

workers world

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

The Marxist view of social evolution vs. the "new" theory of a Soviet ruling class. Sam Marcy on the class character of the USSR. Page 9.

June 25, 1976

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Soweto: turning point in S. Africa freedom struggle

Marchers hail heroes of Soweto, Sharpeville

By SHARON SHELTON

NEW YORK, June 19—"Down with apartheid, up with Soweto!"

This chant resounded through Times Square here today as 300 to 400 protesters, infuriated by the vicious killings of over 100 Black people by the racist South African gestapo forces, mobilized in a militant demonstration initiated by the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA).

Called only yesterday in quick response to the epoch-making uprising which broke out Wednesday in the Black township of Soweto in Azania (South Africa), today's solidarity protest clearly pointed the finger at the role U.S. imperialism has played in propping up the hated apartheid system. Speakers denounced next week's summit between South African Prime Minister John Vorster and U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

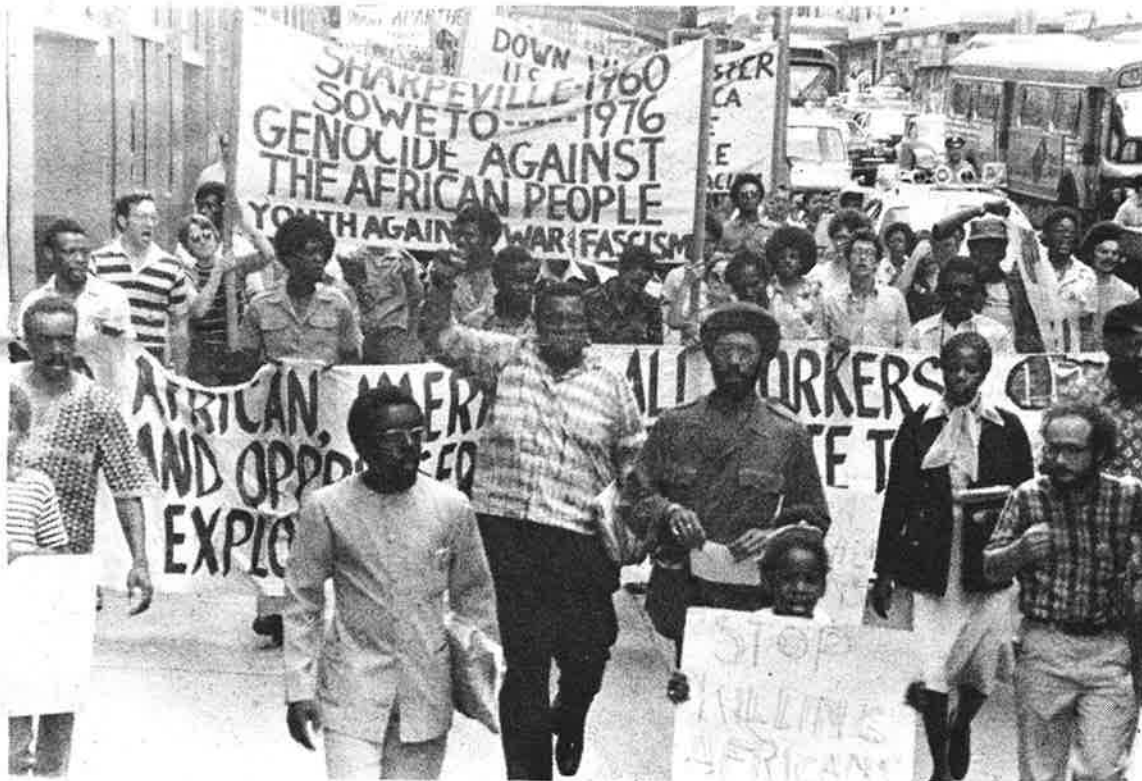
The demonstration attracted many people walking by who lingered on busy Seventh Avenue to listen to the chanting and read signs denouncing the racist atrocities and vowing solidarity with the Azanian uprising.

"LONG LIVE HEROES OF SOWETO AND SHARPEVILLE!"

The signs bore slogans such as "IBM, Coca-Cola, out of South Africa!", "Long live the heroes of Soweto and Sharpeville!" (referring to the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 when 72 Black people were gunned down by South African police), "Soweto genocide!", and "Stop killing Africans!"

A group of telephone workers carried a banner demanding the release of the SASO 9, seven Black and two Indian students in South Africa facing the death penalty on frameup charges after organizing a rally against apartheid.

At a brief rally following the picketing, Yemi Agbeyegbe of PASOA explained that the demonstrators were showing their "vehement opposition to the apartheid system." He also said the purpose of the protest was to demand the independence of the Black people of Azania, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, to denounce the Kissinger-Vorster meeting, and to demand the U.S. stop its backing of



WW photo: G. Dunkel

"Power to Soweto, down with apartheid!" Demonstrators show outrage over the vicious massacres in South Africa and support to the African rebels. Demonstration above was one of two actions scoring South African racism on Saturday, June 19. Earlier in the day the African National Congress called out pickets to the South African Mission and later picketed the UN.

a system that "shoots down little children."

Among the other speakers was Dukuza ka Sompisi of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania who pointed out that the rebellion was a signal that the time to rise up against apartheid had come.

Another speaker, Elombe Brath, of the Federation of Pan-African Nationalist Organizations and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, blasted the U.S. for arranging talks under the cover of "solving the Rhodesia question" with "Prime Monster" Vorster. To think that Vorster of South Africa could talk about any solutions for Zimbabwe, he said, "is tantamount to lunacy."

MARCHERS TAKE TO THE STREETS

Following the rally, the demonstrators took to the street under a banner reading, "African, American, all workers and oppressed people unite to end exploitation, racism, and apartheid!" A caravan of police cars, paddy wagons, and detectives' cars which eventually forced the marchers back onto the sidewalk only reinforced the anger of the demonstrators at the forces of racism and apartheid.

Many of the multi-national crowd of marchers held clinched fists in the air, a tradition which has most recently become a symbol of Azanian resistance.

Pausing in front of the Mobil Oil Company building, demonstrators chanted, "Texaco, Mobil Oil, out of South Africa!"

At the march's destination at the former South African Mission to the United Nations, David Sibeko, Director of Foreign Affairs for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, said that although the struggle would be a protracted one, once a people were united behind a revolutionary movement, no force on earth could conquer its will.

Sibeko pledged, "We will fight until Azania is an independent, democratic, and socialist country!"

"POWER TO SOWETO!"

Another speaker, Larry Holmes of Youth Against War & Fascism and the May 1 Anti-Apartheid Committee, told the rally in a voice loud but hoarse from chanting all day, "We must realize that the rebellions in Soweto and in South Africa this week represent a new stage in the Azanian revolution, represent the determination of the

Azanian students and the workers, and the masses to resist their slavemasters.

"This is the handwriting on the wall for South African apartheid," he emphasized. "Soweto is just a sign of what is to come!"

"Today the people of South Africa are fighting the racist police who are armed with guns and bullets made in the U.S. They are fighting with sticks, rocks, clenched fists, and broken bottles. Tomorrow they will have guns, too," he told the cheering crowd. "And we all know their victory is certain! Power to Soweto!"

PASOA has scheduled a demonstration for Saturday, July 17, which will begin at the French Mission to the UN, 885 Second Ave., proceed to the General Electric and Westinghouse buildings, and end up at Madison Square Garden. The focus of the demonstration will be freedom for the Namibia 6, SWAPO members framed up under South Africa's oppressive "Terrorism Act," as well as to protest the sale of nuclear reactors by France to the Vorster regime (General Electric and Westinghouse are in on that deal). For exact time and more details, call 254-8689.

NEW YORK, June 23—After years of living under the brutal yoke of apartheid rule, the people of Azania (South Africa) have risen up against their oppressors in what is surely a major turning point in the struggle for freedom in southern Africa.

The historic rebellion erupted in the impoverished Black township of Soweto last Wednesday when South African Premier John Vorster's fascist police began shooting pointblank into a crowd of 10,000 students protesting a law requiring they take courses in Afrikaans, the language spoken by the South African white minority.

By week's end, the uprising had quickly swept through other Black urban areas. So far, by official count, at least 140 Africans, mostly children, have been killed and over 1,100 injured by apartheid sharpshooters. Over 900 protesters have been arrested.

The Vorster regime has now turned a new weapon against the Black townships: starvation. All food supplies to the areas of rebellion have been cut off.

ORIGINALLY ORGANIZED AS PEACEFUL MOVEMENT

Wednesday's demonstration was originally organized as a peaceful march to be followed by a rally in Soweto's Orlando Stadium. Before the marchers reached the stadium, however, they were met by a contingent of police who demanded they disperse, lobbing teargas into the crowd.

Although Vorster's gestapo cops claim they did not shoot to kill until the students began throwing rocks, an on-the-scene reporter for the Johannesburg Star has vowed he saw the police initiate even the stone throwing.

The youths responded to the vicious police attack, however, with a fury kindled by years of oppression. They overturned police cars, burned government and other buildings symbolizing apartheid, and defended themselves with their fists, with stones, and sticks.

KILLED FOR "CRIME" OF NOT STOPPING HIS CAR

As the protests spread to at least seven other segregated townships, the police rampaged, using attack dogs, army helicopters, tear gas, machine guns, grenade launchers, and automatic rifles in their

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THE STRUGGLE IN BRIEF

Houston community hits killing of unarmed Black man by racist cops

By BARBARA BROWN

HOUSTON, June 11—Tonight about 40 people attended a memorial protest meeting here for Milton Glover. Glover, a 28-year-old Black Vietnam veteran, was murdered by Houston police on March 20. Since returning from Vietnam, his family explained, he was unable to concentrate and spent much of his time walking the streets near his home. He was a familiar sight to neighbors and friends as he walked along night after night, often carrying his bible.

BIBLE MISTAKEN FOR GUN

On the night of March 20, a witness explained, Glover was walking the streets. A cop car sighted him, wheeled around, and flashed a bright spotlight in his face. He raised his arm to shield his eyes from the light and was gunned down on the spot. Seven bullet holes were found in his body. Both cops sprayed bullets at Glover—one shooting through the windshield, the other from outside the car.

The two eyewitnesses, a local minister and his wife, were cut by flying glass when one of the wild bullets hit their windshield. These eyewitnesses were not called to testify before the grand jury, and when Glover's family attempted to enter the courtroom to hear testimony, they were barred.

Police testified they saw "what looked like a gun in Glover's hand." The object turned out to be the bible, which local authorities have refused to turn over to the family. The grand jury found no grounds for bringing charges against the police and the case was closed.

TESTIMONY ON POLICE BRUTALITY

The protest meeting was called when shocked neighbors and family realized that once again the murder of an innocent citizen was being filed away. Several people from the community testified to their experience with police brutality. One elderly woman told of the many years of seeing young men like Glover, unable to get jobs, harassed by the police and ignored by the "system." She said the only hope was "for all the people to get together and be strong and not let the young children coming up go

through what we have."

Speakers from the NAACP, Student Coalition Against Racism, the Lee Otis Johnson Defense Committee, and the Michael Johnson Defense Committee expressed solidarity and a determination to fight together against police racism and repression.

The audience was encouraged to bring friends and relatives to the next meeting. As one participant expressed it, "This church should be packed to the rafters with the people saying 'We won't take this anymore!'"

Chicago demonstrations protest chauvinist celebration of Flag Day

By PATTIE BREY

CHICAGO, June 12—Two demonstrations to counter Chicago's official Bicentennial celebration of Flag Day were held in different parts of the city today.

In the afternoon, 120 people marched through the Puerto Rican community to demand an end to repression and the compact of permanent union (which would make Puerto Rico a permanent colony). The demonstration, called by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), was greeted with cheers and clenched fists by people on the sidewalks as the militant marchers called for freedom for Puerto Rico and condemned the Mayor Richard Daley as a criminal. The action ended in a rally at Humboldt Park with speakers from the PSP, CASA, and the July 4 Coalition.

This evening, while the rich of Chicago feasted on steak and avocado stuffed with crayfish at a \$500-a-ticket Bicentennial costume ball in the Standard Oil Building, 350 people picketed outside. With chants of "The rich say cut back, we say fight back!" and "Daley, Nazis, cops, and Klan, work together hand in hand!", the protestors showed their anger that the rich were celebrating 200 years of "freedom" while poverty and oppression remain a way of life for the majority of people in the U.S.

Members of the Iranian Students Association initiated chants of "Zahedi, Zahedi, run, run, run, people of the world are picking up the gun!" This chant, directed against Iranian Ambassador

March supports Eritrean revolution

By CHRIS CHRISTIANSEN

HOUSTON, June 11—The blue and green flag of Eritrea was at the head of a march of over 130 people through downtown Houston today. The demonstration was called to support the struggle of the Eritrean people, who have been fighting since 1961 to free their homeland from fascist Ethiopian rule.

Sponsored by the Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA), the demonstration was attended by several organizations, including students from Bahrain, the Organization of Arab Students (OAS), and the Iranian Students Association (World Confederation)

as well as groups and individuals from the U.S.

A newly formed study group of Ethiopian students also marched in solidarity with the Eritrean liberation struggle.

Banners and chants condemned the Ethiopian military junta as a tool of U.S. imperialism and exposed the reactionary role Israeli Zionism plays in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The march went through the busiest part of downtown Houston to the Federal Building, where a huge picket line was formed. Then it continued a few blocks to a park in front of City Hall, where a short rally was held.

A member of the EFLNA told the rally of the junta's continued attacks against the Eritrean people and its recently launched invasion. This invasion was comprised of tens of thousands of peasant "volunteers" forced into Eritrea by promises of free land or threats of imprisonment. But this desperate tactic of the junta has already dissolved in failure. The Eritrean people stand firmly behind their revolutionary army and leadership. At the same time, resistance against the war and the junta's repressive role at home has grown tremendously among the Ethiopian people.

International support for the Eritrean people's struggle is also mounting, as this march today in Houston clearly showed.



Striking Cambion workers.

WW photo: Alan

Cambion strikers remain firm in bitter dispute over cost-of-living clause

BOSTON, June 12—Eighty Cambion strikers and their supporters picketed here today in a mass picket line called by the Executive Board of UE (United Electrical Workers), Local 262. The strike, now entering its tenth week, has shut down production completely, but still promises to be

a long and bitter struggle. The company's refusal to honor the cost-of-living clause in the year-old contract and its threat to lock the workers out provoked the strike. The strikers remain strong and are resolved to continued until they win a decent contract.

