
THE MILITANT

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

New Hoover memos

FBI plot to crush Black movement



Latest FBI memos detail gov't plan to destroy Black movement and prevent demonstrations like this Harlem protest against Attica massacre. For documents and analysis, see pages 3-5.

Why an independent Black party: strategy for the Black struggle/16

Prospects for labor's fight against rising prices and unemployment/10

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 6 A 'subversive' gets his HISC file
 - 7 Houston cops admit infiltration of SWP
 - 8 Puerto Rican teachers end 32-day strike
 - 9 SLA fails to rebut left critics
 - 10 Outlook for inflation fight
 - 11 Mass struggles shake Ethiopia
 - 14 Problems facing independent truckers
 - 15 Protests in Spain against garroting of anarchist
 - 19 FBI balks at revealing documents on Wounded Knee
 - 20 Congress hearing on 'behavior modification' a whitewash
 - 21 Black socialist challenges Maddox
 - 22 Socialists demand real home rule in D.C.
 - 23 Calif. officials respond to CoDEL suit
 - 25 Militant gains 5,000 new readers
-
- 2 In Brief
 - 12 In Our Opinion Letters
 - 13 La Raza en Accion By Any Means Necessary
 - 24 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Hundreds of thousands dead in African famine
- 2 U.S. money, 'advisers' continue Vietnam war
- 3 Japanese Trotskyist describes struggles on prices, pollution
- 4 Canadian gov't presses attack on right to abortion

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 38/NUMBER 11
MARCH 22, 1974
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MAR. 13, 1974

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$5 a year; foreign, \$8.50. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$30; all other countries, \$51. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$40. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$38; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$50; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$60. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: Britain and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

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

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA CHILD-CARE FIGHT: One hundred and fifty people rallied at the University of Minnesota March 7 to demand that the administration fund an on-campus child-care center for 60 children to open next fall.

Speakers focused on child care as a right, not a privilege, and called on the administration to stop hedging and provide the needed funds.

Waving picket signs, singing, and chanting, "Child care now!" and "We will not stay home!" the group marched across campus to the administration building, where a spirited picket line demanded a public hearing on the child-care proposals being developed for the regents to choose from next month.

The Campus Child Care Coalition, which organized the demonstration, includes unions on campus, every major women's group in the Twin Cities, the student association, and prominent university and community individuals. The coalition was formed to fight for quality, parent-controlled child care on campus for all students, faculty, and civil service workers who need it.

Among the speakers at the rally was Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota.

Citizens' inquiry into Ky. miners strike

By CINDY JAQUITH

EVARTS, Ky.—Meeting at the site of the 1931 Battle of Evarts, the Citizens' Public Inquiry into the Brookside Strike heard testimony from striking miners and their wives and supporters March 11 and 12. Miners at the Brookside, Ky., mine have been on strike since July, demanding recognition of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) contract.

More than 300 people attended the hearings, where a panel of prominent individuals questioned witnesses. Sessions were held on safety violations, working conditions, intimidation and violence against strikers, the role of women in the strike, and living conditions in the Brookside coal camp.

Representatives of the mine's owner, the Duke Power Company, were invited but refused to attend and testify. Instead the coal barons held their own news conference, where they attacked the Citizens' Inquiry.

In his opening remarks to the hearing, Darrell Deaton, vice-president of the Brookside UMW local, said:

"Throughout our lives and the lives of our fathers and grandfathers before, companies like Duke Power have come into these mountains looking for wealth and riches. They took our coal and they took our timber. They took our house and sometimes our lives, but they never gave anything in return. . . ."

Future issues of *The Militant* will carry on-the-spot coverage of the hearings and the issues in the Brookside strike.

EVELYN REED SPEAKS AT VASSAR COLLEGE: Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist anthropologist and feminist, spoke March 5 to 120 students at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. She was the guest of a class studying philosophical perspectives on women. In her talk she discussed the need for women to become historians and anthropologists and to study women's role in different cultures.

Reed also refuted the pseudoscientific theories of the inferiority of women.

Reed's talk was well received, and students stayed for several hours at a reception following the lecture. An indication of the interest generated by her talk and the discussion was the large amount of socialist literature sold. Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation* and *Is Biology Women's Destiny* were top sellers.

For information on how to get Evelyn Reed and other speakers to your area contact Viewpoint, P.O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.

COLEMAN YOUNG SCABS ON FARM WORKERS: During his election campaign last fall, Detroit's Democratic mayor, Coleman Young, received the active support of Cesar Chavez, who came to the city to win support for Young in Detroit's Chicano community. Now that he is mayor, Young has turned his back on the farm workers' struggle.

The Teamsters union bureaucracy, which has been working with the growers to destroy the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), threatened a city truck drivers' strike if Young made good his promise of official city support for the Farm Workers' grape and lettuce boycott. Young backed down.

On March 7, William Beckham Jr., chief executive assistant to Young, said the mayor had given "A flat-out

'No' on the Farm Workers."

Sam Baca, director of the UFW boycott in Detroit, likened the actions of the Teamsters to the strong-arm tactics they used to break UFW contracts in California. While saying that Mayor Young's decision not to endorse the boycott was "setting a dangerous precedent," Baca went on to say, "We're not implying a break with Young."

ANTI-ZIONISTS CONVICTED AND FINED: Last Oct. 14, during the Mideast war, pro-Zionist forces in New York City organized a demonstration at city hall in support of the Israeli aggression. A group of anti-Zionist counterdemonstrators picketed the rally.

On Jan. 20, Dr. M.T. Mehdi and Elayan Diad Ali Tayeh were convicted of resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and harassment as a result of their participating in the protest.

On March 6 they were fined \$250 each. Tayeh was also placed on three years probation.

Dr. Mehdi, who is the secretary-general of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations, commented after hearing the judge's sentence, "For an Arab to find justice in New York City is next to impossible."

Dr. Mehdi plans to appeal the ruling.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN PUERTO RICO: A team of three Latino activists from the Young Socialist Alliance is in Puerto Rico this month to deepen the YSA's collaboration with young revolutionaries there.

The team is in San Juan this week meeting with activists involved in the many student, worker, and anti-imperialist struggles that have rocked this colony of the U.S. Especially important is the University of Puerto Rico campus at Rio Piedras, which has been a focal point of the Puerto Rican student movement. Rio Piedras has been a center of recent struggles for university reforms and student support for striking workers.

The YSA team will be able to inform Puerto Rican activists about the work of the YSA and political developments in the U.S.

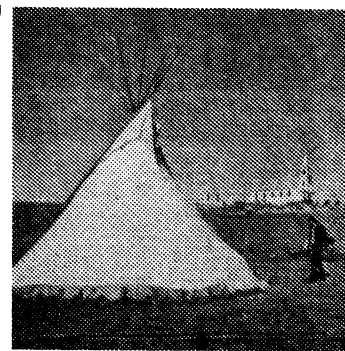
An important activity will be the distribution of books and pamphlets by Leon Trotsky and other revolutionary Marxist literature.

GROWERS' GREED KILLS MORE FARM WORKERS: Another accident has taken the lives of Mexicans working in the Imperial Valley of Southern California. Twelve undocumented workers were killed when the Border Patrol vehicle in which they were being deported crashed into a parked truck. Six more Mexicans in the vehicle were injured, and the driver was also killed. According to the chief deputy coroner, the border patrolman may have fallen asleep at the wheel.

The crash took place near Ocotillo, not far from the site of the crash of a labor contractor's bus recently in which 19 farm workers were killed. These farm workers were green-card (work permit) holders on their way to work. The labor contractor has been charged with using a bus with poorly maintained electrical wiring, an inefficient exhaust system, and holes in the firewall between the engine and the passenger compartment.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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The government is attempting to victimize activists involved in the 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee last year. Read *The Militant's* regular coverage of this important defense case. Subscribe now.

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FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement

By BAXTER SMITH

An assortment of seven Xeroxed memorandums containing major new revelations on the FBI's disruption of the Black Panther Party, Socialist Workers Party, and various unnamed Black nationalist groups was made public March 7 by Attorney General William Saxbe. Also released were documents relating to the Ku Klux Klan.

The rigorously censored documents are the second batch of counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) memos to be released to NBC reporter Carl Stern, who had sued for them under the Freedom of Information Act. The first ones were made public Dec. 6.

Other COINTELPRO papers have been released to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, who have also filed suit against the government.

The latest memos, from the late FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, call on FBI agents across the country to "expose, disrupt," and "otherwise neutralize" the groups and individuals named.

"The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor," one memo says, "is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters. . . ."

Although names, sentences, and entire portions of the documents are deleted, the memos are the most extensive and damaging to be released so far.

Dating from 1961 to 1970, they thoroughly debunk the notion that illegal government surveillance and disruption began with the Nixon administration.

To the contrary, the SWP "Disruption Program" memo is dated Oct. 12, 1961, and was put into effect under John Kennedy. During the Lyndon Johnson years, which witnessed the ghetto revolts and the rise of the Black liberation movement, stepped-up programs of repression against Black groups and individuals were put into motion.

The newly released papers contain the strongest evidence yet seen from of-



Latest FBI documents are clearest evidence yet of government complicity in murders of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X.



official sources of government complicity in the murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.

The FBI's goal, as revealed in a document dated March 4, 1968, (one month before King was assassinated), had been to "Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement."

Although the names that follow are blotted out on the Xeroxed copy, the name Malcolm X fits into one blanked-out area, by counting the letters and spaces made by the typewriter. Moreover, part of the X is still visible.

That sentence would then read: "[Malcolm X] might have been such a 'messiah'; he is the martyr of the movement today."

Counting the typewriter spaces and with an educated guess, a following sentence might read: "[King could] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism."

The FBI papers, never meant to be read by the American people, reveal the fear and hatred the ruling powers in Washington feel toward the

Black liberation movement, and the degree to which they are willing to cast aside their own laws to repress and destroy that movement.

One document, dated Aug. 25, 1967, spells out what FBI agents should do to thwart the growth and consolidation of what it terms "Black nationalist-hate groups." It tells agents how to prevent such groups from being able to "consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents. . . ."

The memo states: "No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

Attacks on SNCC

The same memo that refers to King and Malcolm X boasts how COINTELPRO was effective in the summer of 1967 in putting one group out of commission through constant police harassment.

Using the typewriter method, that group appears to be the Student Non-

violent Coordinating Committee.

The paragraph referring to it would then read: "The [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a black nationalist-hate] group, was active in [censored] in the summer of 1967. [censored] alerted local police, who then put [SNCC] leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, [SNCC] leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to [SNCC] took place."

'In unity there is strength'

Under COINTELPRO, the FBI took pains to implement all channels of disruption. The same memo contains other goals of the program that bear this out.

One goal reads: "Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real 'Mau Mau' in America, the beginning of a true black revolution."

Another COINTELPRO goal says that agents should work to "Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three segments of the community."

The memo lists the groups to be targeted, but the names are blotted out.

The memo requests ninety-day progress reports and concludes, "The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence."

To Hoover and the government, the Black Panther Party during this period represented the most dangerous Black organization because it was attracting a militant, youthful following.

According to these COINTELPRO documents, the FBI wasted no effort in funneling disruption programs toward the Panthers.

Continued on page 26

'Disruption' of socialists authorized in 1961

Along with the batch of documents on FBI operations against the Black liberation movement released by the Justice Department last week was one page headed "SWP Disruption Program." (Reproduced at right.)

The existence of the "SWP Disruption Program" was first mentioned in an earlier set of COINTELPRO documents released to NBC newsman Carl Stern last December. On the basis of this reference, attorneys for the SWP and the YSA demanded to see the entire program as part of the pretrial proceedings in a lawsuit filed against Nixon and other government officials.

The suit charges that members and supporters of the SWP, a legal political party, are prevented from exercising their constitutional rights as a result of systematic harassment and persecution at the hands of government agencies, including the FBI.

On Feb. 5, FBI Director Clarence Kelley turned down the request. To release the "SWP Disruption Program," Kelley contended, would "expose confidential informants, would disclose intra-governmental documents," and "would disclose investigative files and techniques of the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

The FBI also claimed the documents are covered

by "executive privilege."

The FBI did reveal, however, that the disruption program originated in 1961. It further admitted that the SWP has been subjected to electronic surveillance going all the way back to 1945.

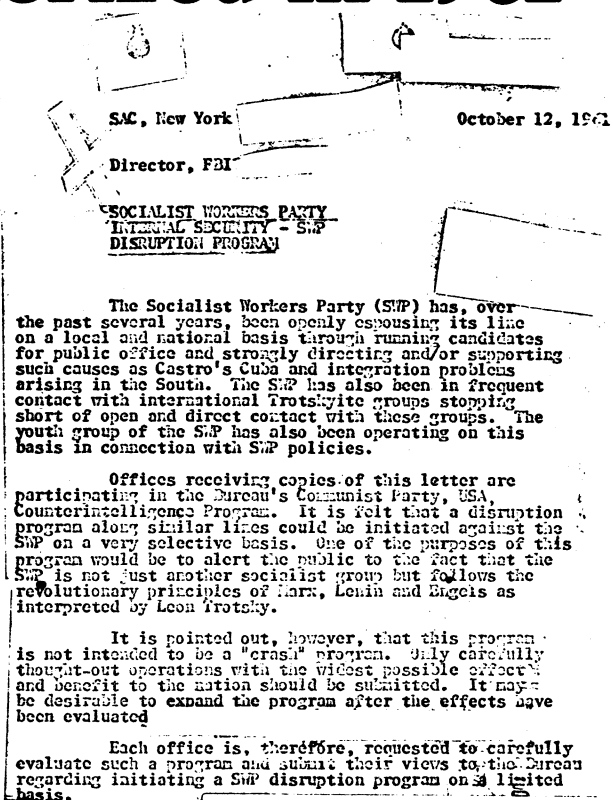
The release to Stern of a page the FBI refused to give the SWP was probably a bureaucratic snafu. Those familiar with the various suits that have been filed are certain the FBI is still withholding the main documents of the "SWP Disruption Program."

The proof of this lies in statements made by Hugh Mallet, one of Kelley's aides, in answer to written questions submitted by SWP lawyers. Mallet described the tactics of the "Disruption Program" as including the following:

"The FBI furnished information to appropriate law enforcement agents regarding violations of the law by SWP and YSA members, furnished the news media pertinent information regarding the objectives and activities of SWP, YSA and its members, and furnished information concerning the nature and activities of SWP and YSA to organizations and individuals associated with SWP, YSA or their members."

This is polite doubletalk for cooperating with local cops in political frame-ups, planting smear articles

Continued on page 26



Hoover memos: 'disrupt & discredit' Black struggle



DETROIT, 1967. Massive ghetto rebellions in Newark and Detroit in summer of 1967 showed explosive power of Black struggle. On Aug. 25, 1967, FBI drastically escalated 'counterintelligence' operations against Black movement.

COINTELPRO plans from 1967 and 1968

The documents reproduced here were released by the FBI as a result of a lawsuit filed by Carl Stern, a reporter for NBC, under the Freedom of Information Act.

The photocopies released by the government contain some passages that have been blotted out with a dark marking pen, and other sections covered over by paper apparently attached with paper clips.

Earlier COINTELPRO documents were reprinted in The Militant on Dec. 21, 1973, and Feb. 1 and March 1, 1974.

SAC, Albany
Director, FBI

August 25, 1967

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Sifts of the various groups

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations. When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude violence-prone or rabble-rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media.

Many individuals currently active in black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity, and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counterintelligence may be instituted.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the

Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as

At this time the Bureau is setting up no requirement for status letters to be periodically submitted under this program. It will be incumbent upon you to insure the program is being afforded necessary and continuing attention and that no opportunities will be overlooked for counterintelligence action.

This program should not be confused with the program entitled "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C," which is directed

-3-

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

against the Communist Party and related organizations, or the program entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security, Disruption of Hate Groups," which is directed against Klan and hate-type groups primarily consisting of white memberships.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and their memberships should be alerted to our counterintelligence interest and each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization.

You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

-3-

Date: 3/4/68

following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, a group of [redacted] furnished information about a new [redacted] grade school to appropriate authorities in [redacted] who investigated to determine if the school conformed to [redacted] for private schools. [redacted] obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The [redacted] group, was active in [redacted] in the summer of 1967. [redacted] alerted local police, who then put [redacted] leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, [redacted] leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to [redacted] took place.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include 41 offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with black

- 2 -

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement. [redacted] might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. [redacted] all aspire to this position. [redacted] is less of a threat because of his age. [redacted] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. [redacted] has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

- 3 -

BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and racial statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Offices handling these cases and those of [redacted] should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

- 4 -

BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize [redacted] to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

- 5 -

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

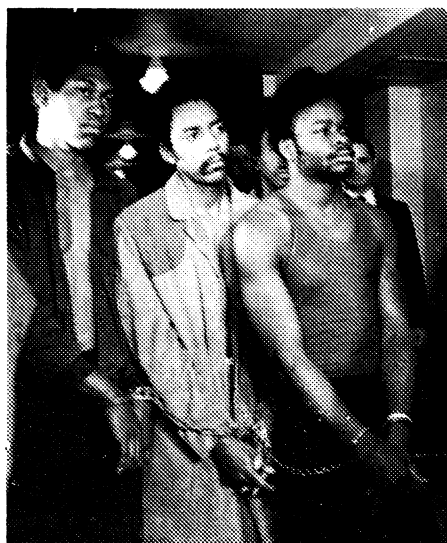


Murder of Fred Hampton was one result of gov't drive to wipe out Black Panther Party.

"Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength. . . . An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real 'Mau Mau' in America, the beginning of a true black revolution."



Dozens of Black activists were tried on frame-up charges.



Los Angeles Black Panthers arrested after police staged armed assault on BPP offices in December 1969.

'Special operation' against Black Panther Party

SAC, San Francisco

5/11/70

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS
(RESEARCH SECTION)

The Bureau would like to offer for your consideration a proposal for a disruptive-disinformation operation targeted against the national office of the Black Panther Party (BPP). This proposal is not intended to be all inclusive or binding in any of its various phases, but only as a guide for the suggested action. You are encouraged to submit recommendations relating to revisions or innovations of the proposal.

1. The operation would be effected through close coordination on a high level with the Oakland or San Francisco Police Department.

2. Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information, and entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader. These documents would be on the stationery and in the form used by the police department or by the FBI in disseminating information to the police. FBI documents, when used, would contain police routing or date received notations, clearly indicating they had been pilfered from police files:

3. An attempt would be made to give the Panther recipient the impression the documents were stolen from police files by a disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers. After initial mailings, brief notes by the alleged disgruntled employee would be included with the mailed documents. These notes would indicate the motive and sympathy of the police employee, his bitterness against his department, and possibly a request for more.

4. Depending on developments, at a propitious time, consideration would be given to establishing an office box or other suitable "drop" address for the use of the alleged disgruntled employee to receive responses, funds, and/or specifications relating to the documents from the Panthers.

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS

5. Although the operation may not require inclusion of a live source to represent the disgruntled employee, circumstances might warrant the use of such a source for face-to-face meetings with the Panthers. During early stages of the operation, an effort should be made to locate and brief a suitable police employee to play the role of the alleged disgruntled employee.

6. A wide variety of alleged authentic police or FBI material could be carefully selected or prepared for furnishing to the Panthers. Reports, blind memoranda, LHM's, and other alleged police or FBI documents could be prepared pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders through their ineptness or personal escapades; espousing personal philosophies and promoting factionalism among BPP members; indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions; revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation; etc. The nature of the disruptive material and disinformation "leaked" would only be limited by the collection ability of your sources and the need to insure the protection of their security.

Effective implementation of this proposal logically could not help but disrupt and confuse Panther activities. Even if they were to suspect FBI or police involvement, they would be unable to ignore factual material brought to their attention through this channel. The operation would afford us a continuing means to furnish the Panther leadership true information which is to our interest that they know and disinformation which, in their interest, they may not ignore.

Although this proposal is a relatively simple technique, it has been applied with exceptional results in another area of intelligence interest where the target was of far greater sophistication. The Bureau believes with careful planning this technique has excellent long-range potential to disrupt and curtail Panther activity.

- 2 -

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS

San Francisco is requested to submit comments and/or recommendations relating to the implementation of this proposal.

Copies of this letter have been designated for Los Angeles for background and information purposes. Any suggestion Los Angeles may have for strengthening or further implementing the technique will be appreciated.

SAC, San Francisco

12/24/70

Director, FBI

ReSFairtel 12/7/70 captioned "Counterintelligence and Special Operations," and previous correspondence under the counterintelligence caption, outlining a proposed disruptive technique to be applied against leader with the objective of neutralizing the

Recent information indicates [redacted] has broken with the [redacted] organization and is in the process of forming a new group. For this reason, and because of the expanding complexities of the proposed technique, no further action should be taken on this suggested disruptive technique.

Nat Hentoff plans suit

A 'subversive' gets his file

By DAVID RUSSELL

Columnist Nat Hentoff reported on the contents of his House Internal Security Committee (HISC) file in the March 7 New York *Village Voice*. Hentoff secured the four-page, single-spaced document with the help of several liberal congressmen. His article listed some of the "most damaging" of his offenses.

"In 1963, I signed a statement circulated by the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. In that same year, I wrote an article for *Rights*, a publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee."

This was listed by HISC under the heading of "Communist Fronts." Under the HISC heading of "Communist Splinter Group," Hentoff relates, appeared the following:

"In 1966, I was a sponsor of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, listed by the Internal Security Committee as a Socialist Workers Party 'operation to provide legal and other aid for anti-war activist servicemen.' And as late as August 31, 1973, I was an initial sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund which is raising funds and publicizing a key law suit 'to stop government "harassment" of radical political organizations.'"

Also included in Hentoff's file was the "damning" information that he had sponsored demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and supported the Committee to Defend the Panther 21.

Hentoff points out that the HISC has no definition of what is "subversive." This is determined by the judgment of government bodies such as HISC, the attorney general's office, the Senate Judiciary Committee, and the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The result is that any type of protest can be judged "subversive," and judging by Hentoff's file most forms

of protest are ranked in precisely this category. The witch-hunt mentality of the congressional exorcists that enables them to brand Hentoff's endorsement of the Political Rights Defense Fund as a "subversive" activity would also allow them to include other sponsors.

These include such well-known "subversives" as congressmen John Conyers Jr., Ronald Dellums, and Charles Rangel. Also, former senators Eugene McCarthy and Ernest Gruening, Daniel Ellsberg, another sponsor, no doubt already has a file of his own, otherwise a new one could be started.

But defense of civil liberties is not the only grounds for a "subversive" file. All that is necessary is agreement with "subversives" on one or another issue, such as the war in Vietnam.

Although HISC claims that the fact that it has collected a file on someone is not "an indication that this individual, organization, or publication is subversive, unless specifically stated," Hentoff shows otherwise. "... simply having one's name in those files is itself an 'evaluation,' however raw. In the past, and I suspect in the present as well, private employers and organizations also have had access to these dossiers.

"Furthermore, on October 14, 1970, Chairman Ichord released a House Internal Security Committee report listing 65 'radical' campus speakers. ... The list was published by the [New York] Times without any interpretative context, and there is no doubt that it was Ichord's intent to 'evaluate' us publicly as the kind of people who ought not to be invited to speak at colleges and universities."

Hentoff reports, "it is my view—shared by a number of constitutional lawyers with whom I consulted last week—that there are now grounds for a 14th Amendment ('equal protection of the laws') suit on the basis that

since I have the contents of my dossier, anyone who has reason to believe the Internal Security Committee has a file on him or her should get equal access to those files.

"I am in the process of rounding up a team of lawyers who would take such a case; so if anyone is seriously interested in getting a look at his own Internal Security Committee dossier as a 'subversive,' let me know."



Among acts deemed 'subversive' was sponsorship of antiwar demonstrations.

New data on police-state plan

Was the notorious 1970 "Huston plan" ever put into effect, or was it really shelved when J. Edgar Hoover refused to go along?

The answer to this question is vitally important for the socialists' Watergate suit. If it can be proved that the admittedly illegal spy plan was implemented, it will greatly strengthen the legal and political case against Nixon and the other Watergate gangsters.

Nixon claimed in his well-known statement May 22, 1973, "Because the approval was withdrawn before [the plan] had been implemented, the net result was that the plan for expanded intelligence activities never went into effect."

Investigative reporters, however, came up with evidence to the contrary. For example, the New York *Daily News* reported last May 29 that despite Nixon's denial, "... elements of the program—dubbed by sources 'a blueprint for a police state'—actually were implemented over the objections" of Hoover.

John Dean, in his testimony before the Senate Watergate committee, also disputed Nixon's claim. Dean reported that presidential adviser H.R. Halde- man told him in August 1970 (after the plan was supposedly made "inoperative") to see what he "could do to get the plan implemented."

Dean also turned over a set of top-secret documents to Judge John Sirica, who in turn gave copies to the Ervin committee.

The Senate committee agreed to keep the documents secret because they relate "in substantial part to foreign intelligence."

But the story is continuing to unfold.

Last week the *Chicago Tribune* reported that congressional investigators have obtained FBI memos proving that at least part of the Huston plan was in operation months after Nixon claims to have canceled it. According to a UPI summary of the *Tribune* account, "the memos were issued in the fall of 1970, and gave approval for the FBI to recruit teen-age informants and conduct 'discreet' investigations of black student organizations in colleges."

Meanwhile, FBI chief Clarence Kelley said March 11 that all "counter-intelligence" programs were ended in 1971.

However, Kelley said, he does not believe "there was any great harm wrought" by the FBI harassment. "One of the greater faults would be inactivity, not doing something about" potential violence of "extremists."



HUSTON: Proof that his illegal spy plan was implemented keeps cropping up.

Unionists back Watergate suit

PITTSBURGH—Several labor union leaders, well known here in western Pennsylvania, have endorsed the nationwide drive of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to publicize and finance the Watergate suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Louis Antal, president of District Five, United Mine Workers of America, endorsed the PRDF "in view of the widespread and illegal, as well as unconstitutional activities" of the government exposed by the Watergate revelations. District Five encompasses all of western Pennsylvania and some of the West Virginia mining region.

Antal wrote the PRDF that "unfortunately, at this time, because of other economic commitments we cannot support you financially; but, be assured that you have our moral support. On the other hand, who knows but that at some time in the near future we can, because of better circumstances, provide the support needed."

Antal has already helped the PRDF's fund-raising effort. He joined with other sponsors, including Representative Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, and former attorney general Ramsey Clark, in sending out a fund appeal for the PRDF.

Another Pittsburgh unionist who has endorsed the PRDF is Russell Gibbons of the United Steelworkers union. Gibbons is assistant editor of *Steel Labor*, the newspaper of the international union.

Gibbons said he was "happy to endorse and support the PRDF as an individual and as a trade unionist. Please accept my apology for not doing it earlier."

Thomas Quinn, business agent and spokesman for Local 610 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UE), told the PRDF that "this suit is one of the most significant civil liberties actions brought on by Watergate."

"I will publicize the suit to other union members," Quinn promised.

Another endorser, Jim Vallas, vice-president of Local 585 of the Service Employees International Union, has been politically active here for years. He is a leader of the Seven-Eleven Democratic Club, a group of Reform Democrats active in Pittsburgh's 7th and 11th wards.

Vallas was instrumental in securing the club's unanimous vote of support for the PRDF. He told a recent membership meeting that he "strongly" sup-

ports the case and pointed out that Watergate proves that "anyone, including any of us, is open to the same treatment as the socialists if we dissent from the policies of the White House."

Other Pittsburgh labor sponsors include Michael Delligatti, president of Local 86, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Jack Havelly, chairman of the board of trustees, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Frank Ortiz, director of the United Farm Workers boycott work in this area, also supports the work of the PRDF.

Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Please send me more information on this suit.

() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ Feiffer buttons. (\$1 each or 30 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)

() Enclosed is \$_____ to help cover expenses.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Houston police admit infiltrating SWP

By RICK CONGRESS

HOUSTON—"Radicals Infiltrated Here, Police Say," read the banner headline on the *Houston Chronicle* March 8, the day the story came over the national wires about the release of new FBI memos on secret police disruption of socialist and Black groups.

Houston police admitted to the *Chronicle* that they had sent undercover agents into the Socialist Workers Party, People's Party II (a Black group), and the Ku Klux Klan.

The disclosure was made by Joe Singleton, former head of the police Criminal Intelligence Division (CID). He claimed that the local cops were acting "independently" of the FBI, but conceded that information was shared with the FBI about the groups, the *Chronicle* reported.

The policy of planting informers in radical groups "has been going on forever, as far as I know," declared Herman Short, former police chief. The cops claimed that it is "classified information" whether the SWP or other

groups are still being infiltrated by CID.

Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor of Texas, organized an immediate news conference in protest of the city's refusal to answer inquiries about continuing practices of this illegal character.

Smith demanded that Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz and the police "make a full public disclosure of the record of police infiltration of the SWP and other radical groups."

She demanded that Hofheinz act immediately to "halt any further violations of our rights by any Houston 'plumbers' unit!"

Smith said, "This police-state type intimidation of our free participation in the political process typifies the worst of what has come to be known as Watergate." She pointed out that while the SWP was admittedly being infiltrated, it was running election campaigns and appeared on the ballot.

"Our party has the same rights as the Democratic and Republican parties to exist and function freely without

police interference," Smith declared.

Also appearing at the news conference was Gene Lantz, a representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for the SWP's suit against government harassment. Lantz said that the police statements were being forwarded to attorneys for the PRDF "with the suggestion that further documentary evidence of illegal surveillance be subpoenaed" as evidence in the socialists' suit.

The SWP in Houston has been subjected to violent attacks at the hands of right wingers and has charged that these attacks were part of the federal conspiracy by Nixon and his henchmen to "disrupt" the efforts of the SWP. The latest admissions add substantial new strength to this contention.

In a predawn attack in March 1971—during the time the police now admit they infiltrated the SWP—a fragmentation bomb was thrown into the SWP campaign offices. Then-mayor Louie Welch responded to the outcry that followed this terrorist attack by quoting approvingly at a city council meeting from J. Edgar Hoover's smear of the SWP. Hoover charged that the SWP election campaigns were only "covers" for "un-American" activities.

An agent from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the U.S. Treasury Department—an agency deeply implicated in Watergate disclosures—concentrated his "investigation" on attempting to intimidate supporters of the SWP candidates and went so far as to accuse the SWP of bombing its own headquarters!

People's Party II was also subjected to vicious police and right-wing attacks.

There is no doubt that the police also infiltrated the Klan. But, far from being out to crush the Klan, the cops have worked hand in glove with the Klan for years. The SWP and other groups have repeatedly demanded



Houston cop wearing Klan hood and covering his badge number. Cops have worked hand in glove with Klan for years.



Houston SWP headquarters following May 1971 bombing.

public inquiries into connivance between the Klan and the cops. Despite a long series of terrorist attacks, including those against the SWP and also against the local underground newspaper and the Houston Pacifica radio station, no action was taken and no convictions were obtained.

In response to the *Chronicle's* questions, Scott Nelson, the "Imperial Wizard" of the Texas Fiery Knights, a splinter from the KKK, ridiculed the notion that cops had infiltrated the Klan. He said his group had more than a dozen members in the Houston police department.

In response to this charge, Houston police chief Carrol Lynn said he would "frown on" cops belonging to such groups. But, he said, "after a man is in the department, I don't think we can walk up to him and say that because he is a member of the Klan he can't be a police officer."

New FBI disclosures provoke outcry

The disclosure of the latest secret FBI memos dealing with government attempts to "neutralize" Black liberation groups and "disrupt" the Socialist Workers Party has produced an outcry against these violations of basic civil liberties.

The March 12 *Los Angeles Times* ran an editorial titled "The FBI Crosses the Line." The editorial denounced the FBI's "campaigns of disruption against the legal political activities of dissident groups."

Listing the various COINTELPRO documents that have come to light, the *Times* editors said, "A Hoover memorandum of Oct. 12, 1961, is especially significant. It noted that the Socialist Workers Party had been 'openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office . . .'"

The editorial also described memos dealing with operations against Black groups.

"Counterintelligence carried to these lengths smacks of police state tactics. Hoover, who denounced the Socialist Workers Party for sponsoring candidates for public office, asserted the power in this situation and others to suspend the Constitution by ukase.

"Society faces many dangers. Not the least is the apparent belief by the FBI that police agencies can set aside

the Constitution at will."

On the same day as this editorial appeared, the *New York Post* featured a column by James Wechsler, *Post* editorial page editor, titled "Matters of Intelligence."

Wechsler called attention to the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against Nixon and other government officials responsible for illegal harassment and disruption programs.

Wechsler said that the issue of "hunting and harassment" of radical groups is "being sharply drawn in legal proceedings instituted some months ago by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, in cooperation with the Political Rights Defense Fund, an independent ad hoc committee representing citizens of diverse political views."

"As a result of this suit, the government has already been required to reveal significant details about the 'campaign of disruption' waged against the SWP, beginning as far back as 1961, apparently reaching its peak during the period of the Vietnam antiwar movement and continuing now."

"The presumed rationale for this assault is that the SWP . . . was long ago included on that obsolete, objectionable roster known as 'the At-

torney General's list.'"

Wechsler noted that the SWP "has been the target of mail cover, electronic surveillance and the aforementioned campaign of systematic 'disruption.' It is hard to discern any 'clear and present danger' that has been averted by this massive effort. Instead one finds violations of the First Amendment."

The issues raised by the socialists' suit have been receiving considerable support. In addition to editorials and other commentary in major dailies, campus and alternative papers have been extending support. One of the most important expressions of such support came in the Feb. 22 editorial column of the *Minnesota Daily*, student paper at the U. of Minnesota and one of the largest-circulation campus papers in the country.

"One current attempt to discover the extent of government spying and prevent these activities from occurring . . .," wrote the *Daily* editors, "is a suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. The suit seeks \$27.3 million in damages for government activities such as examining mail, wiretapping, harassment and alleged burglaries and bombings. The suit also seeks a permanent injunction restraining all government

agencies from conducting similar actions in the future. . . .

"The central dispute in the suit is the constitutionality of the Attorney General's list of 'subversive organizations.' Initiated in 1948, the list contains organizations that, in the judgment of the Attorney General, pose threats to national security. There is no appeal procedure for any organization marked for investigation at the caprice of the Attorney General, thus raising the question of its constitutionality."

"The federal government has already admitted to disrupting SWP campaign activities, wiretapping and harassment of SWP members. Lawyers handling the suit are currently trying to subpoena documents and tapes from the Nixon Administration to prove the complicity of high administration officials."

"But the administration has already started to use the same blocking techniques it has employed in hampering the Watergate investigation. The politics of the organizations supporting the suit may not have universal appeal. But the full attention and support of the public in this suit is needed if the principle of free and unhampered flow of information and activities between the public and all political groups in this country is to be upheld."

Puerto Rican teachers end 32-day strike

By DOUG JENNESS

After 32 days on the picket lines, striking teachers in Puerto Rico returned to work March 4. The work stoppage ended when the majority of teachers at a special union meeting in San Juan accepted an agreement worked out between officials of the Puerto Rican Federation of Teachers (PRFT) Local 1649, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, and government representatives.

According to a report in the March 4 *San Juan Star*, an English-language daily published in San Juan, the key points in the agreement were:

"—No reprisals against teachers, students or parents who actively or tacitly supported the strike.

"—Additional funds for educational materials. The secretary of education has reportedly agreed to seek between \$5 and \$6 million, instead of the \$3.5 million already budgeted for school materials.

"—A bill granting unionization rights to all public employees, teachers included, will be sent to the Legislature by the Governor no later than April.

"—Substantial salary increases will be granted to teachers within the next few days."

The *Star* reports that not all of the 2,500 teachers at the meeting voted to return to work. "Some strongly opposed the resolution and voiced their desire to continue on strike until concrete benefits, rather than 'mere agreements,' were obtained from government officials."

The reporter indicates that after the resolution was approved, questions were asked of PRFT President Félix Rodríguez, which he didn't answer to the satisfaction of many teachers.

During this discussion a teacher who had voted in favor of the accord introduced a motion to reconsider. "The motion was defeated by a slim margin," reports the *Star*, "and widespread dissatisfaction with the resolution was evident even among groups of teachers who had solidly backed it when it first came to a vote."

Many teachers were concerned with the vagueness of the agreement. They wanted to know if teachers would get paid for the month they were on strike,



Felix Rodríguez, president of the Puerto Rican Federation of Teachers, addresses meeting of 2,500 teachers March 3.

if legal cases against strikers would be dropped, if suspended teachers would be rehired, and what was meant by "substantial salary increases." Except for indicating that teachers would probably not be paid for the time lost, Rodríguez didn't give definite answers to their questions.

Further questions were asked regarding whether a no-strike pledge and compulsory arbitration would be imposed in legislation granting bargaining rights to public employees. A bill introduced in 1970 by Governor Rafael Hernández Colón, when he was Senate president, included these restrictions.

The teachers conditioned their vote on government fulfillment of the accord and threatened to strike again if the government didn't carry out its end of the bargain. In the face of this threat, the Board of Appeals of

the Department of Public Instruction decided on March 8 to reinstate the 852 teachers suspended during the strike.

Regarding salary increases, Rodríguez stated that he would accept a \$100-a-month increase. This is the amount the Puerto Rican Teachers Association (PRTA), the National Education Association-affiliate, is lobbying for in the legislature.

However, Rodríguez also said that the union wouldn't strike again even if the government stuck to its original offer of \$75 a month. He said the question of salaries was secondary to union recognition and better working conditions.

Starting pay for Puerto Rican teachers is now \$465 a month or about \$5,000 a year. And the cost of living is higher than in New York City.

It remains to be seen to what extent Hernández's liberal government will comply with the rest of the agreement. Certainly one of the calculations it will have to consider carefully is the cost of another strike.

Last month's strike was the first work stoppage by teachers in Puerto Rico's history, and it successfully demonstrated the power and determination of the 5,000-member PRFT. Nearly half of the island's 26,000 teachers participated. Much of the school system was closed down completely and most of it was crippled.

In addition the teachers won broad support in the labor movement and among students. Support committees were formed in some places in which students played an active part. Radical groups, including the People's Socialist Movement, the Union of Socialist Youth, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Puerto Rican Independence Party supported the strike.

The teachers faced police violence, arrests, court injunctions, a slander campaign by the press, and a government-sponsored red-baiting campaign. Strikebreaking moves such as herding students into auditoriums to be instructed by television were also tried.

Although some PRTA locals and members supported the strike, the PRTA leadership opposed it. Just before the strike ended, PRTA President José Elgio Vélez declared that it "is lost," according to a report in the March 2 *El Mundo*, a major San Juan daily. His view was that it was "unnecessary and premature" and "had done damage to the image of the teacher, to the children, to the people of Puerto Rico in general, and to the principle of unionization that we are trying to attain."

In the face of severe opposition, Puerto Rico's teachers took an important step forward in the difficult and still unfinished struggle for union recognition. Their strike action has placed greater pressure on the government to meet their demands than any amount of lobbying in the legislature for the votes of liberal Popular Democratic Party legislators could do. And they have provided an inspiring example for other Puerto Rican workers.

W. Va. miners 'don't believe this energy crisis'

By CINDY JAQUITH

OCEANA, W. Va.—Striking miners here in southern West Virginia are determined not to compromise on their demand for more gasoline. Despite deals offered by the state government, the miners voted overwhelmingly at meetings on March 9 and 10 to stay on strike until Governor Arch Moore lifts his restrictions on gasoline sales.

"We know that they've got the gas," said one striker here. "We don't believe we have this energy crisis."

Twenty-six thousand miners remained out as of March 11, idling mines in five counties that normally produce 200,000 to 250,000 tons of coal a day.

In West Virginia, no car with more than a quarter tank of fuel can get gasoline. This is a particularly severe problem for many miners who travel 50 or 60 miles one way to work, over mountainous roads with few gas stations.

The strikers, members of the United Mineworkers of America (UMW), are demanding that all limits on gasoline purchases be lifted. Their strike began two weeks ago and spread quickly through the use of roving pickets.

The UMW did not authorize the

strike, and some union officials have urged those men with enough gas to return to work. But as one strike activist here explained it, "United we stand, divided we fall. When we all go back, we'll all go back."

Two hundred and fifty miners demonstrated at the state capital in Charleston March 8. Meeting with 50 of the protesters, Governor Moore proposed a gas sticker system that would allow any miner who drives more than 250 miles a week to work to buy as much gas as needed.

But the miners rejected this deal. "Does that mean we'd be taking gas from someone else who doesn't have a sticker?" asked one miner.

"Friend," Moore said, "I've got to tell you that."

"That's why we're out," the miner answered.

One hundred and fifty miners returned to the capital March 11 for another demonstration. This time the government had gotten an injunction against picketing, and several strikers were arrested. The miners say their protest actions at the capital will continue.

The *Militant* interviewed several

strike activists here in Wyoming County.

"We think when gas gets to \$1 a gallon, you'll be able to get all the gas you want and more filling stations will open," said one.

Noting the profits of the big oil companies, he explained, "If they were to show us in black and white where they're not making any money, then we could understand this thing. But we can just listen to television and know better than that."

"We feel it's like the beef shortage—when they couldn't get enough meat. When they get what they want out of it, they'll give us the gas."

A second miner pointed out that they are protesting on behalf of all working people hit by the gas shortage. "This is not only a concern of miners," he said. "Others who have to drive long distances, like nurses, salesmen, and technicians, need gas too."

"That's why we don't like the stickers," explained another miner. "If we take those stickers we'd be divided from the other people. That would give coal miners more priority. We don't want that."

The strike has already begun to have an effect on the steel industry, and the major steel corporations are

threatening to lay off thousands of workers this week. The strikers interviewed by *The Militant* expressed the hope that the steelworkers would join with miners in protesting the phony gas shortage.

The miners believe the state officials they helped elect have turned their backs on them. "The miners have a meeting, decide to march on the capital, and Archie Moore, he's out the back door—going to Washington or something," said one striker.

"We put Moore in office because we thought he would benefit miners and other people, but so far we don't think he's done it."

He said miners got the same treatment from the congressmen to whom they have appealed for support—no reply. "But when election time comes around they want a reply from you."

"They think coal miners are dumb," he said. "But coal miners are getting smart."

Another striker pointed to the recent truckers' strike. "I liked it," he said with a grin. "Maybe we should have come out with them. Maybe that way we could have been getting gas. If we had gotten together we could have supported each other."

Terrorists slander radicals as 'cowards'

SLA fails in attempt to rebut critics on left

By CINDY BURKE

BERKELEY—In a communiqué issued March 9 the Symbionese Liberation Army attempts to respond to the widespread criticism of the Patricia Hearst kidnapping voiced by radical political groups.

"There have been many on the left," the message says, "who without a clear understanding have condemned the actions of the SLA and the people's forces who have chosen to fight rather than talk. . . .

"The analysis of these so-called leaders who presume to speak for the people can be traced to one of two qualities:

"Either they are cowards afraid of revolutionary violence because it is a direct threat to their personal security or they are opportunists who have personal gains in allowing the enemy

to enslave or oppress and tranquilize the people."

Unable to answer any of the political criticisms of its terrorist course, the SLA retreats into bravado. It is ludicrous to accuse groups like the American Indian Movement, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Black Panther Party of cowardice or of somehow benefiting from the oppression of working people.

Personal bravery is a necessary quality in revolutionists, but it is not a substitute for a clear program of struggle to overthrow the capitalist system.

Liberation of the poor and oppressed cannot be achieved by dramatic but isolated actions of individuals or small groups. What is required is uncompromising struggle by the masses of working people themselves.

It is especially ironic that the SLA

berates its critics as "leaders who presume to speak for the people." No, it is the SLA—a tiny terrorist band that appeared from nowhere and has no connection to any mass struggle—whose presumption to be a "court" and "army" "of the people" is false.

The SLA is apparently oblivious to the real class struggle going on around it. Its latest communiqué fails to even mention the current strike of thousands of San Francisco municipal workers. For the SLA, the "revolutionary war" is a private affair between its "combat units" and those of the capitalist state—there is no place in this schema for workers struggling for better wages.

But it is massive workers' actions like the San Francisco strike that have the power to bring about revolutionary change—not in rhetoric but in reality.

When the state attempts to repress a mass struggle like a strike or demonstration, those involved can see that they are being unjustly attacked and can be mobilized to defend their own struggle and win broader support.

But terrorist acts by isolated groups like the SLA give the ruling class a handle for repression under circumstances in which the masses are not involved, but instead are confused and passive.

Already the prison authorities have been able to close down the Black Cultural Association at Vacaville prison. On the pretext that alleged SLA members participated in the program, authorities claimed the BCA was a front for infiltrating terrorists into the prisons.

When the masses are relegated to the role of passive observer and recipients of bounty from the SLA, even the distribution of free food can be turned to the capitalists' advantage.

The most glaring example of this was the distribution in East Oakland, which culminated in the arrest of almost 50 Blacks. Dozens were injured in confrontations caused when food was literally thrown from trucks at the 5,000 Blacks who had assembled.

Black community leaders have charged that the event was set up by the police. The community, angered by the racist and inhuman conduct of the distribution, was later invaded by police, who blocked off East 14th Street for 10 blocks and marched through the streets harassing and beating Blacks at random.

The FBI has sent in two additional SWAT teams to investigate the kidnapping in the Bay Area. SWAT means "Special Weapons Attack Team." There can be no doubt that one task of these teams will be to infiltrate and disrupt left-wing groups under the guise of investigating the Hearst kidnapping.

Defense against such attacks is hampered by the confusion and disorientation caused by the SLA's kidnapping.

The SLA has said, "We call upon the people to judge for themselves whether our tactics of waging struggle are correct or incorrect in fighting the enemy by any means necessary."

That judgment has been made. Acts of individual terrorism like the Hearst kidnapping are futile and impotent and can only play into the hands of our enemies.

Socialist answers Reagan on SLA

The following statement was released by Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California.

On March 6, Governor Ronald Reagan, speaking to a closed Republican Club luncheon, made one of the more honest remarks of his career.

Angered by the fact that poor and hungry Californians were accepting the food distributed in response to the Hearst kidnapping,



REAGAN: Let them eat botulism

Reagan said, "It's just too bad we can't have an epidemic of botulism."

While Reagan may be cruder than most capitalist politicians, his comment clearly expressed the disgusting racism and inhumanity of the rulers of this country.

Questioned later by the press, Reagan refused to deny his statement. He claims that those who took the food were "aiding and abetting lawlessness."

What arrogance! It is capitalist politicians like Reagan, Nixon, and Agnew who have been proved to be the biggest criminals in the country. They are masters of every form of vile corruption, raking in millions of dollars for their personal gain.

More than that, they have conspired to gun down countless Blacks and Chicanos, slaughter hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, and prop up every murderous dictatorship from South Vietnam to Chile to South Africa.

The real criminals are those like Reagan and Randolph Hearst who profit from this system of wage-slavery and oppression—a system that condemns millions of people around the world, including people here in California, to go to bed hungry every night.

The Socialist Workers Party disagrees with the terrorist tactics of the



RODRIGUEZ: 'Reagan and Hearst are the real criminals.'

Symbionese Liberation Army. But we do so solely on the grounds that these are not the tactics that can effectively topple the capitalist system.

I and the other candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will be campaigning to expose the real thieves, conspirators, liars, and murderers. And we will be campaigning on a program that shows how to take power out of the hands of these criminal profiteers through mobilizing the masses of working people.

Court refuses bid to postpone Dist. 1 election

By KATHRYN PON

NEW YORK—In a victory for the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities of School District 1, a U.S. court of appeals has refused to postpone new school board elections scheduled for May 14.

Last December a federal district court judge invalidated the previous elections in District 1 as racially discriminatory and ordered new elections.

The city of New York, however, appealed that decision and asked that the elections be postponed pending decision on the appeal.

The fraudulently elected board was backed by the racist leadership of the United Federation of Teachers. Since the board was ousted, the District 1 schools have been governed by three trustees from the central board of education.

In spite of protests from the community, these trustees have in effect

carried out the policies of the ousted board, such as taking teachers out of classrooms, cutting the district office staff, and refusing to give promised bilingual instruction.

The UFT leadership and its "Committee for Effective Education" have used crude racist epithets, slanders, and red-baiting in their attempt to discredit the supporters of community control.

In a leaflet recently mailed to thousands of registered voters in District 1, the Committee for Effective Education claimed that the "Fuentes gang 'of political hooligans' had 'brought in outside extremists' and encouraged 'racial polarization and divisiveness on the lower East Side' to 'increase their political power.'" (Luis Fuentes is the Puerto Rican school superintendent in District 1.)

Reality stands in sharp contrast to the committee's statement. The Puerto

Rican, Black, and Chinese communities—powerless and oppressed for so long—are attempting to gain control over the education of their children in order to reverse the history of inferior and racially biased education on the Lower East Side.

The leaflet continued with more deliberate misrepresentations of the issues and forces involved in the District 1 struggle. It attempts to red-bait the Committee for Democratic Election Laws by mentioning only two of its many sponsors: individuals from the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) provided legal counsel for the District 1 parents in their original suit against the fraudulent elections and is helping to fight the city's appeal. CoDEL is widely respected for its efforts in many states to win democratic election laws.

Sponsors of CoDEL include people

from many political points of view who agree with its goals, including Congresswoman Bella Abzug, New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer, former senator Eugene McCarthy, and many others.

The campaign to elect a pro-community-control "Por los Niños" (For the Children) slate on May 14 has already begun. The Chinese Advisory Council, supporters of the slate, held a benefit March 9 that drew 125 people and raised \$300.

A large open community meeting was held March 3 to discuss criteria for selecting candidates and to interview potential candidates. Those present felt that candidates should be parents who support community control and have been active in the struggle.

Final screening and endorsement is being handled by the presidents of the parents associations in District 1.

By ANDY ROSE

Previous articles have shown how government "wage-price" controls have led to a decline in workers' real buying power, while prices and profits soared.

The Militant has pointed to the need for cost-of-living escalators for all wages, Social Security, pensions, and other social benefits as the only effective measure for fighting inflation.

With most wage controls expected to end this spring, will the trade-union leaderships now launch a fight for cost-of-living escalator clauses and

about inflation than a serious declaration of bargaining intentions.

With workers suffering ever-worsening hardships from rising prices, layoffs, and the fuel shortage, pressure for action is building up inside the unions.

But the last thing the union officials want is to mobilize the power of the unions in a fight for higher wages and adequate cost-of-living protection. They pride themselves on being "statesmen of labor" whose appointed task is to cool such "hotheaded" ideas and take judicious account of the corporations' needs—not to lead the ranks in struggle.

of the working class as a whole.

The worst instance of this is the union bureaucracy's acceptance of racist and sexist discrimination. The misleaders do not in practice challenge the lower wages and higher unemployment of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers, but instead attempt to preserve better paying jobs and entire trades as white job trusts. Such practices only divide and weaken the labor movement.

Instead the unions should champion the demands of women and the oppressed nationalities, including the call for preferential hiring to make up for past discrimination.

ment benefits.

To be sure, the present inadequate unemployment compensation should be increased to the level of full union wages and should be extended to all those out of work. But unemployment benefits are no substitute for a more rational and equitable distribution of available work to provide jobs for all.

Another aspect of the fight against unemployment is the demand that the government provide thousands of jobs at union wages for useful public works such as building schools, housing, hospitals, and mass transportation systems. Such programs could easily be paid for by eliminating the \$100-billion war budget.

The union bureaucracy's narrow outlook is also clear in their disregard for the unorganized four-fifths of the work force. The lower wages and poorer conditions of nonunion workers exert a constant downward pressure on those of union members as well.

A serious labor drive against inflation and unemployment is inconceivable without a campaign to organize the unorganized.

These workers at the bottom of the pay ladder are potentially the most militant and consistent fighters for workers' needs. They are ready and willing to enlist in the army of organized labor whenever the generals deign to recruit them—and they may soon begin their own self-organization before official recruiting sergeants are appointed, as happened before in the 1930s.

'Fringe benefit' swindle

It seems obvious that the promise of a pension decades from now is no substitute for higher wages today. But emphasizing such "fringe benefits" at the expense of wages has become a favorite trick of union misleaders trying to sell the ranks on a poor contract. This is one of the greatest swindles in collective bargaining today.

It has become common knowledge that most workers get cheated out of their pensions one way or another. If they change jobs or get laid off, they are liable to lose all rights to a pension. Or the company may merge with another or go bankrupt and suddenly announce that pension assets have "disappeared."

The assets of private pension funds now total more than \$150-billion, with \$15-billion in new revenues pouring in each year. As much as 25 to 35 percent of so-called payroll in many companies actually goes into pension funds, health insurance, and other "fringe benefits."

This provides a vast pool of investable capital—camouflaged as "labor costs" and given lucrative tax breaks—for the corporations, insurance companies, and banks that control it.

Another weapon of the union bureaucracy in stifling demands for

Outlook for fighting inflation and unemployment in 1974

the substantial wage increases needed to offset inflation?

Looking only at contracts covering 1,000 workers or more, collective bargaining in 1974 will affect 5.2 million workers. Some of the key negotiations will be in steel, construction, communications, electrical machinery, aerospace, longshore, railroad, and mining.

"I expect no explosion of wage demands," said AFL-CIO President Meany on Feb. 18, at the beginning of the midwinter AFL-CIO executive council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla.

Just a few days later he struck a more aggressive pose, saying that workers would need 10 percent wage increases to keep up with inflation. Then the January Consumer Price Index was announced, and Meany hastily amended 10 percent to 12 percent. This figure was also included in an executive council statement on the economy.

Actions speak louder

A different picture was presented by two Wall Street Journal reporters after behind-the-scenes discussions with the bureaucrats at Bal Harbour.

They wrote that "energy-related job fears could slow the basic drive for high wages or cool workers' ardor for striking."

They continued, "Some union leaders here agree. 'If there wasn't any energy crisis,' confides one industrial union bargainer, 'we'd be off to the races' in seeking sharply higher wages."

Indicating such a trend toward acceptance of low wage gains, the Journal reporters note, is that some unions have "displayed unwonted caution or moderation in early-1974 contract settlements." Specifically they cite a three-year contract signed by the Operating Engineers Union in Southern California "with modest 6% annual pay raises."

Even more significant were the new 40-month agreements reached in early February between the United Steelworkers and the three major aluminum companies. The wage settlements average only 4.2 percent a year, and although the union's wage-escalator clause was improved, it is not likely that these workers' wages will keep abreast of skyrocketing prices.

The Steelworkers signed essentially the same terms later in February with the major car companies, and USWA President I.W. Abel has said he expects the aluminum and can settlements to set the model for the contract in basic steel.

Thus it seems that Meany's much-ballyhooed call for 12 percent raises is more a sop to rank-and-file anger



Socialist banner at Chicago demonstration last September against high prices and unemployment.

The bureaucrats will use several stratagems to try to undercut the drive for higher wages.

As the Wall Street Journal article cited above pointed out, the threat of unemployment is a key weapon for dampening wage demands. Government figures admit that 4.7 million people are out of work, and joblessness is rising with energy-related layoffs and the general economic downturn.

Workers are told that their jobs are so precarious they can't risk a strike; that if they demand too much they may just get laid off; and that even a poor wage deal is better than the unemployment lines.

