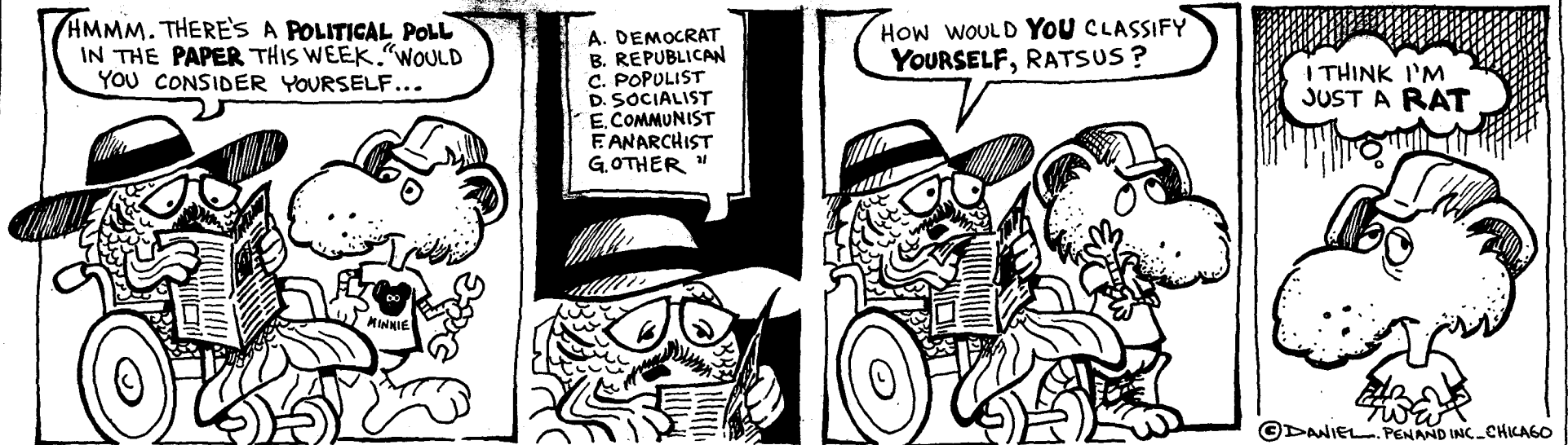


THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS AND TROUTIGAN



Letters

Tackling hot potatoes

Editor:

After reading T.D. Allman's series of articles on the Palestinians, and also some of the letters that series has provoked, my support is with you all the way. The situation is many-sided and emotionally charged and it seems one never sees even faintly objective analysis of it in either the establishment or the left press. When it is covered it's invariably with a simplistic good guy/bad guy approach that will admit of no virtues on the side opposed, and with no effort to sort out the incredible complexity of national, ethnic, geographical, religious, ideological and economic factors that are involved.

It's worth my subscription to have the information gap filled in this one area alone—and you are filling the need in many others, such as organized labor, Eurocommunism, U.S. democratic socialism, to name a few.

I would also like to express my wholehearted support for your efforts to tackle some of the current hot potatoes of the American left and provoking so much distress among certain quarters.

So please continue the great beginning you've made in helping inform the amorphous left. I've become completely dependent on your paper and would sorely miss you if you don't stay afloat.

—John O'Hearn
Oakland, Calif.

More complaints, please

Editor:

I am following up Barbara Ehrenreich's suggestion to complain about the Faye Dunaway cover. Well, I'm complaining.

I'm also subscribing. I found out about *ITT* through WAIF-FM radio, where I am a staff member. I'd like to see an article in *ITT* on community radio and other alternative media projects. Good luck.

—Wendy Foxmyn
Cincinnati, Ohio

A hype, a rap and some kudos

Editor:

Jack Scott's piece on NBA star Bill Walton: "Can a Socialist Vegetarian Make It in the Big Leagues?" suffered from headline hype. It promised but never delivered a usable insight into the troubling dialectic involving jock fierceness and socialist-cooperatism.