BETTER WORLD IN BIRTH



NO COUNTRY WANTS EX-GENERAL FROM SAIGON

The New York Times, April 27:

"Ottawa—Canada has asked the Communist Government of South Vietnam if it will accept the return of former Gen. Dang Van Quang, according to Immigration Minister Robert Andras.

"Mr. Quang, accused by other Vietnamese refugees of corruption and trafficking in drugs, was ordered deported last July, but Canada has not found a country that would accept him."

Half a century ago it was Russian revolutionaries who could not find any country to accept them. But the march of history and socialist victories have created a new world climate. The ex-general from the Saigon puppet regime is not welcome anywhere.

AMERICANS IN POLAND

Moneysworth, Feb. 2:

"When Paul Zydko neared retirement age

a few years ago, after more than 20 years as a sheet-metal worker in Los Angeles, he and his wife made a visit to his old homeland to see relatives and size up how things are in Poland today.

"... A Social Security check for \$200 a month would produce nearly 10,000 zlotys for an American couple.

"I pay 400 zlotys a month (less than \$7) for building maintenance and heat for my apartment," says Zydko. "Then my telephone costs me 100 zlotys a month (about \$1.60) and gas and electricity cost us about 130 to 140 zlotys a month (\$2.40)."

"Basic food prices are fixed and controlled by the Polish government, subsidized to keep them within reach of the working man's wages.

"Another retired American, Stanley Miller, Former Hamtramck, Mich., public works director, says: 'I love music and the opera, and I've seen "Fledermaus" seven times since I retired here and "The Merry Widow" 10 times. Seats in the eighth row cost only a dollar and back in Detroit I was

lucky to see an opera once a year for \$8 or \$10 all the way at the back of the balcony.'"

OLD NAME:

CONTINENTAL HOTEL

NEW NAME: THE UPRISING

The New York Times, Feb. 25:

"Saigon, South Vietnam—The Continental Hotel, a landmark of pre-revolutionary Saigon, has been renamed the Hotel of the General Uprising.

"The hotel, made famous by Graham Greene's novel 'The Quiet American,' was turned over to army officers and Government officials after the new regime was set up last year.

"Recently the Continental was again transformed to a hotel. Its colonial-style facade is now resplendent with a sign reading Khach San Dong Khoi (Hotel of the General Uprising) in red letters on a pastel blue background."

SERVICES IN 'BACKWARD' ALBANIA

Excerpts from letter to the New York Times, signed Jack Shulman, Editor,

Albania Report:

"Your April 3 editorial, 'To Save the Mails' makes a slurring reference to Albania. May I enlighten you about the mail service in that little mountainous country in the Balkans.

"An ordinary first-class letter costs only 6 cents and is delivered from one corner of the country to the other in never more than 48 hours. . . . Deliveries are made twice a day, sometimes three times. The mail is delivered every day including Saturday and Sunday.

"Since the present Government (which is Socialist) took power in 1944, there has never been an increase in postal rates, nor has there been any inflation in the prices of other commodities and services. . . . It is run as a public service, with any necessary financing coming out of the general income fund, which is derived primarily from 'profits' of industry which is state-owned.

"Incidentally the same ministry also runs the telephone system. The basic charge is only \$3 a month for unlimited local calls.

"Without a doubt the present deplorable postal service in the U.S. would not be acceptable to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania."

'Prison will not move me... I grow stronger each day

BY JUDY GREENSPAN
NEW YORK, June 21—"Prison will not move me because it is my duty to continue fighting for those principles that I believe in. My commitment to the national liberation of my country grows stronger each day," said Lureida Torres, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) in a statement released to the press June 15, shortly before surrendering herself to federal marshals.

Torres, a militant independentista, was released several hours later after Justice Thurgood Marshall of the Supreme Court granted a temporary stay of her contempt confinement for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury.

U.S. CAMPAIGN AGAINST GROWING MOVEMENT

The Puerto Rican independence movement has come more and more under attack by the U.S. government due to its militant struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico. Both in Puerto Rico and New York City, members of the PSP have been harassed by the FBI and jailed on trumped-up charges.

In January, several PSP members and supporters were subpoenaed to a grand jury supposedly investigating the 1975 bombings of Fraunces Tavern and several banks and insurance companies. A group called the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican Liberation (FALN) claimed credit for the bombings.

Although PSP had insisted publicly that it had nothing to do

with the bombings, the government seized upon the situation as an opportunity to attack the militant independence party.

Lureida Torres refused to testify before the grand jury, as did the other subpoenaed militants. However, only Torres, a school teacher, was granted immunity and then held in contempt for refusing to testify. She faces jail for the duration of the grand jury term, which expires on October 28. However, when the new grand jury convenes, she may be resubpoenaed and jailed again. The Supreme Court is presently deciding whether or not it will review Ms. Torres' case.

"The main objective of this grand jury is to provide the FBI with information about any organization that supports and struggles for the independence of my country," said Ms. Torres in her recent statement.

Ms. Torres believes she was called before the grand jury solely because of her political beliefs. Her case is clearly part of a vicious campaign of "harassment and persecution against supporters of Puerto Rican independence."

BROAD-BASED SUPPORT

Support for her case has been growing. On June 15 and June 21, militant demonstrations were held outside the federal courthouse at Foley Square. A broad-based defense committee representing many organizations will soon be formed.

The PSP has asked that letters

and telegrams be sent to Judge Thurgood Marshall, U.S. Supreme Court, Washington, D.C., demanding that the court review Ms. Torres' case and overturn the conviction. Telegrams demanding that the subpoena be dropped should be sent to U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi, Washington, D.C.

Despite harassment by the government, Ms. Torres feels strong in her conviction not to testify before the grand jury. "I feel powerful because I know that I have the support of the people; those who can overcome the impossible when they rise and fight for their rights," said the Puerto Rican independentista.



Claridad photo: Bomed

Lureida Torres picketing the grand jury with her comrades in the PSP along with supporters. The PSP is under heavy government pressures because of its initiating role in the July 4 Coalition.

New Jersey townspeople protest visit of Chilean 'ship of horrors'

BY ALLEN STRASBURGER
KEYPORT, N.J., June 18—This small town on the shore of Raritan Bay is up in arms about the visit here on July 3rd of the Chilean torture ship Esmeralda. As part of the Bicentennial gimmick "Operation Sail," the fascist government of Chile is sending a ship here that was used as a site for the torture of political prisoners.

The people of Keyport will have none of it.

The officers and crew of the ship are slated to be wined and dined at a fancy banquet by the Keyport Yacht Club. Ranged in support of

this rich man's club are many of the merchants of Keyport and the wealthy editor of Yachting Magazine, William Robinson, who is New Jersey chairman of "Operation Sail." "They're behaving like real gentlemen," said Robinson of the fascist Chileans.

The columnist Jack Anderson has described the Esmeralda as a "ship of horrors." In a syndicated piece appearing on June 10, he detailed some of the horrors that have taken place on the torture ship, quoting testimony obtained in an OAS investigation on the status of human rights in Chile. Said one of the political prisoners "questioned" aboard the ship, "I was stripped to my shorts and my hands were handcuffed behind me. They applied electric shock on my skin, my testicles, on my chest and back. Also the officers who interrogated me hit me 50 times... with their fists. All of this left me black and blue, as the Red Cross verified when they came."

Another prisoner testified he had been beaten with a rifle butt until "I began to urinate blood." Yet another testified that while he was

aboard the ship a piece was burned out of his tongue.

Opposing the Esmeralda visit are a growing number of citizens of Keyport and surrounding Monmouth County communities. As the leader of the protest campaign, William Friedrich, told Workers World, "We have already 5,000 signatures on our petition against the torture ship, and this thing is really snowballing."

Surprisingly, among those adding their names to the petition are many of the capitalist politicians of Keyport and Monmouth County, as well as most of the local clergymen. The borough council has voted to boycott the banquet, and the editor of the local newspaper has proposed that Keyport citizens picket the Yacht Club.

In spite of attempted whitewashing of the bloodstained ship by U.S. State Department propagandists and in spite of police intimidation, Mr. Friedrich and the other angry townspeople are determined to register the strongest protest against the Esmeralda. It should be anything but smooth sailing for this hated symbol of fascist repression.

demonstrations, picket lines, and a large-scale letter writing campaign.

PROGRAM IN PHILLY

The July 4 demonstration will begin with a "Parade of the People," starting at 11:30 a.m. The assembly point in Philadelphia will be at Diamond Avenue between 11th and 12th Streets. The march will be followed by a rally at Fairmount Park starting at 2:00 p.m. Featured speakers at the rally will include Juan Mari Bras (leader of the PSP), Ralph Abernathy (SCLC), Dr. Helen Rodriguez (Committee for an End to Sterilization Abuse), Clyde Bellecourt (AIM), Elaine Brown (Black Panther Party), and Ed Sadlowski (United Steel Workers).

Bus tickets, posters, leaflets, and additional information can be obtained by contacting the national July 4th Coalition, P.O. Box 998, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y., or calling (212) 673-1776.

If you are interested in attending the demonstration with Workers World Party and Youth Against War & Fascism call (212) AL 5-0352 in New York or any of the branches listed on page 10 of this paper.

Despite Rizzo harangue for federal troops

July 4th demonstration gains national momentum

By BRIAN BECKER
NEW YORK, June 22—On July 4, people from all over the country will join together in Philadelphia in a massive anti-imperialist demonstration. It is timed to coincide with the official Bicentennial celebration that is sponsored by the super-rich and will feature Gerald Ford and other prominent representatives of the imperialist system.

The demonstration is being called by the July 4th Coalition, a united front of over 150 progressive organizations, which was initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the American Indian Movement (AIM). Coalition organizers expect tens of thousands of people from around the country to demonstrate on July 4 in support of these main demands: 1) Free Puerto Rico now; 2) The immediate release of the four Native American brothers of the Oglala Nation who are on trial for their lives; 3) End the racist attacks against Black people in Boston and Louisville; and 4) Jobs at home, not wars abroad.

After nearly two years of a steadily increasing flow of patriotic speeches, pious press releases, and Bicentennial commercials ad nauseum, the government-sponsored "Celebration" planned for July 4th is to be the highlight of their massive propaganda campaign aimed at glorifying the rule of U.S. big business. The ruling class has attempted to focus world attention

on Philadelphia on July 4th, which will in turn heighten the significance of the July 4th protest demonstration.

"A HISTORIC MOMENT"

Commenting on the political objectives of the demonstration, Alfredo Lopez, National Coordinator of the July 4th Coalition, told Workers World, "The July 4th Coalition understands that this is a historic moment which allows the anti-imperialist movement to link the domestic policies of the government with its acts of aggression abroad. The present economic crisis in the U.S., the cutbacks in social services and the mass unemployment, are a direct manifestation of the military adventure of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. The government's policy, is to make the people of the U.S. bear the burden of the economic crisis which was fueled by the Vietnam War. The racist mobilizations and attacks against Black people in Boston and Louisville must also be seen in this context."

"The July 4 Demonstration will give a voice to the real needs of the people and demonstrate the anti-imperialist character of our movement. And this has undoubtedly frightened the government."

The assertion by Mr. Lopez that the July 4 demonstration has the government worried was indeed confirmed in a front page article appearing in the Philadelphia

Daily News of June 3. That article reveals the real motivation for the recent investigation of the July 4th Coalition by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and makes the statement, "Eastland's subcommittee fears a well-planned demonstration could steal the spotlight from the official celebration."

It is this fear which has prompted the government to launch a campaign of harassment and intimidation against coalition organizers aimed at undercutting the size of the demonstration. The government campaign, however, has been far from successful.

RIZZO'S REQUEST FOR TROOPS DENIED

The July 4th Coalition achieved a major victory, after weeks of mass pressure, when the federal government announced June 21 that it had denied the request of Frank Rizzo, right-wing mayor of Philadelphia, to send 15,000 troops to that city "in case of trouble" on July 4. Rizzo's call for troops was part of the over-all government campaign to scare people away from attending the demonstration.

Also, the campaign to free Lureida Torres, a member of the PSP who was convicted of contempt for refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating alleged "terrorism," has gained support and momentum nationwide. Ms. Torres was granted a temporary stay of her contempt conviction by Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall following a number of

July 4 Benefit

NEW YORK, June 21—If you want to contribute to the mobilization for the July 4th march and rally in Philadelphia—and enjoy an evening of music at the same time—come to the Top of the Gate at Bleecker and Thompson streets in the Village on Monday, June 28, at 8 p.m.

Headlining the event will be the Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, a folk singer who has long been active in the civil rights and peace movements; Barbara Dane, a folk-singing veteran of the anti-war movement; and Bev Grant and the Human Condition, whose songs of protest reflect the most current issues of the day.

Tickets selling for \$3 can be purchased at the New York office of the coalition at 166 Fifth Ave.

Check out Park Avenue

Who's broke in New York?

By ANDY STAPP

NEW YORK, June 20—The University of the City of New York closed for two weeks this month. Its 270,000 students, 12,000 faculty, and numerous other workers were abruptly locked out. The college gates were chained shut, crucial exams were held up, paychecks owed to university employees have still not been issued.

The city government said that it had fallen \$24 million short in obtaining the funds necessary to complete the school year. And not only couldn't the city avoid default at the university level, but in addition, Mayor Abe Beame added, daycare and hospitals would also have to be drastically cut back due to "lack of money."

To save \$25 million from the daycare budget, City Hall immediately announced the permanent closing of 49 daycare centers serving 3,500 children and ordered the layoff of 1,500 daycare

workers.

It is all very sad, the politicians and the media explained, but the city is broke, and with no money available such strict economic controls are the only way to escape total bankruptcy.

POOR NEW YORK— OR RICH NEW YORK?

But is it really true that there is no economic wherewithal left in this great metropolis renowned the world over as the very symbol of riches and the almighty dollar.

Let's take a look.

Although there are millions of poor and working people in New York City, there is also a swarm of well-heeled parasites. The polo-playing Phipps, whose wealth has been conservatively estimated at \$750 million, live here. So does Thomas Watson with his \$150 million in IBM stock.