This is a prime example of the narrow, self-defeating outlook fostered by the trade-union bureaucrats. They accept this pitting of workers against each other for jobs—aiming only to maintain the position of one small group of workers or one particular trade instead of defending the needs

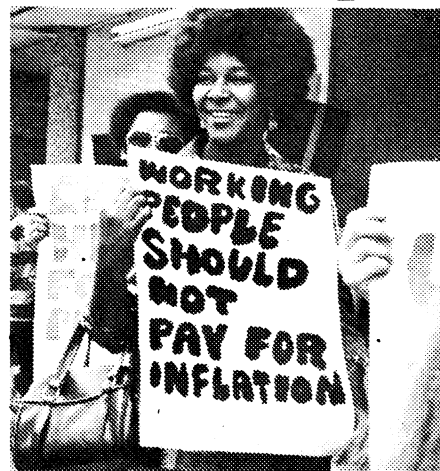
Accepting lower real wages in order to "preserve jobs" is a formula for disaster. Why should anyone have to choose between a poorly paid job and no job at all?

What socialists counterpose to this vicious dilemma is the *sliding scale of hours*. This is the concept that the length of the workweek should be reduced—with no loss in pay—to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

To this day the United Auto Workers Union is formally on record for the demand of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Even though more than 100,000 auto workers have been laid off indefinitely in the last few months, the UAW leadership has done nothing to begin a fight for this demand.

Instead the UAW leaders have patted themselves on the back for their "Supplementary Unemployment Benefits" (which cover only about half of the auto workers laid off), and called for minor improvements in govern-

Socialist program for the trade unions



FURTHER READING ON A PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT:

JUST PUBLISHED:
CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNDER ATTACK: HOW TO FIGHT BACK AND REBUILD THE UNIONS by Nat Weinstein, Frank Lovell, Carol Lipman, \$35.

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ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s. Edited by Paul

Davidson, \$60.

TEAMSTER POWER by Farrell Dobbs, 255 pp., paper \$2.95, cloth \$8.95.

TEAMSTER REBELLION by Farrell Dobbs, 192 pp., paper \$2.25, cloth \$6.95.

LABOR'S GIANT STEP: TWENTY YEARS OF THE CIO by Art Preis, 538 pp., paper \$3.95.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

higher wages is the elevation of union policy-making further and further from any democratic control by the ranks.

Negotiations are shrouded in secrecy — mainly to keep the union rank and file in the dark. In many unions today the members not only have no say in formulating contract demands but cannot even vote on the final settlement.

Union militants who press for adoption of policies that would meet the workers' needs quickly find they must also challenge the lack of democracy within the union, and include rank-and-file control as a point in their program.

The present union leadership's inability to defend the workers' interests in all the ways outlined above is inseparable from its reliance on the capitalist political parties.

The case of the wage controls illustrates this. To this day, the congressional Democrats are among the strongest advocates of legislating stand-by wage control authority for Nixon.

The Feb. 23 *Business Week* observed: "Labor, however, will not engage in open warfare with Congressional Democrats who favor retention of controls authority."

Business Week quoted an AFL-CIO official on the likelihood that the Democrats would pass continued wage-control authority: "They want to do it and they have the votes, it's as simple as that."

And this is the result of decades of efforts to elect "friends of labor" from the Democratic and Republican parties!



Jobless lines. Threat of unemployment is weapon for holding down wage demands.

Yet the central campaign called for by the latest AFL-CIO executive council meeting is "Elect a Veto-Proof Congress."

Allegiance to the capitalist parties hamstring the unions not only on wage and job questions. It also leads to the union leadership echoing the racist, sexist, and proimperialist ideology and practice of the capitalist politicians.

A vital step for turning this around will be for the unions to break with capitalist politics to form an independent political party of labor. Such a party could represent the interests of the working people in the political arena, in opposition to both parties of big business.

Working people this year face stepped-up assaults by the government and employers. The outlook depends on the militancy and determination of rank-and-file workers, and on the quality of leadership that is developed.

The proposals sketched above are being advanced by *The Militant*, the Socialist Workers Party candidates, and socialist workers on the job as a program to meet these attacks.

It is around such a program that a class-struggle left wing will be assembled in the unions that can begin to transform them into instruments of struggle for the interests of all workers.

Mood of rebellion spreads

Mass struggles shake Ethiopia

The wave of mass struggles in Ethiopia, capped by the first general strike in the nation's history, has severely shaken the dictatorial regime of Emperor Haile Selassie.

On March 10 the four-day nationwide strike reportedly ended with the government agreeing to accept all 16 demands of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions. Among these demands is an increase of the minimum wage to \$1.50 a day, about three times the average wage in Addis Ababa.

Other demands include the right to strike, removal of restrictions on the right to join unions, the right to publish a labor newspaper that had been banned by the government, the establishment of a social security system and of pension plans, a "positive effort to solve unemployment," free education, and cost-of-living raises.

The confederation, which was originally set up by the regime 11 years ago, represents from 80,000 to 100,000 workers.

The current wave of struggles began about three weeks ago with strikes by taxi drivers and teachers. It spread to a revolt within the military. In addition to higher pay, dissident troops demanded freedom of the press and assembly, release of political prisoners, the right to form political parties, land reform with "land to the tillers," and free and universal education.

The military rebellion was aimed not only at the civilian regime, but also at the top leadership of the armed forces.

Writing in the Feb. 28 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Philippe Decraene observed: "While most of the officers belong to the Amhara ethnic group, which holds power in Addis Ababa, the troops are often of Galla, Somali, or Tigrean origin, tribes whose submission to the central state is far from certain. On the other hand, while the high command is principally from the aristocracy, the officers, notably the junior officers, come, in part, from the popular classes."

Charles Mohr reported in the March 8 *New York Times* that "the recent mutiny, which began with demands for higher pay, has left diverse committees of enlisted men and lower-ranking officers with considerable influence in individual units."

According to the March 2 *Le Monde*,

troops in Addis Ababa had begun to arrest various government officials, including former Prime Minister Akilou Abde Wold and other deposed cabinet members. "Finally, in Asmara," wrote *Le Monde*, "the mutineers also arrested a number of notables, high functionaries, and landlords."

Despite the government's quick promises of reform, the mood of rebellion is spreading, especially since the soldiers' rebellion challenged the repressive grip of the regime.

One sign of the relaxation of authority was an unauthorized, front-page editorial in the Addis Ababa *Ethiopian Herald* calling for greater freedom of the press. Signed by Tegegne Yeteshawork, the former deputy minister of information, it said that "the press should inform the public [about] not only what the Government wants to be made known but also what the people want to know."

Rebellion against Selassie's regime spread to Akaki prison in downtown Addis Ababa March 3. According to government officials, at least 36 inmates and guards were killed in a revolt there.

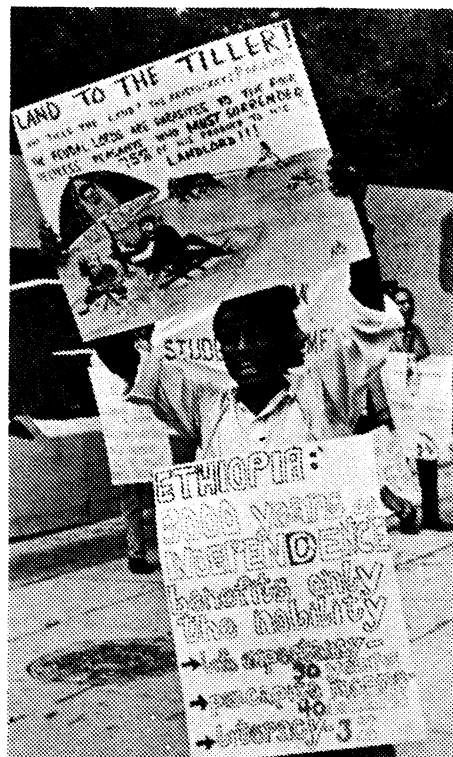
On March 7 students at Haile Selassie University staged demonstrations and marches in support of the workers' general strike. They attempted to march to the center of Addis Ababa to join demonstrating workers, but were turned back by police who used tear gas.

The students carried signs reading: "Down with Endalkachew [the new prime minister]" and "Land to the tillers."

The demands that have been raised



SELASSIE: Forced to grant concessions.



Ethiopian student at Washington demonstration in 1969.

by the soldiers, workers, and students cannot but fall on receptive ears. Out of a population of about 25 million in Ethiopia, only four million are allowed to vote, and then only for deputies to the lower house of parliament. The upper house is selected by the emperor. All political parties are banned, and the government keeps a very tight reign on the news media.

The economic problems facing the peoples of Ethiopia have been exacerbated by the world energy crisis and by severe drought and famine, which have claimed more than 100,000 lives so far. The rampant inflation was one of the causes of the strikes and clashes that took place in Addis Ababa in mid-February.

The poverty of the peasantry, and the backwardness of the archaic feudal landholding system, were tragically underlined by last year's famine. The corruption and mismanagement of famine relief did much to discredit the regime in the eyes of the students, workers, peasants, and soldiers. Since the church and the government officials are important landowners themselves (with Selassie being the biggest landlord of all), the calls for "land to the tillers" strike at the roots of the regime.

Interest in union women meeting

By LINDA JENNESS

"March 23 and 24 may turn out to be two history-making days in the life of the labor union movement. At that time, in Chicago, the National Coalition of Labor Union Women will hold its first national conference."

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* began an eight-article series on working women and the unions with the above statement.

Interest in the Chicago conference is reflected in the wide and favorable press coverage the conference has received.

The *Christian Science Monitor* ran a large spread in its Feb. 22 issue titled "Trade-union women find feminism—and each other." The article quotes Joyce Miller of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, one of the founders of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), as saying:

"The feminist movement gave rise to this trade union women's movement. There was no group speaking to their needs."

Another woman told the *Monitor* she expects one result of the Chicago meeting will be that union women will gain visibility, "which is what they have never had before."

Both the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit News* covered the recent Michigan planning meeting for the CLUW conference. The *News* stated: "The national conference, which is also open to women at all levels of union participation, will consider positive action in the areas of equal pay, rights and opportunities—including maternity benefits, child care, hiring and promotion practices, minimum wage, and women's participation in union structures and decision-making."

"The women's liberation movement

is coming to organized labor," wrote a *Los Angeles Times* writer in an article about the CLUW national conference.

Many union publications have also given coverage to the upcoming conference. The February 1199 *News*, published by the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, devotes two pages to "Trade Union Women—A Beginning."

To register for the conference mail \$12 plus name, address, and union affiliation to Addie Wyatt, Chairwoman of CLUW Conference Arrangements Committee, 4859 South Wabash, Chicago, Ill. 60615.

The conference will be held at the Pick-Congress Hotel in Chicago. Participants may also register for the conference at the hotel on Friday evening and Saturday morning, March 22 and 23.

Time for new look at King, Malcolm killing

The release of the secret FBI battle plans for the government's war against the Black liberation struggle (see pages 3-5) raises anew the question of the involvement of federal officials in the assassinations of Black leaders.

This new evidence, along with all of the previous evidence, should be used by the Black movement and its supporters to demand the reopening of the cases of the killings of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and other Black victims of assassins' gunfire.

The circumstances surrounding the murder of Malcolm X in 1965 have never been satisfactorily explained. Talmadge Hayer, the man who admitted killing Malcolm X, has never revealed who hired him.

Mysterious circumstances surround the killing of King as well. King was subjected to FBI surveillance that was "massive and complete," according to one former FBI agent. "He couldn't wiggle. They had him," the agent has said. Moreover, Hoover had sworn to "get King."

Now we learn from the secret files that the FBI considered it part of its function to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement." Although the names following this statement are blotted out, it doesn't take much detective work to figure out that both Malcolm X and Dr. King were such "messiahs" or potential "messiahs" in the eyes of the FBI.

We now know also that the FBI vowed to "prevent the growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth."

Hoover's directives were aimed at perfecting methods to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

We know the ruthlessness with which the racist, capitalist rulers of this country will act to repress those who challenge their policies. We have seen the volleys of bullets at Orangeburg, at Kent and Jackson State, and at Southern University. We have seen the blue-uniformed assassins who patrol the streets use their pistols and shotguns time after time on innocent Black citizens. And we have seen the massive, horrendous killing carried out by the imperialist war machine in Indochina.

No one can still believe that the rulers "would never do such a thing" as gun down a Black leader they fear could help unify Black people in mass struggle against oppression.

We know that Nixon—and Johnson and Kennedy before him—considered the independent struggle of Black people against oppression a grave threat to the capitalist status quo.

We know that this fear was a major consideration in Nixon's decision to step up repressive measures against Black groups, especially the Black Panther Party, in 1969 and 1970. From the description one Nixon aide gave to the *New York Times*, we know that when Nixon and his gang were preparing the notorious Huston plan, they viewed the "most serious issue facing the Nixon Administration in mid-1970 as 'the black problem.'"

Many Black people have never been satisfied with the official story on the killing of Malcolm X and Dr. King. In fact, when the extensive FBI surveillance of Dr. King was first disclosed as part of the Watergate revelations, the Congressional Black Caucus demanded the reopening of the King case to evaluate the evidence that a conspiracy, reaching into high places, lay behind the act of James Earl Ray, the convicted assassin.

In the wake of the latest disclosures there is a better case than ever before for a thorough investigation into these killings.

However, the Democrats and Republicans in Congress, who sit on committees like the Ervin committee in the Senate and the Judiciary Committee in the House, have shown no interest in uncovering the truth about these questions of burning relevance for Black people.

An independent investigation by the Black community is needed to bring to light the still uncovered facts on these two murders. Such a committee could mobilize massive support from Blacks and others for the demand that all secret government files dealing with these questions be made public immediately.

An independent Black commission of inquiry could also demand that the true perpetrators of these murders—no matter who they may be or how high an office they may hold—be brought to justice.

El Grito Del Norte

El Grito Del Norte has suspended publication as of August 1973. The staff is now working on a Chicano Communications Center.

We put out a newsletter you will be receiving. We would like to continue getting *The Militant* as it is a very good source of information.

Chicano Communications Center
P. O. Box 12547

Albuquerque, N.M. 87105

Smoking money

I have just finished reading your issue of March 8 and read with much interest your article on page 19 seeking monthly contributions. I am one of those men that you send a free subscription to, because I have no money to pay the regular subscription rate.

However, even though I can't get out in the streets to help sell for you, I nevertheless am with you 100 percent in mind and spirit in your campaign. I have two dollars a month for my smoking, and would like to offer half of that every month, to be used in any way possible.

A prisoner
New York

Antisocial

No, I do not want my contribution applied to free subscriptions for prisoners. The radical movement historically has made a mistake by supporting common crime as if it were some kind of primitive class struggle. Rarely has it been that. It is antisocial violence directed mostly at other members of the working class.

A supporter for 44 years,
Woodbridge, Ill.

Victims, not criminals

Enclosed is a check for the Prisoners Fund. I am in deep sympathy with the prisons movement, their plight, their hopes, their aspirations. Well over 95 percent of prisoners are not truly criminals, but victims of our rotten social order. Under a just society they would have never been behind bars.

Nicholas Toscano
Boston, Mass.

In reply—*The Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to the many prisoners whose experiences with capitalist "justice" have led them to become interested in socialist politics.

To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

'Inert Arabs'?

It is quite apparent that distortion and misinformation are the basis for *Militant* reader Harry Bloom's critique of Jon Rothschild's coverage of the Middle East [see March 1 letters column]. He says, "The Arabs in the Middle East are easily

aroused by propaganda appeals to ignorance and superstition; in essence they are as inert as 1,000 years ago. . . ."

It is evident that besides being ignorant about the Palestinian struggle, Mr. Bloom is ignorant of history. The supposedly inert Arabs of 1,000 years ago were the possessors of an advanced civilization and culture, while Europe was lapsing into barbarism.

Mr. Bloom uses racist and slanderous terminology against the Palestinian and Arab people, because logic gives him little to say on behalf of Israel. We all know of his "civilized peoples"—their civilizing consists of napalm, oppression, expropriation, and exploitation. This kind of civilization we can do without!

In solidarity with the Palestinian struggle,
John Gutermann
Long Island, N.Y.

Smut

A foreman at my shop has accused me of handing out "smutty literature." He was referring to *The Militant*. Eagerly, some fellow subscribers and I looked through our back issues of *The Militant*, but were disappointed to find no smut. Are we not reading carefully enough?

Saskia Scoggins
Austin, Tex.

Coleman Young

In your article on Detroit's new mayor, Coleman Young (*Militant*, Feb. 8), you note that he had yet to make good on an early campaign promise—to abolish the STRESS police terror unit.

In late February he announced the abolition of the unit. Lest anyone mistake this move as antipolice, however, Young combined this announcement with plans to increase the police force substantially. He said he is seeking \$7-million to \$10-million more in funds to put an additional 1,000 cops on the payroll.

Young has yet to announce any plans for dealing with the underlying causes of crime in Detroit—the high unemployment rate for Black youth, the substandard housing, and the deteriorating schools—to name only a few problems.

Mike Kelly
Detroit, Mich.

Losing everything

My husband is a Roadmaster.

I think this [the energy crisis] is one of the most rotten tricks the politicians and fuel companies are pulling and they should be strung from the highest tree.

These politicians and fuel company officials can sit in their elaborate homes and drive their elaborate autos and I'll bet my silver teeth fillings that their thermostats haven't been turned down one notch and that they're already counting their anticipated new fortune on gas revenues from the poor owner-operator's pockets.

We are on the verge of losing our new truck and everything we have worked for for 20 years, and where



Chicanos and the October war

does a man go who has always only been a "trucker"? Who is going to hire a man because he's already "too old" according to many truck firms at the age of 37?

These "truckers" are the ones who pay the union executives their glorified salaries, and then the union officials go along with the big companies who don't give a damn how they "rip off" the drivers, because they take these men as fools.

We were told that at a union meeting here in Chicago that all owner-operators are scabs, that owner-operators are all slobs, and that the trucking unions are going to drive these owner-operators down to the ground.

If these truckers are men, why don't they all band together and act like men and let the people of this country know how and where they get their butter to spread on their bread?

Mrs. A. Jackson
Chicago, Ill.

'Uncle Joe'

It's been many years since the Communist Party's *Daily World* has seen fit to comment on the anniversary of Joseph Stalin's death on March 5, 1953.

The demure silence about the beheader of revolutions is quite a contrast to their panegyrics of 1953: "Humanity has lost the greatest man of our time. . . . His name and his work will endure through the ages. . . . Joseph Stalin was the best loved man on earth," was the CPUSA's litany at the time.

One might have thought "the greatest man of our time" would rate at least a modest column, especially in view of the Kremlin's partial "rehabilitation" of him. After the CPUSA's slavish applause for the Brezhnev gang's show trials of dissidents and expulsion of Solzhenitsyn, it would seem appropriate to acknowledge—on Stalin's anniversary—that these were modeled on his bloody purges and the expulsion of Trotsky in 1928.

But no, not so much as a reprint from a Moscow press service. Wait, though. . . . Buried in the back pages of the March 6 *Daily World* I read this "In Memoriam" item:

"In Memory of my UNCLE JOE—a dedicated revolutionist who died 21 years ago on March 5." Signed, "W. P. Addington." I wondered, could it really be?

The next day I read the CP's latest defense of the "Popular Unity" disaster in Chile, and their proclamation that the popular front strategy of alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie shows the way forward around the world today, and I knew for sure. . . .

The spirit of "Uncle Joe" is alive and well in the pages of the *Daily World*.

G. A.
New York, N. Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

In recent weeks United Farm Workers union director César Chávez issued a statement indicating his support for Israel in the October war against the Arab nations. Chávez said, "We are deeply disturbed about the armed violation of peace in the Middle East on Yom Kippur. . . .

"We feel a particular sense of solidarity with Israel's struggle to survive as a democracy in peace," Chávez continued. "As persons of minority backgrounds, we share Israel's aspirations to integrate people from vastly different backgrounds . . . including Arab and Jew alike."

Brother Chávez is wrong to link the struggle of Chicanos with the aims of the Israeli state. The Chicano struggle, and in particular that of farm workers, finds its parallel not with Zionism but with the struggle for self-determination of the Arab peoples.

Regardless of who fired the first shot in the recent Yom Kippur war in the Middle East, it is Israel who is the real violator of peace. The very existence of the Israeli state has been an "armed violation" of the rights of Arabs since its creation in 1948.

Israel is a settler-colonialist state that was carved out of Arab lands with the help of the imperialist powers after World War II. The stated aim of Zionists has been to create not an "integrated" society where all can live in equality, but rather an exclusive state for Jews. To this end, 1.5 million Palestinian Arabs were expelled from their homeland. For more than 20 years they have been living a miserable existence in refugee camps in Jordan and Syria.

Not content with their original conquest, the Zionist rulers have gone to war twice since 1948 to expand their borders even further.

It is the Palestinian people who have been fighting for the creation of a democratic, secular Palestine where both Jews and Arabs can live. This would require the dismantling of the present state of Israel.

Far from being a beacon of democracy, Israel is a haven for white Europeans, a state based on racism and exploitation. The Arabs that live within Israeli borders are second-class citizens who are not afforded equal protection under the law. Like Chicanos here, they do the hardest, lowest-paying work.

Oriental Jews suffer racial discrimination. And a group of Black Jews trying to settle in Israel found they are not wanted.

Owing its existence in large measure to U.S. financial and military aid, Israel serves as a beachhead for *yanqui* imperialism in the Middle East. The Zionists are the pawns of the American ruling class—the very people who are now trying to crush the Farm Workers union. They have sided with the enemies of Chicanos and all working people.

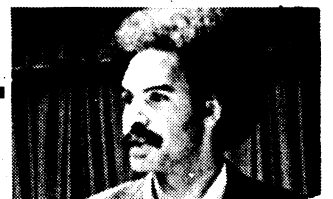
Many farm workers in California are Arabs. Many of them played an important part in the bitter struggle against the growers and cops in the San Joaquin Valley last summer. In fact, one of the two martyrs of that strike, Naji Daifullah, was an Arab farm worker.

The racist nature of Zionism was shown soon after the death of Daifullah when racist goons of the Jewish Defense League harassed a Farm Workers picket line at a Los Angeles Safeway store. These thugs did not like the fact that Arabs in Daifullah's funeral procession were carrying a portrait of Nasser, the former president of Egypt.

Jews have suffered terribly from anti-Semitism and still do today. But the solution to anti-Semitism does not lie in supporting the oppression of Arabs. Instead, the Jewish people can best work for an end to their own oppression by casting their lot with other oppressed people—with Chicanos in the U.S. and with the Arab masses in the Middle East.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Little Rock & Watergate

Government Watergating against the Black movement has been an official practice for many years. One of the FBI secret documents recently made public (see story on page 3) is dated Aug. 25, 1967. It was sanctioned under the administration of Lyndon Johnson, a Democrat. It was modeled, at least in part, on the "SWP Disruption Program" initiated six years earlier under John Kennedy—another Democrat. This proves once again that Black people have no ally in either the Democratic or the Republican parties.

These documents show clearly that the task of the Little Rock convention is to break Blacks away from these two parties and begin the construction of an independent Black party that can fight the Watergaters, among other things.

Lyndon Johnson, that rascal who is sometimes trumpeted as a "friend" of Black folks, "champion" of civil liberties, social justice, and the rights of the poor, gave J. Edgar Hoover and the Justice Department a free hand to initiate the counterintelligence program, code named COINTELPRO, against "Black extremists."

COINTELPRO was designed to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist" organizations. According to the documents, it was directed at these organizations' "leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters."

Documents that were "liberated" from the Media, Pa., FBI office in 1971 and made public tell explicitly how the Philadelphia Panthers and other Philadelphia Black groups fell under the FBI's attack.

The Media documents explain how the FBI obtained information both from campus officials and from spies and provocateurs in the Black community.

One document details the FBI's "concern" over the Panthers' plans for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in 1970.

The convention was to be held in Washington, D. C., but the Panthers experienced considerable difficulty obtaining a place to hold it. They were denied the use of the National Guard Armory, which is customarily used for exhibits and conventions, and they were denied the use of Howard University's facilities.

In light of the Media documents, it seems more likely than ever that the FBI "spoke" to Howard administrators, and otherwise had a hand in keeping the Panthers from getting a convention site.

But this is only one small example of Watergating, a practice that has been used by all capitalist politicians to put down struggles against their policies.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have launched a far-reaching suit against the Watergaters. Nixon and other present and former government officials are named as defendants. The aim of the suit is to help put a halt to Watergating against socialists, Blacks, and all others struggling against government policies. As a result of the suit some secret papers from the FBI and other agencies have already been brought to light, and more will follow.

Supporting this suit is a good way to get out the truth on continuing illegal secret-police operations and it deserves the support of all Blacks, especially Black victims of Watergating.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is publicizing the suit and raising money for legal expenses. Those interested in supporting the effort or getting more information can write to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Interview with Mike Parkhurst

Problems facing independent truckers

The massive truckers' shutdown in February put the spotlight of public attention on the problems faced by independent owner-operator truck drivers and on their determination not to sacrifice their livelihood for a contrived energy crisis. In the aftermath of the strike, which was not able to win its central demands, discussion continues among truckers and other working people about how to fight back against the fuel shortages and skyrocketing prices. Some of the questions involved are the evaluation of the February shutdown, the role of the government, and the policies of the trade unions.

As part of this discussion, Militant correspondent Della Rossa interviewed Mike Parkhurst, editor and publisher of *Overdrive* magazine, near the end of the February strike. Parkhurst's office served as a communications center in both the December and February truckers' strikes. Parkhurst, 37, was a trucker for 10 years before starting *Overdrive* magazine in 1961.

Question. How did you get into publishing *Overdrive*?

Answer. I had put in around 800,000 miles on the road and decided there should be an honest magazine that would expose the ills and evils that are attacking truckers—bad roads, filthy truck stops, corruption, crookedness within the Teamsters union.

Q. What is the circulation of *Overdrive*?

A. About 68,000, including 20,000 home subscribers. It's read primarily by owner-operator over-the-road truckers.

Q. About how many owner-operators are there in the country?

A. There are about 100,000 long-distance owner-operators and perhaps 75,000 local owner-operators.

Q. What kind of companies do the owner-operators haul for?

A. In freight there are big companies like Mid-West Emery and in furniture there's Bekins, North American Van Lines, and Mayflower, etc. Almost all the moving companies hire owner-operators to haul their trailers. Produce is usually handled by individual owner-operators or small fleet owners.

Big companies like Consolidated Freightways hire owner-operators who lease their tractors to the company permanently. The public never knows this because the rigs have the company's name on them. The company only owns the trailer, which is the cheapest part of the unit.

Q. Do owner-operators usually start as company drivers?

A. Yes, frequently. But sometimes they were never in trucking before. That's a rough way to go.

Q. How many long-haul owner-operators belong to the Teamsters in your estimate?

A. Possibly ten to fifteen thousand at the most. And they don't get any benefits from it—it's a forced situation.

Q. Don't they get benefits called for in the contracts?

A. No, because the Teamsters don't enforce any contracts between the owner-operator and the company. His pay is based on percentage or mileage, and the Teamsters don't do anything about that. Also, almost none of the owner-operators are covered under the Central States Pension Fund agreement.

The companies they lease to usually insist they belong to the Teamsters because they have contracts with them covering other operations, such as warehousing, and they don't want any hassle.

Q. What percentage of over-the-road owner-operators own more than one rig and employ other drivers?

A. That's very difficult to estimate. Nobody has any figures, but it would probably run about 20 percent.

Q. Are owner-operator rates for load, time, or

mileage set by the Interstate Commerce Commission or are they negotiated with the different companies?

