New York.

Other speakers included representatives of the Boston Action Committee for Haitian Refugees, the Haitian Fathers, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the National Committee for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and KODDPA (Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People).

Boston, mine strike boost sales

Fall circulation drive registers new gains

By ROSE OGDEN

This fall we took a substantial step forward in increasing the weekly circulation of *The Militant*. During our 11-week fall circulation drive, *Militant* street sales hit a weekly average of 11,300, compared with 8,500 one year ago.

Through these sales, *The Militant* helped get out the truth about key political developments this fall, particularly the racist attacks on Black students in Boston and the United Mine Workers of America strike.

The overall objective of our sales drives is to transform *The Militant* into a socialist newsweekly with a mass circulation. We have made steady progress toward this future goal, both by regularizing street sales and by selling introductory subscriptions.

In our spring 1973 circulation drive, supporters averaged weekly *Militant* sales of 6,500. In the fall of that year, we reached 8,500, and also gained 16,769 new subscriptions. Last spring we maintained 8,400 weekly street sales, with 8,230 new subscriptions.

We set out this fall to sell 9,400 *Militants* a week, and then raised that goal to 9,600. This national goal was reached or surpassed in seven of the 11 weeks in the drive.

Establishing consistent weekly sales was one of the central aims of the circulation campaign. Five cities were able to sell their goal every week of the drive: Denver, Central-East Los Angeles, Twin Cities, San Francisco, and St. Louis.

Supporters in Philadelphia sold their goal every week with one exception, when the post office delivered their papers four days late. Eleven of the other cities with goals of 250 or more averaged sales above their projected goals.

Coverage of Boston events

Thousands of *Militants* were sold to people concerned about the racist offensive in Boston. *The Militant* went

on a special campaign to publicize the real issues in the Boston busing crisis through on-the-spot coverage and extensive analysis. Our supporters made an all-out effort to get these issues of *The Militant* out, alerting thousands to the Boston situation. Sales around this issue continue to be important.

In recent weeks, *The Militant* has focused on building the Dec. 13 and Dec. 14 teach-in and demonstration against racism in Boston. Many supporters sold our Nov. 29 issue by opening it up to the full-size poster inside calling for support to the Dec. 14 march.

The Militant has also urged readers to support the miners in their strike for decent wages and working conditions. Through interviews with striking miners and analytical articles, we have helped cut through the attacks by the government and big business against the mine workers. *The Militant* has explained how the struggle of the miners is leading the way for all working people, who face similar attacks on their standard of living.

Many of our sales this fall were combined with socialist election campaign activities. Hundreds of supporters took to the streets on Saturdays with *Militants*, *Young Socialists*, and Socialist Workers Party campaign literature.

The bulk of *Militant* sales each week are conducted by local units of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in major cities.

In addition, the *Young Socialist* traveling teams played an important part in reaching our goal. The 15 teams sold an average of 1,700 *Militants* each week, as well as selling the *Young Socialist* and campaigning for SWP candidates. During their eight weeks on the road, the teams sold 14,000 *Militants*.

We estimated that another 11,000—or 1,000 a week—were sold by individual *Militant* readers whose totals are not reported on our scoreboard.



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Interest in on-the-scene coverage of fight against racist offensive in Boston spurred *Militant* sales across country.

Regular bundles of *The Militant* are sent to these supporters in 103 cities.

Thus our total sales for the fall campaign, adding the 124,000 reported in the scoreboard to the achievements of the teams and individual readers, is 149,000 *Militants*.

Subscription drive

In our drive to sell 12,000 *Militant* subscriptions this fall, we fell just short of our goal, with 11,702. Twenty-two cities made their quotas.

Denver supporters completed their subscription drive early by sending teams to campuses as they opened up in the fall. Portland, Ore., and Philadelphia made their quotas by organizing weekend blitzes of campus dormitories.

Subscription salespeople in several cities went door-to-door in Black and Chicano neighborhoods. At least 70 subscriptions were sold in this way in Washington, D.C., by going through housing projects in the Black community.

Four of the *Young Socialist* teams met their subscription quotas. Altogether, the teams sold a total of 2,467, falling short of their combined goal of 3,510.

The *Militant* subscription drive was carried out jointly with a drive for 2,300 new readers of the monthly *International Socialist Review (ISR)*. The *ISR* drive went over the top, gain-

ing 2,382 new subscriptions.