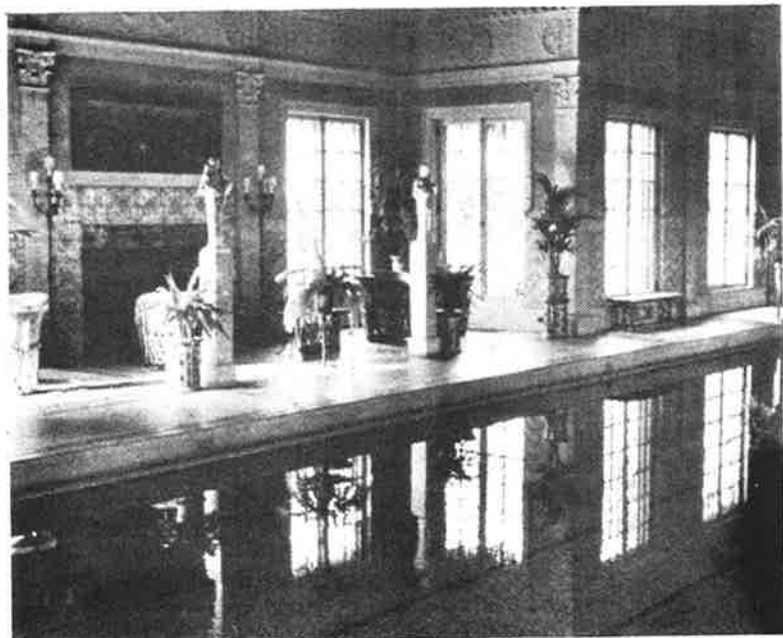
Nor is Watson lacking in suitable guests to invite to his lavish parties. The big apple is the home of

the Milbanks, worth half a billion dollars through their ownership of huge companies like Borden and Southern Railways. The Houghtons live here too, supported by their \$500 million holdings in Corning glass and other firms.

And then there's Dorothy Schiff, whose New York Post never tires of telling us all to "sacrifice" while she enjoys living it up off her \$100 million pile.

When not visiting his estate in France, investment banker C. Douglas Dillon resides here, making do on a paltry \$75 million. The Lehmans too are right at home as native New Yorkers, having raked in \$350 million on Wall Street, along with other pillars of the community including the Harrimans (\$100 million), the Goulds (\$100 million), the Morgans (\$400 million), the Bakers (\$300 million), the Dukes (\$200 million), and the Sloans (\$400 million).

And unfortunately that doesn't



Rockefeller's indoor swimming pool at Pocantico.

begin to exhaust the list.

John Jacob Astor VII relishes life in Manhattan (which is not too surprising since he owns \$200 million of its real estate), as do the Harknesses with their \$600 million in Exxon stock, the Whitneys, now living off a \$200 million nest egg accumulated from their publishing empire, and the elusive billionaire ship operator and war profiteer, Daniel Ludwig.

Bigger and greedier than all the others (if that's possible) are the famous Rockefellers, whose personal fortune certainly surpasses the \$10-billion mark modestly ascribed to it by most business magazines.

Between them, these families and a few dozen of their rich friends own and control the majority of the giant corporations headquartered in New York City.

CORPORATE ASSETS

The central offices of half the top ten U.S. industrial companies are located in Manhattan. These five—Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, IBM and IT&T—have combined assets of \$91 billion.

Six of the country's seven largest commercial banks—Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, J.P. Morgan & Co., Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank, and Bankers Trust—with total assets of \$195 billion, operate out of this city. Likewise with three of the four biggest insurance companies in the U.S.—Metropolitan, Equitable Life, and New York Life. Their

combined assets: \$63 billion.

New York hosts half of the country's largest utility companies. These firms—AT&T, Consolidated Edison, and American Electric Power—boast total assets of \$86 billion.

This is also the case with four of the ten biggest diversified financial companies (assets of the four: \$20 billion), three of the ten main retailing firms (combined sales for these three last year were \$13.6 billion), and five of the nine largest transportation companies (assets of the New York group: \$9.7 billion).

The above figures, taken from recent issues of Fortune magazine, clearly demonstrate that the largest city in the United States is also one of the richest.

Ford, Carey, and Beame are obviously lying when they say New York cannot afford to maintain existing daycare, college, and hospital services.

And this raises an even more fundamental question. If Moscow University, or Peking University, or Havana University were forced to shut down for lack of funds and abolish their policy of free tuition, wouldn't the capitalists and their mouthpieces point to the closings to prove that socialism doesn't work and is, in fact, bankrupt?

Well, as we know, this hasn't happened to the universities in any of the socialist nations. But it has happened here.

Draw your own conclusions.



WW photo: Beverly Slapin

The big banks have declared ruthless war against the people of New York City. Their insatiable greed for profit is behind the layoffs, cutbacks, and extreme poverty of the mass of the people.

The Teamster convention

More \$ for Fitz, praise from Usery, and protest from ranks

By A TEAMSTER

NEW YORK, June 19—More than 2 million members of the Teamsters union know only what little they read in the papers about the convention of their union officials held this past week amid the gambling and underworld setting of Las Vegas, Nev.

Several dozen Teamster members picketing outside the convention hall there were the only visible opposition at the quadrennial meeting programmed to re-elect Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the IBT.

Only delegates were allowed inside, and they were mostly the entrenched cabal of labor bureaucrats living in comfort off membership dues. In addition to raising Fitzsimmons' salary to \$156,250, they gave themselves all a 25 percent hike putting dozens of functionaries into six-figure incomes, plus expense accounts.

At the same time monthly dues paid to the International union headquarters in Washington, D.C., will go up \$3 to pay these affluent

misleaders. The whole arrangement is as undemocratic as the taxes levied by politicians in Congress, and the rank-and-file are reacting with sharp resentment of these parasites who fatten on the union payroll while praising labor peace achieved through submission to management.

The picketers from rank-and-file opposition groups carried signs protesting misuse of pension and health and welfare funds by these contract brokers.

GOV'T INTERVENTION IN BOSSES' INTERESTS

At the end of the convention, Fitzsimmons revealed that he and several others on the International executive board have been subpoenaed to testify before grand juries, but did not specify whether it is in connection with the disappearance of former President James Hoffa or with embezzlement of union funds. The convention went on record against such grand jury witchhunts, but "Fitz" is all in favor of such a witchhunt against the opposition

groups within the union, whom he slandered in a red-baiting attack from the podium during his opening address to the convention.

At this point the Teamsters organization is internally very strong and not in any immediate danger of a challenge from the rank-and-file. Militants who stand up to the boss find themselves with little backing from the local officials and are often soon out of a job. Fitzsimmons attacked the protesters more because the issues raised have been propagated by the government and the news media.

Fitzsimmons is still using the International monthly magazine to members to write answers to charges made in an NBC show "Teamster Power," aired during the spring negotiations for the national Master Freight agreement, the primary contract that serves as the maximum for all other Teamster contracts.

The NBC program was intended to aid the trucking bosses by undercutting public support for the

union during the negotiations, as Fitzsimmons correctly pointed out. But the issue of misuse of power within the union has an altogether different meaning for the Teamster members than for the bosses.

Fitzsimmons has cooperated closely with government labor policies since he succeeded the imprisoned James Hoffa. "Fitz" was the most loyal member of the wage control board long after other union officials had quit in the face of anti-labor bias, and in 1972 Fitzsimmons officially endorsed Nixon, hoping to win favor with that enemy of working people.

USERY PLUGS FITZ

This week Fitzsimmons was able to show off his friend in government at the convention. Labor Department Secretary William Usery, Jr., gave a keynote address praising the Teamsters leadership. Usery, the former head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, may be a friend of the top labor officials, but he is no friend of working people. George Meany of the AFL-CIO

previously flattered Usery with the offer of the number two position in that labor body, but Usery declined, finding himself more useful to his business masters as a credible agent at the bargaining table.

The marriage of the Teamsters to the reactionary "friends of labor" will not prevent the bosses from attacking the Teamsters' corruption from the right—not to strengthen the hand of the ranks, but to weaken the union—a lesson that the ranks learned and remember well from the prosecution of James Hoffa.

The ranks by and large forgive Hoffa for any self-enrichment because he led and won militant strikes. Fitzsimmons has shown no such saving virtue and, as a result, his reign is completely removed from any support in the ranks. This weakness in his power will shape his conduct until the patience of the membership reaches the breaking point and a new democratic leadership reasserts rank-and-file power.

—Soweto: turning point

(continued from page 1)

random attacks on any unarmed Black people who happened to be in their path. One man, according to Saturday's issue of the New York Times, was shot to death after "his car failed to halt on command" at a police roadblock.

In the township of Mabopane, the demonstrations began after 170 Black workers at the Klipgat waterworks struck for higher wages. In Pretoria, African Chrysler workers staged a walkout after the plant halted the supplementary breakfasts that had been instituted over the weekend when food supplies to the townships were cut off.

According to yesterday's New York Times, a Black man took the rebellion directly to the forbidden streets of Johannesburg when he attacked three people with an ax, shouting "Freedom for Africa!" He was later shot.

Also in Johannesburg there were confrontations between racist troopers and Africans when a group of Soweto residents in the bus station trying to get transportation home were charged by club-wielding cops.

There also have been demonstrations at the University of Zululand at Empangeni in Natal province and at the University of the North at Turloop near Pietersburg. Police attacked both demonstrations, composed of Black students chanting "Power!"

In a hopeful show of solidarity rare for South Africa, 200 white students at the University of the Witwatersrand organized an action to protest the police rampage in Soweto and other Black townships.

WHITE STUDENTS SHOW SOLIDARITY

Demonstrators carried replicas of coffins and signs reading, "Why shoot children—they are the future?" According to the New York Times, "White and Black bystanders joined them as they passed, swelling their numbers to more than 1,000 by the time they approached the downtown area." The solidarity protest was later attacked by the police with clubs.

White students at the University of the Cape also held demonstrations against the killings of the Black school children.

The Vorster regime's response to the viciousness of its killer cops has been typically calloused. Today the hated James T. Kruger, who as Minister of "Justice" gave the cops their orders, was quoted in the Times as describing the ongoing police terror in African areas as "mopping up operations." He defended the mass shootings by casually suggesting other methods would have proved "ineffective."

Vorster himself, a pro-Nazi activist during World War II, went on television and radio warning his regime "would not be intimidated" and preaching "law and order."

Vorster's warning, coming only days before his scheduled meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, underscores the fact that the U.S. has all along propped up the apartheid regime. Although Kissinger has hypocritically stated he "regrets" what has happened in South Africa, he has refused to call off the talks, which are aimed at safeguarding U.S. interests in southern Africa, especially after the recent people's victory in Angola.

U.S. VESTED INTEREST IN APARTHEID

Currently, over 300 U.S. corporations operate within South Africa. Big U.S. corporations, lured by the starvation wages Black workers are paid, have invested over \$1 billion in the apartheid-ruled country. Firms like Chrysler, Caterpillar, Firestone, Ford, General Electric, General Motors, Goodyear, IBM, IT&T, Mobil Oil, and Caltex have a vested interest in apartheid-as-usual.

Of course, the Pretoria government is also important to the U.S. as a battering ram against People's Angola (as was illustrated by South Africa's invasion on behalf of U.S. imperialism of that newly independent country last November) as well as against the Namibian, Zimbabwean, and Azanian revolutions.

MASSACRE REMINISCENT OF SHARPEVILLE

In the vehemence with which Vorster's fascist police have indiscriminately fired upon unarmed Africans, this week's historic uprising is reminiscent of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 when over 70 peaceful protesters against the hated passbook system were mercilessly shot down.

The difference between today and Sharpeville, however, is that the intervening years of continuous brutal racism coupled with inspiring people's victories elsewhere in Africa have made apartheid intolerable to its victims. Now, the oppressed African masses, though unarmed, are turning a new page in the history of southern Africa by their proven fierce determination to fight back by any means necessary until the brutal system of apartheid is destroyed and imperialist profiteers are banished from their soil.

—S.S.



Liberation war instills fear in racist Rhodesia

By P. MEISNER

NEW YORK, June 21—Guerrilla forces in Zimbabwe have once again shaken the racist Rhodesian regime this past week with a series of rocket and mortar attacks near the Mozambique border. The significance of the attacks was underscored yesterday by the Rhodesian correspondent of one mouthpiece of U.S. imperialism, the New York Times, when he stated that the attacks had "stirred a wave of uneasiness in Salisbury about an expansion of the guerrilla war here."

Guerrilla attacks at this time have been interpreted on both sides as preparation for a major assault on the fascist Ian Smith regime by October of this year, when the

rainy season begins. The Rhodesian military has already mobilized all of its police and armed forces and all of its reservists, who, according to sources in Salisbury, number 50,000 in total.

However, most of the 14,000 Zimbabwe guerrilla troops have yet to be deployed as the rainy season draws closer. The ultra-racist hard line of Ian Smith has also caused near panic among the British and U.S. imperialists, who fear that unless concessions are made towards Black majority rule by the Salisbury regime, a complete rout is inevitable at the hands of the Zimbabwe guerrilla forces and that all imperialist economic interests will then be in question.

Texas meeting focuses on liberation struggles in Africa

By JOHN DICKERSON

HOUSTON, June 13—Over 60 people gathered today on the Texas Southern University campus for a meeting on Africa cosponsored by Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA) and Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF). Following speeches by an EFLNA representative and Claudette Furlonge of YAWF, a spirited discussion ensued involving much of the audience. Several African friends, from Nigeria and Zimbabwe added valuable insights to the discussion.

STRUGGLE IN ERITREA

In the opening speech an EFLNA speaker outlined the Eritrean struggle against Ethiopian colonialism, U.S. imperialism, and Israeli Zionism. The heavy-handed U.S. involvement in the 1952 UN resolution "giving" Eritrea to Ethiopia and the present-day massive U.S. military aid to Ethiopia are ample evidence of the U.S. role of exploitation in eastern Africa.

Participants learned that as the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) has liberated 95 percent of the countryside of Eritrea, agricultural advances have been made and schools and medical services have been established.

U.S. DOMINANCE IN AFRICA

Then Furlonge, a member of the steering committee of the Third World Caucus of YAWF, outlined the true nature of U.S. involvement in all of Africa.