A. That's a whole big can of worms. The ICC works with rate bureaus, which are clearinghouses for rates. Rates are suggested by these bureaus and then controlled by them after the companies get together and agree on a rate.

Q. How about the 6 percent surcharge authorized by Washington to offset increased operating costs? Will the owner-operators receive this or will it be taken away in some other form?

A. First of all, the truckers who shut down and blockaded did not ask for the 6 percent surcharge. They were asking for a fuel price rollback, an audit of oil company books to disclose reserves, and elimination of the 55-mile speed limit.

Secondly, only 20 percent of the owner-operators—those who lease to common carriers—would get the surcharge.

That 6 percent can be eaten up by other costs, primarily the continued increase in the cost of fuel.

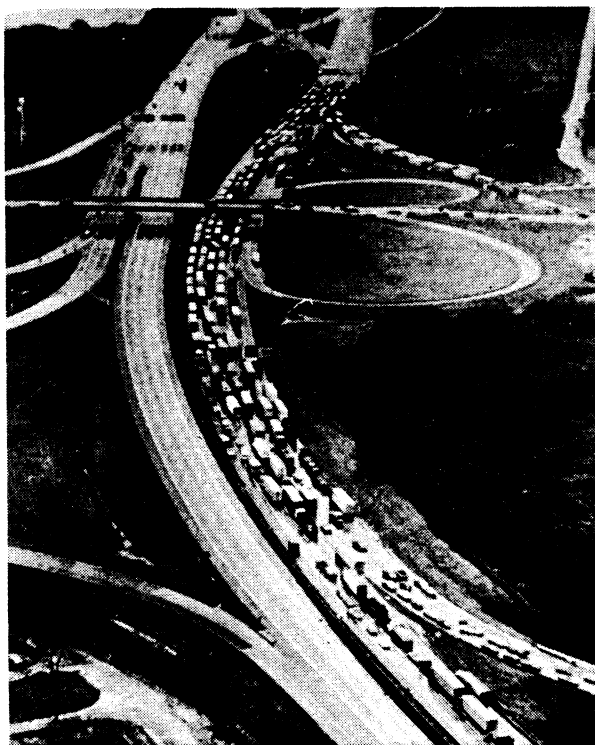
The overall inflationary spiral has already forced some truckers out of business, so there's more involved than a few extra dollars a trip. It's cost them their whole life—their livelihood.

A more subtle way the 6 percent surcharge can hurt the driver is that temporarily he might think he's got something and would be less on his guard against other legislation which might hurt him.

Q. Do you think a fuel price rollback is a practical possibility?

A. Well, it would be practical for everybody except the oil companies. They don't like to roll back prices.

Q. About the truckers' demand for an audit of oil reserves. Who would do it and how would the results be made public? That is, could the government be relied on to open the books, or would



Truckers' protest in Delaware. 'NONE of the demands made by truckers have been met. . . .'

trucker participation be necessary to back up this demand?

A. An audit could possibly be handled through the Internal Revenue Service or the Justice Department. But this would be effective only if the method is made public. The complete mechanism would have to be spelled out to give confidence to the American public that the audit is an honest one. The location of every oil tank, tanker, and well would have to be given.

Truckers and anyone else should be able to look at the books on oil reserves. The audits should be published.

Q. What has the role of the federal government been in the present crisis and truckers' shutdown?

A. It has not been neutral at all. Congress has been lethargic, and the administration has been



State police confront truckers in Ohio. The Nixon administration 'definitely was and is pro-oil.'

active in raising the banner of the oil companies.

The fact that Simon, who was an investment banker, was put in as energy "czar" should be an indication of the way the administration thinks. It definitely was and is pro-oil. It fights for the oil companies.

Q. Your magazine has campaigned against corruption in the Teamsters. But what is your attitude toward the Teamsters as a union? Do you feel workers need a union?

A. Workers obviously need a union or they would be even more exploited. Most unions help their members, and we have long advocated active participation in the unions. When unions become corrupt, what they have to do is kick out the people who are corrupt, not destroy the union.

Q. What do you see as the next stage in the truckers' fight? Do you expect another strike?

A. I hope not. But if Congress doesn't pass legislation without loopholes there will be. Actually NONE of the demands made by the truckers have been met—the rollback of fuel prices, full allocation of oil, and a public audit of oil company resources. The truckers' whole livelihood depends on these demands.

The truckers are preparing for another shutdown starting May 13. Next time there won't be the emphasis on blockades. The news media and the national guard seemed to want violence during these blockades. There was one report from Pennsylvania that a national guardsman sent there to prevent violence actually slashed truck tires!

Next time the truckers will emphasize picketing, demonstrative marches, and meetings all over the country. We feel that about 98 percent of the owner-operators read issues of *Overdrive* and support the three key demands we started to emphasize in the magazine last year.

We expect to get the support of FASH (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers) and its 2,000 members in the next shutdown, too.

One way we can measure our support is the returns we got on the survey we made. We sent it out to 20,000 truckers, and within 10 days about 10,000 of them returned the questionnaires—paying their own postage—agreeing with the demands and naming *Overdrive* as their communications center and sole voice.

At the height of this last shutdown, this office was handling thousands of calls a day from truckers all over the country. They let us know what was happening where they were. We logged the calls and pinpointed the situation on maps in our communications room. That enabled us to get the information out to the truckers across the country. We expect to do the same thing in the next shutdown.

Demonstrations, student strikes in Spain protest garroting of Catalan anarchist

By CAROLINE LUND

Street demonstrations and student strikes in Spain protested the government's savage execution of Salvador Puig Antich on March 2.

Puig, a 26-year-old Catalan anarchist, was a member of the Iberian Liberation Movement. He was killed by garroting—a barbaric form of execution dating from the fourteenth century.

"The garrote is a metal collar that when tightened kills the victim through strangulation or through the breaking of the spine where it joins the base of the neck," explained the *New York Times*.

Puig had been convicted by a military tribunal on charges of killing a policeman. Appeals to save him from execution came from a wide spectrum of religious, professional, and political groups throughout Spain and from all over the world. The Archbishop of Barcelona approached Franco for clemency. Lawyers held an all-night vigil at the Barcelona bar association on Puig's behalf. And students and workers in Spain and in other European countries held demonstrations demanding his release.

But despite promises for a "liberalization" of political life by Premier Carlos Arias Navarro—who took over after the assassination last December of then-premier Luis Carrero Blanco—the government went ahead with the execution. According to *New York Times* reporter Henry Giniger, "The Government was believed to have been under heavy pressure from the police, army and right-wing groups to show no mercy to Puig."

According to the *Times*, 2,000 people gathered March 10 in Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, for a memorial service for the young anarchist. The meeting ended in a demonstration, which was broken up by police.

Giniger wrote in a March 6 dispatch, "The main universities in Barcelona and Madrid are virtually paralyzed and heavily patrolled by riot policemen," after students organized demonstrations and a strike to protest the murder of Puig.

A United Press International dispatch reported a demonstration of 1,500 in Paris protesting the execution.

The Liga Comunista (Communist League) of Spain, supporters of the Fourth International, issued a statement condemning the execution and placing this atrocity in the context of the evolution of the Franco dictatorship. It stated, in part:

"Ten years ago, two anarchist militants, Joaquín Delgado and Francisco Granados, were executed by the infamous garrote. Three months later, after being savagely tortured, the Communist leader Julian Grimau was shot. At that time, the Director General of Security in charge of all the repressive forces was Carlos Arias Navarro.

"Today the 'liberalizing' government presided over by this same hangman, taking up the legacy of the Carrero Blanco cabinet that preceded it, has committed a new crime, a crime for which the masses will make the Franco regime pay."

Referring to the arrest of 200 activists in the first two months of the Arias regime, the statement called for "a broad mass movement throughout

the Spanish state and the greatest possible international support" to answer this repression.

It called on the *comisiones obreras* (workers commissions) to take the lead in organizing mass actions of workers, students, and peasants under the protection of self-defense squads "to block the criminal barbarism of the Franco regime."

The statement said that through the execution the dictatorship hoped to intimidate and demobilize the masses, who have increasingly moved into struggle.

However the repression has not succeeded. As an article in the March 3



Salvador Puig Antich

New York Times stated, "In its two months of life the Arias Government has failed in its main goal—maintenance of law and order. There are, at present, more strikes than ever."

In addition to continuing strikes and protests by workers, the Franco regime has been shaken by a dispute involving both the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and the Basque nationalist movement.

On Feb. 27 the government placed the Archbishop of Bilbao, Antonio Anoveros Ataún, under house arrest for speaking out in defense of civil rights for the Basque people. A sermon by Anoveros, read at Sunday masses throughout one of the Basque provinces of Spain, condemned the "oppression of peoples," and called for language rights and "just freedom" for the Basque nation.

The Franco regime has been unable to carry out its order expelling Anoveros from the country because of support for him within Spain and from the Vatican. Petitions containing 12,000 signatures of Catholics in his diocese have been submitted to the government on his behalf.

Prime Minister Arias has declared that he will not tolerate political activity by religious figures, and has even threatened to cancel the 1953 Concordat between the Spanish government and the Vatican over the Anoveros incident. The Concordat protects church officials from arrest and prosecution without Vatican approval, as well as according the church financial aid and the right to teach Catholicism in all the schools.

Swedish ambassador answers Chile junta

By STEVE BECK

NEW YORK—Harald Edelstam, former Swedish ambassador to Chile, has begun a speaking tour of the United States and Canada to get out the truth about the Chilean junta's regime of terror.

Ambassador Edelstam was expelled from Chile by the junta Dec. 4, 1973, because of his role in defending political refugees.

The groups participating in coordinating Edelstam's tour include the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Chile Refugee Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Chile Solidarity Committee, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

On the eve of Edelstam's arrival in the United States the Chilean embassy issued a press release claiming that Edelstam "intervened in internal policy" in Chile and had no authority to express an opinion on the overthrow of the Allende government.

One of Edelstam's first moves on arriving in New York was to issue a reply to these slanders. "I can only answer that my authority stems from my personal experience, from what I witnessed before, during, and after the coup," he stated. "Anyone who was an eyewitness of the events that happened in Chile at that time has the right and the responsibility to speak out against the atrocities and the violations of human rights perpetrated by the junta."

A high point of Edelstam's New York tour was his appearance at a

meeting of Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199. The 500 predominantly Black and female union delegates gave Edelstam a standing ovation and, at his urging, passed a resolution calling for the release of four trade unionists currently imprisoned in Chile. Edelstam also met with the general executive board of the United Electrical Workers.

The New York press conducted a conscious blackout of Edelstam's visit. He was interviewed, however, on the Casper Citron radio show, and debated a spokesman for the junta on TV.

The focus of the New York tour was a city-wide rally March 6 attended by nearly 300 people, including several delegates to the United Nations. One of the speakers who paid tribute

to Edelstam was Edmund Horman, father of the American filmmaker Charles Horman, who was murdered by junta troops. Joyce Horman, widow of the filmmaker, described the unwelcome response received by U.S. citizens at the American embassy following the coup.

Fernanda Navarra, personal secretary to Hortensia Allende, was another featured speaker.

Also participating was Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and part of a Commission of Inquiry that just returned from Chile. He noted that one of the main new concentration camps in Chile, Dawson Island, is near Antarctica and will become a deathtrap for its inmates during the winter, which is now beginning. "We

talk about freedom, about leading the Free World. Let's do something about freedom," he said. "Let's close down Dawson Island!"

In his remarks, Edelstam described how he and his staff rescued and protected those seeking asylum, often by fetching them in the ambassador's own limousine and pretending they were Swedish embassy aides. "During three months I transferred in this way about 400 persons. We managed to get about 800 refugees over to Sweden."

The rally was cosponsored by Amnesty International, USLA, Chile Solidarity Committee, Chileans for Democracy, Emergency Committee to Save Chilean Health Workers, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

During his tour of the New York area Edelstam addressed meetings at Brooklyn College, Columbia University, Old Westbury College, and Rutgers University. These meetings were sponsored by academic departments, student government organizations, and Black and Latin groups. He was a guest of honor at a meeting of leaders of the National Council of Churches' Latin American Working Group.

A cocktail party for Edelstam raised about \$800 for the Chile Appeal, a fund earmarked for aid to blacklisted workers, orphans, and refugees, and legal aid to political prisoners. All money raised through the tour will go to this fund.

To find out when Edelstam will be speaking in your area and how you can help build his tour, contact USLA at 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010. Phone: (212) 691-2880.



Edelstam addressing New York rally

Militant/Jean Verthein

For an independent Black pa

By NORMAN OLIVER

Carl Stokes is a strong believer in what he calls "working through the system." His new book, *Promises of Power*, is the story of how he put this strategy into practice as a Black Democrat and as the first Black mayor of a large city.

In the book, Stokes admits that the conditions of Black people were not significantly changed during his administration. He tells story after story about how the Democratic Party, which he served, and Cleveland's corporations, police, and press—all frustrated his attempts to make even the most limited changes.

Nevertheless, after drawing this very dismal and pessimistic picture of what he accomplished by "working in the system" he projects a strategy of more of the same.

We should take a close look at the balance sheet drawn by Stokes in his "political autobiography" because, despite his intentions, the book provides powerful arguments for why Black people should break with the Democratic Party and take an independent road.

Getting elected

Stokes points out that despite his early reputation as an independent politician, throughout his entire political career everything he did was aimed at winning the backing of the Democratic Party.

Stokes got the backing of the Democratic machine in Cleveland for the 1967 mayoral race, the year he was elected.

He also had the support of President Lyndon Johnson in that race. After announcing his campaign, Stokes received a phone call from Vice-president Hubert Humphrey. Offering to help Stokes in any way he could, Humphrey cynically said, "I'll come to Cleveland and praise you, or I'll come in and denounce you, whatever you think

Promises of Power: A Political Autobiography by Carl Stokes. Simon and Schuster. New York, 1973. 288 pp.

will help." Stokes thought Humphrey could be of most help if he stayed away altogether.

Stokes won the support of Johnson and the Democratic Party because it was felt that his election would have a dampening effect on the Black liberation movement.

The country had been rocked by rebellions in the Black ghettos from coast to coast. Watts, Newark, Detroit, to name a few, showed the combativity and militancy of Black Americans. The rise of the demand for "Black Power" and the growing acceptance of the ideas of Malcolm X reflected increasing sentiment among many in the Black community for independent political action.

If this happened, if Black people were to move outside the Democratic Party, it would be a death



Electing Democrats or Republicans doesn't get to the root of problems facing Black people.



Stokes requested that National Guard be sent into Cleveland in 1968 to put down Black rebellion

Muhammad Akbar

blow to that party, which depends on the Black vote to win. In the view of the capitalists, who control both the Democratic and Republican parties, motion toward a break from the two-party system had to be stopped—nipped in the bud.

Carrot and the stick

The most important problem facing the ruling class then, and now, was how were they going to maintain control of the explosive Black communities in the big cities. Their approach was twofold.

One aspect was the launching of an intensive campaign of repression in the Black community. A racist hysteria against Blacks was whipped up through "law and order" campaigns.

Black leaders were assassinated. Militants were railroaded to jail on frame-up charges. The Black Panther Party became a special target of this government repression. Police departments across the country established special units for repression in the Black community.

Recent revelations show that the White House and the FBI played an initiating and guiding role in this brutal assault on democratic rights. Militant Blacks and others fighting for social change were the most victimized by this attack.

Co-option

This campaign of government repression contributed to setting back the Black liberation movement. But just as important in undermining the struggle was the co-option of militants by the Democratic Party.

The white ruling class knows that as long as Black people are tied to the Democratic and Republican parties, we will be unable to mount an effective fight against racist discrimination.

Stokes explains how it was fear that the Democratic Party was losing its grip on the Black community that led to his getting the nod from his white bosses.

The mood in Cleveland in 1967, writes Stokes, was one of, among other things, "fear of the niggers." He goes on to admit that "the businessmen could look at my record and see that I was out there fighting for their and [Ohio governor] Jim Rhodes's pork barrel. Clearly, I was a 'safe' candidate. In the backs of their minds, those white men believed that if they put me out front they would be buying off the ghetto."

Stokes mentions an episode during his 1967 campaign that illustrates how he played the role of a pacifier in the Black community. Stokes didn't want anyone in Cleveland organizing any protests or demonstrations because, he said, "I knew I could do things that no civil-rights march ever did." It was for this reason that he told Martin Luther King not to come to Cleveland to register Black voters. Stokes felt it would "create problems that we do not have now."

King came but maintained a low profile.

At about the same time, Stokes played a role

in buying off the Cleveland chapter of CORE—which had been one of the largest and most militant CORE chapters in the country—with a Ford Foundation grant.

Stokes's role as pacifier was even more clear when he became mayor.

Stokes as mayor

Among the many campaign promises Stokes made, his pledge to make the police force responsive to the Black community was the most well received.

Yet, as mayor, Stokes says he himself lived in fear of the cops, whom he claims he couldn't always control. At the same time, Stokes used this police force as a club against the Black community.

As a Democratic mayor, Stokes's job was to attempt to fool Black people into thinking city hall represented them. For those who wouldn't play by his rules, he needed a well-equipped and trained police force to club them with. Under Stokes the Cleveland police were equipped with everything from dum dum bullets to a tank.

In writing about his meetings with Black activists in Cleveland, Stokes shows how he used the police to threaten militants. He says he told the Black radicals: "I want you to work with me, cooperate with me. The extent to which you will, I am going to help you all I can. But when you go past me, you better understand that I am going to step back and you are going to have to face that white cop."

When Blacks in the Hough area of Cleveland rebelled in protest to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Stokes called in the cops.

Another example of Stokes's readiness to use the cops to repress the Black community is the Glenville police raid on the headquarters of a group of Black activists in 1967. An entire chapter of *Promises of Power* is devoted to the Glenville events.

Glenville

On July 23, 1968, drunken, white racist cops attacked the Black community in Glenville. This attack followed on the heels of a gun battle in the Glenville area, which resulted in the death of three cops. Ahmed Evans was later framed up and convicted of murdering these cops, who were part of a police attack force that raided Evans's group's headquarters.

The police violence following the shoot-out was intense. The cops ran amok. Not only did they terrorize the Black population as a whole, but they even began to attack Black cops. White cops said they were justified in beating up Black cops because the Black police might join the other Blacks in attempting to defend the community from the racist attack.

Stokes tries to blame the entire police riot on Ahmed Evans. But some facts revealed in the book help to prove otherwise.

Party--answer to Carl Stokes

Stokes publishes in his book a statement of a Black cop, Sergeant Bosie Mack, who was involved in the police surveillance of Evans. This report corroborates claims that the police set up some of their own colleagues to provide a pretext for attacking the Glenville community.

The Eisenhower Commission, which investigated the facts surrounding the Glenville raid, concluded that there was no real evidence to prove that Evans had fired the first shot as Stokes claims in his book.

As bad as Stokes makes the cops out to be, his chapter on the Glenville raid is a whitewash of the police.

Racist through and through

Stokes's experiences help expose the real nature of capitalist government.

Stokes knew long before Watergate how corrupt and undemocratic this society is. During his efforts as mayor to bring the police under his full control, he discovered that the cops had bugged his phone.

In speaking about his eight years of experience with the courts as cop, lawyer, and prosecutor, Stokes says, "I witness that justice is not blind; neither is it just."

Stokes also spends a chapter explaining how the news media are controlled by white racists. He shows how the press has institutionalized its racism and biased reporting.

Racism prevails

Even mayors, if they are Black, can't escape racist abuse. Stokes found this out and relates a number of incidents to illustrate his point.

During the Glenville police riot, Stokes went into the cordoned-off area to attempt to quiet things down. Only his personal bodyguard, also Black, went along.

They were stopped by the national guardsmen—ordered into the city at Stokes's request—who stuck their machine guns into the car windows demanding to know who Stokes was. After Stokes explained, the guardsmen told him he shouldn't drive through the area without a National Guard escort since some of the guardsmen might "let go" if they saw two Black men in a limousine.

Following an incident in which a Black youth was supposed to have killed a young white man, Stokes went to the white neighborhood to try to calm people down. He was met with racist slurs and hostility.

Later that evening, Stokes's home was assaulted by more than 200 of these people, who lived just blocks away from his home. "I am the mayor," Stokes says, "and my family is hiding on the floor in a dark house. . . . My house is under siege by a gang of white hoodlums." Police protection prevented the whites from reaching the Stokes residence.

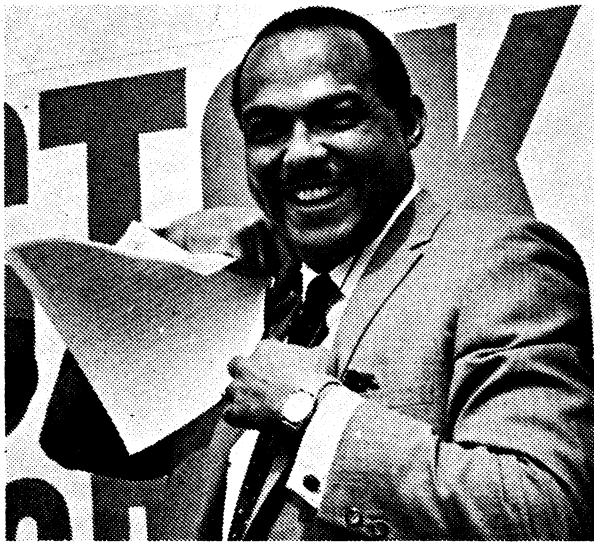
Black political power

Stokes ends his book with a chapter on the future of Black politics. He says in this chapter that the country is "headed on a conservative course." Stokes goes on to say, "The forces of reaction are too great. If 12 percent of the people were physically to confront the other 88, challenging their control, they would be doomed."

Stokes dismisses white working people—most of the "88 percent"—as potential allies of the Black community. He fails to see that white workers face many of the same problems that Blacks face and that these problems are created by the same enemy—the capitalist class. It is this small minority—the handful of bankers, real estate sharks, and big businessmen who rule America—who have a real stake in maintaining racist oppression. Yet, it is they that Stokes, and other Black Democrats, ally themselves with in the Democratic Party.

Stokes says he told the national convention of the NAACP in 1966 that "the way to better jobs, schools and housing was through the political process. The civil-rights laws were on the books by that time. The time for marching was over, I told them. It was time to move in, time to quit throwing rocks at the ripest apples, time to move in and politically shake that tree." By "shake that tree," Stokes obviously means working through the Democratic Party.

Stokes sees any political activity outside the framework of the Democratic and Republican parties as being "extremist." He uses ultralefts in



Carl Stokes, like all Black Democratic mayors, discouraged independent struggles against racist oppression.

the Black liberation movement as a foil for explaining his reformist strategy.

In reality, there is a striking similarity between the strategy of Stokes and that of the ultralefts he so vehemently criticizes. The ultralefts think that the deeds of individuals such as "offing pigs" will end police brutality. Stokes, on the other hand, thinks that one Black person in office can "do more than any civil rights march ever did." Both are wrong.

The power of the Black community lies in our numbers in the major cities and the fact that we are a vital part of production. The civil rights laws were put on the books, and for that matter, Stokes was put into office, as concessions to the militant activity of masses of Black people. These concessions had to be wrung out of the capitalist class.

It was the mobilizations of Blacks in the civil rights movement that forced the government to put civil rights laws on the books. It was only when the cities were burning down, when the rage and anger of the Black community was encouraging a break with capitalist politics, that the white bosses of America gave their support to Black capitalist politicians. Stokes knows this is true. He admits that that is the reason he got elected in Cleveland.

Even if what Stokes was after was Black political power, this is an impossible goal to achieve in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Growing numbers of Blacks are coming to this understanding. The time is ripe to break with the racist policies of the Democrats and Republicans. That the Black community would enthusiastically respond to this is shown by the response Stokes himself got the first time he ran for mayor of Cleveland in 1965.

Stokes ran in that race as an independent. He had massive support in the Black community, as he explains in his book. His 1965 campaign was seen as a break with the Democratic Party. For this reason, the Socialist Workers Party called for a vote for Stokes in that race. His campaign was

an example to Blacks of the fact that the Black community could be effective politically (Stokes nearly won) without the Democratic Party.

Two years later when Stokes ran with the support of the Democratic Party, much of the enthusiasm in the Black community was gone. Stokes speaks of this in his book as well.

Promises of Power shows that to improve the conditions in the Black community will require using the full power of Black people. A broad, massive movement is necessary to fight for the changes we need, and this fight must be taken into the political arena. To do that an independent Black party is needed.

Gary & Little Rock

The idea of a Black political party is something that has been under discussion in the Black movement for many years. It was raised by some of the delegates to the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., in 1972. The question will no doubt come up again at the second Black Political Convention being held in Little Rock, Ark.

The time to take action on this idea is long past. Experience after experience has shown the need for such a party and the bankruptcy of the policy of continuing to support Democrats.

Since Stokes's election in 1967, Black mayors have been elected in a number of major cities. Their election shows the potential political power of Black people and the deep desire for Black political representation. But, because these aspirations have been channeled into support for the Democratic Party, Black people remain politically powerless.

Moreover, like Stokes, these Black elected officials have actually helped dampen the independent struggles of the Black community. They do this by sowing illusions about what individual Democrats and the Democratic Party itself will do, by proclaiming the end of the need for demonstrations and grass-roots struggles, and by buying off Black groups and individuals with government and foundation funds.

These Black Democrats gained the support of the white capitalists who control the Democratic Party precisely because the ruling rich know the function they will serve.

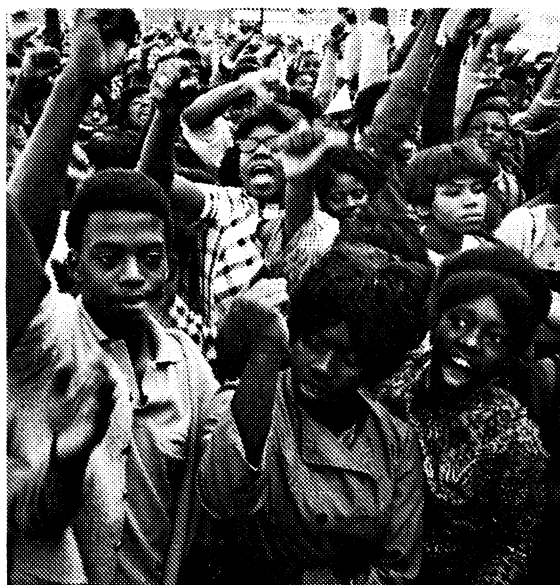
What is needed is a real alternative to the Democrats—a Black party that can organize the power of Black people in day-to-day struggles in the streets and at the ballot box.

Unlike the Democrats, and unlike the ultralefts, such a party would rely on the power and strength of the masses of Black people in action. It would reject the concept that individual politicians can solve our problems.

A Black party would take the perspective of independent political action to the Black community. It would help lead the broad struggles necessary to eliminate the miserable conditions Black people are forced to live in.

When such a party is built, that will be effective Black political power. And that will mark a great step forward in achieving complete liberation for Black people.

Socialist program for Black liberation



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...city workers tie up San Francisco; fight

Continued from page 28

portion to their present salaries than those accorded administrators and higher-paid classifications.

On Feb. 19 the executive board of the four locals met in joint session and sanctioned a strike.

On March 4 the board of supervisors' legislative and personnel committee, which had been considering the Civil Service Commission's recommendation in secret executive session, made its proposal to the board of supervisors. It was accepted by a 6-to-3 vote.

The proposals change the Civil Service Commission recommendation only slightly. The 7,700 workers originally set for no raise were now slated to receive 2 percent. The 2,500 originally supposed to get 2.5 percent were now offered 3 percent. Nothing else was changed.