Through our circulation drive, thousands of new people have had the opportunity to learn about the socialist alternative. We are gaining a regular and growing audience, particularly among Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos, to whom 60 percent of the *Militants* are sold.

The increasing number of Blacks and other working people who are interested in socialist ideas is one factor in the success of our fall sales drive.

Another factor is the strength of the SWP and YSA. No other groups on the left could have organized the kind of propaganda campaign conducted by the SWP and YSA. Key to this effort is our understanding of the role of the revolutionary press in championing the struggles of the oppressed and helping construct the mass revolutionary party of the future.

Many of the young people who joined the YSA this fall were first introduced to the socialist movement through the pages of *The Militant*.

Although the fall drive has ended, supporters are continuing weekly sales of *The Militant* on street corners and at shopping centers, plant gates, campuses, and other locations where we have established regular sales. This will enable us to expand circulation still further in our next sales campaign.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%			
Nashville, Tenn.	25	33	132	Indianapolis	25	11 44
Ann Arbor, Mich.	30	38	127	Louisville, Ky.	25	11 44
Denver	325	383	118	Madison, Wis.	15	6 40
Milwaukee	100	115	115	Albany, N.Y.	15	5 33
Philadelphia	300	329	110	San Jose, Calif.	30	10 33
Sacramento, Calif.	20	22	110	Bloomington, Ind.	75	24 32
Pittsburgh	300	318	106	Santa Barbara, Calif.	20	5 25
Logan, Utah	50	53	106	Edinboro, Pa.	15	2 13
St. Louis	300	308	103	Lawrence, Kans.	*	40
Cleveland	400	406	102	Shippensburg, Pa.	*	10
Oakland/Berkeley	700	713	102	Mankato, Minn.	*	9
Seattle	325	331	102	St. Cloud, Minn.	*	8
Twin Cities	500	509	102	Napa, Calif.	*	7
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	404	101	General		249
L.A. (Central-East)	350	355	101	YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS		
Portland, Ore.	275	279	101	Upper Midwest	180	216 120
San Francisco	500	506	101	Pennsylvania	240	256 107
Washington, D.C.	350	354	101	Ohio/Kentucky	240	253 105
Chicago	400	400	100	Michigan/Indiana	240	243 101
Houston	400	400	100	Mid-Atlantic	240	210 88
Atlanta	350	351	100	N.Y./N.J./Conn.	240	200 83
Greenville, N.C.	10	10	100	Missouri	240	188 78
L.A. (West Side)	350	327	93	Northwest	240	185 77
Detroit	475	434	91	Illinois/Wis.	240	146 61
San Diego	275	250	91	Colorado	210	104 49
Upper West Side, N.Y.	400	321	80	Southern Calif.	240	108 45
Tallahassee, Fla.	50	38	76	Northern Calif.	240	98 41
Boston	700	516	74	Texas	240	97 40
East Lansing, Mich.	80	57	71	New England	240	92 38
Lower Manhattan	400	258	65	Southeast	240	71 30
State College, Pa.	15	9	60	TOTAL SOLD		11,702
Cincinnati	20	11	55	GOAL		12,000
				*no quota		



Militant/Pat Hayes

Miners were interested in *The Militant* at polling place outside Freeburg, Ill.

Calendar

ATLANTA

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION: A SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE. Speaker: Eva Chertov, former coordinator of Jan. 12 march for the ERA and 1974 Georgia Socialist Workers Party campaign coordinator. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant BookstoreForum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

EYEWITNESS REPORT: HOW TO FIGHT RACISM IN BOSTON. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1972 vice-presidential candidate; Popeye Jackson, United Prisoners Union and Northern Calif. Emergency Committee Against Racism in Boston. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

CHICAGO

ISRAEL, THE U.S., AND THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE. Speakers: Dennis Brasly, Socialist Workers Party, author of *Palestine and the Struggle for Liberation*; Palestinian speaker. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

HOUSTON

FAMINE: MASS MURDER ON A WORLD SCALE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

SAN DIEGO

BOSTON: THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN THE SCHOOLS. Speaker: Fred Halstead, eyewitness reporter in Boston for *The Militant*. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. Film directed by Sergei Eisenstein. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St., Donation: \$1 Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SEATTLE

RACIST VIOLENCE IN BOSTON: HOW TO FIGHT IT. Speakers: panel from coalition building Boston Solidarity Action in Seattle. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

...Dec. 14

Continued from page 3

As civil rights supporters across the country prepare to march on Boston, the racists are preparing a counter-mobilization for Dec. 15 on the Boston Common. They have called the rally in direct response to the Freedom March for Human Dignity.