Many African nations, beginning with Ghana in 1957, gained independence from the European colonial powers. But this was independence in name only. In the early 1960s the U.S. emerged as the dominant foreign economic power

in Africa, working through the newly independent African nations.

Political leaders not sympathetic to the U.S. were often imprisoned or assassinated, as was Patrice Lumumba of the Congo (Zaire).

U.S. policy in Africa has been to whip anti-communist, anti-Arab hysteria in an effort to keep Africa "free." "Free" means freedom for U.S. corporations to extract profits from Africa. The New York Times reports that \$3.68 billion in U.S. investments is what is really at stake in Africa.

Applause from the audience interrupted Furlonge when she pointed out the connection between high unemployment at home and exploitation by the U.S. abroad.

By RICHIE FERGUSON

NEW YORK, June 22—Sentencing of the 13 U.S. and British mercenaries tried before the newly established People's Revolutionary Tribunal in Luanda for crimes of genocide against the Angolan people is expected by the end of this week.

The presiding judge, Ernesto Teireirce da Silva, declared that after the defendants make their final statements the sentencing will follow. All 13 mercenaries have testified except for Costas Georgiou, known as "Col. Callan," who refused.

The prosecution has demanded the death penalty for all 13. Manuel Alves Munteiro, the prosecutor, has denounced imperialism at every step of the trial and refers to Kissinger as imperialism's "traveling cashier." When Robert Cesner, chief counsel for two of the

U.S. mercenaries, asked that the 13 be tried as prisoners of war, Alves declared, "We don't consider them prisoners of war. They are outside the law."

"In the name of all the people of the world assassinated by the guns, the fragmentation shells, the beatings and hangings of imperialism—in your name I ask the penalty of death," said Alves.

Most of the 13 hired gunmen being tried are asking for mercy. One of them, Gustavo Marcelo Grillo, an Argentine-born resident of Toms River, N.J., even denounced U.S. imperialism, stating, "The American system which I am a product of is a monster. It consists of power seekers, status seekers, and wastemakers."

However, the notorious Col. Callan openly admitted to many of

the massacres, including the shooting of 14 of his own men last winter. He has asked for the death penalty.

COMMISSION STUDIES ROLE OF MERCENARIES

The public trial in Luanda, with large representation of the world's press and an international commission of 42 members, has exposed much more than the ugly massacres carried out by these 13 hired gunmen. U.S. imperialism's role in the bloodthirsty war of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola has been made crystal clear.

The commission is concerned not merely with the fate of these 13 men but with the role of mercenaries in future imperialist adventures. It has recommended a draft convention aimed at an international ban on mercenaries, at

defining a mercenary, and at outlining the responsibilities of governments to stop the recruitment and financing of these killers. Further findings will be presented after the trial.

The 13 mercenaries in Luanda say they're sorry: sorry for the countless villages they razed while gunning down the inhabitants, sorry for the thousands of Angolans now permanently disabled and disfigured by mercenary grenades; sorry for the malicious destruction of the Angolan people's land.

But, as Lopo do Nascimento, Prime Minister of Angola, said in the London Times on June 18, "Potential mercenaries should be aware of one thing: that in Angola dishonorable death on the battlefield or exemplary trial by people's justice awaits them."

'Death on battlefield or people's justice'

Syrian masses oppose Assad's Lebanon invasion

By BILL DEL VECCHIO
NEW YORK, June 21—The determined resistance by Lebanese and Palestinian fighters to the reactionary Syrian invasion of Lebanon has set in motion intense international maneuvering, with imperialist France and the U.S. as well as Arab nations under their domination plotting how to best "save Lebanon."

With a naval task force prepared to assault Beirut standing by, the U.S. evacuated a handful of U.S. citizens and other foreign nationals on June 20. "Operation Fluid Drive," as the evacuation was called, had the complete cooperation and assistance of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Lebanese Arab Army.

Despite this fact, President Ford and the National Security Council maintained an all-night vigil, so that "whatever decision that had to be made could be made" if the operation met resistance, according to Defense Secretary Rumsfeld.

U.S. IMPERIALIST SHOW OF STRENGTH

The evacuation, and its accompanying show of U.S. military might were allegedly in response to the assassinations of U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon Francis Meloy, Robert Waring, described as an economic counselor, and their chauffeur Zoheir Moghrabi on June 16. The newly appointed ambassador was captured and executed while on his way to present his credentials to Lebanese President-elect Elias Sarkis, ignoring President Franjeh who has stubbornly refused to step down.

While there is of course great mass hatred of U.S. imperialism and its agents, the details of the

executions remain a mystery. PLO officials announced the following day that three men had been arrested who confessed their involvement in the assassinations. Mahmoud Labady, speaking for the Palestinian press service Wafa, stated that the arrested men were believed to have been working for an outside power, and mentioned, as possible forces behind the assassinations, Israel, Syria, the Lebanese Phalangists, and the CIA, according to the June 18 New York Times.

A series of top-level meetings of U.S. leaders following the assassinations led to the naval task force operation. "The first meeting was at noon at the State Department under the direction of Mr. Kissinger," reported the Times. "The second was called for 5:30 at the White House, with President Ford, Vice President Rockefeller, Mr. Kissinger, William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Defense Secretary, George Bush, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser."

FRANCE GETTING IN THE ACT

Meanwhile, President Assad of Syria spent three days in France, Syria and Lebanon's former colonial master, holding talks with French President Giscard d'Estaing concerning the invasion of Lebanon. The London Times reported that 400 police provided security and Paris's Orly airport was closed to the public as Assad arrived.

Assad concluded his visit pledging to continue the reactionary invasion of Lebanon, and to work with France to bring about some type of "peace talks." France's earlier offer to send an invasion force was not mentioned

by Assad, although it certainly was not forgotten.

President Assad of Egypt flew to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on June 21 to discuss the Lebanese war with the ultra-right King Khalid. Simultaneously with his arrival in Riyadh was the announcement by the Arab League that 1,000 Libyan and Syrian "peace-keeping" troops had actually arrived in Lebanon and were on their way to open the Beirut airport.

MASS OPPOSITION

A further report of mass opposition within Syria to Assad's policies in Lebanon was given by Eric Rouleau, reporting from Damascus in the June 20 Le Monde. "Many are quite convinced that their government is the U.S.'s faithful agent for carrying out its plot in the Middle East," he writes. He also reported, "The Syrian public were dumbfounded, for while they learned through foreign radio broadcasts that their troops had entered Lebanon, a member of their government, Minister of Culture Fawzi Fayali, publicly criticized the move."

Shortly after Assad's departure from France, Kissinger flew to Paris to meet with d'Estaing. Following his breakfast meeting with the French President, Kissinger announced on June 21 that he had summoned the U.S. ambassadors to Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Syria to France for a meeting on the situation in Lebanon.

With Syria's military intervention costing an estimated \$1 million a day, Kissinger is frantically looking for an alternative means of crushing the Lebanese and Palestinian liberation struggle, should increasing mass opposition force Assad to withdraw completely from Lebanon.



Leftist troops in Beirut. Syria's attempt to crush the Lebanese revolution. Palestinians and Lebanese workers, as well as the Syrian people, too.

In Italy

Election over, crisis

By JOHN C. OTTO

NEW YORK, June 21—The Christian Democrats (DC) maintained a small lead over the Italian Communist Party (PCI) as Italy's national election ended today.

The shift to the left signaled by the success of the divorce referendum and the local elections last June continued today. In fact, the margin of victory for the DC was the "fascist vote," that is, those supporters of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) who shifted their vote to the DC to prevent an election victory for the PCI.

The election is over, but the crisis remains. Italy's 1½ million unemployed still have no jobs, the lira is still unstable, and the Christian Democrats will still have problems putting together a stable parliamentary government.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The DC ran its campaign on one issue: anti-communism. Steeped in corruption, their ties with U.S. imperialism exposed, their only

argument was "vote DC to stop communism." A typical DC election poster showed PCI general secretary Enrico Berlinguer stripping off his face-mask—to reveal Brezhnev's face behind it.

Fearing for their cherished beliefs—and fearing much more for their property and government posts—the DC looked to the Catholic Church for support. And the church came through, threatening those Catholics running as independents on the PCI list with excommunication.

The PCI, on the other hand, ran a low-key campaign, stressing the need for a government which includes the communists, but which also includes the DC. They called for a government of "communists, socialists, and Catholics."

The major PCI campaign booklet hammered at this theme, saying only a government which included the PCI could "clean up (the DC corruption) and save Italy."

Interspersed through the booklet were quotes from influential capitalist newspapers and statesmen, mainly from the U.S. or Britain, to try to show that having the PCI in the government would be acceptable in some imperialist circles.

An election rally held by the PCI in Piazza della Signoria in Florence was typically mild. First a half-hour of patriotic and revolutionary music, ended by the Internationale. Then a speech by the mayor, criticizing the neo-fascists for election violence and calling for law and order.

A new development in this election was the electoral bloc of the three most influential groups considered to the left of the PCI. These are Il Manifesto-PDUP, Avanguardia Operaia, and Lotta Continua, who as Proletarian Democracy (DP) campaigned for a "left" government, one which excludes capitalist parties. Returns on the vote for this left bloc are not in as of this writing.

FASCIST VIOLENCE

The election campaign was marked by more severe than usual political battles, with some killings. The most outrageous event took place in the town of Sezze Romano, when a neo-fascist MSI deputy to parliament pulled out a gun and started shooting at young people who were heckling his speech. One young PCI member was killed.

A few days later there was a pitched battle between participants in an unemployed demonstration and an MSI rally in Piazza Venezia in Rome; here it

Economic summit in U.S. colony

Bankers to meet behind barricaded doors

By JULIO GHIGLIOTTY
NEW YORK, June 21—Rambouillet II, the sequel to this winter's economic summit meeting in France, and Gerald Ford's major try at looking in an election year like the world leader he's not, will begin in Dorado, Puerto Rico, in another six days.

Dorado Beach, a playground for the international "jetset," has become a top-security enclave sealed off to anyone not associated with the upcoming conference. All inhabitants of the cabins and rooms of the hotels Dorado Beach and Cerromar de Dorado have been ordered out by an occupation force of some 200 federal functionaries, mostly security personnel. Other security measures include covering the entire area with electronic equipment, presumably surveillance equipment and the forced vacations with pay of the hotel workers—except for a heavily screened skeleton crew for maintenance.

AIMS OF CONFERENCE POLITICAL

According to capitalist economists, the summit conference can do very little if anything to improve the economic crisis engulfing the so-called "free world." The conference is political in two levels. First, Gerald Ford is trying to get political mileage in an

election year by hosting this conference in "an effort to sharpen the image of Mr. Ford as economic manager and world leader," as Leonard Silk wrote in the financial section of the June 16 issue of the New York Times.

The second, and more important level of this political chicanery is that Ford is showing to the world that Puerto Rico is and will remain a "possession" of the United States. This is partly in response to the attacks by ultra-rightist Reagan about Ford's negotiations with Panama over the issue of control of the Panama Canal. But mostly, it is a response to the growing strength of the independence movement in Puerto Rico.

DIRECT FBI CONTROL OF REPRESSION

Even before Ford announced the meeting in Puerto Rico, the FBI had taken over direct control of the repression of the independence and labor movements in the island. The most overt example of this was the arrest of four Puerto Rican Socialist Party militants, among them the PSP's Secretary of Labor Affairs Edwin Melendez, and the arrest of the president of the Cement Workers Union and another union leader on phony weapons and explosives charges. Not so open was the murder of

Juan Mari Pesquera, son of Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the PSP.

Both the independence and labor movements have condemned the summit meeting and are planning massive demonstrations for June 27, the date the summit is scheduled to begin. The Puerto Rican Independence Party is calling a march in front of the hotels that morning at 10 a.m. and the PSP is calling one for 2:30 p.m. that same afternoon.

As the summit nears, the repression and harassment intensify. A law passed by the colonial government has made the placing of posters and banners on public structures illegal, supposedly to enforce environmental "beautification" of the island. However, it came just when organization for the demonstrations has begun to get rolling. Despite the law, which is very ambiguous and does not specify who will enforce it, the posters and banners continue to go up.

MUST TAKE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT INTO ACCOUNT

The strength of the independence movement was seen when Rafael Hernandez Colon, the colonial governor, issued a call for a meeting of all the leaders of the major political parties on the island to discuss the upcoming

summit meeting. Both Mari Bras and Ruben Berrios, president of the PIP, were invited. The governor's main point was that he didn't want any major "disturbances." Also present was Police Superintendent Astol Calero.

The governor even promised that the demonstrations in front of the hotels would be permitted, and that the police would remain within the confines of the hotel grounds to prevent any provocation to violence between the police and the demonstrators.

How much weight the colonial governor's guarantee of access to the site carries is doubtful. Ford announced that the summit meeting was being held in Puerto Rico several days before the governor was informed. Not only that, but White House functionaries and Secret Service agents who arrived in Puerto Rico to set up the security arrangements ignored the Puerto Rican police in an obvious show of contempt for their efficiency.

The seven heads of capitalist and imperialist states meeting in Puerto Rico are supposed to be impressed with Ford's show of "command" over what they are supposed to see as U.S. territory. Instead, they will be witnesses to a measure of Puerto Rican nationality. VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE Y SOCIALISTA!



evolution is being resisted by the too.

s remains

was the fascists who took the casualties they deserved.

The MSI has lost much of whatever popular following it had, but it maintains ties with the SID, that is, the political police, and with the officers in the Army and the carabinieri (national police). Just as FBI agents "infiltrated" the Ku Klux Klan and watched the murder of civil rights activists, so has the SID "infiltrated" the fascist groups and watched murders and bombings.

While the election rallies were not exceptionally large, every plaza, every coffee bar, every restaurant was filled with Italians discussing politics. One major topic was what the U.S. would do if the PCI won the election.

A pro-communist clerk renting a car to an American in Florence immediately asked him if "the U.S. would let the PCI join the government. We need them in," he said, "to clean up the corruption and get us all jobs."

U.S. involvement was somewhat more concealed than in 1948, but still U.S. imperialism threw all its weight against the PCI. A committee to mobilize against the PCI was set up with former Treasury Secretary John Connally as its head. Kissinger warned all the NATO members that an Italy with the PCI in the government couldn't be trusted, and said it loud enough to be heard throughout Italy.