Moreover, the board of supervisors proposed to take away the right of workers to withdraw their unused sick leave in cash on retirement or on leaving city employment. This would have cost some older city workers thousands of dollars in sick leave pay accumulated over decades of employment.

As a final slap in the face, the city employees' election day holiday was to be rescinded.

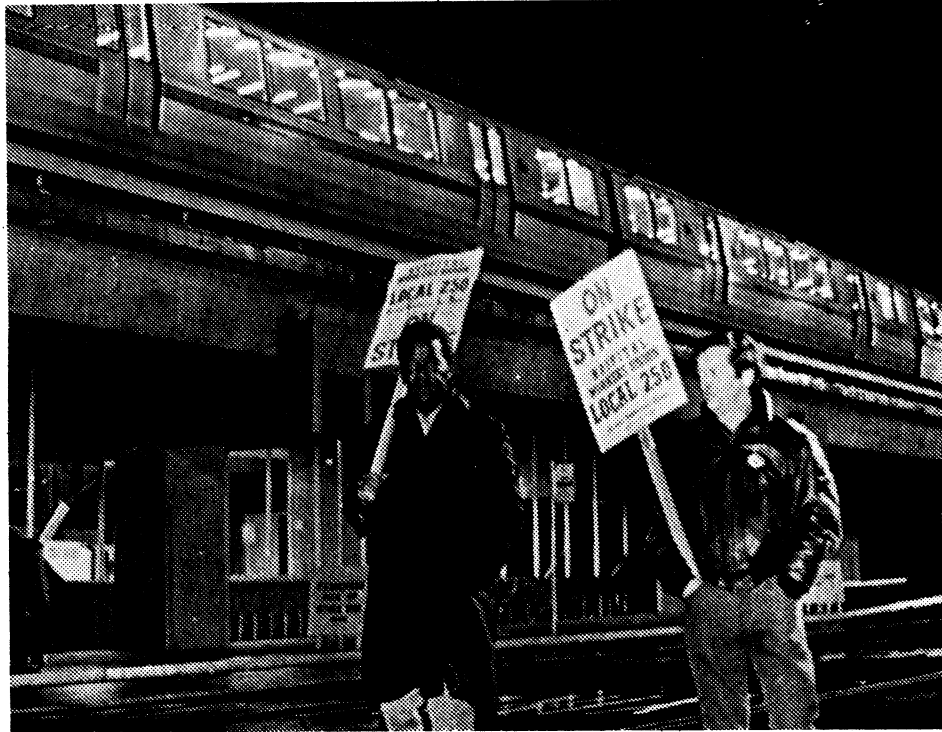
That same night more than 2,000 workers voted 10-to-1 to reject the board of supervisors' offer and to strike. The next day Jack Crowley, executive secretary of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, announced the council's sanction for the strike.

Strike committee

In the meantime the union was organizing a rank-and-file strike committee open to all members. The strike committee began to organize in earnest.

A negotiating committee composed of five rank-and-file members from each local was set up. Its members observe all the negotiations and have to agree before any settlement is proposed to the membership. Moreover, any settlement will have to be accepted by a general membership meeting before the strike is settled.

These measures represent a strengthening of democratic membership control over the union, necessitated by an unsuccessful strike in 1970. At that time negotiations were taken over by leaders of the Central Labor Council and the Teamsters union, who called off the strike in the middle and then



City transportation has been paralyzed by solidarity action with city workers' strike.

forced a poor settlement on the membership.

As the strike deadline approached, the stage was set for Mayor Alioto's personal entrance onto the scene.

Posing as a "mediator," Alioto met with union officials. They agreed to postpone the strike 24 hours in the hope of settlement. It was announced to the press that the strike was averted, and a union official went to strike headquarters to deliver the message.

But by then it was past 11 p.m. and too late, since the strike was set for midnight. With many pickets already dispatched to their locations, and hundreds more massed at strike headquarters and ready to go, it was decided to go ahead with the strike.

Any other decision would have crippled the momentum that was developing and, as one picket captain put it, "in the eyes of the membership it would have been 1970 all over again."

The next morning, March 7, TV, radio, and newspapers announced that the strike was averted. But thousands of city workers paid the media absolutely no attention.

In many places, half the workers didn't even bother to show up for work to see if the media stories were true. The pickets went to the locations as planned and successfully turned away most of those who did show up for work. The strike was at least 80 percent effective.

The news media have viciously bait-

ed and lied about the strike. They falsely referred to the first day of the walkout as "wildcat" in order to depict the strike as somehow illegitimate. They have broadcast appeals for "volunteers" to scab on the hospital workers. An editorial in the Hearst-owned *Examiner* called city workers "over-paid" and the strike "illegal."

The Democrats and Republicans on the board of supervisors—many of whom were endorsed or supported for election by the trade-union officials in San Francisco—have already openly revealed their hostility to the city workers.

Democrat scabs

Dianne Feinstein, a Democrat who is president of the board of supervisors and was endorsed by the SEIU when she ran, scabbed in a hospital laundry for the benefit of TV cameras, inadvertently performing what one striker called "the first few minutes of useful work she ever did."

"A fake," "a jerk," "a phony," are some of the terms being reserved for Alioto, despite the fact that to this very day the leadership of SEIU, as well as the rest of the San Francisco labor movement, supports his bid for the Democratic nomination for governor. Even now there are "Alioto for Governor" posters up at strike headquarters.

Alioto's strikebreaking role has been revealed to the workers in many ways. It was his Civil Service Commission—headed by his campaign manager—that made the original recommendation for no raise for fully half the city workers.

Alioto was also one of those who called the first day of the strike "wildcat" in order to discredit it. And he termed Muni drivers' refusal to cross picket lines "unconscionable."

Any decision made by the board of supervisors is open to veto by him, as chief executive of the city.

By posing as a "mediator" despite the fact that he is in fact the boss, he was almost able to delay the strike in a way that would have seriously crippled it. All of this shows the dangers of placing any reliance on him to settle the dispute in favor of the workers.

At this writing negotiations are stalled by the board of supervisors demanding that workers in the hospitals and sewage plants return to work before any negotiations can begin.

No matter what happens, this strike will have a powerful impact. It marks the emergence of a new force in the labor movement in San Francisco—the public employees, who are just discovering their power.

Teachers strike for pay hike, better schools

By BOB DAVIS

SAN FRANCISCO—After more than a year of efforts to negotiate with an arrogant and unyielding board of education, the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 61, voted overwhelmingly on March 7 to go out on strike.

The meeting was called on only two days notice in response to the impending strike by city employees. Thus the teachers joined the picket lines of 12,000 other city workers, not only as supporters but with demands of their own.

The teachers' main demands are: a 15 percent cost-of-living salary adjustment for teachers; a 15 percent salary increase, job security, and fringe benefits for paraprofessionals; permanent status for children's centers programs in San Francisco, with parity for children's centers teachers; equity for day-to-day substitutes in regard to salary, working conditions, and hiring procedures.

Also, improved working conditions for special services personnel; lower class-size limits and adequate reading, bilingual, and other programs; and good-faith talks on a host of other items, such as transfer procedures, contained in a Master Agreement Proposal.

So far the board has responded with a 6 percent offer with unacceptable strings attached—that the teachers make no objections as to where the money for this 6 percent raise comes from. Under these terms the board would be free to cut out educational programs and cut back staff.

On the first day the strike had more support than any previous teachers' strike in the San Francisco area. Although lack of public transportation due to the city workers' strike could account for many students staying home, strong support from teachers was evident. Even several elementary schools, which were not closed by past strikes, were closed this time.

The AFT, representing slightly more than half of the city's 4,500 teachers, took the initiative for the strike on its own. The California Teachers Association (CTA), affiliated with the National Education Association, has issued a statement asking its members to follow their consciences in respecting the picket lines.

In the past, the CTA has directed its members to cross AFT picket lines.

Many substitute teachers have been organized into the union since the last strike in 1971, and are a major asset. Instead of being used to break the strike, they have largely joined it. A group of substitutes have constituted themselves into a flying squad to beef up picket lines where necessary.

This is especially important given the fact that there are an estimated 5,000 teachers now unemployed in the Bay Area. Those who do find work as substitutes consider themselves lucky if they earn \$200 to \$300 a month. This massive unemployment among teachers means a big pressure for scabbing, which support from the substitutes has helped cut across.

The fact that the teachers have raised demands for improving education—like smaller class-size limits and bilingual education—will help win cru-

Women strikers take the lead

Women predominate in the lowest classifications of clerical and hospital workers that are spearheading the San Francisco public employees strike. Women are prominent everywhere on the picket lines.

One example is the librarians, who are mostly women. One male picket captain, who had been picketing at various locations around the city, was amazed. "Everywhere I go—at the Muni barns, at city hall, all over the place—I run into librarians."

Maxine Jenkins, an organizer of clerical workers SEIU Local 400, spoke on the upsurge in militancy of women workers at a San Francisco Militant Labor Forum held March 8, International Women's Day.

"Clerical workers are among the most highly skilled of all workers," she said, "but they are among the lowest paid. That is because they are predominantly women. But I think now that clerical workers are organizing themselves as other skilled workers did in the past."



Militant/Howard Petrick

for living wage

cial public support for the strike. More than 50 percent of public school attendance is comprised of children from the Black, Spanish-speaking, Chinese, and other minority communities.

One sign of community support came in the form of the position of Child and Parent Action in support of the teachers' child-care demand. Child and Parent Action is the child-care coalition that put the child-care initiative on the November ballot in San Francisco.

Sears strikers urge united actions

SAN FRANCISCO—Defying a court injunction against mass picketing, striking Sears workers of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100 and their supporters held a picket line and rally of 400 on March 9.

The rally was sponsored by the San Francisco Labor Council. Striking city employees and teachers joined the Sears strikers.

Three hundred Sears workers, on strike for six-and-a-half months now, face a union-busting campaign on the part of the giant retail chain. Linking the Sears strike to the new strikes by city workers and teachers, Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Local 1100, called at the rally for a general work stoppage in solidarity with all three strikes.

Johnson also announced that he and Local 1100 had been cited for contempt of court for ignoring the injunction against mass picketing.

Other speakers at the rally included representatives of the Central Labor Council, the striking Service Employees International Union Local 400, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the American Federation of Teachers, the Farmworkers Boycott Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, the Painters union, United Auto Workers, and others.

The Sears strike, the issues it represents, and Johnson's call for united labor action have taken on particular relevance in the past week because of the city employees' strike.

On Feb. 25 the Central Labor Council had passed a motion to hold a general membership meeting of affiliated unions to respond to the union-

busting attempt by Sears. At the March 11 council meeting, Johnson submitted a resolution calling for a 24-hour work stoppage and a "mass unity rally" in support of striking Sears workers, city workers, teachers, and culinary workers, who are also out.

The reading of Johnson's resolution in the council meeting was met by enthusiasm from most of the delegates. But the resolution was referred to the council executive committee.

The Sears strikers have understood from the beginning of their struggle that they alone could not bring a giant corporation like Sears Roebuck to terms. They linked their problems to the problems facing all labor, and appealed to the rest of the labor movement for support.

By January, four of the original seven locals on strike had settled with the company. But the remaining strikers refused to buckle, organized a new support committee, expanded picketing, sponsored newspaper ads, and organized a rally of 1,500.

The Sears workers have set an example of labor unity, militancy, and determination. The strike by thousands of city workers can only be a boost to their struggle.

Socialist candidates back strike

The following are excerpts from a statement released March 11 by the 1974 California Socialist Workers Party election campaign and distributed on picket lines of striking city workers.

The Socialist Workers Party 1974 election campaign gives full support to the demands and strike action of the city employees in San Francisco.

The actions taken by the city workers provide an inspiring example to other unions attempting to beat back the growing assault on the living standards of working people by the corporations and the government.

The labor solidarity on the part of the Muni drivers and striking teachers are important signs of the unity necessary to win a strike of this magnitude against San Francisco's anti-labor Democratic and Republican party city administration.

The striking workers, though, face one big handicap in this strike. The leadership of their own unions and the leadership of the Central Labor Council are major organizers of the Labor for Alioto for Governor campaign.

Alioto is the boss of the city workers. This is the same Alioto who helped defeat the last city workers' strike in the role of mediator-negotiator.

This situation points graphically to the need for working people not only to carry out militant action on the economic front, but the need for labor to stop supporting the candidates and parties of the bosses and organize their own independent party and run their own candidates for office.

We need real representatives of labor on the board of supervisors—from the city workers, department store employees, Muni drivers, longshoremen, and others—not scabs like Dianne Feinstein and the rest of the Republicans and Democrats who currently control the board of supervisors 100 percent.

If you're fed up with the Democratic and Republican parties, support the California Socialist Workers Party election campaign. Vote socialist in 1974!

Wounded Knee trial

FBI balks at order to reveal documents

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Its image may be tarnished and its moral authority on the decline, but the FBI continues to conduct an unparalleled secret police operation, the defense in the Wounded Knee trial was reminded last week.

In an extraordinary revelation, the court was told by government prosecutors that the FBI has assembled 315,981 documents of one or more pages relating to last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D.

U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol ordered the FBI to show the defense some of those files after it became apparent that the prosecution had failed to turn them over to the defense. Nichol's action was based on a federal court order issued last October, mandating the government to give the defense all relevant documents it possessed.

Dennis Banks, a defendant in the case, told *The Militant* that the extent of the files "indicates there has been massive surveillance of the American Indian Movement dating back to 1972.

"It's a clear case of overkill against AIM," Banks said. Banks and Russell Means are charged with 10 federal counts for their leadership role in last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee.

The purpose of the seizure was to demand an end to government mistreatment of American Indians, restoration of democracy on the Pine Ridge Reservation, as well as to focus on a number of long-standing Indian grievances, including the abrogation by the U.S. of a number of Indian treaty rights.

The purpose of the trial is to frame up the Indian leaders for standing up for their people. By March 11, even Judge Nichol, a paragon of establishment morality, was criticizing the government for failing to give the defense the documents. Given the FBI behavior, Nichol had to say something.

The judge indicated that he was "tempted to dismiss [the charges] if only for my health's sake," but added that he was also "aware of my responsibilities." Other actions the judge says he may take include suppressing evidence not yet made available to the defense, appointing a panel of lawyers to inspect the FBI files, or ordering the prosecution to give the defense a list of all its witnesses and copies of FBI reports on interviews with them.

The judge's order to the FBI to show the defense its files had several hitches. So-called sensitive materials, including any data indicating the identity of FBI undercover agents, did not have to be shown.

Even after the judge's order, the FBI was remaining uncooperative. Means told *The Militant* March 10 that during the first day's search of the files, the FBI had refused to let the defense see most of the documents.

In the meantime, special agent Joseph Trimbach, head of the FBI's Minneapolis bureau, and supervisor of last year's FBI operation at Wounded Knee, paid a "private visit" to Judge Nichols. Banks suggested that Trimbach's purpose was to reverse the

judge's decision to open the files.

The controversy erupted during the defense cross-examination of the Reverend Paul Manhart, a priest whose parish includes Wounded Knee. Manhart was shown a photocopy of a petition signed by more than 100 people, about 70 of whom are residents of Wounded Knee. The petition states that AIM was there "at our invitation" and asked that federal agents stop firing at participants in the seizure and that they be allowed to pass freely through government roadblocks.

Manhart, when shown the petition, said that some of the signatures were forgeries because some notes next to the signatures indicating whether the signer was a resident were inaccurate.



Wounded Knee during seizure. FBI defaced petitions by residents welcoming AIM activists.

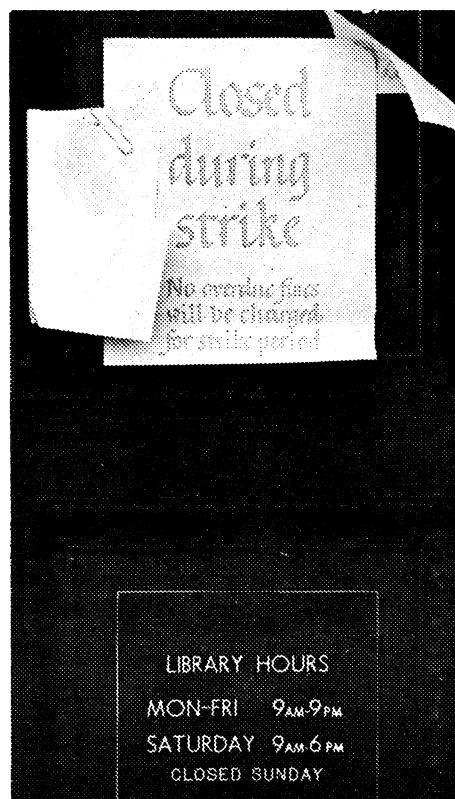
The defense said they got the photocopy from the FBI, and the FBI was ordered by the judge to produce the original. Agents showed up with the original, and it had no notes on it. The agents testified that the notes had been added by the FBI.

Judge Nichols accused the FBI of withholding and then distorting evidence. "I used to think the FBI was one of the greatest bureaus that ever came down the pike," he said. "But I think that it has deteriorated, and I don't care how many FBI agents are in the court listening to me—I think it has deteriorated," he repeated.

Nichol later said his criticisms of the FBI may have been "intemperate," but he declined to retract them.

Meanwhile the Reverend Manhart finished his testimony for the government. Means told *The Militant* that this priest "epitomizes the Church's attempt to eradicate Indian religion. He attempts to convert every Indian child—to force them all to become Christians."

Means said that Manhart would tell Indian children that they would not go to heaven unless they became Catholics. "He's truly a Wasichu," Banks said. Wasichu in the Lakota Indian language means white man or "one who steals the fat."



Militant/Howard Petrick

Protests hit UCLA 'violence center'

Congress hearing on 'behavior modification' is a whitewash

By BAXTER SMITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — When federal prisons chief Norman Carlson told a House subcommittee hearing on behavior modification that aversion therapies, lobotomies, and electric shock treatment "have not, will not, and will never be used" at federal prisons, a chorused moan rolled through the crowd that made him tug at his collar.

Carlson and Dr. Martin Groder were summoned here to the Feb. 27 hearing in the midst of rising opposition to prison behavior-modification programs. Such programs come from the notion that "crime" and "violence" stem from heredity, learning patterns, or biological impairments in the brain, rather than from an oppressive social system. Groder is the warden-designate of the nearly finished federal correctional research center under construction at Butner, N. C.

Under growing pressure, including a slew of letters to the United Nations, the recent dismantling of the START program, and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) cutoff of funding for behavior modification, the hearing was designed to quiz the pair on the wisdom of continued behavior modification.

But instead of the sharp drilling the overflow crowd hoped for, the five-man committee limited themselves to lukewarm questioning and an array of baffled looks in response to Groder and Carlson's doubletalk.

Groder stated that behavior modification is used at some federal prisons, but it consists exclusively, he

Carlson, who has a close crew cut and the air of a cop, told the hearing that the sole reason for stopping START was "economics." He said the financial burden involved in the high proportion of staff to prisoner-participants was the deciding factor, not public pressure.

Carlson scoffed at the committee's finding that only one START participant out of 19 enrolled in the program had been "cured." He said the committee's standards were too high and claimed that 10 men had successfully completed the program. Then, to the surprise of observers,

most offensive aspects. An early edition claimed that a high incidence of violence has been shown to be related to four factors: "sex (male), age (youthful), ethnicity (black) and urbanicity." But in a subsequent edition, the word "black" was dropped.

Psychosurgery and lobotomies—removal of parts of the brain to affect behavior—are among the most feared aspects of mind-control programs. Psychosurgery is but one of a number of behavior-modification techniques to be "studied" at the UCLA center.

Another would use the drug cypro-



What about 'modifying' the behavior of cops, a real threat to society.

who included representatives of prisoners' rights groups, Carlson said the biggest fault with the program was the catchy name START.

Many of Groder's and Carlson's other responses were also evasive and full of distortions.

Near the end of the hearing, Carlson pouted at one question on the need for mind-control prisons. "We're trying to do better than just locking people up. That's what these programs are all about," he blurted out, as a string of fed-up listeners trickled out the door.

UCLA violence center

One example of the sort of pressure that prompted the congressional hearing is what is going on in Los Angeles.

Militant correspondent Walter Lippmann reports that the cutoff of LEAA funding for behavior modification may prove to be a setback to the establishment of a "violence research center" at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

The proposal for the creation of a Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence at UCLA came from Governor Ronald Reagan in early 1973. It was backed by both liberal and conservative "law and order" politicians.

Although the prospect of LEAA funding for the UCLA project has now turned sour, a possibility remains that Department of Health, Education and Welfare funds may be substituted.

The UCLA violence center would work, in part, with the California prison system. And like mind-control programs in prisons, the facts surrounding the violence center have been cloaked in secrecy.

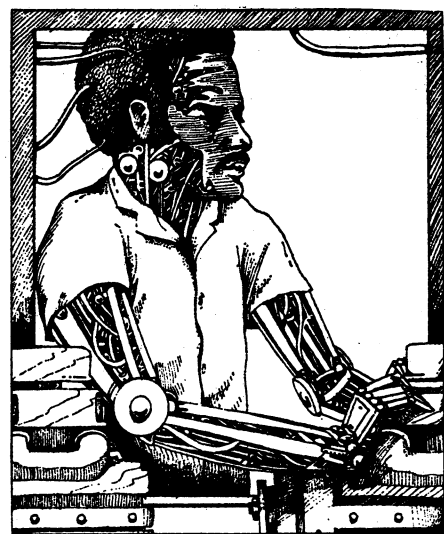
At least seven drafts of the official proposal for the center have been written, but none has been made widely available to the public.

In response to public criticism, several editions of the proposal have been laundered to remove some of the

terone acetate on men convicted of sexual offenses. The drug causes reduced production of the male sex hormone, rendering the victim impotent. Its effect has been described as "chemical castration."

Also to be examined at UCLA is the hypothesis that women are most likely to commit acts of violence during the premenstrual and menstrual periods.

Many groups have come out against the violence center, including the NAACP, National Organization for Women, United Farm Workers, Mexican-American Political Associa-



'Behavior modification' programs are racist threat to both prisoners and Black community.

tion, Black Panther Party, the Prisoners Union, the Committee Opposing Abuse of Psychiatry, and others.

Dr. Isidore Ziferstein, a member of the faculty of the UCLA Neuropsychiatric Institute and a prominent opponent of violence research at UCLA, told *The Militant* of the LEAA funding halt: "This may simply be a strategic retreat, and the center's supporters may come back when and if the public clamor dies down."

Students say no

Students at UCLA have voted overwhelmingly to condemn the "Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence." The referendum was held Feb. 27-28 on the following question:

"Do you condemn the Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence as racist and sexist and demand that all work be halted and the project abandoned?"

The vote was 2,873 in favor of this resolution and 1,953 opposed.

This was the largest turnout of student voters at UCLA in recent years. More students participated in it than in any campus election or even the campus-wide referendum on the Vietnam war.

maintained, of "rewards for positive behavior." He said the use of aversion therapies and electric shock was hearsay, spread by hostile prisoners and "groups of armed revolutionaries."

No torture?

"None of the methods involve modern-day torture," Groder said. "They are humanistic."

One of the complaints about prison mind-control programs is that most are involuntary. In response to a question on this, Groder said the Butner program would be voluntary, unlike START (an acronym for Special Treatment and Rehabilitative Training), which was not. He said that no pressure such as denial of parole would be used to obtain volunteers. "Men will have to sign a written release to come to Butner," he told the committee.

Baltimore teachers return to work, face fines

By MARK UGOLINI

BALTIMORE—Public school teachers in Baltimore reluctantly returned to work March 8, after the Public School Teachers Association (PSTA), the teachers' elected bargaining agent, declared an end to their month-long strike.

The teachers returned under a contract agreement ratified by the PSTA leadership and turned down by 74 votes at a general rally attended by 3,500 teachers on March 4. But later the same day the PSTA declared, "the strike is over," and urged a return to work.

The rally was marked by widespread anger among rank-and-file teachers with the lack of democratic procedures to consider the proposal. The teachers were merely handed brief printed descriptions of the agreement and a small, yellow ballot as they entered the Baltimore Civic Center arena. Only one hour was devoted to questions and clarification of the provisions of the proposed agreement.

All who spoke opposed the agreement, and many were hostile. "You called us down here for this?" shouted one teacher during the rally. Some carried signs reading, "Don't sell out now."

The settlement calls for a 6 percent wage boost next year—only one half of one percent higher than the last city offer, which was rejected by a 5-to-1 margin by teachers on Feb. 16.

The PSTA decision came shortly after the intervention of federal mediator W.J. Usery Jr. into negotiations between striking teachers and the city administration. Usery has become notorious for his antilabor role in contract negotiations in last year's 10-and-a-half-week Philadelphia teachers' strike and last month's truckers' strike.

The terms of the agreement are essentially the same as those rejected earlier by the teachers. They include:

- A 3 percent raise this year, to be paid in a lump sum, with an additional 6 percent increase for the next fiscal year. Until the agreement, teachers had held out for 11 percent for next year.

- A chance for teachers to regain about 10 days of pay through a four-day extension of the school year in June, when teachers can be paid at time-and-a-half rates. Also, four Saturday and evening workshops, paid at double-time rates.

- Several fringe benefits, including an added day of personal leave and a \$50,000 tuition-reimbursement fund.

- A \$230,000 fund for more school supplies this year. Previously, teachers had been required to pay for school supplies out of their own pockets.

The Baltimore Teachers Union, AFL-CIO, representing nearly 2,500 Baltimore teachers, initially opposed the agreement. However, the union later reversed its position and urged teachers to return to work.

Even after teachers returned to work, city officials pressed legal action against the PSTA. On March 6 Judge James Murphy imposed contempt-of-court fines totaling \$32,000 on the PSTA and its leadership. The fines were imposed for failure to obey a court order to instruct striking teachers to return to work.

World Outlook

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

MARCH 22, 1974

Spreading drought kills livestock, crops

Hundreds of thousands dead in African famine

"For the last year, one grim image has been running through the mind of Moise Pensah, one of the brilliant new generation of African administrators who runs the [United Nations] Food and Agricultural Organization for West Africa. It is the memory of a tribe in northern Chad, a tribe ravaged by eight years of drought. All their cattle were dead and most of their camels. Their undernourished children were too weak to resist an outbreak of diphtheria. But they begged Mr. Pensah to send no drugs. Starvation, they told him, would be too slow a death. Let diphtheria rage."

Stories such as this, reported by Martin Walker in the February 24 *New York Times*, are becoming increasingly common in the area south of the Sahara Desert, which has been laid waste by five years of drought and famine. While precise figures on the extent of the devastation are scarce and large parts of the affected region are almost inaccessible, the visible symptoms of the famine give ample testimony to its seriousness and extent: mass grave sites, abandoned villages, squalid refugee camps on the outskirts of the cities or along the main roads, and waves of peasants and villagers fleeing their homes in search of food or employment.

The famine began in the Sahel, the belt of six formerly French-ruled countries that border the southern part of the Sahara: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, and Chad. In 1973 the famine spread to parts of Ethiopia, claiming as many as 100,-

000 lives there. Addeke H. Boerma, the director general of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), said after a tour of the six sub-Sahara countries that the drought and famine in that region is worse this year than it was in 1973. For the first time, the drought has also spread to Nigeria and Cameroon, reaching crisis proportions in their northern regions. In East Africa the drought has spread to more parts of Ethiopia and has begun to affect parts of Kenya and Somalia.

A study by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has found that inaction by the U.S. government and international agencies helped cause the death of 100,000 people in the African drought areas. American and other agencies delayed sending millions of dollars worth of food and vaccines. And much of the 'food' finally sent for starving children was low-grade sorghum, used in the U.S. as cattle fodder.