Such a phenomenon as a "new jock" is evolving from the carnivorous meat and potatoes diet of All-American competition. (Remember high school football?) But frankly, it's a painful process and fairly serious for radicals who love

sports; and if you're going to promise analysis and serve up Jack Scott—then you might want to re-think what league you're in.

So—a rap for headline tease—but kudos for an otherwise superbly balanced and important socialist rag.

—Jim Higgins
Plainfield, Vt.

Can't get her hands on us fast enough

Editor:

The copy of *IN THESE TIMES* that comes to the place I work (Development Education Center) is so much in demand there I can't get my hands on it fast enough anymore.

So please start a subscription for me as quickly as possible. Here's a check for \$15.

—Dinah Forbes
Toronto, Ont.

Murals corrections

Editor:

You have a nice newspaper, and I enjoyed the important spread on the mural movement (*ITT*, March 30).

But in the course of consolidating my article some errors, omissions and distortions occurred, as follows:

1. Rivera completed 333 murals between 1922 and 1930—235 at the Ministry of Education alone.
2. Orozco's full name is Jose Clemente Orozco; this is correct Spanish usage.
3. Siqueiros' outdoor Olvera Street mural in Los Angeles was *not* destroyed by fire; it was whitewashed in 1934 for its politics. From 1968 to 1973 a campaign for its restoration (which proved impossible due to advanced deterioration) brought the mural to the attention of the Chicano community, especially future muralists. A 30-minute documentary called "America Tropical" (the name of the mural) was made in 1971 for National Educational Television by Jesus Salvador Trevino and can be rented from Indiana University.
4. Rivera's third National Palace mural with the portrait of Karl Marx was painted in 1935, *after* his return from the U.S. and the repainting of "Man at the Crossroads" in the Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City.

I'm sorry the cutting was so extensive, though I understand your problem. I think it was important to point out that Rivera and Siqueiros had political differences—not the least of which was Rivera's acceptance of commissions from capitalist patrons like Edsel Ford (in Detroit) and Rockefeller. Also, Jim Todd gave an erroneous impression of funding. A great deal came from NEA (after 1970) and from local government, as well as some private (churches, businesses, unions, etc.) sources. I believe community (mostly working class and poor) patronage was much less than the other kind, though *moral* support was high. At least this is so for California. NEA funding can be compared, I believe, to the War on Poverty, and with much the same reasons.

Shifra M. Goldman
Los Angeles

Is what's good for Americans good for the world?

Editor:

When I subscribed to *IN THESE TIMES*, I hoped for articles that addressed themselves to the Canadian context. To some extent, this has happened, but you remain almost entirely insensitive to the historical complex relations between Canada and the U.S. This is nowhere better evidenced than in the article by John Judis (*ITT*, April 20) on American labour and U.S. multinationals.

The thrust of the article is for American labour protectionism. This smacks of that old adage of what is good for America is good for the world.

The much heralded DISC program (supported by the AFL-CIO) threatens to take jobs away from Canadian workers by providing incentives for branch plants to pack their bags and go home.

American socialists do not seem to realize that the overwhelming majority of American foreign investment is in Canada. (There are whole books on U.S. imperialism that fail to mention this fact even once!)

U.S. labor analysts (and sympathizers) do not seem to realize that by supporting such programs they are supporting a brand of ethnocentrism that precludes international labor solidarity of even the most elementary kind—to say nothing of the dependency that such a relationship builds on the part of labor towards capital.

Canadian workers face an 'official' unemployment rate of 8.1 percent. (The unofficial rate is about half that again.) They face a government that has slapped them with wage controls that ensure corporate profits. And, now you want them to support a policy of American labor protectionism (which in most cases involves *their own unions*) that will undermine this precarious position further still.

Robert Storey
Toronto, Ont.