The racists are stepping up their campaign as the deadline approaches for the Boston school committee to come up with a final desegregation plan for the city's schools. The plan must be submitted by Dec. 16 to Judge

Arthur Garrity, who ordered the present plan into effect.

The head of the racist school committee, John Kerrigan, continues to incite his followers to violence to stop desegregation. Because he thinks the *Boston Globe* is "soft on busing," he has called for a campaign to boycott the newspaper's advertisers. Referring to security measures the newspaper has taken against threats to its offices, Kerrigan said, "It pleases me to no end when the *Globe* has to put bulletproof shields up and when the TPF (Tactical Patrol Force) has to stand guard. . . ."

Senator Sam Ervin (D-N. C.) joined the infamous roll of high government officials who have given support to the Boston racists recently. Ervin said busing "is clearly a violation of the equal protection clause" of the U.S. Constitution! He told leaders of the antidesegregation movement, "My heart is with you."

Most serious are the daily indignities and incidents of violence that continue to hang over the heads of Black students as they go to classes.

The Dec. 13 and 14 actions must show them that they do not stand alone. As the student call for the National Teach-in Against Racism says: "The racist offensive is a challenge to us. . . . All out for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism to show the world that the bigots do not own the streets of Boston!"

...miners

Continued from page 7

could be used in such a campaign. And to back it up, the union could demand that the coal companies' books be opened to public scrutiny so that all who are paying sky-high fuel bills can see just where their money is really going.

Other demands of the miners also speak to the problems of other working people. Already the UMWA's militant stand for health and safety measures has found an echo in many other industries, where workers are raising the elementary right not to be crippled or murdered by their jobs.

The miners union could win further support by calling for reclamation of the land destroyed by the coal operators and a stop to further devastation. They can gain the support of every worker in their fight for decent take-home pay with a cost-of-living

allowance that keeps fully abreast of rising prices.

This is a fighting perspective that flows from the demands of the miners in their negotiations with the operators—a perspective that can make the miners' struggle a cause championed by masses of working people in this country.

Regardless of which way the scales are tipped in the close vote on the coal mine contract, the struggle for mine safety, for a more rational use of coal resources, and for greater control of mining operations by the miners will continue.

...economy

Continued from page 28

coincide with downturns in the other major capitalist countries and trigger a world depression.

In this racist society, the blows of unemployment, inflation, and cutbacks all hit hardest at Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

The old promise that capitalism could provide steady (if slow) progress toward genuine equality is being exposed as a sham. Even the slim economic gains won during the long boom of the 1960s are being beaten back.

Blacks and women who have gotten better jobs in recent years because of struggles against discrimination now find they have no seniority and are the first to be laid off.

"In places where minorities and women may represent only 10 to 12 percent of employees, we are finding they represent 60 to 70 percent of those laid off," says Barbara Schlei, an attorney with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Despite this emergency situation, neither the administration nor Congress has done anything—or even offered any serious proposal—to relieve the plight of the millions of jobless.

On the contrary, government policies such as cutting spending, keeping the money supply tight, and raising taxes have been deliberately designed to slow down the economy, throw millions out of work, and use the threat of unemployment to force workers to settle for lower wages. This is the standard prescription of a capitalist government for reducing inflation—over a long period of time and at the expense of the livelihoods of millions of working people.

It was cold-bloodedly spelled out by an MIT economist in a recent study for the Brookings Institution, a ruling-class "think tank." He contended that "a long-term unemployment of 5.5 percent is now needed just to keep wage increases from accelerating. A gradual deceleration of wage increases would occur only if unemployment is maintained at well over 6 percent."

That is precisely what the rulers would like to see right now if they can get away with it, but it is a risky course for them. For one thing, the downward spiral of the economy can get completely out of their control, resulting in a giant economic crisis of a type not seen since the 1930s.

But even without unemployment on the order of the 13 million who were thrown out on the street during the Great Depression, the response of the working class to further increases in unemployment has the rulers worried. At the bottom rung of the ladder, *Black youth are already facing an unemployment rate of nearly 50 percent.*

So, although it is not yet admitted, Ford is in partial retreat from recessionary policies. His proposed 5 percent tax surcharge is already a dead letter, and there is even talk of a tax cut next spring to stimulate the economy.

This possible shift toward more inflationary policies comes, it must be remembered, at a time when prices are already rising faster than 12 percent annually. Inflation has knocked real wages down 8 percent since 1972; today they are actually lower than in 1965.

As government policy-makers waffle back and forth between inflationary and recessionary schemes, the only sure prediction is that workers will continue to suffer the worst of both worlds.

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Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

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KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-4738 or 842-8658.

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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) TEI-6135.

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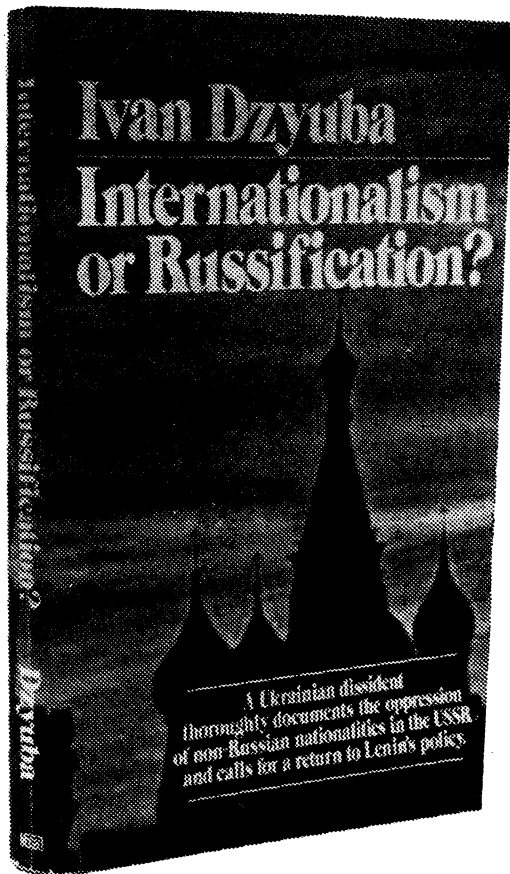
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WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 108 N. Breese Terr., Madison, Wis. 53705.

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Peter Camejo

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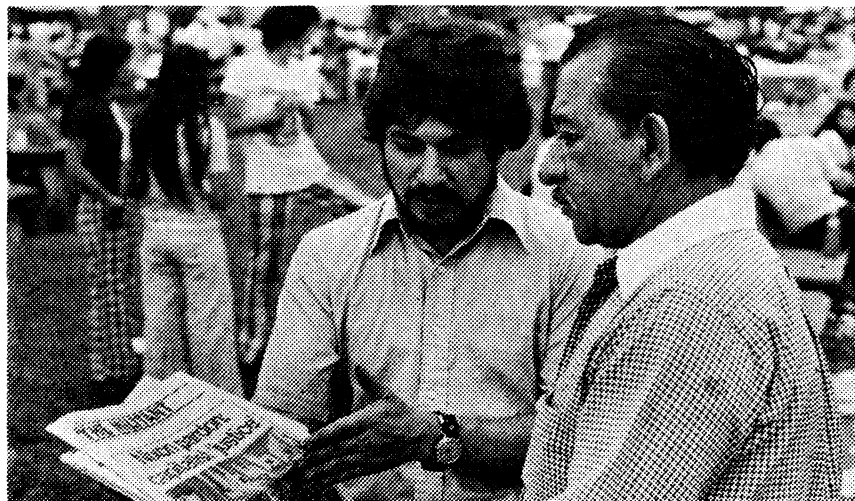
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War spending to rise

Ford slashes aid to vets, poor, elderly

By ANDY ROSE

As the United States economy plunges into its worst recession since World War II, combined with record-breaking rates of inflation, the government is doing its best to make sure the effects fall hardest on those least able to bear them.

Two days before Thanksgiving, President Ford sent Congress a proposed package of \$4.6-billion in federal budget cutbacks.

The Pentagon, at least, had reason to give thanks. "Further cuts in defense spending would be unwise," Ford said. Instead, nearly the entire amount would be taken from programs for the poor, the elderly, and veterans.

In his campaign to "Whip Inflation Now," Ford proposed to slash \$502-million from veterans' education benefits, \$465-million from Medicare, \$295-million from Medicaid, \$170-million from Social Security, and \$112-million from the National Institutes of Health. This is on top of \$485-million that Congress had already cut from health, education, and welfare before the president even asked.

Let poor eat less

The new cuts, if approved by Congress, will make it easier for the poor to follow Ford's earlier advice to "heat less, eat less, and drive less."

His suggestion that people not get sick will come in handy, too, for the elderly on Medicare, since they will no longer be entitled to any free hospital treatment, but will have to pay up to \$750 if they are hospitalized.

Another proposal would reduce the amount of money working welfare mothers can earn before losing benefits. Squaring this with exhortations to "work harder" poses a problem, but the wizard of WIN is working on it.

The planned cut in food-stamp expenditures requires no action by Congress and will go into effect next March. Ford plans to save \$325-million this fiscal year and twice that much next year by forcing most food-stamp recipients to pay 30 percent of their net incomes for their allocations.

A study by the Community Nutrition Institute called the plan a "crushing blow" to the elderly and said it would increase hardships for 95 percent of the families now receiving food stamps. Reduced benefits would force many families off the aid program altogether, the institute said.

At a time when people need them the most, the deterioration of social services is one of the "hidden" ways living standards are being attacked. Even without overt cuts, the value of these services is automatically eroded unless they are raised frequently to compensate for inflation.



For example, from December 1970 to December 1973, the cost of the Agriculture Department's rock-bottom diet plan for the poor rose 35.2 percent. In the same period, however, average welfare benefits rose only 14.7 percent.

As expected, Congress voted Dec. 3 to override Ford's veto of the bill raising veterans' education benefits. But the legislators had already stalled so long in passing a GI bill that the increase (from \$220 to \$270 a month for single vets) does not even make up for the rise in prices since the last time stipends were raised. In reality benefits were still cut.

No gas, electricity

Ford's economic "game plan" takes no account of the horrors facing those who must try to subsist on these dwindling benefits in a world of skyrocketing prices. The Dec. 1 *New York Times* reports the case of one such victim:

"One tenement dweller in the South Bronx, a 54-year-old woman disabled

with a severe heart condition, has no gas and electricity because, she says, 'I could not pay my Con Edison bill and afford to eat.' Also unable to pay for a phone, she pounds on the ceiling with a long stick when she becomes ill and hopes the neighbors will come down and call a doctor."

There are untold thousands living under such conditions or worse. In the richest country in the world, it is now known, some of the aged are literally starving to death.

At a news conference Dec. 2, however, President Ford insisted that government aid is "inflationary" and assured the country that "it's a fairly well-balanced program" of cutbacks.

Ford admitted at the same news conference that the so-called arms limitation deal negotiated at Vladivostok will not reduce the war budget one penny. Just the opposite, he said:

"We do have an obligation (!) within the limits of 2,400 on delivery systems and 1,320 on MIRVs to keep our forces up to that level. . . . We will probably have to increase our

military budget next year just to take care of the cost of inflation."

This declaration is an ironclad guarantee that consumer prices will continue to spiral. Military spending, financed by federal budget deficits and massive government borrowing from the banks, is the primary cause of inflation.

Far from having a balanced budget this year, government officials now admit there will be a budget deficit of at least \$9.2-billion and possibly twice that or even more. So much for the "fight against inflation."

Layoffs everywhere

Ford's announcement of the budget cuts came as administration spokespeople were finally admitting that there is indeed a recession.

Not only is there a recession, but Treasury Secretary William Simon said it "might be longer than any of the recessions we've experienced since World War II." He said he expects unemployment to reach at least 7 percent by next spring.

The ostensible reason for the administration's shift in terminology was the steep decline in the auto industry, where November sales were running 36 percent below a year earlier, and 230,000 out of 750,000 auto workers are either laid off or on notice.

The production cutbacks in auto are sending shock waves through the entire economy. *Twenty thousand companies* produce components for cars and trucks as their major or only business. The auto industry consumes two-thirds of all the rubber used in the U. S., 20 percent of the steel, one-third of the zinc, and 75 percent of the plate glass. The auto-supply industries in turn are firing thousands more workers.

But as the Nov. 23 *Business Week* magazine noted, "One troublesome feature of the economic situation is that so many parts of the economy, in addition to autos, were already depressed when this new downward thrust started."

The rate of housing starts, for example, is down a staggering 55 percent from its peak in 1973, and at least 13 percent of construction workers are unemployed.

"Other ominous signs are cropping up everywhere," *Business Week* warns, "suggesting that even those industries that have been strong up to now are turning weak."

The government still maintains that economic recovery will begin next year, but the truth is that no one knows how deep or how long this crisis will be. And few of the predictions take into account the very real possibility that the U. S. slump will

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