Upper Volta Agricultural Minister Antoine Dakoure, who is also the West African intergovernmental relief coordinator, warned, according to the February 11 *Washington Post*, that "without fast emergency relief 200,000 people may die of starvation in remote corners of the Sahel."

"International relief groups," the *Post* continued, "estimate that between 50,000 and 100,000 persons have died in northern Ethiopia from drought or famine-related diseases. No estimate has been made of the death toll in West Africa, but thousands of nomads are known to have died last year."

"About 2 million persons have been left destitute by the drought in West Africa and another 1.2 million have needed emergency assistance in Ethiopia, with as many as 63,000 living in relief camps at one point."

The FAO estimated that one fourth of the cattle in the six West African countries perished last year. In Upper Volta more than half of the cattle died, and in one part of Niger all the cattle and nine-tenths of the camels were dead. Without the livestock it would be difficult to till even those areas where crops could still be grown.

According to Walker, a Manchester *Guardian* correspondent who specializes in Africa, Senegal has suffered the least of the six Sahel countries. Yet the modern port city of Dakar, and the other major towns, are surrounded by disease-ridden shantytowns inhabited by displaced peasants and nomads. The drought also has destroyed the peanut crop, which accounts for 50 percent of Senegal's foreign exchange earnings.

In Chad the estimate of the number who have died so far begins at 20,000. Walker reports that about two-thirds of the cattle there have died.

Mauritania appears to be one of

the most devastated of the stricken countries. Walker noted: "Malnutrition and the nomads' difficulty in digesting Western aid food contributed to the ravages of cholera, measles and diphtheria. Even in 'normal' times, one out of every two children dies before the age of 5."

A report in the February 24-25 *Le Soir*, published in Brussels, said that as many as 250,000 children were in danger of dying in Niger. After visiting the interior of the country, President Diori Hamani declared to the press: "I went through the great famine of 1931. But never since that time have I witnessed so heartbreaking a sight as what is now taking place in Chindabaraden, Kaou, and the area around Illéla and Tahoua."

Many of the Tuareg tribespeople in Mali have fled into Upper Volta and Niger to escape the famine, and repression by the central government. At a shantytown of 6,000 Tuaregs outside of Niamey, Niger, 1,200 graves had been filled by November. A report in the February 6 *Le Monde* indicated that the military regime in Mali was discouraging international aid to the Tuaregs in an effort to wipe them out. The nomadic Tuaregs had long been a political problem for the regime.

Speaking in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, on February 21, United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said: "If sufficient action isn't taken in the next few months, countries could disappear from the face of the map."

Niger students expose profiteering from famine

Most of the students and professors who were arrested in Niger last October for taking part in demonstrations and strikes are still in prison, without having yet come to trial, according to a report by Fode Amadou published in the February 18 Paris weekly, *Afrique-Asie*. The report was based on discussions and interviews with students in Niger.

The student upsurge there, the article noted, was fueled by the country's worsening problems: the severity of the drought and the famine, the regime's corrupt and bureaucratic mismanagement of international relief aid, the inadequacies of the educational system, the government's use of repression against its critics, and the continuing influence of French imperialism.

The students traced part of the reason for the famine to the economic priorities of the imperialists. While the production of foodstuffs declined as a result of the severe drought, the

government still forced many of the peasants to raise peanuts and cotton, Niger's major export products, rather than the much needed food grains. Rice fields were converted to sugar with the aid of technical experts from Taiwan. While thousands of people starved to death in the hinterlands or died in the refugee camps from normally minor diseases aggravated by malnutrition, the fruits and vegetables destined for export to France seemed always available. The export of meat rose 30 percent at the same time that much of the cattle in the country was dead or dying. Ranch owners bought up the cattle at low prices, fattened them, and sold them at a high profit in Nigeria and Dahomey. In August, at the peak of the drought, the regime in Niamey signed an agreement with Paris to increase the cultivation of peanuts.

The interest in profits not only has determined which crops would be raised, but also affected the distribu-

Continued on next page



Famine victims in Ethiopia

Afrique-Asie

Aid pumped through secret channels

U.S. money, 'advisers' continue Vietnam war

By Michael Baumann

Fiction: "The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam." (Article 4 of the January 23, 1973, cease-fire accords.)

Fact: Today, one year after the signing of the cease-fire agreement, 4,940 U.S. civilian "advisers" and technicians are employed in jobs directly related to the Saigon dictatorship's war effort. (Source: U.S. Embassy in Saigon, cited in the February 25 *New York Times*.)

Although U.S. troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam, the vital role they played in propping up the Thieu regime has been replaced, to the extent possible, by a massive infusion of U.S. advisers and military aid.

As *New York Times* correspondent David K. Shipler pointed out in a dispatch from Saigon February 16, "the United States, far from phasing out its military involvement in South Vietnam, has descended from a peak of warfare to a high plateau of substan-

tial support, dispatching not only huge quantities of weapons and ammunition but also large numbers of American citizens who have become integral parts of the South Vietnamese supply, transport and intelligence systems."

"These include," Shipler continued, "not just the Vietnam-based mechanics and technicians but also the Pentagon-based generals who tour airfields to ascertain the needs of the South Vietnamese Air Force, the 'liaison men' who reportedly give military advice from time to time, the civilian Defense Department employees who make two-to-three-week visits to provide highly specialized technical help, and the Central Intelligence Agency officials who continue to advise South Vietnam's national police on intelligence matters."

Some 2,800 of these civilian employees work for U.S. companies that in turn work under contract for the Defense Department.

"According to both Saigon and American officials," Shipler reported, "the American civilians — both employ-

es of private companies and those of the Defense Department—who help with the supply activities not only see that the South Vietnamese get the equipment and ammunition they ask for but also advise them on what to ask for."

Other U.S. civilians provide expert "technical" assistance to the South Vietnamese police. Although Defense Department officials have refused to disclose just how much money they channel into the Saigon police apparatus, Senator Edward Kennedy estimates that as of last June Washington had spent more than \$130 million on Thieu's police and overflowing jails.

However, this is only a drop in the bucket. Total U.S. military aid to the Saigon regime this year is officially reported at \$900 million, and the true figure is patently much higher.

In theory, U.S. military aid to Saigon is administered through the Military Assistance Service Funded (MASF) program, and it is true that this program's ceiling was set at \$900 million by Congress.

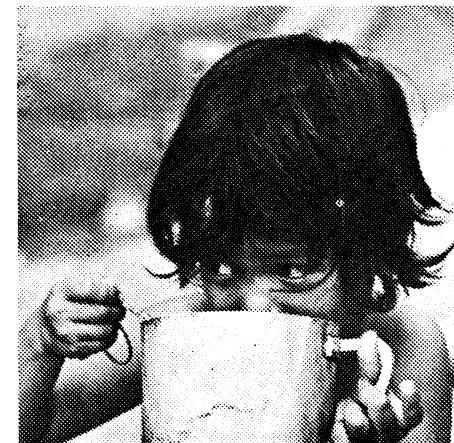
But as correspondent Guy Gran points out in the February 11 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, that figure is based on dollar values set by the Pentagon itself. The bargain-basement price tags it puts on military hardware are not subject to any outside verification. "Thus," Gran writes, "it is easy for the Pentagon to inflate the actual amount of commodities reaching the docks of Saigon without disturbing the dollar figure."

Nor is military aid to Saigon limited to the MASF program. "Excess defence articles," Gran reports, "provide another avenue for transferring resources to Saigon with elastic accounting possibilities. It would be a miracle if the \$45 million estimate for fiscal 1974 provided by the Defense Department

were to prove even remotely accurate."

Other clandestine routes used for channeling funds to the Thieu regime include the top-secret CIA budget, the Agriculture Department, and the "post-war reconstruction" program.

Under the Agriculture Department's "Food for Peace" program, for ex-

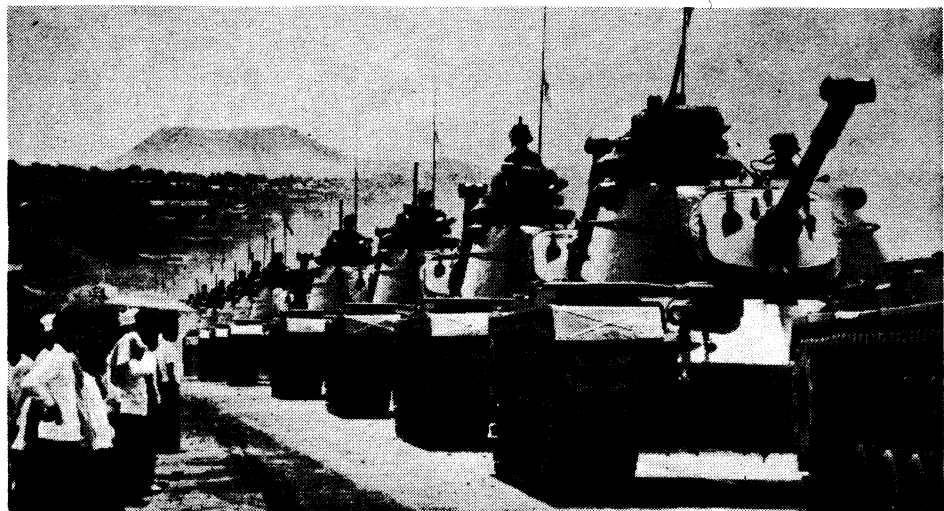


'Food for Peace' doesn't reach war orphans like this one—it is sold for military uses.

ample, the Saigon government has already received more than \$300 million in commodities in fiscal year 1974 alone. When these commodities are sold, Gran reports, "80% of the resulting piastres go to military uses."

Thieu's generals will also receive about \$375 million of the \$450 million in Washington aid budgeted for "reconstruction." According to Gran, "most of the \$375 million will be channelled through the Commodity Import Programme, providing something like \$200 million in piastres that can be applied to military needs."

Washington apparently believes that even this bloated level of military aid is not sufficient. Pentagon officials have asked Congress for a 60 percent increase in openly military aid to South Vietnam for next year.



Saigon army parade. U.S. 'advisers' advise Thieu on what to ask for.

...Niger students strike against famine profiteers

Continued from preceding page

tion of international relief aid. The local committees charged with the distribution of food, largely composed of members of the only legal party in the country, the Parti Progressiste Nigérien (Progressive party of Niger), actually sell the food to the peasants. They sell the sorghum (which had previously been used to feed cattle, but now serves as "food" for the famine victims) at twice its normal price, pocketing the difference.

Even to obtain the right to buy a sack of sorghum, the peasant usually has to work for three days in the fields of the president of the local "relief" committee. Often, when the people in an area no longer have enough money to buy the food, the profiteers simply pack it up and ship it to famine-stricken Mali, where black-market prices are also very high.

The only area where the food has been distributed free is in the northern plateau region, where Niger's uranium mines, which are being developed by French interests, are located. One minister of the French government even

visited the area and helped distribute the "aid."

The first student action, on February 14, 1973, was the distribution of a leaflet denouncing the regime's enforced "savings" plan, to which every person in the country had to "contribute." The fund was used to buy grain from the big wholesalers, which the Office of Food Produce then sold, keeping the profits.

When the regime in Niamey did not respond to the students' demands, they distributed another leaflet. The minister of national education responded by stating that it might no longer be possible to support and educate the students free. In April, the students at one school passed out leaflets assigning the responsibility for the famine to the government. In June, the professors in Niamey published statements condemning the French influence in the educational system. At the same time, a number of strikes broke out: post office employees, textile workers, radio personnel, and the workers of Somair, which exploits the uranium deposits.

On July 13, the beginning of the

school vacation, the regime saw its chance to clamp down. The teachers were exiled to the provinces, and on July 23 the government announced that the student boarding houses would be abolished. The next month the army and the precinct administrations were reorganized. Following these repressive measures, the Student Union of Niger published two documents on the famine and the campus unrest, and thirty-seven professors got together to clarify their positions on the problems of education in Niger.

At a public meeting on August 30, President Diori Hamani declared: "We have done everything possible to combat the drought. We have spared no efforts or prayers. We have even arranged to obtain the services of an American company to seed the clouds." He went on to announce that the cattle tax would be abolished, hardly a major concession, since most of the taxable cattle were dead.

He and the other two speakers at the meeting, the minister of education and the president of the National Assembly, then got to the heart of their

message: The college and high-school dormitories would be closed, since they were "too expensive," and the distribution of leaflets would no longer be permitted. The next day the Student Union of Niger was dissolved and the thirty-seven professors were arrested.

The day the schools reopened, September 15, police forces massed in Niamey to prevent any student protests. But on October 22, a student strike broke out, demanding that the dormitories be reopened, the ban on the Student Union be lifted, and the repression against the teachers be halted. Declaring that the student actions were part of a "national conspiracy," the government arrested another 200 students, professors, and campus workers.

The strike lasted more than three months, forcing the regime to back down on some points. It agreed to give the students monthly payments in compensation for the closing of the dormitories. But President Diori Hamani stated that the imprisoned students and professors would have to "pay for their acts."

Japanese Trotskyist describes struggles against high prices and pollution

[The following interview with Tadasashi Nagai, a leader of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International, was obtained in New York on January 14.]

Q. How has the working class responded to the high rate of inflation in Japan?

A. The rate of inflation has been at a very high level for ten years. Inflation is always a big problem for the Japanese people, and workers in Japan want to get some wage increases. Up to now they have gotten wage increases through their annual spring struggles. The wage increases have been a little higher than the rate of inflation. So there probably has been a general improvement in wages for Japanese workers. But inflation now is getting higher and higher and developing more rapidly. This year the workers struggle for wage increases to compensate their loss from inflation will be very big.

Q. Could you describe how the working class is organized, what the major trade union federations are?

A. In Japan there are three main trade union federations. The biggest is Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions], which consists mainly of public-sector workers, although it also includes some private-sector workers. But the main base is among the public sector—national railways, telephone and telegram, post office. Also there is Domei [Confederation of Labor Unions], which consists mainly of basic-industry unions. And there is Churitsuroren, which is mostly electrical workers. Sohyo traditionally supports the Socialist party and Domei the Democratic Socialist party [DSP]. Churitsuroren is neutral between the two.

Q. You mentioned that the Socialist party had a big influence in Sohyo. What kind of influence does the Communist party have in the labor movement?

A. The Communist party also has an influence in Sohyo. I think one-third of Sohyo is under the influence of the Communist party.

Q. Could you give us some idea of how strong the CP is?

A. The CP says it has 300,000 members and a Sunday circulation of 1 million for their daily paper. Their circulation for the daily issue would be about 500,000, the biggest circulation for any CP in the capitalist world.

Q. What projections does the Japan Revolutionary Communist League have for the spring elections?

A. We are now running a united-

left candidate for that election. That means we want to clarify the political situation, especially the difference of political line between the popular front and the united front. So in this election, we will go to the factories and trade unions and we will explain the real meaning of popular frontism. The CP and SP are now showing some possibility of forming a popular front. We counterpose our notion of a united front in the next political period. This election is a beginning for such a struggle between popular front and united front. We will start with this election to clarify and to struggle for a real united front of workers.



Growing inflation will spur workers' struggles for wage increases this spring.

Q. What other groups will be supporting this candidate?

A. Many groups. For example, those people—intellectuals and activists—who had belonged to the Beihoren movement, the anti-war movement. Also some former left structural reformists will participate in this campaign. Also one group that is state capitalist; but they are not so eager about the election. Of course, there are some left groups who oppose participating in any election.

Q. What stage is the Japanese student movement in now?

A. The Japanese student movement seems to be in a downturn. I think there are two reasons for this. One is the misleadership of the far-left groups. The other is the repression by the government, the police force, and so on. But a general sentiment of dissatisfaction is continuously spreading among the students. It could burst into a big upsurge at any time.

Q. What kind of activities do our comrades carry out?

A. We are now aiming for a resurgence of autonomous student organizations. The mistake of the far-left groups in past years has been their splintering of the student movement into sectarian political organizations. When some autonomous movement of students appeared, it would soon split along the lines of the several far-left groups. We are now trying to initiate a resurgence of Zengakuren, a national federation of student organizations, which played a main role in the struggle against the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty in the 1960s.

Q. The students in Thailand, South Korea, and Indonesia in the past months have protested the role of Japanese imperialism in Asia. How have these struggles been reflected in Japan itself, among the students?

A. I think the struggles of students in Asia will have a big impact on Japanese students. Already there are some groups who are engaged in solidarity movements with Korean students, Vietnamese students, and so on. The Japanese student movement will be revived through these activities, developing them into strong and clear anti-imperialist movements.

Q. What have our comrades done in solidarity with students in South Korea and Thailand?

A. I think for a political group we have the strongest connections with students from South Korea and Vietnam. Whenever we had large mass meetings, usually we got messages from South Vietnamese student organizations in Japan.

Q. Japanese industries are notorious for the amount of pollution they produce, both in Japan and other countries in Asia. How have people responded to this?

A. The struggles against pollution are now getting stronger and stronger in Japan. Many struggles, such as those of the people in Minamata who were poisoned by mercury, have been going on for years against the chemical companies; they finally won a partial victory. Now many types of anti-pollution struggles exist. So Japanese capitalists find it very difficult to build new factories, new industrial centers. They are now looking at other countries in which to build their plants, in South Asian countries: Korea, Taiwan. We call it export of pollution. Those people who are engaged in the antipollution movement must be aware of this phenomenon, the export of pollution. They shouldn't be satisfied with the sacrifice of another country's people.

Q. Sekai Kakumei [World Revolution, the newspaper of the JRCL] has featured articles about the struggles of the outcasts in Japan. Could you tell us something about this movement?

A. We are involved in the struggles of the outcasts; our teacher comrades especially are involved. In this struggle, the problem of education becomes crucial for the struggle. In such cases, we are always on their side against the municipal authorities or against the government.

The outcasts are, of course, Japanese, but in the era of feudalism they largely engaged in work—such as butchering—that, from the viewpoint of Buddhism, was regarded as "dirty." So feudal laws discriminated against them. The landlords wanted to satis-

fy the peasants by showing them there was an even lower layer in society than they. It was a maneuver of the ruling class. This discrimination didn't disappear after the first stage of the bourgeois revolution—the Meiji restoration. So in Japan they have a long history of struggle. Today, they are discriminated against in social practice, in every phase of social life, to get jobs, to marry, and so on.

Q. What stage has the women's liberation movement in general reached in Japan? What issues does it raise?

A. I think in Japan women's liberation is only at the beginning stage. Last year Evelyn Reed [of the U.S. Socialist Workers party] came to Japan and held many meetings in several cities. The tour was a real success and provided us with a start in the women's liberation movement. Now our main issue for the women's liberation movement is against the revision of the abortion law. You see, in Japan abortion is permitted almost freely. But now the government wants to revise it because the rate of childbirth is very low. They are very anxious about the work force in the next generation. So they want to restrict abortion and introduce more rigid legislation. That would deprive women of the right to decide for themselves. It's a very big political issue in the women's movement in Japan.

Q. How does the League's participation in the women's liberation movement differ from that of other left groups?

A. We carry out the most consistent work and the most mass-oriented work in the women's liberation movement. Our women comrades now are issuing *Women's News*, which has a circulation of 1,000 copies a month. It has a big influence in the women's movement in Japan, because there is no other regular magazine in the women's movement there. Other left groups participate a little, and there are some independent women's organizations, which we think do good things but have limited perspectives. We think they don't have an orientation to the mass movement, to mass work.

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Canadian gov't presses attack on right to abortion

[The following are excerpts from an article in the March 4 issue of *Labor Challenge*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

By Lis Angus

The latest in a series of attacks on supporters of women's right to abortion was the arrest of a respected Montréal gynecologist, Dr. Tanguay, at his office on Thursday, Feb. 21. He was held in jail until the next day, when charges of performing illegal abortions, allegedly taking place during the years 1972 to 1974, were laid against him.

Eight woman patients, waiting for routine gynecological examinations, were also taken into custody and later released.

Dr. Tanguay will be arraigned in a Montréal court on Feb. 27, at which time the date for his preliminary hearing will be set.

This arrest followed shortly on the heels of the Feb. 13 police raid on the office and home of Dr. Henry Morgentaler. His private papers were seized and he was told that he owed \$350,000 in back income taxes.

Dr. Morgentaler has denied any tax evasion on his part, and points to this

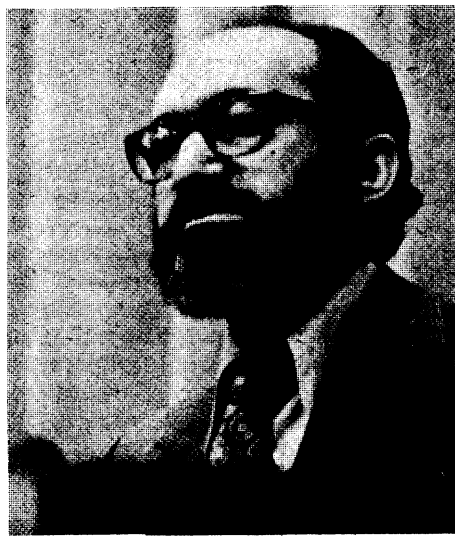
charge as part of the continued harassment of him and some of his colleagues by the Crown in an attempt to silence them and prevent them from assisting women seeking safe abortions.

Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted last November by a Québec jury on the first of 13 charges against him under the federal abortion law. This acquittal was an important initial victory in the cross-country fight to defend him and win women's right to safe, legal abortion. However, the Crown has filed before the Québec Court of Appeals in an attempt to overturn this acquittal; the court has not yet ruled on this appeal.

The government also succeeded last week in getting a preferred indictment against Dr. Yvan Macchabee, a colleague of Dr. Morgentaler, on four charges of performing illegal abortions and one charge of resisting arrest.

Dr. Morgentaler's head nurse, Joanne Cornax, was charged on Feb. 4 with conspiracy to perform an illegal abortion in connection with Dr. Macchabee's case. This charge will come up for hearing in April.

These arrests and charges are part of a continuing attack by the Canadian government on women's right to abortion and on the women's movement which is leading the struggle to win this right.



Labor Challenge

DR. MORGENTALER: Home raided, private papers seized.

gle to win this right.

Supporters of women's rights across the country are building a campaign in defense of Dr. Morgentaler and all others victimized under Canada's abortion law. A highlight of this campaign will be the Abortion Tribunal taking place on March 9 in Ottawa.

The tribunal will hear the testimony of women from across the country of their suffering under the inhuman abortion law, as well as testimony by Dr. Morgentaler, Dr. Macchabee and

others who have particular experiences in relation to the abortion law.

The Tribunal will indict the Canadian government and its henchmen for maintaining and enforcing this law—a law which is responsible for the agony of countless women and which is now being used to victimize individuals who sought to help women exercise their right to abortion.

NDP [New Democratic party] M.P. Grace MacInnis will testify on her long struggle in the House of Commons to get the abortion law repealed. She will also introduce the section of testimony by women who have had legal abortions under the present laws, and the difficulties and humiliations they have encountered.

An important part of the Tribunal will be testimony by women from Québec, who suffer most from the inequalities of the federal abortion law and who have carried a militant struggle against that law. All the Tribunal proceedings will be simultaneously translated into English and French, to allow all those attending to participate fully.

The Tribunal will culminate in a demonstration through downtown Ottawa to Parliament Hill to present the indictment to those responsible for the crimes against Canadian women which the abortion law perpetuates.

Marcos repression fails to stem Muslim rebellion

By Antero Nanhaya

Manila

February 18—Muslim revolutionaries, who have long controlled the entire island of Jolo except for the capital city of the same name, on February 7 infiltrated the capital and seized it with the support of the mayor and the police force, immediately establishing control over the airport and pier. The attack was coordinated with the seizure of seven towns in Mindanao, Kauswagan, and Kapatagan in Lanao del Norte province and five towns in Cotabato province.

In Jolo, the Philippine Air Force replied with saturation bombing raids and strafing of the city, while offshore naval artillery maintained a steady bombardment. The entire city was burned and destroyed, and civilian casualties were estimated by the Muslims at 3,000.

The first news of the Muslim offensive appeared in Manila newspapers one week later. According to the February 14 *Manila Times Journal*, Information Secretary Tatad said: "The Government forces drove out the rebels with the use of ground forces ferried by helicopters" and that "the retreating rebels set fire to some buildings." Three days later, Defense Secretary Enrile held a press conference in which he admitted that two F-86 sabre jets were lost in the Jolo operation, and that among the destroyed buildings was the local mosque. Apparently, the jet fighters just happened to be passing through and the Muslims burned their own mosque.

The cooperation of the municipal officials in the armed Muslim occupation of Jolo puts to scorn previous claims by Marcos that such elements had pledged support to his regime.

The government charges the Muslim



Jolo refugees

revolutionaries with being Maoist, but all the pertinent evidence contradicts this. The Maoist Communist party of the Philippines (CPP), active chiefly in Luzon, has never claimed organized adherents among the Muslims, although it has exaggerated its strength elsewhere. The nominally Maoist former university professor Nur Misuari, fighting with the revolutionaries in Jolo, has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Philippine Maoists have never programmatically recognized the right of the Muslims to secession, but have appealed to them on the basis of—patriotism!

The Maoist CPP and its New People's Army have announced that they expect a long, protracted struggle. Many of their contacts with the workers and peasants have been broken and some of their best militants have been killed or captured.

The members of the PKP (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas—Philippine Communist party), an uninfluential

diminishing sect, have decided to give overt support to Marcos in an effort to sway him towards greater friendship with the Kremlin bureaucracy. This unprincipled betrayal of the needs of the Philippine workers and peasants precipitated a split in the old party, with the more militant youthful elements forming the "Marxist-Leninist Group." The old-guard conservative remnants, led by the José Lava dynasty, and suspected of having backhanded ties with the government's armed forces, have murdered four members of the Marxist-Leninist Group, which despite its steps to the left, paradoxically proclaims utmost fidelity to the bureaucratic caste headed by Brezhnev. They are incapable of noticing that the Lava faction's cuddling-up to Marcos stems directly from policies emanating from Moscow.

Marcos has arrested, deported, and intimidated various members of the clergy for their criticisms of the brutal excesses of his uniformed goons, but only a tiny minority of them are involved in exposing the lies of the dictatorship. Small armed guerrilla groups of radicalized Christians exist on the island of Panay and near Davao in Mindanao.

Philippine workers are in a mood of desperation with the most recent attacks on their standard of living. In the last year alone, food prices have jumped an average of 175 percent, and other essential commodities even more. Matches are now 20 centavos a box compared with 5 centavos a year ago, and fuel prices have tripled. Despite the recent rice harvests, the staple cereal is scarce and expensive because, according to the government, the farmers are hoarding the grain in anticipation of a repetition of last year's June to September rice shortage.

Sugar is unavailable except at black-

market prices because the sugar trusts find it more profitable to export. Sugar is the country's primary agricultural export, amounting to well over \$200 million yearly, and it is sold to the United States at preferential rates through the sugar quota system. The imperialist subsidy of the reactionary sugar barons, who pay starvation wages to their field workers on a seasonal basis, is utilized mainly for political purposes.

Salaries of the slum-living urban proletariat have remained fixed at 8 pesos (US\$1.20) a day before tax deductions, their level before the imposition of martial law in September 1972. The unions have been dissolved completely except for a few bureaucratic remnants, which will continue to exist until their leaders have exhausted past union dues in attending conferences at resort hotels.



Marcos police hunting rebels

Georgia SWP launches campaign

Black socialist challenges Lester Maddox

By JEFF BERCHENKO

ATLANTA—Black liberation activist Vince Eagan has announced his campaign as Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia.

Eagan will be campaigning against several of the state's leading racists, headed by incumbent lieutenant governor Lester Maddox.

The SWP campaign was launched at a banquet and rally here March 2. Attended by 100 people, this was the largest socialist election rally in Georgia in many years.