Even Rockefeller went to the earthquake-stricken area of Friuli, just to show how important U.S. aid is, and imply that a PCI victory would cut off that aid. When asked for some direct aid, he grimaced and dashed back to his helicopter.

A common sentiment shared by many of the more privileged Italians is that "Berlinguer is a fine gentleman, and I trust him, but if the communists are elected, the hard ones behind him will get rid of him. He'll be the first to go."

On one level, this represents a distorted view of a communist party. On another, it may reflect a deeper truth. The rank-and-file communist workers join the PCI and vote for it because they want socialism in Italy. The PCI leadership has abandoned Leninist principles and is misleading the workers along the parliamentary path. But that doesn't mean the Italian workers have abandoned their desire for socialism. With an electoral victory for the PCI, they would demand socialism, and be ready to fight for it.

(This article is based on interviews with recent travelers to Italy and on a close reading of the Italian press, both left and bourgeois.)

So. Korea puppets still inflict brutal repression

26 years since U.S.-'UN' invasion

By CONNIE HARRIS

NEW YORK, June 21—Since 1945, Korea has been a major arena for the battle between the world social systems of capitalism and socialism. Occupied south of the 38th parallel for over three decades by the U.S. Army, the Korean nation, which for thousands of years was one united country, has been split into two parts; a fascist dictatorship in the south and a socialist republic in the north.

Had the U.S. withdrawn its troops in 1948 after the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by Kim Il Sung, leader of the liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism during the 1930s and World War II, Korea almost certainly would have been reunified, for that was the desire of the Korean people.

The withdrawal of the U.S., however, would have meant a socialist Korea, which would have spelled the end to U.S. plans to convert all of Korea into a colony and use it as a base for aggression against the Asian continent.

The U.S. stayed in south Korea, installed the despot Syngman Rhee as dictator, and took other steps to make the country "safe"—for American investment.

Socialism was the great threat to U.S. imperialism's dreams of expanding its profits through foreign investment. These dreams were dealt a crushing blow when in 1949 the Chinese Communist Party took power and founded the People's Republic of China. The loss of China had worldwide repercussions, creating the climate which produced the infamous anti-Communist witch-hunts of the 1950s, and creating in the U.S. ruling class the determination to eliminate all other obstacles to its economic expansion.

Thus, on June 25, 1950, U.S. troops, in the name of the United Nations, began the Korean War, aimed at wiping out socialism in north Korea. The Korean War lasted three years, and millions of Koreans and a half-million U.S. soldiers were killed or wounded in

it. But the Korean people fought the Pentagon to a standstill. Failing to topple the socialist government of north Korea, U.S. imperialism continued its occupation and neo-colonialist exploitation of south Korea.

South Korean workers are among the lowest paid in the world, with an average annual income of less than \$400 a year (and even less for women). Over 400,000 women have been forced into prostitution in order to survive. There are no industrial safety standards in south Korea, no unions by law, and no medical treatment available for the occupational diseases which afflict a large percentage of the workers.

Profiting from these inhuman conditions are the same corporations that exploit U.S. workers—Dow Chemical, General Motors, Gulf Oil, Motorola, to name but a few.

To keep the oppressed south Korean workers and peasants from following the revolutionary example of their sisters and brothers in the north, 42,000 U.S. troops and the 625,000-man south Korean army (which is openly controlled by the U.S.) prop up the fascist dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi. At least 55,000 political prisoners are in jail, and many have been executed. Reports of brutal interrogation and torture committed by the Korean CIA are widespread.

But the vicious tactics of the police state have not prevented the uprisings of textile workers, students, and others, as resistance to the Pak regime increases. Many leaders of the resistance have been arrested on fabricated charges.

CRITICS ON TRIAL

On June 4, five defendants received long prison sentences for the "crime" of writing, reprinting, and distributing a poem which satirized the corruption and brutality of the government.

On trial now are Yun Po So, a former south Korean president, charged with treason for

criticizing the government, and Kim Chi Ha, a poet, on trial for having accused the government of falsely arresting and then murdering members of the People's Revolutionary Party.

The desire of the south Korean people to be reunified with north Korea and with family and friends with whom they have not even been allowed to communicate for 31 years is wholly just and deserves the support of all progressive people.

Moreover, the workers and oppressed people of the U.S. have no reason to support the fascist dictatorship which has survived for 31 years on \$189 billion of our tax money, money which should have gone to build schools and

U.S. war provocations

Provocative war maneuvers under the fiction of the "UN Command" are being planned by the U.S. and south Korean armed forces for June 28 through July 7. A joint amphibious exercise will take place in the Pohang area in south Korea, it has been announced.

U.S. imperialism evidently can't let the anniversary of their intervention in Korea go by without rattling the sabers of war once again. But, since the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly last year adopted a decision disbanding the UN Command and calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops in Korea under the UN flag, this exercise is not only provocative but illegal.

Demonstrators in New York on June 25 will join the world in demanding: U.S. out of Korea!

hospitals and to create jobs in this country instead of run-away sweat shops in Seoul.

The stealthy Pentagon build-up in south Korea and the recent 70 percent increase in U.S. military aid, evidence that the ground is being laid for a new war in Korea, must be resisted by the people of the U.S., who have learned from Vietnam that imperialist wars are not in their interests.

DEMONSTRATE JUNE 25!

Defending the socialist countries, whose imperialist enemies are our enemies, is in our interests.

For this reason, Youth Against War & Fascism has formed a U.S. Out of Korea Committee. The committee's first action will be a demonstration at the south Korean Observer Mission to the UN in New York City on June 25, the 26th anniversary of the beginning of the Korean War, an appropriate date to begin the campaign against U.S. big business aggression and exploitation in Korea and to call for Korean reunification.

A partial list of additional sponsors for the June 25 demonstration includes:

Committee in Solidarity with the Korean People; Guardian Committee to Support Korean Reunification; Asian Americans for Action; Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S.; Attica Now; East Timor Defense Committee; Friends of Haiti; Friends of Indochina; Gay Socialist Action Project; Iranian Students Association (World Confederation); Neighbors for Peace; New York City Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee; Organization of Arab Students; Pan African Students Organization in the Americas; Peace and Equal Rights Committee (Red Bank, N.J.); Peoples Democratic Association; People for Radical Political Action (N.J.); Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Venceremos Brigade; Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; Workers World Party.

For more information, call: AL 5-0352.

25,000 GIs to Israel?

UNITED NATIONS, May 19 (WAPA)—According to the Israeli newspaper Yediot Aharonot (May 13-14), 25 to 30 thousand American soldiers from U.S. military bases in Europe will spend their vacations this year in Israel. The program is being directed by Col. Arthur A. Hoffman, a former senior commander of the U.S. Air Force, who recently became a resident of Israel.

Col. Hoffman announced in Tel Aviv that the first flight to Israel will start on July 3, the eve of the U.S. Bicentennial. The planes will take off from London, Rome, Frankfurt, Athens, and Istanbul.

Although Israeli sources here have tried to deny that there is any military significance to this American "military tourism," some diplomatic observers take it very seriously and connect it with the war in Lebanon. A European diplomat said: "Possibly they will wear Israeli uniforms and march to Lebanon."

A spokesman for the Defense Department in the Pentagon, Major William Hicklin, reached by WAPA, said he had heard nothing about the matter, but presumed "that the soldiers in Europe are free to go anywhere they want" for their vacations.



June 18, 1950: John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, at the 38th parallel in Korea, gives the "final O.K." to south Korean puppets to plans which were to culminate in the Korean War.

EDITORIAL

Mississippi bank failures

For the first time in over four decades, a big run has taken place on U.S. banks. The panic began in early May when it was revealed that Bankers Trust of Mississippi was on the verge of default. It quickly spread to over one-third of the state's privately insured savings and loan associations. Under local law these banks are actually allowed to lock out their depositors for a month, which they did. Then on June 22, when this 30-day period had almost elapsed, the state ordered the ban extended indefinitely, passing a decree forbidding deposit withdrawals from over 30 savings and loans institutions. More than 120,000 people who used these banks are affected by the closings and many fear the loss of their entire life's savings.

Mississippi senators Eastland and Stennis, both staunch Pentagon allies, will have a lot of explaining to do to those who believed their reactionary policies would at least bring financial stability.

And indeed, the run on the Mississippi banks is very significant, since they are connected in a thousand and one ways to the national banking establishment. It is no mere coincidence that on the day the government of Mississippi sealed the doors of these 30 banks, James E. Smith, the national Controller of the Currency, submitted his resignation to President Ford. Smith has been under heavy criticism since he lost out in his bid to prevent the collapse of the billion-dollar Franklin National Bank in 1974, and his position became even more precarious when news broke last winter that 35 bank holding companies, including some of the largest New York investment houses, had been placed on a Federal Reserve Board list of firms with financial difficulties. At first Smith seemed to weather this storm, but with the Mississippi disaster and last week's failure of the First State Bank of Northern California (the 18th federally insured bank to go under since the beginning of 1975), Mr. Smith's career as a bank regulator has been brought to an abrupt end.

And the Controller of the Currency is not the only official caught unprepared by these events. Secretaries of Treasury and State William Simon and Henry Kissinger are both in Paris attending a meeting of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, giving lectures to other countries on how to "sustain economic expansion" at the very moment the U.S. is suffering the biggest mass bank bust since 1933.

How humiliating for the White House that it is against this grim backdrop, which belies all the election promises of recovery and full employment, that Ford will be departing for the seven-nation economic summit in Puerto Rico next week. As a Swiss banker once said, "Stability begins at home." But stability appears to be precisely the one achievement completely out of reach of any of the imperialist powers in the epoch of their decay.

Inflation on the rise

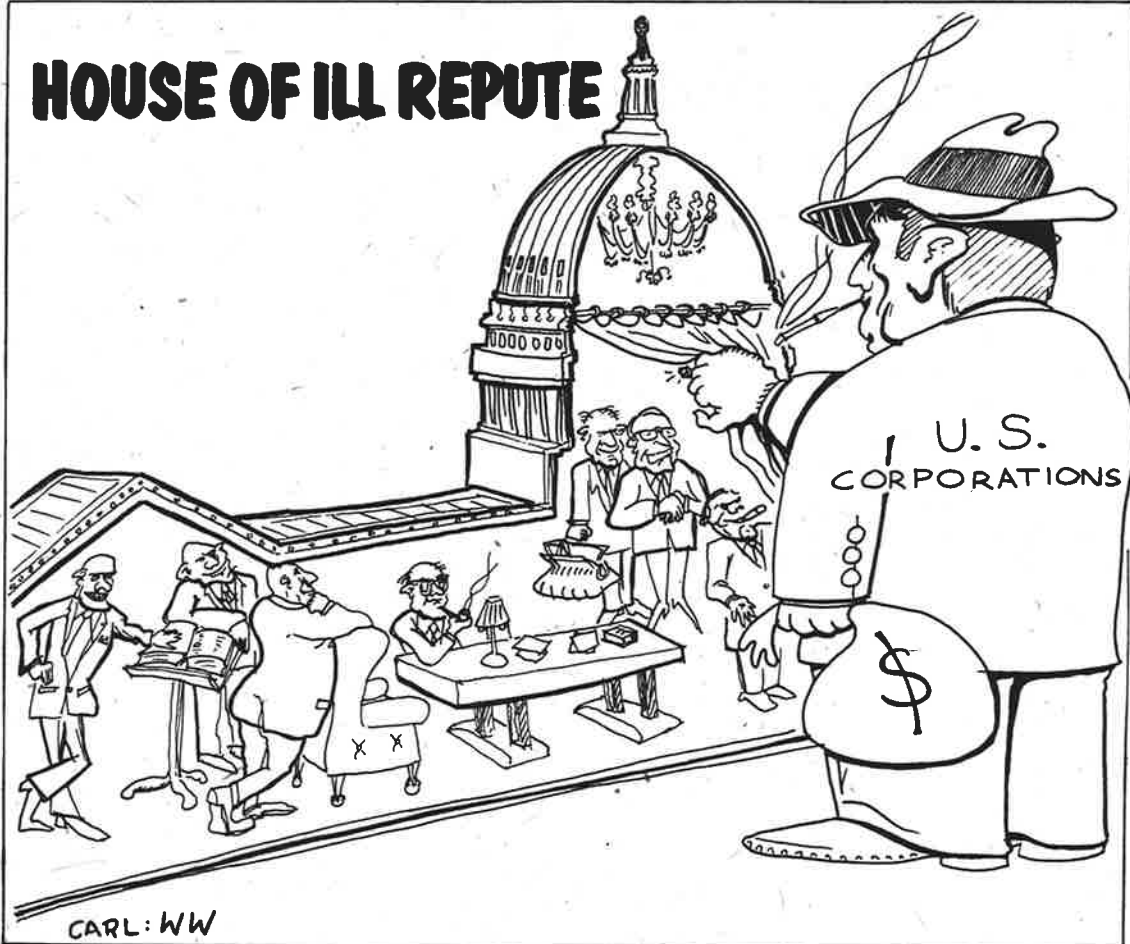
Inflation is on the rise again. The report released on Tuesday by the Department of Labor shows a higher jump in consumer prices than in any other month so far this year. Even more ominous, May's growth was double the rate of increase registered for April. The upward procession, led by a 4 percent leap in the cost of fish, meat, and poultry, is another bad sign since food prices generally drop in May. Worst of all, the steepest climb occurred in Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, cities with the biggest concentrations of poor people who can least afford to pay more for the necessities of life.

Besides monopoly price fixing and the devaluation of the dollar (which makes foreign goods more expensive), the greatest single cause of inflation is the towering national debt. Most of this debt, which is owed to the large Wall Street banks, was incurred by government spending on the war machine. The 1976 "peacetime" Pentagon budget will top \$114 billion, up well over 100 percent from the wartime budget of ten years ago.

Such unrestrained militarism has placed a heavy burden on the people of the U.S. So huge has the national debt become that it now equals \$3,200 for every man, woman, and child in the country. And it's piling up faster all the time. In 1970, the federal deficit came to \$373 billion, an obligation it had taken 194 years to accumulate.

But in the last five years, the legally permissible ceiling on the national debt has been almost doubled and today stands at \$700 billion. The current Congress has raised the debt ceiling six times in two years, just boosting it again on June 14 to fund projects like the Trident submarine, the B-1 bomber, a nuclear-powered guided-missile cruiser, and other lethal extravagances. It is not the politicians, however, but the American people who foot the real bill, both in skyrocketing inflation and in higher taxes imposed to meet the annual \$45 billion (that's \$45 thousand million) in interest payments on the debt—collected by the banks.