DSOC again

Editor:

I share Roberta Lynch's dismay at the extent to which her carefully written discussion of DSOC's advances and continuing political ambiguities brought little discussion of the issues. An open, honest discussion of political differences is essential, comrades, if groups coming from different perspectives are to have any real mutual respect and understanding of what common ground they may share.

If the attempt to open such discussion is to be met with angry howls of "sectarianism!" then it is hard to see how any real cooperation can exist for very long.

I was particularly dismayed at Ronald Radosh's contribution to the debate, since I can't escape the sinking feeling that he said a lot of things that he should have known better...

It is very well to cite DSOC's ties to labor leaders as a presage of creating the kind of ties to mass movements that gave the 1940s Communists their strength. It also utterly misses the point

of Lynch's question about whether DSOC's top-down organizing of support among labor leaders may not create serious problems in playing a role in building a rank-and-file movement for union democracy to transform the labor movement.

From the rank and file and the grass roots leadership up, the strength of the CP was built upon a unified, disciplined network of activists that gave the left leadership in the CIO a base which forced the Lewises, Hillquits, and Reuthers to treat it with respect.

The union leaders who have joined DSOC have undertaken no obligations to work collectively or to recruit a base within their unions for a militant, socialist, rank-and-file caucus.

Neither the specious accusations of "Third-Worldism," nor quotes from the hardened raid-baiters of the Social Democrats U.S.A. suffice to answer legitimate concerns about the inadequacy of DSOC's response to U.S. imperialism and national liberation movements. Certainly my own were not eased by the pamphlet from DSOC Roberta Lynch cited, or Harrington's account in *Fragments of the Century* of how he was impressed by Max Schachtman's "socialist" rationale for supporting U.S. intervention in Vietnam to halt Communism, and came only reluctantly to oppose the war. Certainly Harrington and DSOC have moved since then, but how far? Does he, for example, see the liberation movements in Southern Africa as comrades or incipient totalitarianism? Surely the author of *American Labor and U.S. Foreign Policy* will concede that such questions, or questions like DSOC's attitude toward the CIA-linked Soares regime in Portugal, can have a definite impact on an organization's political development?

—Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Somewhat of a Leninist

Editor:

I applaud your efforts to place socialism on the national agenda. As a community worker for the past ten years, I have constantly been frustrated with the lack of regular printed analysis in popular language that I could share with the people of the community. Although there is a lot of work to do, I think you are on the right track. I applaud especially your coverage of cultural events (TV, movies, etc.) along with your articles on cultural history, and—though I think it needs expanding—your political cartoons.

Although I consider myself ultimately a Communist and somewhat of a Leninist, I think the political purists that usually fly such a flag miss the point of the necessity of meeting people where they see the problems and in language they understand. I find it heartening that many of the people of *Socialist Revolution* have seen this and, apparently, joined with others in a broad-based coalition to promote this effort. Keep up the good work.

—Jack Uhrich
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Roberta Lynch

Crime and the "rising cost of living" People are at each others' throats

A few months ago the body of Nargas Alvi was found in the freezer of the grocery store that she and her husband operated in the Chicago area. She had been murdered. The Alvis were natives of Pakistan who had lived in this country for 19 years. Now Mr. Alvi, his child and several friends are planning to move back to their native country.

"Americans are turning their country into a jungle," one of the friends said. "The whites always blame the Negroes. It's not so easily done here where there are no Negroes (the store was in an all-white neighborhood). Killers are just killing everybody."

In explaining the decision to leave, another friend said, "With all the benefits we were getting from the U.S., we are still paying a hell of a price."

Some people brush off the fear of crime as a mass media-induced hysteria. Maybe I've just fallen for the bait, but I think it's a mistake not to recognize that something is seriously awry.

Our view of reality is formed not just by the media, but by our own experience. Talk with people in any community where crime is an important issue and you will almost inevitably find that they know people—friends, neighbors, co-workers—who have been victims of crime. Within the past month a woman was raped and murdered a few blocks from one of my friends' apartment (it was barely mentioned in the press) and a man was found murdered in the apartment building next to mine.

Most disturbing is the casual and gratuitous violence of the current crime syndrome. Gone is the image of the Bonnie and Clyde who hated to shoot anyone. So is that of the starving man, reluctantly driven to crime by the need for bread. In their place is a scourge of crime whose only purpose seems a kind of blind viciousness. A grocer willingly

empties his cash drawer, and is shot dead anyway. A young girl is raped and burned all over her body with cigarettes.

Second is the randomness. Almost no neighborhood is now considered safe after dark; there are incidents of stabbings on crowded subway cars; and we read of "home invaders" who burst into houses even as people sit watching TV.

The ineptness of the police in dealing with this situation is widely recognized. Sometimes they don't come when called (or at least not till much later). They frequently insult female victims of sexual crimes and pursue their cases indifferently. And they often ignore black people who are trying to get help. A recent study in one major city showed that less than 25 percent of reported crimes ever get to court. And victims live in fear of repeated attack (in Chicago more than 50 percent of the women raped in their homes are the victims of second assaults.)

Out of all this emerges a strong desire for order. Unfortunately, this impulse increasingly takes the form of calling for harsher laws, more police, more hardware, and in some cases, more repression. Nearly all of the anti-crime measures under consideration in government circles represent a narrowing of our civil rights, even possible violations of our constitutional rights. But the situation is pushing many people to the point where they may tolerate fewer rights in exchange for the promise of order. This yearning poses a danger to political freedom. If for no other reason, it requires that the left pay greater attention to the problem of crime. But there are other reasons as well.

The rise of crime is producing a sense of insecurity in our social interaction. A large part of our feelings about the cities we live in, our homes, public trans-

portation, being women (or men), are influenced by the fact that even in an average-size city in the U.S., we now live among strangers. The village, small town, or neighborhood in which people could all know each other—at least by sight or reputation—are gone.

How we cope with this situation depends largely on how we perceive our larger environment. On the whole these days, it seems pretty damn hostile. Most basically, people are afraid. But the social relations that have developed as a result have even come to dominate situations where there's little to fear. People have withdrawn into themselves. Strangers appear inherently threatening.

People put packages on the subway seat next to them in the hope of preventing anyone from sitting there. They train their dogs to snarl at strangers. They train their kids not to speak to strangers. And current surveys now show that security is the number one feature that people look for in choosing a home.

In one study a small child approached people on a busy downtown street, saying he was lost and asking for help. The results varied from city to city, but overall less than 50 percent of the adults that were asked for assistance were willing to do anything at all.

While all of us have probably encountered exceptions to this trend, we usually view them with considerable amazement. They do not fit the dominant pattern of "avoid thy neighbor."

This hostile social climate is common in all sectors of society, but women, minorities and working class people are most affected. Women find it difficult to walk alone comfortably after dark, to wear casual clothes in summer, to go to a bar without a man, to live in a first-floor apartment. And so women's attitudes toward men become more closed.



You simply cannot afford to treat strange men as fellow human beings.

If a man smiles at you and you smile back, he may begin to follow you. If a man pulls up to you in a car, he may be lost and need directions, but at night or if you're alone, it's not very wise to wait and find out.

For blacks the problem is different. Black people are a disproportionately high percentage of crime victims. A recent anti-crime rally in Detroit drew over 5,000 people, nearly all of them black.

Moreover, this racist society is one in which all the dominant cultural mechanisms act to develop and reinforce the racism of white people. Most whites' deepest fears of violent crime are associated with blacks, who they view as inhabiting another moral universe. And, on some level, they recognize that blacks have deep-rooted grievances against white society.

The antagonism toward open housing, the violent reactions when blacks begin to move into a neighborhood, the fierce hostility to busing—all of these have their roots not just in a generalized racial prejudice, but in these specific fears. The promise of equal opportunity for blacks is made a mockery not just by the institutionalized racism of the power structure, but by a complex process in which white working people help to perpetuate racial oppression because of fears that have been created by a social set-up that—quite literally—keeps people at each other's throats.

(Next week, Lynch will suggest reforms for which socialists should fight.)

Roberta Lynch is national secretary of the New American Movement. Her column appears regularly.

Melvin L. Wulf

Britain denies Agee freedom of Speech: Home Secretary won't say why he is ousted

Philip Agee, author of *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, who has been ordered deported from England where he has lived and worked for more than four years, has never been told why. All that he has been told is that he "maintained regular contact harmful to the security of the United Kingdom with foreign intelligence officers; has been and continues to be involved in dissemination of information harmful to the security of the United Kingdom; and has aided and counseled others in obtaining information for publication that could be harmful to the security of the United Kingdom."

Agee and his lawyers have consistently tried to have the Home Secretary reveal the facts behind these three allegations, so that he might answer them, deny them, refute them, argue that whatever he is supposed to have done, he was free to do under British law, or try to show that none of his activities were harmful to British interests. But letters to the Home Office, public demands, editorials and questions by members of Parliament in the House of Commons have all been met with a great silence or with statements that to reveal the details would itself cause further injury to "national security." Not knowing what he has done to endanger Britain, Agee has been unable to defend himself.

In an attempt to give the deportation proceedings an atmosphere of fairness, a three-man panel was appointed to take evidence and then submit a recommendation to the Home Secretary. The panel said it heard evidence against Agee, but it did so in secret and no one on Agee's side knows what that evidence was.

In trying to answer secret charges, Agee submitted an 84-page paper to the panel that, in his words, "included everything that might possibly be relevant." He added that he would "be pleased to answer any particulars from the Home Secretary or the panel on anything I might have left out." The measure of the impossibility of resolving the dilemma is the fact that his paper recounted every meeting he had with officials of communist governments during the four years he resided in England. He denied knowing that any of those officials were intelligence officers, and denied that any of the meetings involved an "intelligence relationship." All of the meetings, Agee said, "related to my work in writing or in researching or in speaking." Nevertheless, neither the panel nor the Home Secretary put a single question to him about the meetings or pointed to other more ominous meetings that he may have failed to mention.

English law has always been self-righteous about its concern for fairness and

respect for freedom of speech, but this deportation proceeding is distinguished only by its violation of basic liberties. The right to be confronted by evidence and to cross-examine adverse witnesses are elementary principles that define a fair system of justice. Those rights are, of course, observed in criminal proceedings in England, but a system of justice is also measured by the procedures that a state extends whenever any significant right is put in jeopardy by official action, including the right to continue to live where one chooses.

Every country has the right to decide who may live there and who may not. That is generally true, but it begs two questions. First, the British government allowed Agee to live in England since 1972 without any suggestion that his presence was harmful. Second, the question is not what power Britain has in deciding who may live there, but whether the power will be exercised fairly. So far, it has treated Agee unfairly. An alien in equivalent circumstances in the U.S., according to relevant Supreme Court decisions, could not be deported on the basis of secret charges.

Though the British government has cast its case against Agee in national security terms, it must actually be seen as a free speech case, a point of view that, as

far as the Home Secretary is concerned, does not even exist. But on the basis of what is known, Agee is actually being deported for exercising his right to discuss the CIA's illegal covert activities. By deporting Agee, Britain announces that it does not believe in free speech.

In light of everything we know about the CIA, it would be surprising if it were not involved in the decision to deport him. Whether or not that is so, the Carter administration should now break its silence over the Agee matter, publicly announce its opposition to his deportation, and attempt to persuade the British government to allow him to stay. If it is going to be heard on the rights of Soviet dissidents, as it should be, it must also be heard on the rights of American dissidents. If the administration does not act on Agee's behalf, the implication will be clear that it supports the harassment of American citizens who dare to inform the world of harmful and illegal CIA activities, while it refuses to prosecute the officials responsible for the same illegal acts.

Melvin L. Wulf is former legal director of the ACLU and is now in private practice in New York.