Eagan, the featured speaker, cited the mounting attacks on the living standards of working people. "Nixon said he will break the back of inflation and the energy crisis this year. This is a lie.

"Anyone who has mustered up the courage to shop for food, or to wait in endless lines for gas; anyone who has questioned whether there will be enough bread and milk in the future has probably begun to wonder whether this system is capable of meeting any of the basic needs of the American people," Eagan said.

"No, if Nixon breaks any backs, they will probably be ours." Eagan placed the blame for inflation squarely on the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties, the latter being the dominant party in Georgia.

'Noose of segregation'

"The Democratic Party in Georgia," Eagan said, "proudly wears the medals of antilabor, union-busting, open-shop laws, and drags the noose of segregation behind it.

"The party that sheltered the most barbaric forms of racism is the same party that made Georgia one of the states with the lowest wages in the country," he charged.

"The autocratic traditions of Democratic Party rule in Georgia meant that even the Bill of Rights wasn't ratified here until 1935. It meant that the Women's Suffrage Amendment wasn't ratified until 1969.

"The same party that solicits Black votes today has allowed Black people to be lynched, mutilated, and terrorized away from voting."

Eagan's central opponent, Lester Maddox, became prominent in the Democratic Party by organizing segregationist rallies and by beating Black protesters with ax handles.

Break with capitalist parties

Eagan counterposed the program of the Socialist Workers Party to that of the Democrats and Republicans. "At the core of the 1974 SWP campaign will be the necessity of breaking with the two capitalist parties that have brought us to the brink of catastrophe.

"As the only independent political



Militant/George Basley

Many activists from Black and women's groups attended SWP campaign rally.

alternative in Georgia, the socialist campaign will fight for a program to defend working people against the capitalist economic offensive," Eagan declared.

"Instead of a wage freeze, the socialist campaign will demand an end to all wage controls, and escalator clauses in all contracts to ensure automatic wage increases with increases in the cost of living.

"Maddox was praised for passing tax rebates on to the rich," he noted. "But we, as socialists, will demand an end to the tax burden on working people."

Eagan stated full support to the struggles of Blacks and women against racist and sexist discrimination. He called on the labor movement to support the fight for preferential hiring as "the only method to solve the historical discrimination against Black people and women."

Eagan's speech was greeted with a standing ovation at the rally. Part of his speech was filmed and shown on two major Atlanta TV stations. WAOK, the major Black radio station, taped the entire rally for replay later.

Myriam Richmond, WAOK news-woman, spoke briefly at the rally, promising further coverage of the SWP campaign.

'The real criminals'

James Harris, a longtime activist in the Black and antiwar movements, is the SWP candidate for Congress from the 5th Congressional District.

Speaking at the rally, Harris said, "Watergate shows that the real criminals in this country run it. They don't hide out in dingy rooms, but in plush oak-paneled offices.

"They don't have shoot-outs with the police, because they are the police. 'Law and order' in Atlanta means nothing more than the repression of the Black community."

Harris then took up the role of his opponent, incumbent Black Democrat Andrew Young. "Andrew Young has the reputation of being a liberal, and people say of him that even if he is not perfect he is doing the best he can.

"But," Harris asked, "what was Young doing during the wave of police terror in Atlanta? The Socialist Workers Party actively built resistance to these killings. Young makes \$42,500 a year and gets \$700,000 more for his staff—supposedly to represent the interests of Black people.

"None of this was used to build the fight against the murder of Blacks. Instead Young has chosen to pretend the issue doesn't exist, calling Atlanta 'the city too busy to hate.'"

Harris also cited Young's refusal to support striking Black workers, and his vote in Congress for seating Gerald Ford, "a carbon copy of Nixon." Young takes these stands, Harris said,

Vince Eagan for governor



Militant/George Basley

EAGAN: For break with two capitalist parties.

Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, has been an activist and

because he is responsible to the Democratic Party, which is controlled by white capitalists.

Ratify the ERA

Elizabeth Lariscy, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and Anne Teesdale, candidate for lieutenant governor, have both been leading activists in the movement to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment in Georgia. They helped build the Jan. 12 march of 1,000 people in Atlanta demanding ratification.

In her speech to the rally, Lariscy pointed out that the demand for women's rights will be an important issue that every candidate will have to address. She called for support to the SWP candidates as the only ones who will campaign for the demands of women.

Teesdale announced that following the rally she and two campaign supporters were leaving on a tour of campuses in Georgia and the Southeast.

A statement of support to the SWP campaign was read from Reba Williams, editor of the *North Star*, school newspaper at all-Black Douglass High School. The cochairman of the local African Liberation Support Committee, Amechi, also announced his support for the SWP campaign.

Also present were activists from the United Farm Workers, Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance, and Georgians for the ERA.

Debby Bustin, former SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta and currently cochairwoman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, spoke at the rally, beginning her national speaking tour. A fund appeal by Bustin raised more than \$1,500 for the campaign.

leader in the Black liberation and labor struggles.

In 1971 Eagan was cochairman of the Georgia Black Alliance. He was a delegate to the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., in 1972, and is a past coordinator of the Georgia Black Political Assembly.

Following the Gary convention, Eagan along with others saw the need for independent Black political action and in 1972 helped to found the Committee for Independent Black Politics.

Eagan also participated in mobilizing community support for several Black workers' strikes, including the Mead strike and Holy Family Hospital strike. He is 20 years old and is a leader of the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance.

Hundreds back Young Socialist campaign at GSU

By BOB ROBERTS

ATLANTA—Running on a platform that emphasized students' rights and child care, two Young Socialist candidates won wide support in the recent student government elections at Georgia State University.

In the primary election Feb. 27, Mike Weisman, Young Socialist candidate for president, placed first in a field of five with 40 percent of the vote. Young Socialist vice-presidential candidate Eli Green received 48 percent of the vote.

Interference of the school administration in the Student Government Association (SGA) was an important campaign issue. In one incident in January, the administration attempted to declare nine SGA members, including Young Socialists Mike Weisman

and Adrienne Benjamin, ineligible to serve.

Although the administration was forced to back down, it still claimed the right to veto SGA decisions. Weisman and Green widely publicized these and other acts of administration interference, including use of student funds without the knowledge of the SGA.

They demanded no administration veto of SGA decisions, and student control of the student activities fee.

As members of the SGA, Weisman and Benjamin sponsored a resolution calling for an SGA investigation into how the administration runs the university. The resolution passed by 23 to 1.

The issue of child care probably generated more support for the Young Socialist ticket than any other. GSU

is entirely a commuter school and has a large percentage of students who have children. Existing child-care facilities are inadequate, and even these are threatened with liquidation.

The Young Socialist campaign called for adequate child-care facilities freely available to students, faculty, and staff, to be provided by the administration. Until this is won, they favor the use of student activities funds to expand child-care facilities.

Weisman and Green also campaigned on a platform to meet the needs of Black students. Although Blacks constitute a majority of Atlanta's population, only 10 percent of GSU students are Black.

Young Socialist candidate Eli Green led a struggle around Black History

Continued on page 26

Announce candidates for city office

Socialists demand real home rule for D.C.

By ANNE SPRINGER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Socialist Workers Party candidates in the District of Columbia, speaking at a March 6 news conference, called for genuine self-government for D. C. and said the "home rule" charter passed by Congress last fall was wholly inadequate.

Nan Bailey, 21, heads the SWP ticket as mayoral candidate. She explained her opposition to the "home rule" charter, which D. C. voters will be asked to approve in a referendum May 7.

"There is no home rule in the 'home rule' charter," Bailey said. "In spite of its name, it does not offer genuine home rule for the Black community of D. C. It does not deal with the central question: Who will rule D. C.?"



SWP mayoral candidate Nan Bailey opposes phony 'home rule' charter passed by Congress.

Bailey pointed out that the citizens of D. C. have no control over the budget or over how their tax money is spent—the budget is controlled by Congress.

The president continues to appoint the judges in D. C. He can also assume authority over the police indefinitely without consulting the mayor or city council.

Furthermore, Congress has the power not only to veto any bill passed by the city council, but also to pass laws for the District, even to the point of abolishing the proposed charter itself.

Four other SWP candidates were announced at the news conference. Toba Singer, 26, a women's liberation activist and former leader of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, is running for D. C. nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.

Allan Budka, 26, a member of the Iron Workers union, is SWP candidate for city council chairman. Running for city council at-large are Anne Powers and Sara Smith.

Powers, 24, is a teacher at Phyllis Wheatley Elementary School and a member of the Washington Teachers Union.

Smith, 19, is a leader of the George Washington University Young Socialist Alliance and an organizer of student support for the GWU hospital employees who were recently on trial for a sit-in staged during a union organizing drive.

Toba Singer spoke on the suit the SWP and YSA filed last July against Nixon and other Watergate figures



Demonstration last fall for home rule

for a permanent injunction against wiretapping, harassment, intimidation, mail tampering, and burglary of the party, its candidates, and supporters.

"The recent indictment of Mitchell, Haldeman, and five other officials whom we are suing is additional proof of the corruption of the Nixon administration," Singer said.

She added that it would require a "complete transformation" of society and creation of a workers government to bring about "real democracy."

Allan Budka commented on the

home rule issue. "Some critical supporters of the charter have maintained that although the charter may not be great, it is better than nothing at all," he said.

"But this charter represents nothing as far as any significant progress toward genuine home rule is concerned. As a member of the Congressional Black Caucus admitted, 'That's the only way we got the bill through Congress. We went to Southern and conservative congressmen and told them we weren't giving them [D. C. residents] anything but the right to vote, and that was true.'"

Also at the news conference, Anne Powers released a statement on the recent decision in Congress to include in the "home rule" charter a provision allowing both federal and District of Columbia employees to run for city office.

In its original form, the charter would have allowed federal but not D. C. employees to run. This would have barred Powers, who is a public school teacher, and thousands of other public employees.

The latest decision amends the Hatch Act, which prohibits government workers from actively participating in election campaigns.

Powers said, "The Socialist Workers Party campaign thinks this decision is a positive precedent in granting all citizens of D. C. the right to participate in elections. We call for the complete abolition of the Hatch Act, so that federal and city employees have all the same political rights as non-government employees."

Rally opens Texas SWP campaign

Vasquez hits hypocrisy of capitalist justice

By RICK CONGRESS

HOUSTON — The Texas Socialist Workers Party 1974 campaign drive got underway here with a news conference announcing the party's slate of local candidates in Houston and a spirited rally featuring the statewide candidates, March 1.

Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for attorney general, opened his remarks at the rally by saying, "One of the first questions I was asked at our news conference was if I was qualified to be attorney general. I want to assure everybody tonight that I am not a crook and that I am not a lawyer."

Vásquez spoke on the hypocritical nature of capitalist justice, and pointed to the crimes of prominent members of the bar such as Nixon, Mitchell, and Stans in pursuing frame-up indictments against Black, Chicano, and Native American leaders.

Dan Fein, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, summed up the theme of the rally when he said, "The road of uncompromising struggle of the working class for its own class interests is the alternative that the SWP proclaims as the only answer to capitalism with its racism, sexism, wars, declining standard of living, and artificial shortages."

Gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith cited the history of the radical and working-class movements in Texas and the legacy of Eugene Debs as a point of departure in explaining the goals of the SWP campaign.

Smith pointed out the similarity of Debs's description of the Democratic and Republican parties as a "double-headed political monstrosity of the capitalist class," and the oft-quoted statement by Raza Unida Party leaders that the Democratic and Republi-



Socialist candidates Sherry Smith and Pedro Vasquez cited crimes of Democrats and Republicans.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

can parties are the same animal with two heads that feed from the same trough.

The enthusiastic crowd of 85 campaign supporters contributed more than \$1,360 toward financing the election effort.

Also on March 1, the Women's Political Caucus in Houston held a meeting to feature women candidates. Although the publicity for the meeting stated that all women political candidates were invited, Sherry Smith was denied the right to address the meeting.

The Raza Unida Party female candidates were also not invited. The platform, however, was packed with Democratic Party representatives, such as Frances Farenthold, candidate for governor in the upcoming Democratic Party primary.

More than 1,000 leaflets were distributed at the meeting explaining why women should support Sherry Smith's campaign and questioning the Cau-

cus's exclusion of SWP and RUP women candidates.

Earlier in the week, the Houston SWP announced its slate of local candidates at a news conference that received wide coverage by local TV, radio, and press.

Kris Vásquez, 23, a student at the University of Houston, is running for Congress from the 18th Congressional District. As SWP candidate for Houston school board last fall Vásquez polled more than 7,000 votes.

Jill Fein, 28, is the SWP candidate for Congress from the 22nd C. D. Fein is a member of the Houston Teachers Association.

Sara Johnston, a student at the University of Houston, is the SWP candidate for state board of education from the 18th District; and Don Sorsa, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, is the party's candidate for Texas House of Representatives from the 90th District.

Chicano activists hail SWP rally

One of the highlights of the March 1 SWP campaign rally in Houston was the reading of greetings from leaders of the Colegio Jacinto Trevino and the Teatro Malqueridos, a movement-oriented theater group associated with the Colegio.

The Colegio has been a center of education and action for the militant Chicano movement in the Rio Grande Valley community of Mercedes.

Compañeros y compañeras of the Socialist Workers Party, compañera Sherry Smith, compañero Dan Fein, compañero Pedro Vásquez:

Due to circumstances we did not foresee we regret very much that we will not be able to participate in this

historic event.

We totally support the campaign of our compañeros Sherry Smith, Dan Fein, Pedro Vásquez, and all other Socialist Workers Party candidates.

We at Colegio Jacinto Trevino value and respect the compañerismo which has developed between us and the Socialist Workers Party. We look forward to a vigorous campaign against the twin parties of capitalism.

HASTA LA VICTORIA SI-
EMPRESA.

VENCEREMOS.

(Signed) Anselmo Garza

Ramon Chacon

Lupe Casares

Teatro Malqueridos

California officials respond to CoDEL ballot suit

BERKELEY—The California secretary of state is working overtime to marshal arguments in response to the suit being brought by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) to overturn part of the state election code.

CoDEL is challenging the extraordinarily restrictive provisions for qualifying parties for the ballot.

The suit was filed by civil liberties attorney Vincent Hallinan on behalf of five smaller parties, including the Socialist Workers Party and the Raza Unida Party.

One of the state's arguments against opening up the ballot is that this would encourage the two major parties to manipulate and aid smaller parties if they thought that by doing so they could take votes away from their opponents in the other major party.

Kitty Cone, California CoDEL director, said, "This type of cynical reasoning brings Watergate to mind, but it is really about the only defense that can be made for California's election laws. These laws are an outrage to all Californians interested in free and open elections."

To qualify for the ballot, a party must gather signatures of 10 percent of the electorate on petitions, which amounts to 663,340 valid signatures of registered voters, or it must register 67,000 voters into the new party 135 days before the primary, a time when political interest is not the highest.

In contrast, Democrats and Republicans need collect only 65 to 100 signatures to have their names placed on the ballot in the primary.

A party that cannot fulfill these burdensome requirements is refused ballot status in any partisan election, local or statewide. This means that La Raza Unida Party, for example, which has a registration of around 12,000 in Los Angeles County alone, cannot get on the ballot in state assembly elections there.

The provisions for getting on the ballot are so prohibitive that since 1940 only three parties have qualified.

Among the endorsers of the CoDEL suit are Congressman Ron Dellums; the Peace and Freedom Party of California; Olga Rodríguez, SWP candidate for governor; Social Services Union Local 535; Sheriff Richard Hongisto of San Francisco; and Ramona Ripston, Southern California director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

New support has come from the Election Reform Workshop of the California Democratic Council, which passed a resolution of support to the suit, and from Victoria Mercado of the Communist Party, who is the Northern California director of Voters Choice Initiative (VCI).

The VCI is attempting to collect 500,000 signatures before May 28 to place an initiative on the ballot that would lower the signature requirement for the petition method of qualifying parties from 10 percent to 1 percent.

Another suit, now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court, challenges a different aspect of the California election laws: the provisions for getting on the ballot as an independent candidate. These are so restrictive they have never

been met for a statewide office.

The suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Gus Hall, Communist Party 1972 presidential candidate, and other independent candidates.

A hearing on the CoDEL case has been postponed until a decision comes from the Supreme Court on the suit regarding independent candidates. CoDEL is considering filing a motion for an immediate hearing.

According to Cone: "The two cases are different. This delay is a diversion, an attempt to avoid dealing with the important questions our suit raises. The delay hurts the smaller parties, because campaigning for the 1974 elections has begun, and their plans for getting on the ballot hinge on the outcome of this suit."

"Our suit was filed eight months ago," Cone continued, "many months before the elections. It would be totally unfair to the candidates and supporters of these parties if the suit were heard so late that the parties were unable to appear on the ballot in November."

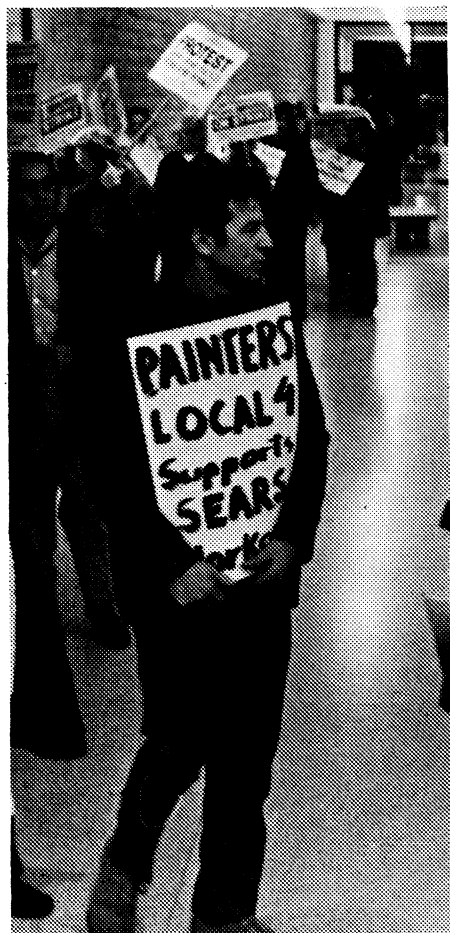
Rodriguez links opponent to ITT

SAN FRANCISCO—Speaking before a Northern California Socialist Workers Party campaign rally here March 2, SWP gubernatorial candidate Olga Rodríguez lashed out at local Watergate-type politicians.

She called attention to the close ties between one of her opponents, incumbent lieutenant-governor Ed Reinecke, and the infamous ITT corporation.

"Both California Democrats and Republicans have used Watergate politics for years," Rodríguez said. "Both parties are tied to big business and its policies. This can be clearly seen in the support both Democrats and Republicans give to the growers against the United Farm Workers."

SWP senatorial candidate Dan Styron also addressed the rally, attacking the oil monopolies and calling for



Nat Weinstein, SWP candidate for Congress, demonstrates in support of Sears strikers.

them to be taken over by the government and run under the control of the oil workers themselves.

Styron also told of the recent sit-in by Vietnam veterans at the office of his Democratic opponent Alan Cranston.

At the rally, three SWP candidates for U.S. Congress from Northern California were announced.

Paul Boutelle, who was the SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1968, will run for the 9th Congressional District seat now held by Democrat Ron Dellums, a prominent member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Nat Weinstein, a member of Painters Local 4 and a well-known activist in the Bay Area labor movement, will run in the 5th C.D.

Jon Olmsted is the SWP candidate in a special election that will take place sometime in the next two months in the 6th C.D. The election was called because Republican Congressman William Mailliard has been appointed by Nixon as head of the Organization of American States.

Although Olmsted's name will appear on the ballot, he is not allowed to be listed on the ballot as a candidate of the SWP. California's undemocratic election laws prohibit parties that are not recognized statewide from running in their own name in any election.

Olmsted said that although his Democratic opponent John Burton had felt compelled to speak at support rallies for the striking Sears workers in San Francisco, it was the SWP that was doing day-to-day work helping build support for the strike.

These remarks received a standing ovation from the representatives of Department Store Employees Local 1100 who were attending the rally. A number of other trade unionists were also present from the painters, carpenters, and city employees unions.

The rally was one of the most successful ever held by the SWP in Northern California. Two hundred and eighty people attended, and the participants contributed more than \$3,400 for the campaign.

Socialist fights \$990 filing fee

LOS ANGELES—Manuel "Tank" Barrera, socialist candidate for sheriff of Los Angeles County, is fighting attempts by county officials to deny him ballot status because he is unable to pay a \$990 filing fee.

Barrera filed for office March 8 after obtaining a court order forcing the county registrar-recorder to accept his declaration of candidacy.

Such exorbitant filing fees have recently been waived at both the Los Angeles city and California state levels for persons unable to pay. This was the result of court action taken last year by the Socialist Workers Party and Olga Rodríguez, then SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles.

The county registrar-recorder, however, refused Barrera's request for waiver of the fee. Barrera responded, "Low income working people are kept off the ballot while the rich are welcomed with open arms—a clear case of class discrimination."

"The Socialist Workers Party has led successful struggles to open the ballot all across the United States and I am confident we will win this battle too," he said. On March 28 Superior Court

Judge Campbell Lucas will hear arguments on Barrera's petition to waive the fee.

Barrera, 22, is a Chicano activist and a member of the SWP. He is on the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. He said he is running for sheriff to expose the sheriff's department as a "reactionary and racist agency for big business."

Barrera also said, "One of the clearest ways of finding out what 'law enforcement' really is in this city is to take a look at the jails." He is demanding the right as a candidate to conduct a fact-finding tour of the county jails. Barrera calls for prisoners to be allowed to vote and have full access to campaign materials and candidates.

Barrera is also supporting recent efforts to achieve self-government for East Los Angeles. East Los Angeles, which is overwhelmingly Chicano, is currently an unincorporated area under the jurisdiction of L.A. County.

Williams speaks on energy crisis

By STEPHEN BLOOM

NEW YORK—Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, addressed 150 residents of Bedford-Stuyvesant at a community forum on the energy crisis March 7. Williams is running in New York's 12th C.D., which includes all of Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The meeting was sponsored by the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action Community Corporation, a poverty agency. It began with remarks from a number of Black elected officials.

The officials were then supposed to answer questions from the floor and discuss comments by community residents. But most of them left shortly after making their remarks. This caused loud protests from the audience.

Maxine Williams, speaking from the floor, asserted that the Black community could find no solution to the effects of the energy crisis by relying on the Democratic Party.

"Both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by Gulf, Exxon, Shell, and Texaco," she said. "The Black elected officials who are in these two parties cannot possibly serve the needs of the Black community and the needs of the Democratic and Republican parties at the same time."

Williams said that the failure of the capitalist parties to offer any solution to the energy crisis was the latest proof that Black people should break with them to form an independent Black political party. Such a party, she said, would "not only be engaged in electoral politics, but will also be active in the day-to-day struggles of Black people."

The audience responded to Williams's speech with applause, and subsequent speakers said they agreed with her remarks.

During the same week, SWP gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison joined the Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison traveling team, then on tour in Albany.

After Morrison spoke at the State University of New York on "Watergate and the Energy Crisis," two people joined the Young Socialist Alliance and a number of campaign supporters decided to form a Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison group on the campus.

In Review

A-bomb spy fraud exposed on TV

The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Written, directed and produced by Alvin Goldstein. National Public Affairs Center for Television.

"The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" is a beautiful and moving documentary.

Unlike ABC-TV's production in January, called "The Trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," this new program is a sharp indictment of the government for the barbaric crime committed against the Rosenbergs.

The 90-minute program opens with a 1953 newscast from Sing Sing Prison, where the couple has just been electrocuted. Then we see a flashback to 1937, showing a street battle between cops and striking workers. It was in this period of labor upsurge and radicalization, the narrator explains, that the Rosenbergs and thousands of other young people became socialists.

As World War II approaches, the Smith Act is passed, allowing the government to jail people on the basis of their beliefs.

World War II ends and we see the rapid development of the cold war crackdown, designed to intimidate the trade-union movement and drive radicals underground. We hear denunciations of the "reds" from Democratic President Harry Truman, J. Edgar Hoover, freshman witch-hunter Richard Nixon, and, of course, Senator Joseph Mc Carthy.

The Hollywood 10 are jailed for contempt of Congress, and leaders of the Communist Party



JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG: Victims of witch-hunt hysteria.

are imprisoned under the Smith Act.

We watch school children scurry under their desks during an "air raid drill," and a demonstration of young people carrying a huge banner: "Clean America of Red Rats!"

It is in this atmosphere of virulent anticommunism that the Rosenberg "atom spy" trial takes place. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell are convicted in 1951 of passing "the secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviet Union. Their association with the Communist Party is clearly the real issue.

Personifying the hysteria at the trial, Judge Irving Kaufman tells the couple as he sentences them to death, "I consider your crime worse than murder. [It] has already caused, in my opinion, the communist aggression in Korea. . . . Indeed, by your betrayal, you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country."

But the real crime in the Rosenberg case is just beginning to come to light.

The documentary shows an interview with Dr. Philip Morrison, a prominent atomic scientist, who points out the fallacy of the charge that any "se-

cret" was "stolen."

"From 1945 on," he explains, "there is certainly no 'atomic secret.' The secret is out. Fission will make it work."

Moreover, Morrison says, years of atomic research could never have been passed along in a few sketches, as the prosecution claimed. "It's just too much for one man to know. Too much for one book to tell. Too much to write on any piece of paper. Volumes of technical skill. Laboratories full of people. Factories, machinists, machines, all sorts of things. That's what it takes. It's an industry, not a recipe."

The testimony of Harry Gold is exposed. Gold, a key prosecution witness, claimed to have received the atom bomb information from Ethel Rosenberg's brother, David Greenglass.

We hear Gold's testimony at the trial, where he said his Russian contact told him Greenglass's information "was extremely excellent and very valuable." But then we hear the actual tape recording of an earlier statement by Gold, where he said, "apparently the information received had not been of very much consequence at all."

What happened to change Gold's story? We get

Television

an inkling of the possible "help" in constructing his story he may have received from the FBI.

A former FBI agent, Richard Brennan, describes in an interview how he helped Gold "remember" his spy "password." Brennan says, "[Gold] used the expression 'Benny sent me,' which was the best that he could recall at the time. Subsequently. . . we asked him. . . 'Could it have been Julie sent me, or Julius sent me?' And immediately he brightened up with a great light, yes, that is it."

Miriam and Walter Schneir, authors of an excellent exposé of the trial, *Invitation to an Inquest*, describe their discovery that a key piece of evidence, a hotel registration card, was apparently forged by the FBI.

The narrator also informs us that the FBI has refused to release its files on Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs, or David Greenglass.

Others interviewed on the program include Roy Cohn, a young federal prosecutor at the time, who later became Joe McCarthy's right-hand man; the attorney for David Greenglass; and several jurors at the Rosenberg trial.

The jurors reveal the strong anti-communist bias that shaped their verdict. As one juror explains: "The Korean war was going on, and communism was communism. It was a bad thing. After all, we'd helped [the Russians] in World War II, bailed them out, and here they are coming back at us. . . . Taking over all these European nations, making slave states out of them. . . ."

The Rosenberg's two sons, Robert and Michael Meeropol, appear in the documentary and announce their plans to form a commission of inquiry to reopen the case. "I think it's important to do it now," Robert explains, referring to Watergate, "because with all the other revelations, it kind of gives people a total picture. . . . It's not just an isolated incident. It's just one more of many incidents."

The program ends showing the demonstrations that swept Europe, and to a lesser extent, the U.S., demanding freedom for the Rosenbergs as their execution approached. Most moving is the scene on the night of the execution in New York, where thousands gathered near Union Square in what was originally planned to celebrate the granting of a stay of execution by Supreme Court Justice William Douglas. But Douglas's action is overruled 6 to 3 when, in a highly unusual move, the justices are summoned from their summer recess by Eisenhower's attorney general.