HOUSE OF ILL REPUTE



Gay coalition calls for mass protest against Democratic convention

By CONNIE HARRIS

NEW YORK, June 21—Today the New York State Coalition of Gay Organizations (NYSGO) announced plans for a mass protest march and rally on Sunday, July 11. The march will leave from Washington Square Park and end up at a rally site on 33rd St., between 8th and 9th Avenues, a block away from Madison Square Garden, site of the 1976 Democratic National Convention.

The official demands of the demonstration are 1) repeal of consensual sodomy laws and 2) passage of gay rights legislation. The demonstration has been endorsed by many organizations across the country and in Canada, including Youth Against War & Fascism.

This demonstration comes at a particularly crucial point in the struggle for gay liberation. This year has been one of serious legislative and judicial defeats for gay people. The most striking of these was the recent Supreme Court decision upholding a Virginia sodomy law which states that gay people may be imprisoned for five years and fined \$1,000 for private consensual sexual relations. (Thirty-eight states in the U.S. have similar laws.)

By upholding this law, the Supreme Court has said in essence that the 20 million Lesbians and gay men in this country are criminals. The practical result of this decision is that bosses, landlords, judges, and other agents of the ruling class have been given carte blanche to continue to deny gay people jobs and housing, to prevent Lesbian mothers from keeping their children, and to increase the repression of gay people generally.

This move is part of the ruling class's strategy to roll back the gains of all working and oppressed people. Ford's anti-busing statements, right-wing mobilizations to repeal abortion laws, and the open assault on the workers of New York City are other parts of a drive designed to discourage and intimidate people from demanding what is rightfully theirs.

But such acts as the Supreme Court's decision demand a

heightening of struggle, and the call for a repudiation of those institutions of the ruling class which are determined to deny us our liberation. The July 11th demonstration provides a singular opportunity to do so.

National and international attention will be focused on Madison Square Garden. As working people and oppressed people watch the spectacle of the Democratic Party

plotting to advance the interests of its class, the ruling class, they will see also thousands of proud and militant Lesbians and gay men demanding the rights which the courts and legislatures have denied them. Gay people can show, by their participation in this demonstration, that they are a serious force in the ever-growing struggle of all workers and oppressed people for their liberation.

2,000 people participate in Gay Pride parade in Boston

By BRENDA

BOSTON, June 19—Today the sixth annual New England Gay Pride Week started off with 2,000 people marching (through occasional showers) in a gay parade. This week's activities include workshops, rallies, dances, and picnics, and center on the theme of gay unity. This unity is being expressed through an increased militancy in the gay community, sensitivity to Third World sisters and brothers, and an awareness of how the struggle for gay rights is connected with the struggle against racism, sexism, and imperialism.

The new militant unity was obvious in today's march as the lesbians led the way, and everyone

chanted, "Stop the war against Blacks and gays."

The Gay Caucus of Youth Against War & Fascism, which played a leading role in planning the Gay Pride activities, and is sponsoring several workshops, organized the largest and most militant contingent of the march under the banner of "Gay pride against racism."

A rally afterwards opened with poems by a gay Black man and a Black lesbian, and included statements by many speakers, including gay State Representative Elaine Noble. A strong, exciting statement of solidarity came from Jill Raymond, a gay woman who recently won a victory against a witchhunting grand jury.

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June 25, 1976

The class character of the USSR

By SAM MARCY

JUNE 21—A ruling class—such as the ancient slave-holding class, the feudal class, or the modern bourgeoisie—cannot emerge or gain ascendancy over society merely as a result of political conspiracy, cunning manipulation, deceit, or ruthless oppression. A ruling class can, in the final analysis, come into existence only as a result of the deep-rooted needs of the processes of production.

That alone should give Marxists pause in adopting the spurious theory which proclaims that a new ruling class dominates in the USSR.

RULING CLASSES AND SOCIAL EVOLUTION

Primitive communism gave way to chattel slavery because the latter was a superior mode of production, even though it was accompanied by the most ferocious oppression and exploitation. Likewise, the feudal system took

This article is the third in a series by Sam Marcy taking up issues that are behind the questions being raised in the current Guardian discussion. The three articles will soon be available as a pamphlet from World View Publishers.

form and developed, not because the feudal lords were more kindly disposed to the peasants nor because the landed gentry were endowed with superior moral and intellectual qualities. The chattel slave system was uprooted and destroyed not as a concession to humanitarianism but as a response to the need for the development of the productive forces, which were constricted by outmoded social relations.

In a similar vein, the feudal system yielded to the capitalist mode of production, not because the bourgeoisie was less repressive, more humanitarian, or extracted less of the surplus product from the producers. On the contrary, under the system of capitalist exploitation the new master class extracted more of the surplus product in the form of surplus value from the backs of the producers than all other previous modes of production put together.

None of the basic classes in history, which emerged as ruling classes did so without a previous life and death political struggle, without the use of conspiracy, without cunning manipulation, and without the use of fraud and deceit of the conquered classes. Certainly all this played a great part in the final outcome of the struggle and the final ascendancy and political supremacy of one class over another and over society in general. But in the long run, each of the historical classes that assumed control over society was able to do so because it had a historic mission to perform before it gave way to a more advanced class.

Each class advanced the productive forces to a higher level than was prevalent in the preceding mode of production. It changed the character of the relations of production precisely because the old relations of production had become incompatible with and hampered the growth of the productive forces.

ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT TODAY

In modern times, the proletariat

is the only class which can succeed on a world scale and take the reins of society from the decadent bourgeoisie, which is hampering the harmonious development of the productive forces by maintaining the out-moded, antiquated, and severely oppressive social relations based on imperialist exploitation and oppression.

The proletariat is the only class that has a truly historic mission to carry out which no preceding class could accomplish and which the bourgeoisie is utterly incapable of executing. That is to organize, or rather reorganize, society on a rational basis, purge it of the incredibly destructive economic crises born out of the anarchy of capitalist production, and begin the reorganization of production for human needs and not for profit.

The proletariat is the only class capable of putting an end to catastrophic imperialist wars and destructive economic dislocation. It is the only class capable of satisfying all of humanity's needs and assuring its further existence and development. And it can do this precisely because it can free the productive forces of society from the encroachments and restrictions of capitalist private property and assure their limitless development for the good of humanity and not for narrow private interests and exploitation.

No other class is as consistent with the needs of the rest of humanity as is the proletariat. Other classes and social groupings can play a revolutionary role in society only by adopting the viewpoint of the proletariat and making their interests identical with the class interests of the proletariat.

MARXISM CHALLENGED ONCE AGAIN

All of the above, which are fundamental postulates of the Marxist theory of social development, are once again being called into question, just as has happened before during periods of social crisis and whenever there have been setbacks to the cause of the working class and the oppressed.

The widespread disenchantment



Karl Marx

and disillusionment of certain strata of the population, and in particular of the radical petty bourgeoisie, with extremely negative developments in the USSR, both internally as well as in foreign policy, have caused them to make a headlong retreat in the direction of bourgeois apologetics and a renunciation of basic Marxist doctrine. This is reflected in a "new" appreciation of the USSR as a state ruled either by a new exploiting class or by the old bourgeoisie restored in a new disguise. In either case, the analysis is based on a rupture with Marxism as the doctrine of social evolution and is in effect a retreat to the bourgeois theory that chance and not historic necessity governs



Red Guards in Petrograd, 1917. Have those who now discard all the gains of the Russian Revolution thought out the full implications of their position?

social development.

Many of the theoreticians who hold the view that the USSR is a bourgeois state, albeit of a new type, have explained the development on the basis of conspiracy, fraud, deceit, Machiavellian tactics, and whatnot. Others, who have based themselves on a somewhat less superficial theory, have sought to explain their theory of the transformation of the USSR into a capitalist state on the narrow data which became available as a result of the economic reforms in the USSR under the Khrushchev era and partly under Brezhnev.

In either case, so far as the reforms go, while they started off in a dangerous direction, they merely evinced and offered the possibility of a bourgeois restoration. The trends were nevertheless arrested. The basic conquests of the October Proletarian Revolution—the planned character of the Soviet economy and the public ownership of the means of production—have by no means been eroded and in some aspects have been strengthened even while there has been a contradictory growth of social inequality and accumulating political antagonisms.

The most serious bourgeois economists and the world bourgeoisie as a whole have not for a moment abandoned their conception of the USSR as a "centrally planned" society and their mortal and irreconcilable antagonism towards it.

DOCTRINE OF CHANCE VS. HISTORIC NECESSITY

In constructing their conception of the USSR as a new hostile class formation, the "new" theoreticians have broken with Marxism as a doctrine of social evolution and have introduced the reign of the arbitrary in the domain of social evolution. For, according to them, political leaders can change social systems at will, overthrow new classes, and bring back old ones without the knowledge, let alone the participation, of the masses. Indeed, this is a throwback to pre-modern conceptions of history. Wherever a so-called material basis is offered, it can't stand the light of day. It's overthrown by reality.

When the bourgeoisie was young and full of enthusiasm, its most enlightened sections pursued the theory of evolution not only in nature but to some extent in social development as well. It is to be noted that Marx's Critique of Political Economy and Darwin's The Origin of Species were published almost simultaneously in the year of 1859. The advance of humanity from lower to higher stages of social development received wide approval and that

was because the bourgeois intelligentsia saw the capitalist class as the bearer of social, political, and scientific progress. Capitalism was still on the ascending scale of history.

Today the bourgeoisie, needless to say, is bereft of all historic validity. It is declining everywhere. It has long exhausted its historic mission and its further existence can only wreak one catastrophe after another upon humanity. It is bewildered and confused by its utter inability not only to control the productive forces it has brought into being but even to maintain them in the face of revolutionary upheavals everywhere.

Their philosophy has led them for a considerable period now to



Charles Darwin

renounce in the strongest terms the theory of evolution and in particular the Marxist theory of social development, which not only shows that the class struggle is the motive force of history but that the class struggle of the proletariat inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Nevertheless, the ideology of the bourgeoisie permeates all sections of society with its message of decline.

MONOD AND NICOLAUS

Only lately the bourgeoisie began to peddle in intellectual circles Jacques Monod's theory of "Chance and Necessity." According to him it is not social evolution, the development from lower to higher forms of society based upon new modes of production, which governs society; it is all pure chance. Chance determines everything.

What else can the bourgeoisie really rely upon?

In its youth it believed in evolution. Now when it is bankrupt it can only rely on chance, on fortuitous circumstances and historical conjunctures. Strange, isn't it, that precisely such theoretical fulminations govern in one way or another those

theoreticians who have proclaimed the USSR a bourgeois state?

Martin Nicolaus' Restoration of Capitalism, if one reads it carefully, leads to the ultimate conclusion that it was conspiracy that determined the fate of Stalin as well as of Khrushchev, and that Brezhnev and Kosygin maintained themselves in power as a result of pure chance. In his conception of the events that led to the "restoration of capitalism," the "good guys" were overthrown by the "bad guys" while the masses slept.

A more vulgar application of contemporary American pragmatism to great historical phenomena is scarcely conceivable. The fact that there may be basic disagreements, among other things, as to who were the "good guys" and who were the "bad guys" is not even raised as an issue.

His analysis of the reforms during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev period cannot stand the light of day because they do not take into account the basic reality of the Soviet system—that the planned character of the Soviet economy and the public ownership of the means of production have remained basically intact in spite of the marauding incursions of the Soviet bureaucracy. How else explain that the worldwide capitalist economic crisis has not overtaken the USSR?—a fact so plain that only the politically blind, those who will not see, can ignore it.

BETTELHEIM AND SWEETZ

Another version of the restoration of capitalism theory is that of Charles Bettelheim, which unfortunately has been embraced by some who in our view should know better, such as Paul Sweezy. In Bettelheim's view, the basic cause of the degeneration, or rather the transformation, of the USSR into a capitalist state ruled by a "new" state bourgeoisie lies in the theoretical error presumably pursued both by Stalin and even more so by Trotsky in stressing the development of the productive forces rather than in changing social relations. It's hard to take this thesis seriously and one wonders how serious people who have devoted much of their lives to the struggle for socialism can come up with a theory that defies the very basis of the Marxist conception of history and does so much violence to the actual developments in the USSR.

Bettelheim, and Sweezy too, are comforted and bolstered in their new theory by the belief that it is also the conception of Chairman Mao—a dubious proposition which events in China, especially as they are unfolding, are sure to disqualify.

Why have Bettelheim and Sweezy found this new detour to explain social development in the USSR?

First of all there has been the strong pull of China—but the victory of the Angolan people and the reactionary foreign policy of Peking are sure to create second thoughts among many of China's followers.

But there is another reason, too, aside from the disillusionment and disenchantment which followed in the wake of successive setbacks in the USSR and which have discredited the Soviet leadership for many, many years.

If Stalin and Trotsky both thought that the main emphasis

(continued on page 10)

—Class character of USSR

(continued from page 9)

had to be put on the productive forces to develop a workers' state in a backward country, they were right—that was not an erroneous conception. Therein does not lie the fundamental difficulty faced by the new social formation, by the new society which issued from the October Revolution. It was not neglect of the social relations. That's avoiding the issue.

To put it properly, it was the growth of the Soviet bureaucracy, headed by Stalin, which perverted the social relations which issued from the October Revolution. That was possible because Soviet society was characterized by a fundamental contradiction which the bureaucracy was unable to resolve by its methods. The contradiction was that the productive forces were too meager and inadequate to give the new social relations in the USSR a socialist character.

Whereas in all the older modes of production the productive forces first outgrew the social relations and then rebelled against them, in the new Soviet society the productive forces were inadequate to assure a socialist development. Unable to pursue a revolutionary policy either at home or abroad, the bureaucracy took on the character of a coercive and repressive force and began the construction of socialism in a way which destroyed the political gains of the working class but retained the fundamental social conquests necessary to insure the existence of a workers' state but not of a socialist society.