In the final days before the execution, we learn that President Eisenhower has imperiously offered the Rosenbergs one last chance to live—if they "confess."

The defiant answer of the Rosenbergs will yet come back to haunt those responsible for their murder:

"We will not help purify the foul record of a fraudulent conviction and a barbaric sentence. . . . our respect for truth, conscience, and human dignity is not for sale. History will record, whether we live or not, that we were victims of the most monstrous frame-up in the history of our country."

— CINDY JAQUITH

'La Raza Unida': a welcome new book

La Raza Unida by Richard Santillan. Tlaquilo Publications. Los Angeles, 1973. 180 pp. Paper \$2.25.

This is the first book-length publication devoted entirely to the subject of the independent Chicano parties—the Raza Unida parties. The author, Richard Santillán, is an activist in the East Los Angeles Raza Unida Party and teaches at California State University in Los Angeles.

Although showing the rough edges of a pioneer effort, *La Raza Unida* gives a well-balanced overview of how and why the Chicano parties came into existence.

The main thesis of the book is that ever since the *gringo* invasion of the Southwest, Chicanos have been second-class citizens, and that Democrats and Republicans have been equally responsible for this. When Chicanos have tried to work through the two-party system to correct these injustices, they have been blocked and excluded at every turn. It is the two major parties that forced Chicanos to take an independent path.

Santillán also correctly assesses the role of the Mexican-American loyal opposition—groups like the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), which he describes as a "vote-getter" for the Democrats; the GI Forum; and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Santillán gives useful data that demonstrate just how gerrymandered and impotent the Chicano vote in California is. He also explains that it is the Democrats, who control the legislature, that are responsible for this.

The hypocrisy of the Democrats in their scramble for the Chicano vote in the 1972 elections and the opportunism of the Mexican-American Democrats are also pointed out by Santillán. "Although 'Viva Muskie' people said that Muskie was the only candidate sensitive to the needs of Chicanos," comments Santillán, most later "jumped into the Humphrey and McGovern camps."

The Humphrey and McGovern campaigns, he writes, consisted of making promises to appoint a few token Chicanos to meaningless posts and posing for pictures in Mexican sombreros.

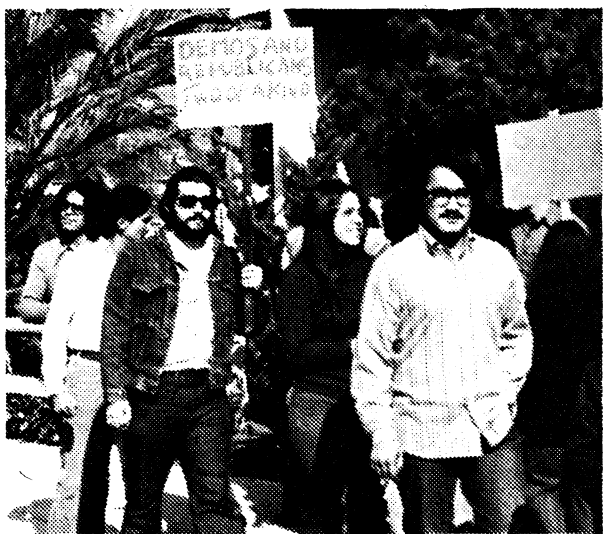
Santillán relates how McGovern's cynical attitude toward Chicanos was shown when he protested the murder of a delegate to the national conference of Raza Unida parties in El Paso, Ricardo Falcón, and then withdrew his statement when the conference refused to endorse him for president.

The role of the Mexican-American *vendidos* (sell-outs) in trying but failing to coalesce a national Latino vote-hustling machine through a series of conferences is also told.

Santillán shows how Nixon appointments of the likes of Romana Banuelos and the use of other Spanish-speaking CREEPs were hypocritical ploys



Militant/Howard Petrick



Militant/Mariana Hernandez

for Chicano votes. All the while he was wooing Chicano votes, Nixon was doing his utmost to destroy the United Farm Workers.

A good example of how Republicans and Democrats collaborate in oppressing Chicanos is the racist Dixon Arnett bill, which, as Santillán points out, was intended to facilitate the deportation of thousands of Chicanos. It was authored and signed into law by Republicans but could not have been passed without the support of the Democrats. He writes that Peter Chacon, a Mexican-American Democratic assemblyman from San Diego, voted for the bill.

La Raza Unida also contains accounts of numerous Chicano movement conferences, including the national conference of Raza Unida parties held in El Paso in September 1972. It is very much to Santillán's credit that he correctly sees that the question of whether to compromise with the two major parties was a vital one at El Paso. Many others who have written about the conference have either glossed over the issue or have chosen to ignore it.

Santillán quotes extensively from an open letter written by José Angel Gutiérrez, a leading figure in the Texas RUP, in which he declares that since the Chicano vote holds the "balance of power" in many elections, *La Raza Unida* should support whichever capitalist candidate makes the most promises.

Reis López Tijerina also supported the idea of compromise, Santillán writes. But a resolution passed by the conference took a clear stand against

Books

any such deal with the two major parties. It was the Colorado delegation, led by Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, with support from other states, that took a firm position. Santillán quotes Gonzales: "We've had promises made before . . . the Chicano has come out on the short end . . . the only results that have come for the Chicano community have come from our reaction, have come from the marches and the struggles and the pickets."

In describing how rotten the politics of the Democrats and Republicans are, and how some Chicanos are breaking with this, Santillán gives an overly optimistic picture of the progress of the Raza Unida parties. It is good to have an optimistic outlook on the possibilities for the development of Chicano parties, but sometimes *La Raza Unida* leans too far in this direction, thus giving an inaccurate picture of the current stage of this development.

This is especially true with the treatment of the California party. The book does not convey the fact that the California RUP is still a handful of small groups of activists.

For example, Santillán gives numerous examples of "election victories" for Chicanos in small California towns. It is not always made clear whether these candidates were Democrats or Republicans running in a "nonpartisan" race or whether they were genuine independents although not RUP, or whether they were endorsed by the RUP or were actual RUP candidates.

There is also a slight technical problem. Different portions of the book were written at different times, giving a somewhat disjointed quality to the work as a whole. Hopefully, future editions containing new material will update the rest of the book to make it chronologically consistent.

—MIGUEL PENDAS

Militant subscription drive gains 5,000 new readers

By SHARON CABANISS

As we enter the final leg of the spring subscription drive, more than 5,000 new subscriptions to *The Militant* have been sold. Our goal is 7,000.

The drive received a boost last week as 12 Young Socialist teams began their tours of campuses around the country. Each team has pledged to sell 90 subscriptions the first three weeks it is on the road. During the first week, a total of 299 subscriptions were sold. Two additional teams will be leaving in late March.

Along with selling subscriptions, each team has a weekly goal of selling 100 *Militants* and 100 *Young Socialists*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. The 12 teams made their *Militant* sales goal the first week with 1,282 sold. They also sold 1,068 YSs.

The teams found students responsive to revolutionary literature. On one campus in Rhode Island, the team from Boston held a meeting on "What Socialists Stand For," and two people decided to join the YSA. The team also sold 21 *Militant* subscriptions, 92 *Militants*, and 55 YSs on that campus.

The Denver team made all of its goals for subscriptions and sales the first week, and the Philadelphia/Pittsburgh team sold 111 *Militants*, 105 YSs, and 16 *Militant* subscriptions in only three days. The Atlanta team, also on the road for only three days, made its subscription goal of 30.

Cities with large quotas are now placing emphasis on finishing the subscription drive in time. Many supporters are selling subscriptions on their jobs, during their weekly street sales, and to their neighbors. One *Militant* supporter in Washington, D.C., for example, sold four subscriptions by phoning friends who are members of his union.

Political meetings also offer a good opportunity to sell subscriptions to activists, as two supporters from Los Angeles found. They sold 53 subscriptions to people attending a conference on "illegal aliens" last week.

Supporters in the army are contributing toward the subscription drive's success. One GI sent in six subscriptions he sold on his base to "GI's, like myself, who are tired of the way things are being run." And a sailor ordered a subscription for himself and asked for three additional subscriptions to distribute on his ship.

The *International Socialist Review* drive for 1,200 new subscribers is being conducted in conjunction with the *Militant* drive. So far, 1,115 new *ISR* subscriptions have come in, ensuring a successful completion of that drive.

Street sales of single copies of *The Militant* continued to move toward the goal of 10,000 weekly sales, with 8,262 of the March 1 issue sold (headlined "The truth about Wounded Knee"). This is in addition to the 1,282 *Militants* sold by the YS teams last week and other street sales not reported to *The Militant*.

Detroit and Twin Cities supporters made their goals again last week as a result of high sales at political meetings and on campuses. Twin Cities sold 508 papers, their highest total yet and well over their goal of 350. Almost 250 were sold at

Wounded Knee Solidarity meetings and rallies. Another 10 were sold in the Indian community.

Cleveland and Pittsburgh made their weekly sales goals for the first time, selling 351 and 350 respectively.

Readers around the country can help sell *The Militant* by ordering a weekly bundle. Last week new orders came in from readers in Cedar Falls, Iowa; Columbia, Miss.; Dallas; River Rouge, Mich.; and Stony Brook, N.Y. If you want to help sell *The Militant* in your city, just send in the coupon below.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
E. Lansing	20	58	290
Nashville	20	29	145
Ann Arbor	20	27	135
Tucson	7	8	114
Logan	25	27	108
New Paltz	20	21	105
Los Angeles (West)	250	261	104
Detroit	300	285	95
Boston	400	363	91
Philadelphia	275	244	89
Pittsburgh	125	109	87
Denver	275	236	86
Bowling Green, Ohio	25	21	84
San Diego	200	162	81
Brooklyn	300	236	79
Twin Cities	275	211	77
Lower Manhattan	300	229	76
Columbus	20	15	75
Upper West Side (N.Y.)	250	186	74
Madison	35	25	71
Bellingham	20	14	70
Chicago	500	347	69
St. Louis	150	103	69
Atlanta	275	172	63
Houston	275	165	60
L. A. (Central-East)	250	144	58
Washington, D.C.	275	155	56
Milwaukee	20	11	55
Champaign	20	10	50
New Brunswick	20	10	50
Cleveland	325	156	48
San Francisco	400	182	46
Santa Barbara	20	9	45
Portland	175	77	44
Cincinnati	20	8	40
Indianapolis	20	8	40
St. Cloud	20	8	40
Oakland/Berkeley	500	197	39
Iowa City	20	7	35
Kalamazoo	20	7	35
Austin	60	20	33
Phoenix	20	6	30
Seattle	250	69	28
Bloomington	75	20	27
San Jose	20	5	25
Lexington	20	4	20
Hartford	25	4	16
Athens	20	3	15
Ossining	20	3	15
Baltimore	20	2	10
Kansas City	20	2	10
Amherst	25	2	8
Worcester	25	2	8
San Antonio	15	1	7
Edinboro	20	1	5
Mt. Pleasant	50	2	4
General		92	

YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS

Denver	90	47	52
Atlanta	90	30	33
Austin/Houston	90	30	33
Boston	90	30	33
So. Calif.	90	28	31
Cleveland	90	25	28
Detroit	90	24	27
Chicago/St. Louis	90	23	26
New York	90	17	19
Philadelphia/Pittsburgh	90	16	18
Washington, D.C.	90	16	18
No. Calif.	90	3	3
TOTAL	7,000	5,080	73

Sell The Militant

Join *The Militant's* sales campaign by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

I want to take a weekly sales goal of _____
Send me a weekly bundle of _____.
() Enclosed is \$4 for a *Militant* shoulder bag
(large enough to carry dozens of *Militants* plus books, leaflets, etc.)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Calendar

BROOKLYN
THE NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION: REPORT FROM LITTLE ROCK. Speakers: Robb Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 16th C.D.; others. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO
IN DEFENSE OF LA RAZA. Speakers: Arthur Vasquez, La Raza Unida Party, speaking against government attacks on the Denver RUP; Luis Andres Castillo and Rodrigo Ramirez, CASA, speaking in defense of undocumented workers; Antonio DeLeon, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CLEVELAND
'THE PEOPLE VS. WILLIE FARAH'—film. And speaker from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST
WHY SOLZHENITSYN WAS EXILED. Speaker: Milton Alvin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE
CHILE: IN DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. Film: 'Chile With Poems & Guns'; Speaker: Tim Harding, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE
THE IRISH MOVEMENT AND THE SUNNINGDALE AGREEMENT. Speaker: Gerry Foley, contributor to Intercontinental Press. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY
WOUNDED KNEE: ONE YEAR LATER. Speakers: Jen Knapp and Roberto Mendaza, Native American Defense and Wounded Knee Defense Fund. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PITTSBURGH
WEEKEND CONFERENCE: WHERE IS AMERICA GOING? MAR. 22-23. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m.: Where is America Going? Speaker: Debby Bustin, former coordinator of National Peace Action Coalition, national cochairwoman of Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee;

Sat., Mar. 23, 12 p.m.: The Continuing struggle of women—Panel discussion; 2 p.m.: African revolution and Black liberation. Speakers: Bill Kilson, president, Univ. of Pittsburgh Black Action Society; Trudie Hawkins, Detroit anti-STRESS campaign; Patrick Nkogu, Black studies dept., Univ. of Pittsburgh; 4 p.m.: The new rise in the labor movement—Panel discussion. All sessions in 105 David Lawrence Hall, Univ. of Pittsburgh. Donation: 75c per session; \$2.50 for all four sessions. Child care and housing free.

HEAR THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES—Rally. Sat., Mar. 23, 7 p.m. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SAN DIEGO
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1974 CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, candidate for governor of California; Ken Davey, for treasurer; Salm Kolis, for U.S. Congress, 41st C.D. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
THE HOME RULE CHARTER—IS IT A STEP FORWARD FOR D.C.? A panel of opposing viewpoints. Speakers: John Wilson, campaign coordinator, Committee to Support the Charter; Anton Wood, D.C. Statehood Party candidate for D.C. delegate; Allan Budka, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council chairman. Fri., Mar. 22, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...FBI

Continued from page 3

One memo, dated Dec. 24, 1970, speaks about a disruption program that was apparently used against the Bay Area Panthers. The memo talks about "neutralizing" the organization. The memo mentions the split within the Panthers, which was not made public until a couple months later.

This information was gathered by FBI and police spies within the Panthers who, no doubt, had a role in precipitating the split.

By using the typewriter method, it is not hard to guess whom Hoover is referring to. He writes: "Recent information indicates [Clever] has broken with the [censored] organization and is in the process of forming a new group. For this reason, and because of the expanding complexities of the proposed technique, no further action should be taken on this suggested disruptive technique."

In subsequent weeks, the two factions began public feuding and deaths resulted. The "proposed technique" was, no doubt, a plan to deepen the split, and may have included assassination.

For some unknown reason, one of the memos has little censoring and refers directly to the Panthers.

The memo talks about fabricating documents that would appear to have been "pilfered from police files," planting spies pretending to be "disgruntled police employees," and promoting factionalism by "indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions; revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation. . . ."

The memo brags: "Effective imple-

mentation of this proposal logically could not help but disrupt and confuse Panther activities."

During the New York Panther 21 trial in 1970, an undercover cop surfaced who said he had been in the organization since 1968. He said that prior to that he had been a member of Malcolm X's group, was a bodyguard to Malcolm, and was present the night he was assassinated. But he gave no further details.

These new documents of government disruption of the Black struggle raise new questions on the FBI's role in the deaths of Malcolm and King. But most important, the documents add fuel to the demand that all disruptions stop, that all secret FBI documents be made public, that the truth behind the deaths of Malcolm and King be unraveled, and that those responsible be brought to justice.

...SWP

Continued from page 3

with news media, and using police agents to whip up red-baiting campaigns in organizations and movements in which socialists participate.

None of these tactics, however, is mentioned in the one page released so far.

Nor is there any mention of the objectives laid out clearly in a 1968 document describing the COINTEL-PRO program:

"The purpose of this program," wrote J. Edgar Hoover, "is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership, and adherents."

"We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals," continued Hoover, "to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents."

The "SWP Disruption Program" singles out activities of the SWP that the FBI found particularly dangerous: "openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South."

The reference to open, constitutionally protected electoral activities as one of the grounds for "disruption" of the SWP is particularly damaging to the government's defense against

the socialists' suit. Prior to now, the government has strenuously denied that SWP election campaigns had anything to do with surveillance by the FBI.

...GSU

Continued from page 21

Week at GSU recently and was elected chairman of the Black Alliance, a Black student group.

The Young Socialist campaign demanded open admissions for Black students, preferential hiring of Black faculty and staff, and creation of a Black Studies department under Black student control.

The campaign for the runoff election became the hottest issue on campus and was viewed as a campaign of political issues rather than personalities.

Hundreds of students wore the diamond-shaped campaign button of Weisman and Green and heard speakers from the Young Socialist campaign.

The GSU administration gave obvious support to Weisman's opponent, Mike Sloane, who ran a "stop the socialists" campaign.

The administration forbid some departments from allowing candidates to speak in classes, because of the success Weisman and Green had in speaking to more than 35 classes before the primary.

The red-baiting campaign had enough effect to give Sloane a victory over Weisman by 1,883 votes to 1,458. However, the extent of support for the Young Socialists was shown by an increase of more than 70 percent in Weisman's vote from the primary election. The voter turnout in the runoff was the highest in GSU history.

The aftermath of the election promises to be as exciting as the campaign itself. The hundreds of students who supported the Weisman-Green campaign will be interested in the struggles for child care and student rights that will continue after the elections.

It is already clear that many will also be interested in the Socialist Workers Party 1974 campaign in Georgia. Twenty Young Socialist supporters from GSU attended the kickoff rally for the SWP campaign.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles—City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Morton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 760 Oak Walk, Apt. H, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Kegler, 1563 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 447 Seaside Ave. #186, Honolulu, Hawaii 96815.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46201.

IOWA: Iowa City: YSA, c/o IMU, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8360.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP and YSA, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Philpaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553. YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St., (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476 University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 524-8967.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213 Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WEST VIRGINIA: Huntington: YSA, c/o Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va. 25701. Tel: (301) 525-6323.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 145 N. Butler, Madison, Wis. 53703. (608) 251-5716.

Milwaukee: YSA, P.O. Box 1136, Milwaukee, W., 53201.

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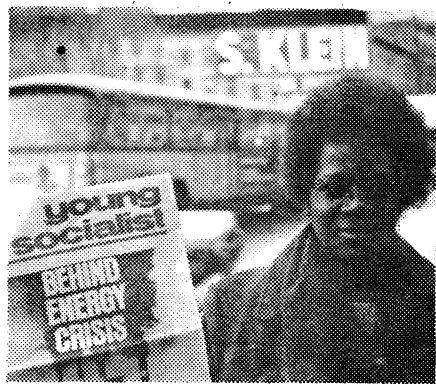
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Fight for living wage

Strike by city workers ties up San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, March 13—Mayor Joseph Alioto ordered police today to enforce Judge Clayton Horn's order to clear picketing city workers from Municipal Railway sites, sewage treatment plants, and the two county hospital centers. Yesterday the superior court judge declared the strike illegal and ordered all pickets arrested.

At first Mayor Alioto denounced the court order, stating, "We don't use the police as strikebreakers." But he reversed his position after Horn issued the second, more specific order. Both orders have been ignored by the strikers. Pickets are still up everywhere in the city. The police have yet to enforce Alioto's order, and no arrests have yet been made.

The strike spread further today, as just about every bus driver from AC Transit refused to take their buses out this morning, in support of the city workers. AC Transit is the East Bay service that carries 40,000 rush-hour commuters daily from Oakland

the city-owned San Francisco International Airport. City workers are already striking there. AFL-CIO unions at the airport represent 10,000 workers for private firms.

The San Francisco Labor Council executive committee this morning referred to committee a resolution discussed on Monday, March 11, for a one-day work stoppage, while it sanctioned the teachers' strike.

The chamber of commerce, which asked for the original injunction against the strikers, including a billion-dollar suit against the striking union, claimed yesterday that the San Francisco businesses are losing \$20-million a day.

By JOE TERRY

SAN FRANCISCO—"The typists won't type, the drivers won't drive, and the teachers won't teach," complained one TV anchor man on the second day of San Francisco's municipal employees' strike.

Demanding an \$80-a-month across-the-board raise and a fully paid dental plan, 15,000 city employees struck March 6, closing virtually all public services, from city hall, to both public hospitals, to the department of social services—except police, fire department, and emergency medical.

All told, more than 200 installations were being picketed.

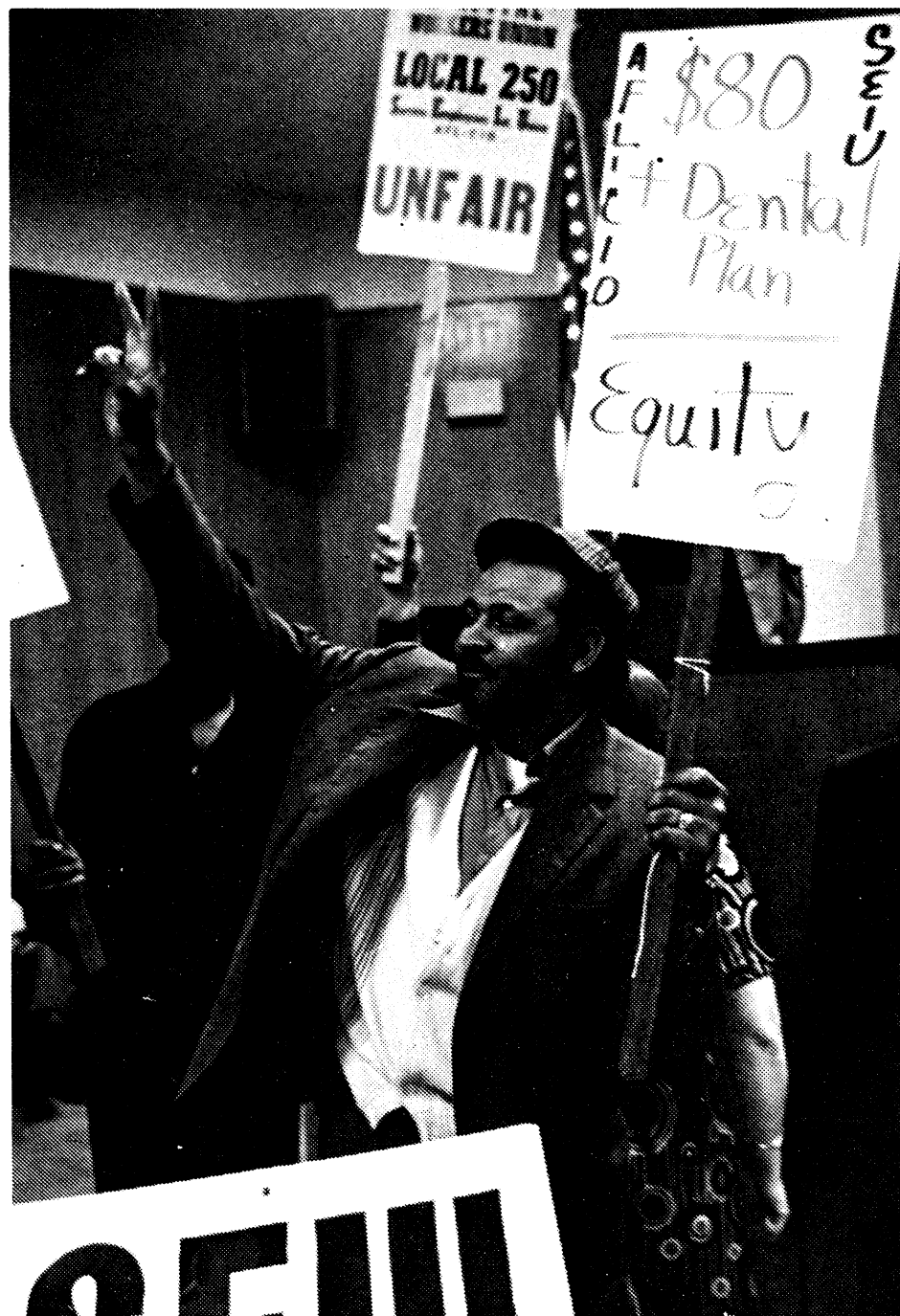
The strike was called by members of four locals of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), which has grown rapidly among city employees in recent years. SEIU Local 400 numbers some 8,000 clerks, typists, switchboard operators, librarians, and other "miscellaneous" city workers. Local 250 includes about 2,000 hospital employees. Local 535 represents social workers, and Local 66A comprises 2,000 building service and maintenance workers, including Municipal Railway car cleaners.

Twenty-four hours after the strike started, Municipal Railway car cleaners set up pickets at all six Muni car barns. Muni drivers—members of Transport Workers Union 250—honored the picket lines, and in a few hours all city-owned trolleys, buses, and even San Francisco's famous cable cars had halted operations.

On Friday, March 8, 250,000 commuters who normally use Muni had to find other ways to reach work. Thousands stayed home. Downtown stores were also hard hit by the lack of transportation for shoppers.

Meanwhile 700 members of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers had met Thursday evening and voted to join the strike. The SFFT includes about 2,400 of the city's 5,000 teachers.

Most SFFT members had been honoring the picket lines set up by SEIU



Militant/Howard Petrick

For coverage of San Francisco teachers' strike and Sears workers' strike, see pages 18 and 19.

and Berkeley into the city. On the 7 a.m. run, only 12 of the 121 scheduled buses departed for San Francisco.

The longshore unions are reportedly prepared to honor picket lines set up by city workers, many of whom work on the docks. Pickets are expected to be up at the docks in the early hours tomorrow morning.

In an attempt to get public opinion on the side of the employers, the mayor, board of supervisors, and the capitalist media have made a big issue of the closing of the sewage plants and the dumping of raw sewage into the bay. Some ecology groups have fallen for this reactionary propaganda and are asking workers to go back to work.

John Crowley, San Francisco Labor Council secretary and a chief negotiator for the strike, charged that the city Public Works Department could have kept the plants going all along with supervisory personnel. He said, "We are beginning to wonder whether the shutdown was not deliberately ordered to slander and disparage the strike."

It has been pointed out that the city's sewage plants are so antiquated that whenever it rains, sewage overflows and pollutes the bay.

The San Francisco airport, severely handicapped by the strike, may meet with further problems on March 15, when the San Mateo County Central Labor Council executive board meets to consider a request by Crowley that a full-scale strike be sanctioned against

cafeteria workers and janitors in public schools. Faced with intransigence from the school board this year, the teachers expected to have to strike within two weeks anyway. They decided they could only benefit by immediately joining other public employees in more powerful common action.

The possibility of a city employees' strike had loomed ever since Dec. 27, when the Civil Service Commission made its employees' salary schedule recommendation to the board of supervisors. The commission is supported by Mayor Joseph Alioto and headed by Alioto's gubernatorial campaign manager, Bernard Orsi.

Lowest-paid workers

After raises of 2 percent in 1972 and 4 percent in 1973, the proposed schedule for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1974, would have given the

7,700 lowest-paid city employees no raise whatever. Twenty-five hundred others would have gotten a 2.5 percent increase. Fifty-four hundred more would have received 5 percent.

Only the highest-paid administrative architects and other so-called professionals would have gotten as much as 7.5 percent.

During 1973 the cost of living rose 9 percent, while the cost of food alone rose approximately 25 percent.

In response to the Civil Service Commission recommendation, the four SEIU locals held a joint rally Jan. 28 to demand an \$80 across-the-board raise and a fully paid dental plan. Five hundred workers attended.

The \$80 across-the-board raise means that lower-paid workers such as clerks and hospital laundry workers would get raises higher in per-

Continued on page 18