So that what we have is not a new ruling class, not a new state bourgeoisie, but the very familiar phenomenon of a bureaucracy which has expropriated the proletariat politically while it—the bureaucracy—rules on behalf of the proletariat. In doing so, it naturally appropriates in its own self-interest a good deal of the privileges and emoluments that go with governing, but this does not nullify the fact that the proletariat,

in a historical and sociological sense, is still the ruling class, hampered by a bureaucratic upper crust.

Is this a new phenomenon in world history? Not really. If we examine other classes, both the British and the German bourgeoisies, for example, they were not able to rule directly on their own behalf until many, many decades had passed. In Germany it took Bismarck, a Junker, a feudalist, and his array of bureaucrats to unify the bourgeoisie in a national state and to dominate over them.

VAST DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BUREAUCRACY AND CLASS

It makes a great deal of difference whether one characterizes the ruling group in the USSR as a bureaucracy or as a social class on a historic scale with other possessing classes. Previous ruling classes have had their bureaucracies and in contemporary bourgeois society the labor movement has been led and victimized by a labor bureaucracy. While a bureaucracy attains a relative independence from the class it represents, and appropriates, or rather misappropriates, a share of the social income for its own selfish interests, it is nevertheless rooted in the class it represents.

In this sense the Soviet bureaucracy does not differ fundamentally from the bureaucracies in prior epochs. The Soviet bureaucracy is rooted in nationalized property, public ownership of the means of production, centralized planning. It cannot undo these progressive social achievements without undoing itself. It doesn't mean that there is not a neo-restorationist wing of the bureaucracy, but it by no means signifies that the latter has completely triumphed.

A "NEW CLASS" MUST HAVE A HISTORIC MISSION

In attributing a new sociological character to the USSR, these theoreticians have unwittingly crowned the Soviet bureaucracy

with a great new historic mission. If a new class governs the USSR then the evidence of all previous class societies compels us to conclude that such a class could only come into existence by historic necessity and, as a corollary to that, that it has a historic mission which no effort by the proletariat can successfully nullify until that mission is exhausted.

Why were the proletarian revolutions of 1848 and 1871 overcome? When all is said and done, when all the political mistakes, false policies by workers' organizations, the machinations and conspiracy of the bourgeoisie, etc., etc., are taken into account, was it not because the bourgeoisie had not yet exhausted its historic mission? Capitalism still had plenty of room for development. It took some decades before competitive capitalism turned to monopoly capitalism: imperialism.

What follows from the theories of capitalist restoration is that the proletarian revolution in the USSR, the seizure of power by the proletariat, was premature. Therefore, not only were the political policies of the leaders of the revolution and their successors erroneous, but they were utopian. Marxism, even in the hands of the genius of Lenin, merely served as an ideological garb, as a cover to objectively pave the way, smooth the path, for the bourgeoisie. In other words, Marxism as a doctrine is really comparable to the teachings of the men of the Great Enlightenment in the period preceding the French Revolution. It served to rally the masses, ultimately gave them slogans, such as Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, but in the end it turned out to be an ideological cover for a new ruling class.

Have these theoreticians of the new ruling class in the USSR thought these matters through to the end?

PRAGMATIC ORIGINS OF THEIR THESIS

On the contrary, it is not objective thought which has impelled them to move in this direction. It is not objective, independent thinking which has resulted in this theory which is so favorable to the imperialist bourgeoisie. It is born out of subjectivist and politically tendentious trends in contemporary politics. This theory began to come in vogue here not when the presumed transformation took place, but in 1968 and 1969, after Czechoslovakia. And what impelled its exponents to take that position was that they had turned their face to the Chinese leadership, who abruptly proclaimed the theory of "social imperialism" and left it to the foreign theoreticians to theorize what in effect was a political cuss word pronounced by one faction in the international communist movement against another.

Important as the Czechoslovak intervention was, it could under no circumstances be the starting point for a new sociological appraisal of the USSR. If the Czechoslovak intervention was such an enormously regressive action, how about Hungary? And wasn't Georgia forcibly Sovietized under Lenin? Indeed, none of these interventions could possibly serve as a starting point for a reevaluation of the class character of the USSR. It is interesting that none of these theoreticians was prompted to pronounce an anathema on the class character of the USSR for the previous interventions.

None of the interventions flow from a transformation in Soviet property relations. (In Georgia, the intervention was of course

Get in the struggle with Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World Party!

Workers World Party and Youth Against War & Fascism are organizing and responsible for many of the struggles you read about in the pages of this paper. These groups are made up of women and men, Black, white, Latin, Asian, and Native American, young and old, straight and gay, working, students, and unemployed, who fight on all the issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society.

If you would like to find out more about Workers World and YAWF, or if you would like to join them in their struggles, contact the branch nearest you from the list below.

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wholly progressive.) The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia (as well as in Hungary, which was approved and encouraged by Mao), was launched to stave off bourgeois counter-revolution, which in part was the result of reactionary policies pursued by the Soviet leaders and approved by the Chinese leaders.

Had these counter-revolutions succeeded, had the Soviet Union not crushed them, then they might have been the starting point for not merely a theoretical reappraisal of the class character of the USSR, but for a mighty impulse to real bourgeois restoration there.

What the theoreticians mentioned here have done is to confuse bourgeois restoration—which, of course, could happen, especially where the new workers' state and the new social system are still on shaky grounds—with political reaction.

POLITICAL RISE OF REACTIONARY FORCES

Political reaction has taken place in practically all of the countries where the great bourgeois revolutions occurred. But the restoration of feudalism has not taken place anywhere the bourgeoisie has triumphed.

Political reaction can last a long time. A political reaction in the USSR set in after the death of Lenin. It became strengthened, along with the growth of social inequality, but the socialist aspects of the Soviet economy as well as the living standards of the masses also increased. To substitute bourgeois restoration for political reaction has more than a terminological significance. Whether there is a new bourgeoisie or merely a bureaucracy has tremendous strategic as well as tactical significance for the world proletariat and oppressed.

If it is a bourgeois or "social imperialist" state, the proletariat is duty-bound to follow the same political criteria in the struggle against it as against any other imperialist state. If it is, on the other hand, a workers' state led by a bureaucracy, a wholly different

set of criteria apply. While fighting against the oppressive character of the Soviet bureaucracy, it is nevertheless necessary to defend the USSR against imperialist aggression and against internal bourgeois reaction and to support the Soviet Union wherever and whenever it takes progressive measures in domestic and foreign affairs.

Understanding these criteria helps to explain the ease with which the Chinese leadership hastily characterized the USSR as a hostile formation no better than an imperialist state. Their formulation of the class character of the USSR has the dubious advantage that it relieves them of any necessity to defend what is progressive in the USSR, both in foreign as well as in domestic policy, or to pursue a proletarian policy in relation to a sister socialist state. On the other hand, by characterizing the USSR as imperialist, the Chinese leadership are free to act without any limitation as regards the USSR. They can thus bloc with the imperialists against the USSR and claim that they are pursuing a Marxist-Leninist thesis. Their position sanctions collaboration with the real imperialists, whereas if they confined themselves to treating the USSR as it really is they would of necessity have to continue what they began in the early 1960s—to fight the Soviet bureaucracy for collaborating with imperialism rather than themselves allying with imperialism.

The difference in the two divergent class appreciations of the social nature of the USSR is fundamental to the cause of the working class. With the Chinese formulation of the question, one of necessity is impelled to embrace a strategic world outlook on the same barricades with imperialism. With the other we are on the class barricades of the world proletariat, all the oppressed people, and all the progressive elements in the USSR which, like China, is still a fortress of the world revolution in spite of the Soviet bureaucracy.



CHINA the struggle within

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POLITICAL PRISONERS



San Quentin 6 trial nears completion

By LESLIE FEINBERG

NEW YORK, June 20—Last week the defense rested its case in the trial of the San Quentin 6. After an arduous 14-month trial, both the defense and prosecution are expected to begin final arguments in late June. However, a decision is not expected in the case until sometime in July.

The San Quentin 6 are Black and Brown prison activists who are being framed up for alleged participation in an escape plot with George Jackson, the Black revolutionary leader on Aug. 21, 1971. On that date George Jackson was assassinated by San Quentin guards and in events that ensued three guards and two inmates were also killed. The indictments of the San Quentin 6 were an attempt to cover up the role of the state in the murder of Comrade Jackson.

The six brothers—Fleeta Drumgo, Johnny Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez, Willie Tate, Hugo Pinell, and David Johnson—are charged with murder as well as conspiracy to murder, to escape, and to possess firearms.

POLICE PLOT EXPOSED

The frame-up nature of this case was clearly exposed in shattering testimony by Louis E. Tackwood, a police provocateur who worked for both the Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) of the Los Angeles Police Department and the California State Bureau of

Identification and Investigation (SBII) and whose assignment was to assassinate George Jackson. On April 15, 1976, Tackwood testified that the CCS had planned to murder Jackson on Aug. 23, but the SBII, in a case of internecine rivalry, murdered him two days ahead of schedule. "I can name names, dates and places and the guns used," he said.

BRUTAL TREATMENT

The six prisoners have been literally tortured daily during the long trial. The physical abuse has been so brutal that their treatment ranks among the most sadistic in the history of U.S. political trials. Throughout the 14 months of trial, the men have been wrapped in chains and bolted to the floor, unable to move, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., five days a week. Johnny Spain has suffered irreparable nerve damage to his hands from this medieval treatment. But the countless motions by the defense to remove the cruel and painful chains and bolting have been continually denied by the judge.

Furthermore, when not in court, the men are locked up in the "Adjustment Center," a euphemism for small, dirty, vermin-infested cells. The men are locked alone in the cells from 23 to 24 hours a day.

During the courtroom proceedings, a special detach-

ment of armed San Quentin guards and deputies surround the audience. The spectators are separated from the defendants by a murky \$40,000 bullet-proof shield.

DENIED CHOICE OF DEFENSE

To make the frame-up complete, the judicial system has pushed aside its own laws and has denied the men their own attorneys. The San Quentin 6 chose skilled, experienced lawyers whom they trusted to launch a strong defense for them. The trial court deliberately appointed other counsel whom the brothers neither trusted nor wanted. After much protest, attorneys Charles Garry and Howard Moore have finally been able to enter the case as "associates" to the court-appointed attorneys.

It has become crystal clear during these long proceedings that the prosecution does not have a case. But that doesn't mean that the brothers' freedom is assured. The reactionary nature of the courts themselves combined with the often manifested racism of Reagan-appointed Judge Brodericks, who is hearing this case, indicate that the fight to free the San Quentin 6 is far from over.

Funds for legal fees and defense committee expenses are badly needed. Write checks to the San Quentin 6 Defense Fund, 3169-16th St., San Francisco, California.

South Dakota seeking death penalty in trial of two Native Americans

NEW YORK, June 21—June 7 marked the beginning of the trial of Native Americans Dino Butler and Bob Robideaux for allegedly murdering two FBI agents in South Dakota last June. The trial, which is taking place in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is expected to last at least six weeks.

The State of South Dakota is seeking the death penalty for Butler and Robideaux. The two were supposedly involved in a shoot-out last June 26 in Oglala, a small village on the Pine Ridge Reservation. At that time the FBI had an occupation force of over 100 on the reservation. Two FBI agents and an Indian man, Joe Stuntz, were killed.

Four Indian men, Robideaux, Butler, Jimmy Eagle, and Leonard Peltier, now known as the Oglala 4, were charged with the murder of the FBI agents. The murder of Stuntz was never investigated. On the same day, right-wing former tribal chairman Richard Wilson gave one-eighth of the Oglala land to the U.S. government.

An all-white jury was quickly selected on June 7. So far the presiding judge has refused a series of defense motions, including one for the removal of prosecution counsel Robert Sikma. The defense charged that Sikma had previously "denied a 15-year-old Native American woman's right to counsel, lied to a federal court at a bail hearing and perjured himself."

The judge also refused to subpoena Senator Frank Church

and FBI Director Clarence Kelly to testify about the FBI's programs against the American Indian Movement. However, testimony given by FBI agent J. Gary Adams on June 10 may be used to force the judge to subpoena Kelly. Adams said that he, the first agent on the scene after the shooting began, later went to Los Angeles to personally brief Kelly on the situation. According to the rules of evidence, this testimony gives grounds for the subpoena of Kelly.

Agent Adams, on the stand for two days, faced extensive questioning on the death of Joe Stuntz. When asked if he had any knowledge of any official claiming to have killed Stuntz, he named Gerald Hill, Bureau of Indian Affairs policeman. This is the first naming of a government or FBI official as a suspect in the murder of Stuntz.

The American Indian Movement views the trials of the Oglala 4 as a pivotal case against native people. It is important that this case be won in order to turn back the government's tide of repression against Native Americans.

Robideaux and Butler have been denied their constitutional rights several times and the former was beaten by a deputy sheriff while being transferred to Cedar Rapids. Jimmy Eagle is presently being held in California and will go on trial at a later date. Leonard Peltier is fighting extradition in Vancouver, Canada, while imprisoned there on death row. Bail for each is \$250,000.

Commemoration of Rosenberg execution

By LESLIE FEINBERG

NEW YORK, June 18—On June 19, 1953, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were electrocuted after having been framed at the height of the cold war hysteria aimed at the USSR and China. The U.S. government had accused the Rosenbergs of espionage, of stealing the "secret" of the A-bomb, after the USSR broke the U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons.

This year, Carnegie Hall was filled almost to capacity as 2,500 came on Tuesday, June 15, to commemorate the execution of the Rosenbergs and to hear more about the fight to reopen the case.

The evening was sponsored by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. Documents obtained by the committee have given fresh evidence of complicity between trial judge Irving Kaufman, the prosecution, and the FBI. The information shows that the government knew its witnesses were lying about alleged payments for classified information.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Throughout the evening, speakers reminded the audience that the Rosenbergs were not naive victims of repression, but communists and fierce resisters of fascism. The program emphasized victims of government harassment today—the political prisoners in the U.S.

The Rosenbergs' sons, Robert and Michael Meeropol, stressed continued support of all political prisoners and for the American Indian Movement and other Native American prisoners who are victims of U.S. government repression.

Morton Sobell, who was sen-

tenced to 30 years in the case and released in 1969, and his wife Helen were given a standing ovation by the four-tiered audience. Helene Sobell pointed out that today "the U.S. prisons are teeming with poor, Native American, Chicano, Black, Latin people and, increasingly, with women." She mentioned Assata Shakur, Susan Saxe, Yvonne Wanrow, and, of course, Lolita Lebron, who has spent 22 long years in the U.S. prison

system. "These are the Ethel Rosenbergs of today," she said.

She then compared the cases of Ben Chavis, Robert Rice, and Gary Tyler to the struggle of Julius Rosenberg. She ended by calling for a large turnout in Philadelphia on July 4.

Both Morton Sobell and Jose Alberto Alvarez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) called for the immediate release of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist

Nursing home operator Bergman

Crime—if big enough—does pay

By G. SCHMIDT

NEW YORK, June 21—One day before sentencing nursing home operator Bernard Bergman, Judge Marvin Frankel, during a pre-sentencing hearing here in U.S. District Court at Foley Square, sounded as though he were stern Justice incarnate, knocking flat defense lawyers' attempts to minimize the seriousness of Bergman's confessed role in a \$1.2 million Medicaid and tax fraud. To the lawyers' arguments that the major fraud had been committed by an accountant and that the offenses admitted by Bergman were "technical," Judge Frankel retorted that the defendant had pleaded guilty to "a serious federal offense."

In an excerpt from a statement released after sentencing Bergman last Thursday, June 17, Judge Frankel said, "... the case calls for a sentence that is more than nominal. Given the other circumstances, however—including that this is a first offense, by a man no longer young and not

perfectly well, where the danger of recidivism is not a concern—it verges on cruelty to think of confinement for a term of years."

Bergman drew a sentence of four months.

He won't even spend it in jail, but at the Metropolitan Correction Center at 150 Park Row or at the Community Training Center in the Bryant Hotel at Broadway and 54th Street, "if the defense preferred that."

BERGMAN'S CRIMES

In operating two Manhattan nursing homes, the Park Crescent and the Towers, Bergman "milked" both projects by failing to pay taxes, loan interest, fuel and milk bills, after overcharging Medicaid funds to the tune of over \$1.2 million for elderly patients.

The Towers has been closed since January 1975, but the Park Crescent continues in operation with Medicaid payments going directly to a court-appointed receiver on behalf of the creditors. The receiver, whose first concern is for the corporations supplying

prisoners who heroically defied and fought the U.S. imperialists for Puerto Rican independence. They are the longest-held political prisoners in this hemisphere.

Many heard Martin Sostre speak for the first time tonight. He was recently released after spending eight years in prisons on frame-up charges. Why was international pressure successful in freeing Sostre and not the Rosenbergs? "My being here tonight," Sostre

said, "means that the balance of power has shifted in favor of the forces of liberation."

The meeting ended with a march of about 300 from Carnegie Hall to FBI headquarters in Manhattan. Almost a quarter century after the murder of the Rosenbergs, the FBI heard angry people led by the Meeropols chanting, "Close down the FBI, open the files!" and "The Rosenbergs are innocent, the FBI is guilty!"

the home and not for the patients, has filed a petition in court charging that the milking of Park Crescent is still going on.

The New York State Health Department has claimed that Bergman received overpayments from state funds of over \$2 million for capital costs alone at Park Crescent—that is, for improvements in the facilities and accommodations that were inadequately or never accomplished.

Elderly patients, who were least able to defend themselves, were systematically deprived of adequate care that might have made their final years more than the minimum of drugged, semi-comatose, or fettered bed-ridden existence they had in the Bergman homes. How many patients succumbed to needlessly early deaths due to planned deprivation of medical care, special diets, and adequate housing in winter—all in the name of greater profits for the operators—can only be guessed.

Eugene Hollander, another

nursing home operator, was similarly convicted recently. His case was used by the Bergman lawyers to justify their plea for a light sentence, since Hollander was sentenced to spend five nights a week, excluding weekends, for six months in a federal "treatment center." This logic obviously carried with Judge Frankel, since he considers the four month jailing for Bergman to be a "stern" sentence that "would deter others."

George Jackson received the death penalty for allegedly stealing less than \$25 and for being a conscious Black revolutionary in prison. All of the Attica inmates killed in the massacre in 1971 collectively did not steal Bergman's \$1.2 million. The entire prison population of Riker's Island in New York City did not steal that much.

Crime, in terms of millions of dollars extracted through the systematic malnutrition, medical neglect, and deprivation of the sick and elderly, really does pay.

June 25, 1976

With massive slashes in welfare payments

Ga. governor declares war on poor

By TOM GARDNER

ATLANTA, GA., June 17—Last week, in a startling announcement, Governor George Busbee of Georgia declared war on the poor people of this state. His weapon—starvation.

Busbee proclaimed that relief checks for over half of the Aid for Dependent Children (ADC) recipients will be cut an average of \$12 per month. In addition he ordered that all welfare aid for another 5,206 recipients be cut off entirely.

Last January Busbee was forced to back down in an attempt to impose a \$32-per-month ceiling on welfare aid to mothers with one child. This scheme was stopped by pressure from the Welfare Rights Organization and the Georgia Poverty Rights Organization, both grass-roots, inter-racial organizations of welfare and social security recipients throughout the state.

The Poverty Rights Organization brought people from nearly 40 Georgia cities and towns to lobby against the ceiling, while the Welfare Rights Organization led several militant and effective demonstrations of recipients and children at the state capital, chanting, "Hunger hurts!"

The welfare recipients and supporters pledged to surround the gold-domed capitol building every day the legislature was in session. In order to avoid such continuous embarrassment, Busbee promised there would be no ceiling and no cuts. He lied.

In the following months, the Department of Human Resources quietly set about to implement the ceiling and drastic cuts. They first sought to cut off all welfare-recipient mothers who earned any supplemental income. They also

sought to impose a ceiling on the "percentage of need" paid by the state, plus a fixed-amount ceiling for the ADC grants.

The Welfare Rights Organization and others took the state to court

and won; U.S. District Judge C.A. Moyer ruled both the cuts and the ceiling unlawful. It was this court ruling that Busbee used as an excuse to announce his long-planned cuts. In the old game of

"divide and rule," typical of political demagogues, he has tried to blame the vicious cuts imposed against one section of recipients on the court victory of another section.

While Busbee has insisted that the cuts are necessary to pay the benefits ordered by the courts (benefits which should have been paid in the first place), he has never raised the idea of cutting the salaries of the fat cat bureaucrats at the top, like himself, nor has he suggested taxing the banks which put him in office and whose interests he serves.

BUSBEE BANKERS' BUDDY

Busbee is currently under an ethics investigation for illicit campaign funds channeled to him in his bid for governor by a consortium of bankers. Reports indicate that the investigation will issue a quick whitewash report supposedly clearing Busbee of any technical crimes.

But he may not fare so well in the court of public opinion. As one welfare-rights supporter told Workers World: "Now, I'm convinced that man is the governor of, by, and for the banks and big business... to the poor, the old, the sick, unemployed, to the people, he just turns a cold heart and an empty hand."

"WE WILL FIGHT FOR OUR RIGHTS!"

In a quick and angry response to the announced cuts, about 100 welfare and social security recipients, including many children, in an action organized by the Welfare Rights Organization, tried yesterday to attend the meeting of the State Board of Human Resources and Welfare at a state official building here in Atlanta.

PROTESTING PRIEST IMPRISONED

Denied entrance to the meeting, the protesters began to sing in the hall and to demonstrate with signs and chants outside the building. In a futile attempt to intimidate the marchers, the police arrested a vocal and consistent supporter, Rev. Austin Ford of the Emmaus House. Enraged at this assault, the protesters, children and parents alike, stormed into the board meeting chanting, "We want Father Ford!" After being taken to the Fulton County jail, Ford was released on his own recognizance, though he still faces charges of "criminal trespass" and "interference with state business."

In an interview with Workers World newspaper, Ms. Ethel Mathews, Atlanta chairperson of the National Welfare Rights Organization, explained their purpose in demonstrating. She said, "We were there fighting for all poor people, Black and white. People have rights—a right to a decent job, decent wages, decent housing and food. And we're getting tired of these people who can go home to a nice big meal after their board meeting, taking away our rights."

She said, "If we must go into the streets and even get locked up to defend our rights, then we will do it. The next board meeting is July 21, and we plan to be there to stop these cuts that are set for August. We'll fight until we win."

Houses in Brookside coal camp with the mine tipples in the background.

Fortunes are being made in Appalachia—in cruel contrast to the widespread poverty of the majority.

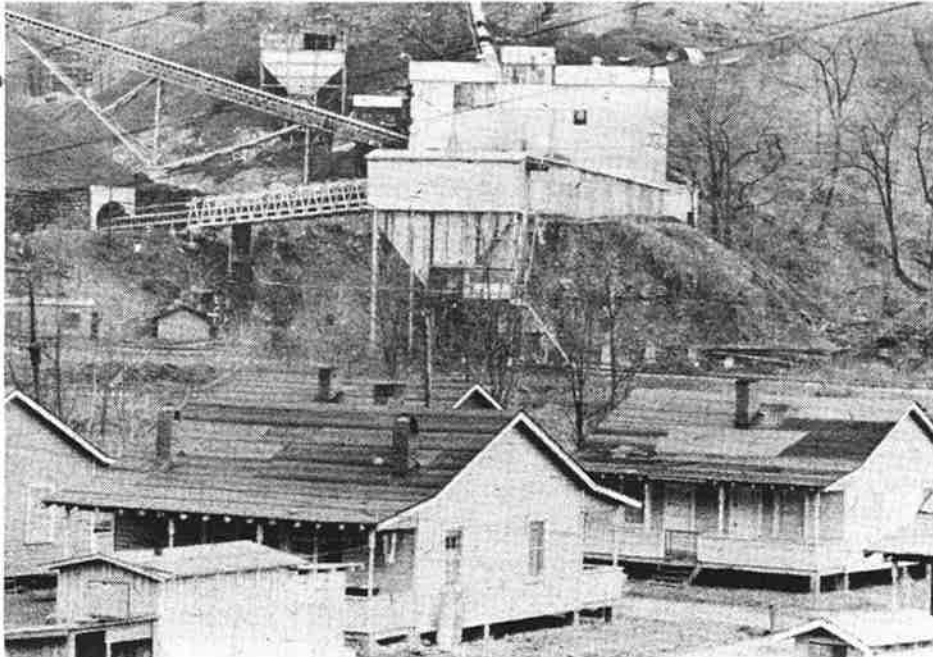


Photo: LNS

Riches and poverty in Appalachia

By ELIZABETH ROSS

Pike County, Kentucky, one of the largest coal producing centers in Appalachia, has experienced a great boom in the last four or five years.

After more than a decade when mines were idle, miners' families without work, and grim poverty engulfed the land, the increase in oil prices and the much-publicized expectation of an oil shortage stimulated a market for coal. Although the boom is already

ebbing, it brought with it a new crop of coal millionaires.

In Pike County alone, some say that 40, some say 100, residents have garnered in millions while riding the wave to its crest.

The Virginia Pilot, published in Norfolk, interviewed one of the "lucky ones" recently. His name is Claude Canada. He claims to have been down to his last \$10,000 in 1969 and now says he has made \$100 million.

He has built a new \$2-million

home, wears a \$50,000 diamond ring on his left hand, and a \$20,000 fur coat on his back. (His wife has a fur coat for every day of the week.)

His favorite car is the Rolls-Royce, of which he owns—"Well, let me count: One... two... three, four..." All total I guess we have eight; write down eight."

His son is chauffeured 22 miles to a Catholic school every day in a seven-passenger Cadillac limousine.

Claude Canada carries a gun at all times. "I pick it up first thing in the morning and put it down the last thing at night."

He doesn't believe he has any reason to fear any of his 145 non-union employees, who, he says, he pays the princely wages of \$50 to \$69 a day. But he, like all other mine owners in Appalachia, hates and fears the United Mine Workers union.

It may be that he fears the people of Appalachia too. For, although the boom has made him rich, the poverty of Pike County is evident for all to see. The dilapidated houses, stained black with coal dust, the undernourished children, the over-worked or unemployed fathers and mothers are there exactly as in the long, dismal decades of Appalachia's decline.

By government estimates, the per capita income is still \$2,500—about 55 percent below the national average, even though unemployment is down to a low of 4 percent.

It takes more than a boom and a new crop of millionaires to bring prosperity to the richest country in the world. The mine owners suspect, that the mine workers have come to realize that truth.

That's why men like Claude Canada carry a gun at all times.

NYC coalition founded to wage struggle against sterilization abuse

By JUDY GREENSPAN

NEW YORK, June 19—"Sterilization abuse is not only an attack against women. Those of us fighting sterilization abuse are fighting for the survival of the working class and Third World people. Forced sterilization is like a time bomb threatening to wipe us out," said Maritza Arrastia of the July 4th Coalition at the founding conference of the Coalition Against Sterilization Abuse (CASA).

It was on this note of urgency that more than 100 women and men, one half of whom were Third World, representing a broad sector of health, community, and political organizations, gathered at Trinity Church today to launch a united campaign to fight the genocidal practices of forced sterilization.

Speakers representing such groups as the Third World Women's Alliance, July 4th Coalition, Health Right, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA), and the Center for Con-

stitutional Rights exposed the racist and sexist practices of the United States medical profession.

THE PROBLEM IS POVERTY, NOT PEOPLE

Bonnie Mass, a member of Boston CESA, spoke about sterilization as an "international conspiracy against Third World and poor women." She documented the genocidal practices of the U.S. Agency for International Development in Latin America countries such as Colombia and Chile, where two-thirds of all U.S. aid for health care is earmarked for "population control."

Dr. Helen Rodriguez of New York CESA exposed the myth of overpopulation as a rationalization for forced sterilization. She pointed to the fact that in China, the most densely populated country in the world, no one goes hungry.

A skit was performed by several women showing the collaboration

between big business and the racist medical profession in its drive to control the oppressed people of the world.

Several workshops were held in the afternoon on sterilization in Third World countries and the defense and enforcement of the recently enacted New York City sterilization guidelines.

Tentative plans were made at the closing plenary for a demonstration in early September to call attention to the progressive sterilization regulations passed by the Health and Hospitals Corporation after a long struggle. Six racist medical directors have initiated a suit to overturn the guidelines that serve to protect women from forced sterilization. A petition drive in support of the guidelines is also under way.

Conference participants, recognizing the close connection between forced sterilization and the economic crisis, wholeheartedly endorsed the July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia.