

# THE MILITANT

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

## Lynch mob terror mounts in Boston

### Demand federal troops to protect Black students!

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON, Dec. 11—A screaming lynch mob gathered outside South Boston High School today, threatening to kill more than 100 Black students who were trapped inside for nearly four hours.

The mob of 600 battled with police, trying

#### On-the-scene report

to prevent the cops from evacuating the Black students. Amid a hail of bricks, rocks, and bottles, and shouts of "Lynch them!" the Black students, flanked by cordons of police, finally

reached school buses and were whisked to safety.

Today's mob violence in "Southie," the all-white community of South Boston, was the most serious to date in the racist campaign aimed at halting court-ordered desegregation of Boston's schools.

This morning it was reported that a white student at the school had been stabbed by a Black student. The white students were sent home for the day and buses were called in to take home the Black students, who are bused to the school under the desegregation plan.

But a gang of 300 white students and their parents physically blocked the buses from nearing the school and finally forced them to turn back. Reinforcements were called in to join the 50 cops who are regularly stationed at the school.

But the additional forces took two hours to arrive. In the meantime the mob of racists swelled to 600. They jammed up against the iron gate fronting the school, shook their fists up at the windows, and yelled to the Blacks inside, "We're going to kill you!" Chants of "Here we go, Southie" were mixed with cries of "Let's lynch them!" which were met with cheers from the mob.

Louise Day Hicks, a member of the city council who has led in organizing weekly racist rallies that have whipped up the kind of anti-Black hysteria seen here today, addressed the mob from the steps of the school.

She said, "I will not tell you to go home."

The frenzied mob roared back: "Hell no, we won't go."

"My only concern is your safety," said Hicks. "If something happens here today, one

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Black demonstrators defy police fire hoses in Birmingham, 1963. For special feature on civil rights movement, see pages 5-8.

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## THE MILITANT

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**BENEFIT FOR IMPRISONED IRANIAN ARTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS:** To mark its first anniversary, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) held a benefit on Dec. 5 in New York City. The affair was hosted by author Kurt Vonnegut and feminist Jacqueline Ceballos of the National Organization for Women.

One hundred supporters crowded into the gallery of the Gotham Book Mart for this event, called an "Evening for Imprisoned Iranian Artists and Intellectuals." The guests contributed \$1,600 to aid the campaign for defense of victims of the shah's repression and terror.

Speakers at the benefit were Frances Fitzgerald, author of *Fire in the Lake*; W.S. Merwin, Pulitzer-prize-winning poet; and Babak Zahraie, for CAIFI.

## Moroz ends his fast

Imprisoned Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz has ended a hunger strike that began July 1. Moroz ended his fast Nov. 22 after Soviet authorities promised to improve his prison conditions. However, news of this was sent to his wife by mail and was not made public until Dec. 10.

When Raissa Moroz visited her husband early in November, it appeared likely that he would die.

Moroz was sentenced to a 14-year term in 1970—six years in prison, three in a labor camp, and five in exile—for his writings defending Ukrainian national rights against the Stalinist policy of Russification of the Ukraine. His case has received widespread international publicity, and the promise to improve his conditions of imprisonment was undoubtedly a response to this. Whether or not the promise will be kept remains to be seen.

**WISCONSIN VETS BLAST 'SUBVERSIVE LIST':** The *Vietnam Vet*, published by the Wisconsin Veterans Union, carries an article in its Dec. 2 issue on use of the attorney general's "subversive list" to victimize GIs. The attorney general's list was supposedly abolished by former president Nixon, who said it was "not to be used for any purpose."

However, Steven Wattenmaker, an Army reservist and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was sent a notice on Oct. 18 that said his membership in the YSA meant his remaining in the Reserves "would not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security." The notice went on to say that the YSA is "controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has been designated as a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States."

After reporting these facts and Wattenmaker's demand for a formal Army Field Board of Inquiry, *The Vietnam Vet* says, "The Wattenmaker case is important because of its implications to the rest of the GIs. It was a real victory to have the 'red list' declared invalid. It made it that much harder for the brass to get rid of GIs who were organizing within the military. This attempt to bring it back must be fought before it is expanded into a general offensive against all dissident GIs."

**BACK TO MCGUFFEY'S READER?:** In its first official statement on the rash of efforts to censor school textbooks, the Ford administration has come down squarely on the side of the book-burners. Terrel Bell, U.S. education commissioner, told a meeting of school-book publishers Dec. 2 that they ought to print only "materials that do not insult the values of most parents."

The kind of values meeting Bell's approval, he said, are those found in books like the Bible, McGuffey's Reader, and *The Wizard of Oz*—that is, "good literature that will appeal to children without relying too much on blood and guts and street language for their own sake."

It's not much of a coincidence that Bell recently met with antitextbook protesters from Kanawha County, W. Va., where books by Black authors and others challenging the status quo have been the target of bombings, demonstrations, and school boycotts inspired by right-wing fundamentalist preachers.

Bell echoed the sentiments of the West Virginia reactionaries—who apparently hope to keep the twentieth century out of Kanawha County forever—when he warned against literature that "appears to emphasize violence and obscenity and moral judgments that run counter to tradition, all in the name of keeping up with the real world."

The National Education Association (NEA), representing 1.5 million teachers in the U.S., has been one of the organizations opposing the censorship drive in Kanawha County. The NEA scheduled hearings on the book-banning issue, to be held in Charleston, W. Va., Dec. 9-11.

**BOOK CLUB ADOPTS 'SAMIZDAT' VOLUME:** The Saturday Review Book Club has announced its adoption of *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* as an alternative club selection.

The book, an anthology of dissident Soviet writings edited by George Saunders and published by Monad Press, is gaining recognition as an important work on the subject. *Choice* magazine, a well-respected journal oriented toward librarians, called *Samizdat* "a unique companion piece to the *Gulag Archipelago*. As such, students of Soviet history and politics will find it invaluable." In the *New York Review of Books*, Peter Reddaway, editor of *Uncensored Russia*, called *Samizdat* a "useful anthology. . . (containing) many moving passages of life in the (Stalinist) camps."

*Samizdat* may be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 464 pp. Cloth, \$15.00; paper, \$3.95.

**SOCIALISTS FIGHT UNFAIR ELECTION LAWS:** There are only two ways for a political party to get on the ballot in California: 1) collect 600,000 signatures on petitions or 2) register 60,000 members. The requirements, which are the most restrictive in the country, discriminate against third parties. The Socialist Workers Party, La Raza Unida Party, and others have filed suit to have the unconstitutional requirements knocked down.

In a brief filed Nov. 26, California state officials admit that the sky-high petitioning requirement of 10 percent of the state's registered voters is probably unconstitutional. They argue that the election law need not be changed, though, on the grounds that the alternative method—registering 60,000 voters—is constitutional.

A hearing on the case, formerly scheduled for Dec. 13, has been changed to Jan. 3. The plaintiffs' case is being handled by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). For more information write CoDEL, Box 40445, San Francisco, Calif. 94140.

—NORMAN OLIVER



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

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# ...Boston lynch mob attacks escalate

of you may get hurt. We have to let the buses come in to take the Blacks back to Roxbury."

## 'Bus them to Africa'

But Hicks's appeal for a tactical retreat was met with boos and chants of "Bus them back to Africa!" Hicks was drowned out and forced to stop speaking.

Following the logic of her frequent calls to action to beat back desegregation, the mob had now moved beyond its leader. They were out for blood.

When 125 reinforcements finally arrived, the police began to push the racists away from the school so that the buses could get through. Cries of "Nigger lovers!" and "Go to Roxbury and beat the boneheads!" rang

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*For an editorial on the busing question, see page 10.*

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out as they fought with the police. A police van and two patrol cars were wrecked. Eleven people were injured, including two policemen.

An empty bus was used as a decoy, while police formed a corridor through which the Black students moved to other buses. The decoy bus was attacked and smashed by the racists.

All South Boston schools have now been ordered closed for the rest of the week.

Organizers of the Dec. 13 National Teach-in against Racism and the Dec. 14 National Freedom March responded quickly to this new escalation of racist violence.

In a statement released tonight, Maceo Dixon of the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism declared: "The lynch mobs must be stopped! It was a miracle that no Black students were killed by the mob at South Boston High today. These racist terror tactics must be halted, and Black students protected, with whatever force is necessary to do the job. If it requires an entire division of the U. S. Army, then that is what we must have.

"Troops should be immediately sent in to keep the schools open and defend the Black students. President Ford and Congress have done nothing but give encouragement to the racists so far. We must demand that they act to enforce the law."

## Organized campaign

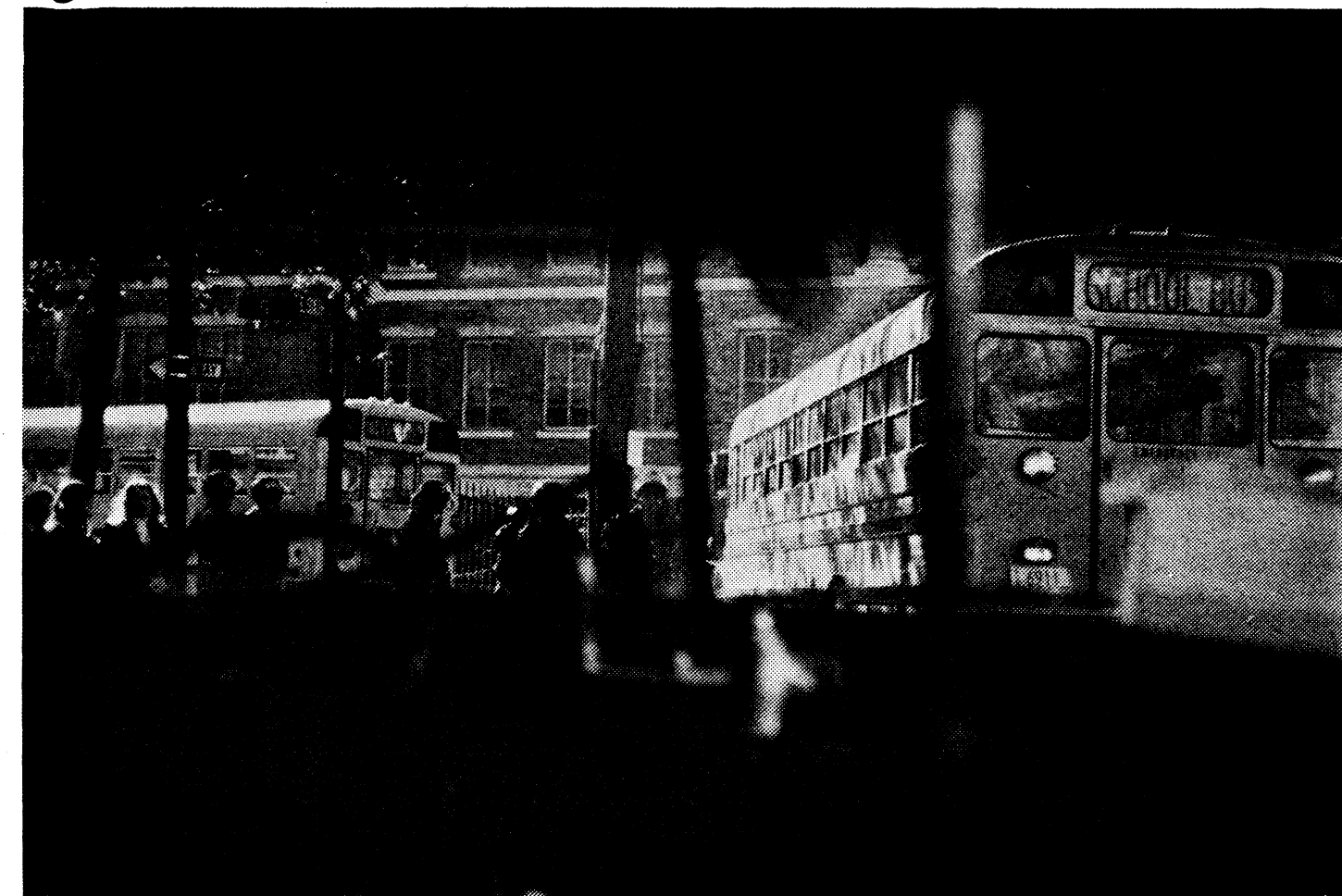
While the mob that surrounded South Boston High was prevented from murder this time, they did win one of their aims. The South Boston schools have been shut down.

The racists have carried out a concerted, well-organized campaign to win this objective since the beginning of school this fall, when the busing began.

They have held weekly meetings in the city council chambers to plan motorcades and rallies to urge support for their boycott of the schools. They have organized the posting of segregationist signs and have painted the walls with slogans such as "Niggers go home." These signs confront Black students every day along their bus routes.

At a Thanksgiving football game between South Boston and East Boston high schools the racists burned a life-size replica of a school bus at half time.

In order to "prove" that desegregation is unworkable and leads to turmoil in the schools, they have system-



Scene from bus approaching South Boston High School. In order to 'prove' that desegregation is unworkable and leads to turmoil in the schools, the racists have systematically fomented violence.

atically fomented violence and turmoil in the schools.

They have stepped up this campaign as the court-ordered Dec. 16 deadline approaches for the school committee to come up with a final desegregation plan.

During Thanksgiving week, white students walked out of South Boston High and joined parents outside in a demonstration. They waited until the Blacks left the school and tried to provoke the students with taunts of "nigger."

In the face of these provocations, the Black students have conducted themselves with an amazing degree of self-discipline.

In recent days buses carrying Black students have been stoned. Three Black students were hospitalized yesterday for injuries they received when their bus was stoned in Roslindale.

Yesterday white parents threw up a picket line at South Boston High. They tried to intimidate teachers from entering the school, accusing them of being scabs if they crossed the racist picket line. Over the past few days the racists have been demanding that South Boston High be shut down for "reasons of safety."

This morning a representative of the South Boston Information Center, an organizing center for the racists, showed up at the opening of school and passed out leaflets to white students instructing them in what to do if they are arrested. They were clearly preparing for trouble.

This campaign of racist provocation and violence has been aided by the open support or complete silence of elected officials, from President Ford on down to the governor, mayor, and the city council of Boston.

## Black students speak out

Today I had the opportunity to talk with three Black students about what has been going on inside the schools. They are Mike Coachman, Reggie Wallace, and Kenneth Farmer. All are in the ninth grade and live in Roxbury. Farmer is being bused to Dean Junior High, two blocks from South Boston High. Coachman goes to the

L Street Annex of South Boston High, and Wallace goes to Copley High.

Farmer described a typical scene at lunch break, when the white students from South Boston High come over to harass the Blacks.

"They come up the street and start calling us names—boneheads, monkeys, like that, and they throw food at us," he said.

"When the buses come," said Farmer, "white students and their parents stand on the corner, giving us the finger, and telling us to go back to Africa. They call us monkeys and do an imitation of a monkey."

Coachman added, "Sometimes there will be little old ladies giving us the finger. Once I saw a woman have her little kid put his finger up."

The students described the racism they are confronted with by teachers.

Wallace said, "It's like they don't want to teach, like, we're dumb because we're Black."

"Some Black student will ask a question," said Farmer, "and the teacher will call on a white girl and say, 'She's smart; she'll answer the question.'"

Black students face an organized campaign of harassment in the schools.

"You've got to go to the bathroom in a crowd, because if you don't, you get jumped by 40 or 50 white kids," said Farmer. "You have to go with 15 or 20 Blacks if you don't want to get jumped. If you tell the principal, he says, 'Go back to your classroom. Where's your pass?'"

Whites who are not students often come in to start trouble. Coachman explained, "They come in to get in on the action."

Farmer said, "The white teacher aides from South Boston bring their friends in from the street. They can do it any time they want."

The students think that the mob action that took place outside South Boston High School today was planned in advance.

Coachman said, "They had eggs, bottles, stuff like that. They just didn't pick an egg off the ground to throw at the police today. They didn't go

home to get their eggs. It had to be planned. They had to have those things on them. They knew that they were going to do those things."

I asked the students about the police assigned to the schools. "The police stay in the basement drinking coffee and eating doughnuts," Farmer said. "There should be police in the corridors and classrooms," added Coachman.

If the police weren't there, "there would be a huge fight," said Wallace.

"I wouldn't go to school," said Coachman.

"Someone would get killed," Farmer added.

"The National Guard should come in," said Wallace. The others agreed.

"The racists are trying to prove something," said Coachman. "They want to prove that South Boston is for white people and only for white people—that no Blacks should even pass by it—should even get to go through it."

"Look how many white students go to Technical High School, in the heart of Roxbury," Coachman said. "Do Black students hassle them? No. We could do it if we wanted to, but that just doesn't happen."

Farmer said, "We have a right to go to any school we want. That's the way it should be."

## 'A hot Christmas'

"It's been getting hot, and it's going to be a very hot Christmas," predicted Coachman. "But if the buses are going to school, then I'm going to school. We're probably going to have to have more police, though," he said.

All of the students are planning to go to the Dec. 14 Freedom March for Human Dignity. Farmer and Coachman are planning to speak at a news conference tomorrow to urge people to support the demonstration.

Farmer said, "We've got to get organized. That's why the antibusing people can do all these things—they're organized. We have got to get together. All the Black people have to get together to demonstrate and be united."



## Racists rally to Holt amendment

# Congress attacks '64 Civil Rights Act

By CINDY JAQUITH

Emboldened by the racist offensive against busing in Boston, the U.S. Congress is trying to wipe out a key gain won by the civil rights movement, the law denying federal funds to segregated schools.

This new attack—in the form of the "Holt amendment"—is part of a campaign to chip away at the 1964 Civil Rights Act. If the amendment passes, it would set the stage for further assaults on desegregation laws.

The Holt amendment has been tacked onto an appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The amendment has already passed the House by a vote of 212 to 176. It is now before the Senate.

If the Senate approves the amendment and it becomes law, it will strip HEW of its most effective means of forcing racist school administrations to comply with civil rights laws—withholding federal funds. Passage of the amendment will encourage segregationist forces around the country to step up their attacks on Black education.

The debate over the amendment in the House showed that this bill is seen as a national focus for the racist "antibusing" movement. Representative Edith Green (D-Ore.), an opponent of busing, summed this up when she said: "What is the Holt



Integrated schools and busing are targets of Holt amendment

amendment? First, the Holt amendment is an effective antibusing amendment."

### Racist appeal

In a demagogic appeal to other racists in the House, Green asked: "Are we going to abandon all local decision-making and say that, here, on the banks of the Potomac . . . we are going to compel every school district in the country to integrate all classes by race, by sex, by national origin, and by religion?"

While Green openly urged Congress to overthrow its own civil rights laws, the actual wording of the Holt amendment tries to cover up what is behind it. The amendment falls at the end of a bill authorizing funds for HEW. It reads:

"Provided further, That none of these funds shall be used to compel any school system as a condition for receiving grants and other benefits from the appropriations above, to classify teachers or students by race, religion, sex, or national origin; or to assign teachers or students to schools, classes, or courses for reasons of race, religion, sex, or national origin."

In arguing in favor of her amendment, Representative Marjorie Holt (R-Md.) tried to present the issue as

one of "the right to privacy."

"It is not my intention to set this country back in the civil rights movement in any way," she claimed. "It is time for Congress to assert in the clearest possible language our commitment to the privacy of the individual in a free society."

But what Holt really wants to protect is the power of racist school boards and other officials who are denying Blacks an equal education. She made this clear in her remarks about "discrimination in reverse."

### Civil rights 'excesses'

The purpose of her amendment, Holt explained, is "to correct the excesses of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. They are coming in now and discriminating by forcing and imposing race and sex discrimination on our schools."

Holt's amendment would "correct" these "excesses" by striking down Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which gave HEW the power to deny funds to segregated schools. Title VI has been key to the struggle for decent education by Blacks, because it puts teeth into the law, making it financially more difficult for states and cities to perpetuate racist policies.

As the Dec. 4 *Washington Post* pointed out in an editorial, through Title VI "a great deal of progress was made in desegregating schools, hospitals and other institutions by states and localities that did not wish to forego the newly available federal funds."

In fact, the HEW recently sued the Boston school committee under Title VI for denying Blacks an equal education. If the Holt amendment passes, such suits would no longer be possible in Boston or anywhere else.

In addition, the amendment is an attack on sex discrimination laws, on bilingual programs, and on funding programs for Indian students.

### 'Back to 1950s'

Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), speaking on the bill during the House debate, called it an "outrageous attempt to take the civil rights movement and the drive for equal rights for women back into the early 1950s."

Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) said that if the amendment passes, Congress will be "abandoning the concept of desegregation of schools" and "saying to America that the national policy will be a system of apartheid, South African style, in our public schools."

Caspar Weinberger, head of HEW, has himself stated that the amendment would cripple HEW's ability to determine civil rights violations in the schools. In effect, the amendment makes a mockery of all past civil rights legislation, by telling schools they no longer have to reveal to anyone the number of Blacks and whites in the classroom.

As the *Boston Globe* pointed out in a Dec. 9 editorial, the bill thus "makes it virtually impossible to investigate whether discrimination even exists. If students or teachers cannot be classified as to sex or race, any attempt to determine the existence, or nature or extent of discrimination in a school district or hospital system would be fruitless."

This new offensive by opponents of civil rights underlines the importance of actions like the Dec. 14 Freedom March on Boston. This is the type of mobilization needed to mount a campaign to counter that of the racists.



CHISHOLM: Holt amendment would 'take civil rights movement back to 1950s.'

## March to defend busing in Pasadena, Calif.

By ANDREA BARON

LOS ANGELES—Supporters of civil rights in the Los Angeles area will be marching in Pasadena Dec. 14, in solidarity with the struggles there and in Boston against school segregation.

One hundred people turned out for a meeting Dec. 5 to plan final arrangements for the Dec. 14 Freedom March. Parents, teachers, students, and school bus drivers are building the demonstration throughout the L.A. area. Leaflet distribution centers have been set up in Pasadena, Central L.A., and at the UCLA campus.

On Dec. 9 the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) held a news conference to announce its support for the marches called in Boston, Pasadena, and other cities on Dec. 14. The ACLU also called for the defeat of the segregationist Holt amendment, now before the Senate (see story this page).

Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California ACLU, denounced the amendment in a state-

ment to the news conference. "The law would reverse whatever gains have been made on a governmental level against racism since the 1954 Supreme Court decision," she explained.

The amendment would prevent the government from denying federal funds to segregated schools. Its supporters claim that for schools to report racial statistics on enrollment is a "violation of privacy."

"Let no one be fooled by the false issue of protecting privacy by not having statistics on race and sex," said Ripston. Skin color and sex "have been used to keep oppressed people from acquiring jobs and social benefits."

"Today, after years of struggle by millions of Americans, the knowledge of one's race or sex as applicants or participants in schools and other social areas is used to benefit them, not discriminate against them."

L.A. city councilmember David

Cunningham and Reverend Edgar Edwards participated in the news conference along with the ACLU.

The focus for the Dec. 14 action here will be Pasadena because of efforts by "antibusing" school board members there to overturn desegregation plans. The board recently announced that it has no money to pay for the busing of schoolchildren. The majority of the city's students are Black, Chicano, or Asian.

The Pasadena bus drivers have been among the targets of the racist policies of the board. Their hours and pay were cut when the board decided to reduce bus service after having spent thousands of dollars on a legal battle to end the Pasadena court-ordered busing plan.

The cutbacks affect the bus service for special programs, such as after-school tutoring and extracurricular trips.

The "English as a second language" program, which had been implemented in schools with large percent-

ages of Chicano students, was also eliminated by the board's decision.

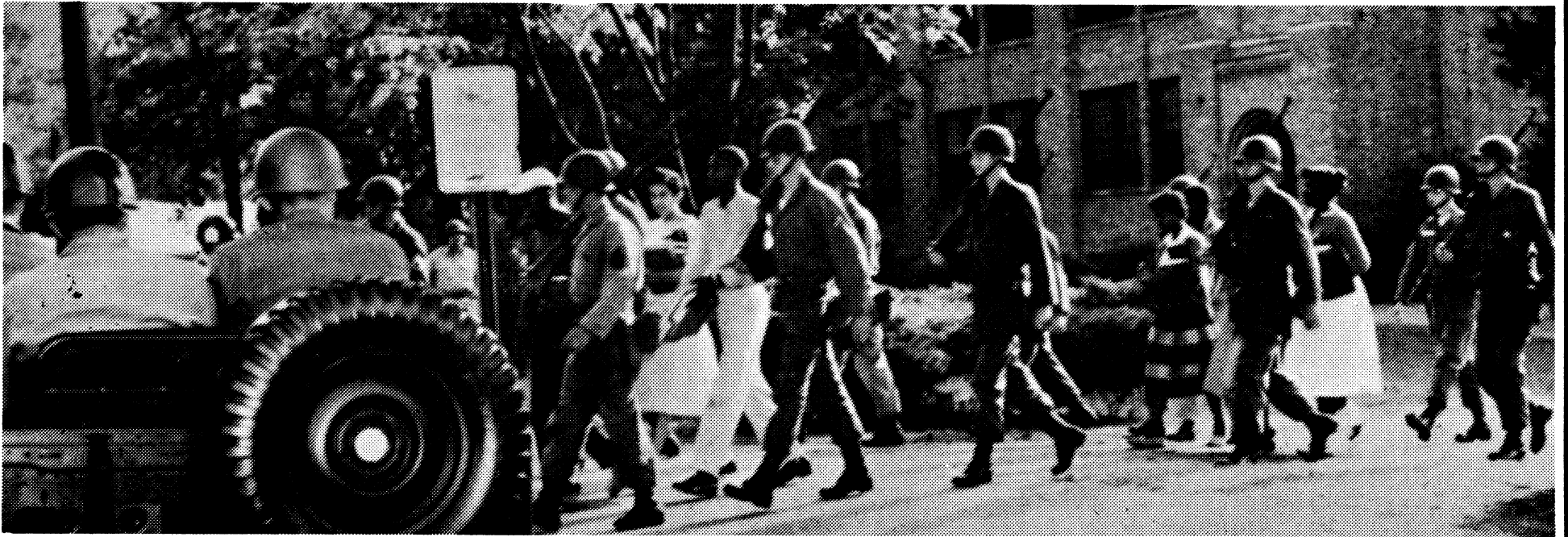
Several days after the demonstration was called, a red-baiting attack began against the protesting bus drivers, who were branded "communists" and "militants" through anonymous leaflets.

One of the drivers at the Dec. 5 meeting responded, "This is nothing but a trick . . . to divide us. We have achieved more by our activities of the last month than we have in the last five years. We will not be intimidated. . . . We have all these people here to help us, but we have to help ourselves. We are sticking together."

Other endorsers of the Dec. 14 march include Al Romo, Chicano Youth Council, Social Services Union Local 535, Friends of Ireland, Education Committee of the Pasadena American Friends Service Committee, and entertainers Paul Winfield, Rob Reiner, Len Chandler Jr., and Jan Clayton.



# The civil rights movement: how it began, what it won



Little Rock, 1957. Mass pressure forced Eisenhower to send federal troops to defend Black students from racist mobs.

## By PETER CAMEJO

The following is based on a speech given by Peter Camejo at a recent Militant Labor Forum in Boston. Camejo is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and was its candidate for U.S. Senator from Massachusetts in 1970. He returned to Boston to help organize opposition to the racist drive against busing.

Fifteen years ago people in this country were shouting, "Jim Crow must go!" Jim Crow is gone, but not racism or racial oppression. The events, social forces, and strategy and tactics that killed Jim Crow need to be analyzed. The historic events that unfolded in the struggle to abolish Jim Crow established the context of the present conflicts. The crisis around desegregation of the schools in Boston stems directly out of that history.

Under Jim Crow, Blacks had no legal rights. The right to vote was taken away, the right to move, the right to organize, the right to speak, the right of assembly—the whole Bill of Rights—was taken away from Blacks.

The social and juridical system that molded Blacks into an oppressed caste was created by the ruling class to solve an economic problem. In the South there was an enormous acreage of land but few people to work it. In order to force Blacks to work for others at low wages, the rulers took away all their rights.

This situation in Southern agriculture came to an end with World War II and its aftermath. Southern agriculture was mechanized, ending the problem of a shortage of labor. While in 1945, 99 percent of the cotton was picked by hand, by 1969, 90 percent was picked by machines. Black people were literally driven off the land.

Most young people today think that the Black ghettos have always existed. But they are relatively new. The small northern Black communities began to grow with World War I, which created a shortage of labor in the North. The capitalists in the North wanted to bring Black labor to the industrial cities. Capitalists in the South opposed Blacks leaving because they still faced a labor shortage. So they physically tried to prevent it. They would get on trains going North and physically take the Blacks off of them. Anybody who tried to organize to have Blacks leave the South faced arrest.

During World War II, Attorney General Francis Biddle had secret discussions with President Roosevelt about whether or not Blacks should be allowed to leave the South. The ruling class in the North faced an acute labor shortage. Industrial production had doubled between 1940 and 1943, and 15 million men were in the Army. Since Southern agriculture had begun to be mechanized, and the need for industrial labor in the North was so great, they decided to allow Blacks to migrate this time.

An enormous migration began from the land

to the cities, and from South to North, which continued through the 1950s and 1960s. The ghettos grew to the point that today many central cities have a Black majority.

### Rise of colonial revolution

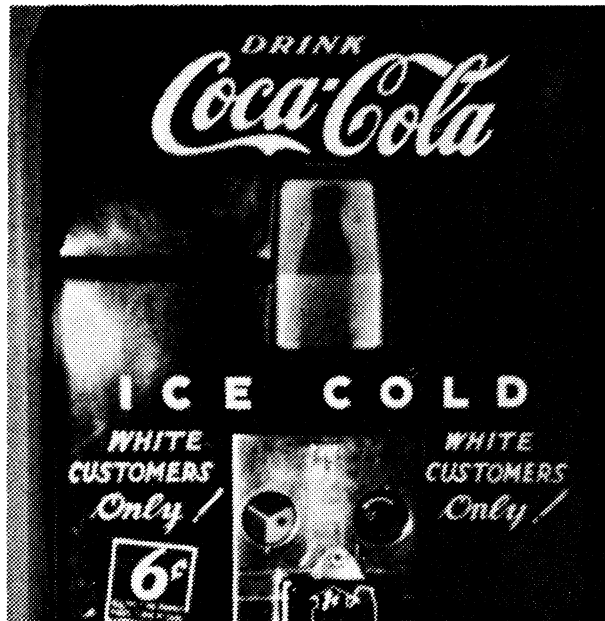
Another important event took place that had a big impact on the history of Black people in this country—the rise of the colonial revolution. The revolutionary upsurge that spread throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America after World War II had a tremendous effect on Black people in the United States.

You can see this in the early speeches of Martin Luther King. In one of the very first speeches he gave, he said, "Whether we want to be or not, we are caught in a great moment in history. . . . The vast majority of people of the world are colored. . . . Up until four or five years ago most of the one and one-quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West. . . . Today many are free. . . . And the rest are on the road. . . . We are part of that great movement."

The colonial revolution also had a big impact on the American ruling class. The colonial revolution was really what was behind the famous Supreme Court decision of 1954, which ruled that segregated schools were illegal.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson went before the Supreme Court and urged the court to declare for integration. He said, in effect: "How are we going to explain to all those nonwhite people in the colonial world that the U. S. government is really their friend if we openly continue segregation?"

In other words, the American imperialists needed a new image. Lynchings, Jim Crow laws, and things of that sort were hurting the ability of the U. S. to deal with the nonwhite national bourgeoisies that were coming to power in new colonial countries.



Under Jim Crow system, segregation was enforced by law in all aspects of life.

Integration of the Army came about for similar reasons. Blacks had demanded integration all during World War II, but the great liberal Roosevelt refused it. During that "war for democracy," U. S. forces fought in completely segregated units.

After the war the American imperialists realized that they were going to have to fight in the colonial world—to fight nonwhites who were struggling for their liberation. They thought, "How are we going to use all-Black units?" So they decided they had better integrate the Army, and this was begun in 1948.

So these three factors combined to give rise to a new mass struggle of Blacks in this country, called the civil rights movement: the mechanization of agriculture and the industrialization of the South, the urbanization of Blacks, and the colonial revolution.

World War II resulted in a vast expansion of American imperialism, which led to a prolonged period of prosperity and the conservatizing of the American labor movement and society as a whole. But, dialectically, it also created the forces of mechanization, urbanization, and the colonial revolution that unleashed the Black struggle. Thus in the middle of the reactionary period of McCarthyism, in the middle of a downturn in the class struggle of the American workers as a whole, we saw the Black movement rise up.

### 1954 Supreme Court ruling

Let me describe how that mass struggle began. The 1954 Supreme Court decision was a tremendous victory. Afro-Americans had been fighting for 71 years in the courts to end segregation, and they had been losing the battle. But now things had changed. Dean Acheson explained that Jim Crow was hurting the ruling class more than helping it. So the courts ruled that school desegregation was unconstitutional after ruling consistently for 71 years that it was legal.

That ruling in 1954 created a rebellious mood. And with Black people moving into the cities it was much harder to retain the Jim Crow methods of terror. When Black people were working on the land, on huge plantations, the owner or sheriff would know almost everybody by first name. If some Black person tried to register to vote, for example, 20 Ku Klux Klanners would ride up to his or her house and intimidate them. Black people would be lucky if they got off with just that—at worst they could end up being lynched.

But 20 Ku Klux Klanners could not ride through the middle of a 200,000-person urban ghetto in Atlanta. Or imagine them riding up through Harlem swinging a rope, looking for apartment 3-C. There might be a lynching all right, but it wouldn't be of the people for whom it had originally been intended.

The propaganda around the Second World War also had an effect. We were supposed to be fighting against Nazi racism, for "freedom, equality, and democracy." Blacks said, "If that's what we're fight-

*Continued on next page*

# ...civil rights mov't: mass actions by

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ing for, why can't we have 'democracy' here in the United States?"

But there was strong resistance to the end of Jim Crow in the South. Jim Crow was a long-standing institution. The Southern Democratic Party apparatus was based on it. The base of the Democratic Party in the South was the white small-property owner.

With industrialization and mechanization in the South, the bigger capitalists were the ones to benefit. The smaller ones still depended on the superexploitation of Blacks for their profits. So the greatest resistance to change came from the small-property owners.

And they resisted by using their traditional weapon—terrorism. They began killing Blacks. Blacks who registered to vote were assassinated. Lynchings took place.

## Lynching was part of system

Lynching was part of the system of Jim Crow. It was not just a wild excess but *an integral part of the whole system*. Lynchings were sometimes held in front of mass audiences. Rallies would be held with Democratic Party officials making speeches before the lynching. There were organized excursions. The railroads would offer special prices to go to a lynching. People would come from all over the country, and the government would do nothing to stop it.

I'll give you one example. In 1934 Claude Neal was lynched in Marianna, Fla. A crowd of several thousand gathered to watch and listen to speeches by Democratic Party officials.

The NAACP wired the governor of Florida. The governor said he was out of town. They wired Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt had his attorney general wire back that it was out of their jurisdiction. So Claude Neal was lynched and mutilated. The racists took pictures of the lynching and sold them.

In 1955 another lynching took place. It was the lynching of Emmett Till. But this time there was a different response.

Emmett Till was a 14-year-old Black from Chicago who was visiting Mississippi. He was accused of whistling at a white woman. So some whites came to the house where he was visiting his uncle. The reason that the details of his lynching became known was that the people who lynched him gave an interview to *Look* magazine and it was published for the whole world to read.

The men who lynched Emmett Till first demanded that he say that white people are superior, but he refused to say it. Even after they beat him up he wouldn't say it. The lynchers explained to *Look* magazine that living in Chicago had made Till so crazy that he wouldn't recognize that whites are superior; therefore he was impossible to deal with and had to be killed.

What was different about this lynching was what happened afterward. Emmett Till's mother had his body shipped back to Chicago.

Instead of burying him, she put his body on display to show what racist America had done to her child. And to the amazement of everyone, 250,000 people came to see the body of Emmett Till.

Spontaneous meetings were called throughout the ghettos of the United States. Five thousand

people met in Chicago to protest and demand that federal troops be sent to Mississippi to protect the rights of Blacks. Twenty thousand protested in New York; 6,000 in Detroit; 3,000 in Cleveland; 3,000 in San Francisco; 8,000 in Los Angeles; 9,000 in Washington, D. C.

These rallies began to spread to the South. Rallies took place in Birmingham, Mobile, Atlanta, Savannah, Charlestown, Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Miami, Tampa, Fort Worth, Dallas, and in other cities.

The murderers of Emmett Till went scot-free. They were arrested, a mock trial with an all-white jury was held, and they were found not guilty. Blacks who courageously testified against Till's murderers were threatened. One was arrested and then "disappeared." Others, like Till's uncle, had to flee Mississippi.

The FBI refused to investigate the Till murder. Instead, it sent agents to investigate who was instigating the mass protest meetings. Adlai Stevenson, liberal leader of the Democratic Party, made no comment about Till's murder. Instead he urged Blacks to "proceed gradually" with integration so as "not to upset, overnight, traditions and habits older than the republic."

President Eisenhower refused to meet with Till's mother, who requested a meeting at the White House. Instead, Eisenhower announced that "in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise subjected to unwarranted economic pressure." He proposed establishing a bipartisan committee to "investigate" to see if these allegations were true.

Meanwhile, in the Senate, Lyndon Johnson was leading the bipartisan effort to keep any civil rights legislation from reaching the floor.

While the Democrats and Republicans turned their backs on the Black community, the mood was growing for action. Demands for a march on Washington were being raised, not only in papers like *The Militant*, but in mass Black dailies.

## Montgomery bus boycott

The objective socio-economic changes, the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, and the events around Emmett Till's lynching set the context for the mass movement that began in Montgomery, Ala.

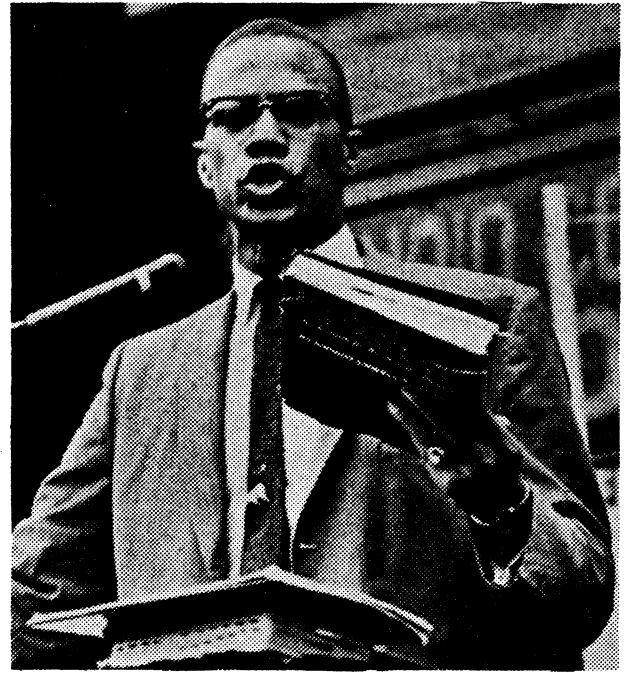
In December 1955, Rosa Parks got on a Montgomery bus. She was told by a white bus driver to stand up because a white woman wanted to sit down. She refused, so she was arrested.

E. D. Nixon, a trade-union organizer, decided that the time had come to stand up to this sort of racist abuse. He wanted to organize the Black community behind Rosa Parks by calling for a Black boycott of the buses until Blacks were treated equally on those buses.

He wanted to get a minister to back this campaign, because ministers were the traditionally accepted leadership of the Black community. So he went to all the ministers and asked, "Will you help lead this struggle?"

One of those who agreed was a young minister by the name of Martin Luther King. And, as history will have it, Martin Luther King became a famous leader, while E. D. Nixon has all but disappeared from history.

A mass movement began in Montgomery. The entire Black community closed ranks. The boycott became completely effective. The Black community



Malcolm X taught need for independent action by Blacks and opposed Democratic and Republican parties.

eventually won its struggle and the buses were integrated.

One of the things that was done to win the struggle was to organize station wagons as a free shuttle service. King put out a call for 100 station wagons to come to Montgomery. The first station wagon that was sent to Montgomery from the North was sent through the efforts of the Socialist Workers Party. Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP, and other SWPers went to Montgomery to aid in the organization of the struggle there. Dobbs later toured the country in support of the Montgomery bus boycott.

In 1957 came the famous confrontation in Little Rock, Ark. Orval Faubus, a moderate Democrat, had been elected governor with the support of the NAACP and the AFL-CIO. But once he was in office he found it politically more convenient to change his liberal image to that of a hardened segregationist.

He refused to enforce the law to integrate the schools and threw a direct challenge in the face of Eisenhower. Eisenhower responded by sending troops to enforce the law. That altered the whole relationship of forces. When the federal government was forced to put bayonets in the face of racist mobs, it was a victory for Blacks. And this victory demoralized the racists. Hardened segregationists lost the next elections in Little Rock.

Up until 1960 the civil rights struggles had taken place primarily on a local level. But in 1960 the movement began to spread rapidly, and a new tactic sprang up—the sit-in.

The spread of the sit-in movement showed that a good idea works if its time has come. In Oklahoma in 1958 there were sit-ins, but they didn't catch on. Two years later a sit-in in Greensboro, N. C., sparked a wave of sit-ins across the country. The time had come.

A radicalization had begun internationally among students and it began to effect Americans, especially Black students, who began to look for ways to participate more effectively in the civil rights struggle. The students simply went in and sat down at a lunch counter, such as Woolworth's, and demanded to be served. The person behind the counter would say, "We don't serve Negroes here." So they would say, "Fine, we'll wait." They just wouldn't move. Of course nobody else could sit there, so the place lost business.

Then the police would come down and arrest them, and sometimes beat them. Hundreds, then thousands, were arrested. Many of the first students who joined these sit-ins were expelled from their schools for trying to uphold the law.

The sit-ins were followed by the Freedom Rides. Black and white students would board buses and travel through southern states. These actions aimed at forcing the federal government to enforce interstate integration of public transportation. The result was dramatic confrontations. Again brutal violence went unchallenged, morally weakening the racists before the American public and exposing the federal government.

Out of this a student wing of the civil rights movement developed called the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

As the civil rights struggle spread throughout the South and extended to the North, a new phenomenon began to grow. The struggles in the

# THE MILITANT

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## Huge Demonstrations Protest Racist Verdict in Lynch Trial

### Chicago Meeting Votes for March On Washington

By Claude De Bruce  
CHICAGO, Sept. 25 — Over 5,000 angry people today roared their approval of an NAACP resolution calling for a March on Washington to demand the immediate enactment of anti-

### Harlem Protests Acquittal of Till Lynchers



### Mississippi OK's Child Murder; Negroes Who Testified in Danger

By George Lavan  
NEW YORK, Sept. 29 — The anger of the Negro people over Mississippi's brazen acquittal of the fiendish lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till boiled over in massive

The Militant has consistently championed civil rights struggles



# Black community defeat Jim Crow

South were heightening the general awareness of Black people that they were oppressed as a nationality. In major cities a nationalist mood began to spread, especially in the North.

In the North there were no Jim Crow laws. There were no "whites only" sections of buses, or drinking fountains, or toilets. But racial oppression continued to exist. It was, and still is, pervasive through discrimination in jobs, housing, and education.

The southern civil rights movement was rapidly educating northern Blacks politically. They could see that no section of the ruling class really supported them. The southern struggle revealed that. Each new assassination, beating, or arrest in the South heightened the hostility against the oppression they were suffering in the North. Each new victory in the South inspired northern Blacks with determination to fight back.

The rising mood of rebellion expressed itself more and more as a growing nationalist consciousness. The most vocal spokesperson for this current was Malcolm X. In the South, civil rights leaders preached Christian tolerance and "love your enemy." Malcolm X approached the problem in a different way. He was also a preacher, but he rejected "the white man's church"—Christianity.

He told Blacks to hate their oppressors, not love them. He told them not to accept halfway measures, half-freedom. He taught contempt for the Democratic and Republican parties. He called them the parties of the oppressor. He considered any Black that joined the Democratic Party to be a fool or a traitor to the Afro-American people.

## What Malcolm X stood for

Malcolm posed the question as the struggle between those who have power and wealth, and those who are oppressed and work for a living. He did not oppose working with whites. He favored it, but only if the Black nationality remained united and independent from white control and led its own struggle. At every turn he favored keeping the struggle independent from the ruling class.

The organized expression of Black nationalism developed through the Muslims at first. They made telling criticisms of capitalist society and of the leaders of the civil rights movement. But they would not participate in the day-to-day struggles for civil rights.

Malcolm X opposed the inaction of the Muslims, eventually breaking with them to form his own organization. He moved toward the ideas of socialism after touring outside the United States, but was assassinated before his views and new organization were able to offer a viable alternative to the then-existing leadership in the Black community.

Malcolm X used to speak at Militant Labor Forums like this one, because only *The Militant* would defend the Muslims when they came under attack and would accurately report what Malcolm was saying. He often urged his listeners to buy *The Militant*, and after his death the SWP made sure that his speeches became available to the new radicalizing youth. While Malcolm was alive, no other organization on the left gave him support.

For example, here is what the Communist Party had to say about Malcolm in their newspaper, the *Worker*, on July 7, 1963: "The Muslim organization in general and Malcolm X in particular, are ultra-reactionary forces operating in the orbit of the Negro people's movement with the strategic assignment to sow ideological confusion, to dissipate the organization energies of the Negro masses, to promote divisionism within the Negro movement and to alienate the Negro movement from fraternal ties with and support of comparably deprived or democratically inclined white masses."

## 1963: The battle of Birmingham

1963 was a critical year for the civil rights movement. A fundamental change took place in the relationship of class forces in this country.

It began around the battle of Birmingham. Mass civil rights demonstrations broke out there and massive repression met them. The entire country watched this repression on television. The police used dogs, electric prods, and high-powered water hoses, but the masses would not disperse in the face of these attacks. Occasionally they retreated only to re-form and stand their ground.

As this fighting raged, something new happened. Whenever advancing police would push Blacks back into the Black community, the method of struggle would change. When they were outside the Black community their tactic was passive resistance—simply keeping the demonstration going

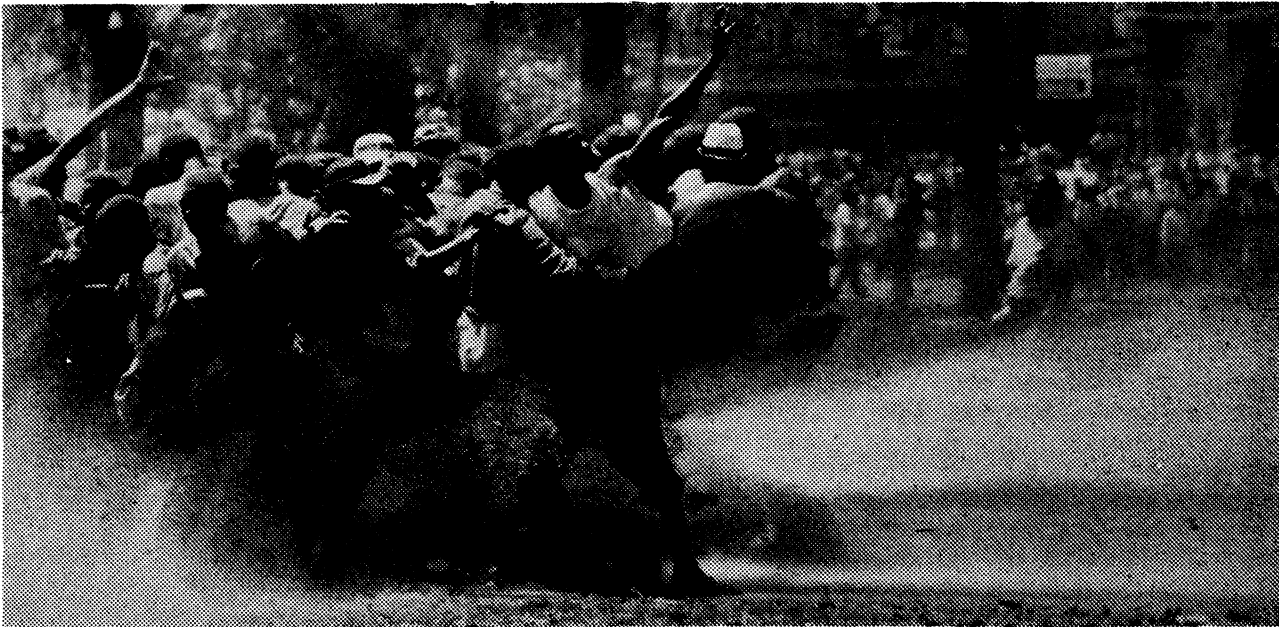
but getting out of the way of the police.

The minute the cops entered the Black community, however, bottles, rocks, and guns would be used to defend the community from the assault. This was the first time this had happened on a massive scale.

Birmingham kicked off a nationwide wave of massive solidarity actions. All this sent a shiver down the spine of the entire ruling class in the United States.

Up to that point President Kennedy had refused to give the Black community any aid. Robert Kennedy, the attorney general, who had sworn to uphold the Bill of Rights, urged Blacks to cool it. The administration refused to answer the demand to send federal troops to protect Blacks from white attacks. But Birmingham finally forced them to send troops.

Birmingham was rapidly followed by massive solidarity demonstrations on a scale never seen before. In Detroit, 250,000 people came out into the streets. This was the entire Black community in a massive united front involving almost every organization in the community. In Chicago, 50,000 marched, and when Mayor Daley tried to speak at one rally, they booed him off the platform. A march on Washington was called, and 250,000 turned out.



Birmingham, 1963. Entire country watched on television as cops used high-power water hoses, clubs, dogs, and cattle prods against Blacks.

In conjunction with this was the growth of nationalist consciousness and growing hostility to the Democrats and Republicans. Talk of a third, Black party was increasing. The Muslims were talking about a new party, even Adam Clayton Powell was talking about it.

John Lewis, the head of SNCC, prepared a speech for the August 1963 March on Washington, which turned out 250,000. In the original text he said, "The Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence." "Where is our party?" Lewis asked.

But Kennedy's representatives met privately with the organizers of the demonstration, and they made a deal not to let John Lewis give his speech unless he changed it. Lewis capitulated. He gave his speech without various militant phrases. But *The Militant* ran the original speech.

Part of the agreement was that the Kennedy administration was not to be criticized and the demonstrators were to be out of town by sundown.

Soon after the March on Washington, the first massive ghetto rebellions took place in 1964 in response to the shooting of a 15-year-old Black youth by cops in Harlem.

These events brought about a shift within the ruling class. They feared that the Black movement would become an independent political force that would offer an alternative, not only for the Black nation, but for the entire working class.

Kennedy called a meeting of one hundred top capitalists to discuss what to do. Kennedy gave them some sound ruling-class advice. He said that the struggle had to be gotten off the streets and back into the courts. To get that, he said, we will have to give up Jim Crow and we will have to have a civil rights bill. And so began the work of drafting two major bills, which became the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

So under mass pressure, the ruling class accepted the end of Jim Crow. It embarrassed them internationally and it was no longer necessary economically. They agreed to abolish all Jim Crow

laws against Blacks. Blacks would be allowed to enter any place they could afford. By offering this concession they hoped to get a section of the leadership of the civil rights movement off the streets and into the Democratic Party. By doing this they hoped to isolate the more radical, nationalist young civil rights workers from the more conservative ones.

They hoped to co-opt the moderate leaders. Their goal was to split the civil rights movement, then repress the militant wing. They wanted to contain the Black struggle, which was threatening to become a mass, independent struggle.

After this period civil rights struggles continued in the South for some time. The new laws were not implemented overnight. It took more struggle, but Jim Crow was finally buried in the South.

The death of Jim Crow altered the atmosphere about the rights of Blacks. It meant that, for example, in the trade unions and on the job Blacks were in a better position to fight. It did not mean that there were equal rights for Blacks on the job, but it did mean that the relationship of forces was more favorable.

The ending of Jim Crow did not mean that Blacks would have better housing, or that they would have jobs on a mass scale comparable to whites or that schools would be fully integrated,

or that police brutality would end. The Black community continued to live in segregated ghettos with the worst jobs and the worst housing.

Two currents developed in the civil rights movement. One called for open collaboration with and reliance on the Democratic Party. The other favored maintaining the movement's independence in order to continue future actions. The pro-Democratic wing then turned on the other wing.

In October 1966 a three-quarter page ad in the *New York Times* opened a public attack by all of the other civil rights organizations against SNCC and other militants who refused to go along with their policy of collaboration with the ruling class. Martin Luther King did not sign the ad, but a few weeks later he declared his solidarity with it. King had been playing the role of "activist" within the pro-Democratic Party wing, which included the NAACP and Urban League.

The federal government consciously set up "poverty programs" designed to develop structures within the ghetto to control the Black community. These programs were supposedly set up to solve the problems of jobs, housing, and poverty. But their real purpose was to give jobs to articulate leaders of the Black community in order to draw them into the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party began to draw in Blacks, and the number of elected Black officials began to rise rapidly.

SNCC itself went through an evolution after the assassination of Malcolm X. First they build a political organization in Lowndes County, Ala. John Hulett and Stokely Carmichael, two of SNCC's central leaders, built an independent Black party there.

After the 1966 elections they began to orient more toward the urban ghettos. Unable to make rapid headway, some became frustrated and adopted ultraleft positions. Stokely Carmichael advocated "guerrilla warfare" in the U.S. after a visit to Cuba.

We now know that the government carried out a continuous policy of harassment of SNCC and its leaders. While they were co-opting the moderates,

*Continued on next page*



# ...civil rights mov't: the struggle today

Continued from preceding page

they were isolating and then repressing the radicals.

SNCC's offices were broken into, their mailing lists taken, the leaders arrested time and again on trumped-up charges, all in an attempt to destroy the organization. Without the support of the other civil rights leaders, they fell victim to this repression and gradually disintegrated.

In a broader sense, SNCC was part of a current known as the Black Power current. It included the Black Panther Party (BPP). This current failed to develop a clear program or strategy to answer the needs of Black people, and it fell into ultraleft errors. Huey Newton, the founder of the BPP, for example, said that Blacks ought to organize in groups of twos and threes and assassinate individual policemen. Later he changed his position, but this adventurist stance was disastrous at the time. It made it easier for the police and agents provocateurs to set traps and repress the BPP.

This finally led to an almost total collapse of the BPP. Many Black activists who started out as ultralefts capitulated and ended up in the Democratic Party, including the remnants of the BPP.

The inability of the Black organizations to effectively combat the government campaign of repression and co-optation led to the decline of the civil rights organizations. Today they are a shell of what they were in the past.

Black Democrats now take their place as the leadership—or rather misleadership—of the Black community. Today there are Black caucuses of elected officials all over. Many of the old civil rights leaders have either disappeared, or themselves have become elected Democrats.

## Ruling-class stake in oppression

The ruling class fought so hard to destroy the civil rights movement because it has a huge stake in maintaining the superoppression of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

The rulers want to keep the supply of cheap labor that racism provides. They want to keep the working class divided. They want to get white workers to blame the problems of inflation and unemployment on Blacks and other minorities rather than on the ruling class. And they need racism in order to justify the massive murdering of people in Vietnam and the exploitation of non-white people the world over.

The ruling class conceded on Jim Crow, but that did not mean that there was equality for Blacks. There are equal rights on the books but there are no equal rights when it comes to getting a job or an education, or finding a home.

When you have a labor surplus, you don't need special laws to exploit Blacks. All the ruling class needs to do is carry out a racist hiring practice.

The same thing goes for housing. If you're poor, you can't get good housing; you have to get housing in poor, broken-down neighborhoods, where you pay more rent per room.

But because of the victory over Jim Crow, the ruling class finds itself in a contradiction. When they conceded on Jim Crow, they had to write laws saying that Blacks have equal rights and that segregated schools are inherently unequal and illegal.

This comes into conflict with a fundamental aspect of class society. The ruling class believes it has the right to privileges. It rules through offering others relative privileges, in order to divide the working class into the more and less privileged. So the gains implying the concept of equality in education acquired by the mass Black struggle of the 1950s and 1960s pose a threat to the ruling class. They would like to beat back at least some of the gains made by the civil rights movement.

## The struggle in Boston

This is why the struggle that is going on in Boston is so important. The racist resistance to court-ordered desegregation of the Boston schools fits into the ruling-class campaign to undercut support to the just demands of the Black struggle.

Black schools are worse than the schools for any layer of whites. Any mixing means it would be better for Blacks. It would be a step toward equality. But this society is based on the generally accepted fact of privilege. So now the ruling class plays on this.

They say, "Aha, now they not only want your taxes and jobs, they want to take your school away from you. They want to take away your right to your own neighborhood schools."

The racists are trying to appear in a defensive posture with this. But the civil rights struggle resulted in the law being on the other side. They are now using the question of busing to try to regroup their ranks.

They won an important first victory in the Supreme Court ruling on Detroit. The court ruled against busing across school district lines. Now they want to beat back busing for the purpose of desegregating the schools in Boston.

The problem we face is a new racist offensive. The struggle over busing is only the present form the struggle is taking. What are at stake are the rights of the Black community and other oppressed nationalities.

Blacks are among the most oppressed layers of the working class. They have the right to take any concrete measures they feel will be effective in bringing better schools for their children. Busing is one such method to move toward equality. It should be supported.

We socialists also believe that the Black community should have control over their schools. We think they should have control over the programs and teachers of those schools so they can guarantee that what goes on in those schools is for the benefit of their children.

These two tactics, one of demanding control over their own schools and the other of demanding busing, are not in any way contradictory. Both aim at equality in education. And we support both.

## How the struggle can be won

But how can the fight for desegregation be won?

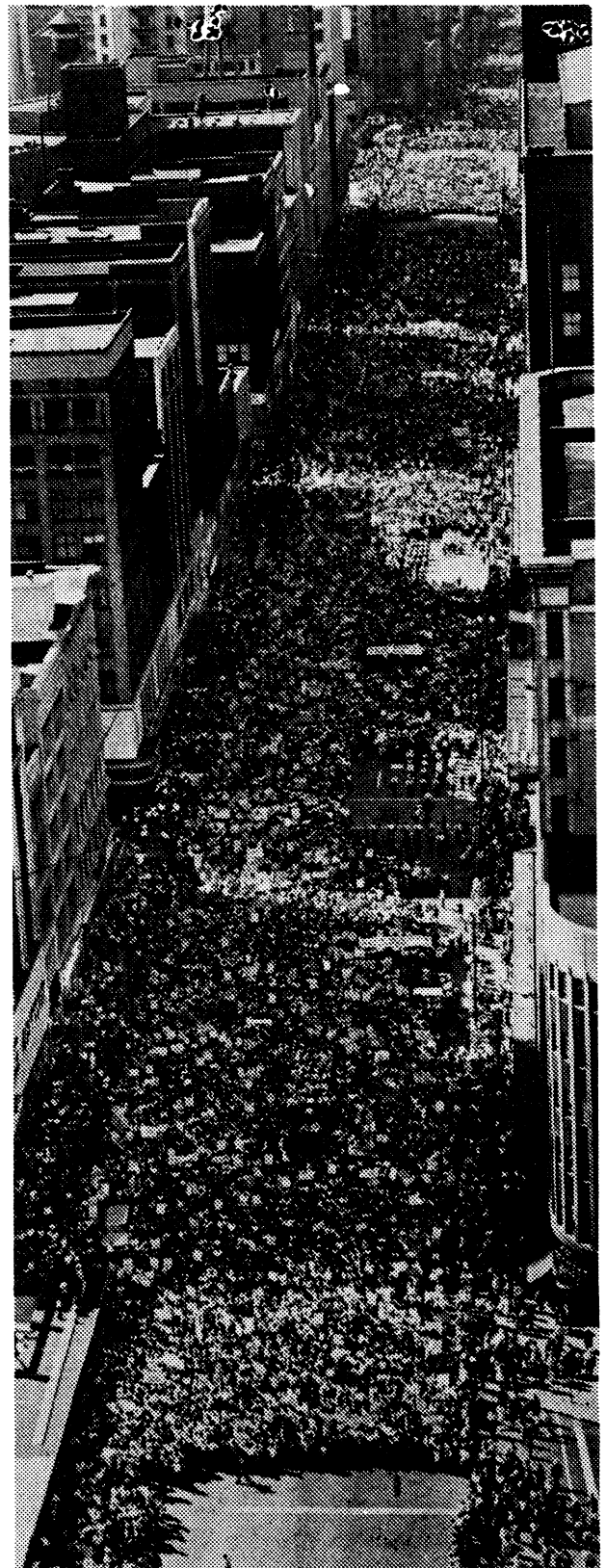
We propose a strategy to help win the struggle against racism. It is the strategy of united-front mass action. It means mobilizing not only the Black community in action, but all of its allies in the white community: students, progressive trade unions, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and all other oppressed nationalities.

We believe that these mass actions must be organized and led independently of the Democratic and Republican parties. We welcome the support of any individual Democrat or Republican, but they have no right to demand or expect support at election time. We are fighting for principles that both capitalist parties oppose.

Those parties are directly responsible for continuing the racism that is so pervasive in our society. The principles of equality and the right of self-determination for Afro-Americans cannot be put up for sale to politicians.

We are now going to see a struggle spread throughout the United States. We cannot predict exactly how this struggle will unfold.

The international situation, which helped end Jim Crow, provides even more problems for the U.S. ruling class today, if they allow racists to carry out the kinds of things we've seen in Boston.



Detroit, 1963. United front of entire Black community drew 250,000 people into the streets.

That is one of the reasons they are suppressing the full truth about what is happening in Boston.

They try to hide the open racism. They don't want that published all over the world. They don't want Latin Americans, Asians, and Africans to know what is happening in Boston.

As the present economic problems grow, as the class struggle in this country intensifies, as workers begin to feel more and more insecure in their jobs, as inflation continues to lower their incomes, the appeal of racism can become more effective among whites. But so can the appeal of class-struggle-oriented actions. We are going to see a general rise in the class struggle in the next period, which opens up the possibility for very effective mass actions that could broaden out and give racism another enormous blow.

There are two perspectives that will be argued out in the struggle ahead. There are those who will say: "Depend on the Democratic Party, depend on liberal Democrats to win the rights of Black people." And there are those, including the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, who will say, "Do not depend on them. Depend on your own independent mass action." It was through an independent, massive mobilization that Jim Crow was defeated. This is the lesson of history.

The movement that won the defeat of Jim Crow entered a lull in the post-1963-65 period. But it has suffered no major defeats. That movement won many rights for Blacks, resulting in a better position from which to fight for full social and political equality.

The struggles of the 1950s and 1960s are still in the consciousness of the Black community and its white allies, and that consciousness will reassert itself. The Democratic Party misleaders will be pushed aside and we will see massive struggles, even greater than the ones of the past.

JUST PUBLISHED

## The Racist Offensive Against Busing

THE LESSONS OF BOSTON  
HOW TO FIGHT BACK

BY WILLIE MAE REID, PETER CAMEJO,  
AND OTHERS

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Suit hits FBI role in Hampton murder

By PETER ARCHER  
CHICAGO— It was five years ago this month that Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were brutally gunned down in a raid by Chicago cops.

In the predawn hours of Dec. 4, 1969, police armed with shotguns and submachine guns stormed into the West Side apartment where Hampton, Clark, and other members of the Panthers lay sleeping.

The cops fired more than 100 rounds into the apartment, killing Hampton and Clark and seriously wounding many of the other occupants.

The police were under the supervision of Edward Hanrahan, then state's attorney for Cook County and now a Democratic Party candidate for mayor of Chicago.

The survivors of the raid, together with the parents of Hampton and Clark, have filed a civil suit against Hanrahan and 31 other government officials and police officers for their role in the raid and its subsequent cover-up.

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, has declared her support for the suit and will help publicize it through her campaign.

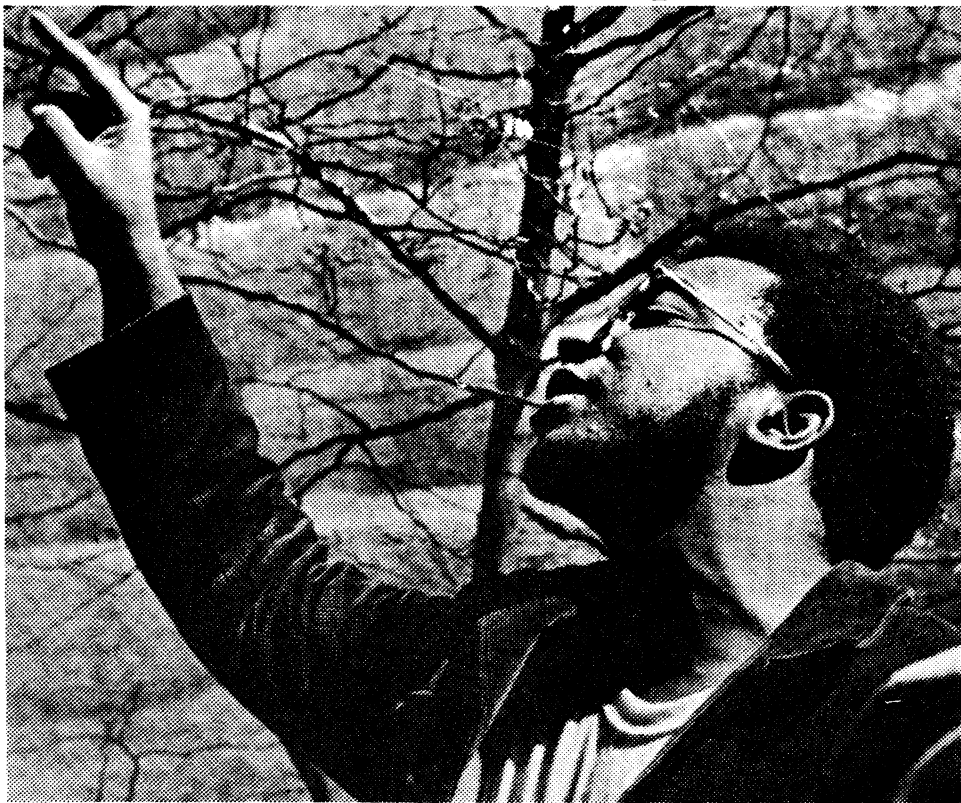
The suit, which was first announced last year, charges that the police and state, county, and city officials "assaulted the plaintiffs and plaintiffs' decedents with deadly weapons, caused serious bodily injury to some of the plaintiffs and the deaths of plaintiff's decedents, thereafter imprisoned the surviving plaintiffs falsely, prosecuted them wrongfully and maliciously and testified falsely in an attempt to conceal the true nature of the occurrences of December 4, 1969."

After the raid Hanrahan tried to frame up the survivors on charges of attempted murder, but he was forced to drop the charges in the face of overwhelming evidence that the cops were the guilty ones.

As a concession to the public outcry against the killings, Hanrahan and 13 cops were later indicted for "conspiracy to obstruct justice." The powerful machine of Democratic Mayor Richard Daley, however, made sure they all got off scot-free.

A news conference was held in Chicago this Dec. 4, the fifth anniversary of the raid, to announce that four federal agents were being added as defendants in the suit.

The basis for this new action was the discovery, through earlier motions



FRED HAMPTON: Victim of national plot against Black Panther Party

in the suit, of secret FBI memos relating to the raid, as well as revelations about the FBI's "counterintelligence program" (Cointelpro) against the Panthers and other Black and socialist organizations.

G. Flint Taylor, an attorney for the suit, stated, "We will prove the complex federal involvement in the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark." Taylor said there is a "distinct connection" between the attack on the Panthers and Watergate.

The new addition to the suit states that the Cointelpro was conceived and directed by J. Edgar Hoover, then FBI director, and his subordinates. It further states:

"These counterintelligence activities also included an Interdivisional Unit, comprised of representatives of the FBI, and the Justice Department's Internal Security, Criminal, and Civil Rights Divisions; this Unit was commonly referred to as the 'Panther Task Force.'"

"This 'task force' was directed by, among others, the then Attorney General John Mitchell and J. Edgar Hoover, as well as by Justice Department officials Jerris Leonard, Will Wilson, Robert Mardian and Robert Worheide."

Those newly named as defendants are William O'Neil, a paid FBI informer who infiltrated the Panthers and became their chief of security;

Roy Mitchell, an FBI agent who was in charge of Cointelpro in Chicago and was the contact for O'Neil; Robert Piper, an FBI agent who supervised the Black Panther investigations squad in Chicago; and Marlin Johnson, who had overall responsibility for the Chicago FBI office.

On the basis of information provided by O'Neal, the FBI agents drew up a floor plan of the Panther apartment, pinpointing the location of Hampton's bed, and made this available to state's attorney officers shortly before the murderous raid.

Support for the suit was shown at a rally on Dec. 6, held in the Hyde Park section of Chicago and attended by 150 people. The meeting was held to commemorate Hampton, Clark, and the victims of the Attica prison massacre.

Featured speakers were Bill Hampton, brother of the slain Panther leader, and Frank "Big Black" Smith, national secretary of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense. Also speaking were Fannie Mae Clark, mother of Mark Clark, and Deborah Johnson and Verlina Brewer, two survivors of the raid. The three are plaintiffs in the suit against the cops and government.

Socialist mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid issued a statement of solidarity with the suit and the commemorative protest meeting.

"The Cointelpro documents show

that the cold-blooded murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was part of a national plot against the Black Panther Party and the entire Black liberation struggle," she said. "Around the country 28 Panther members and leaders were killed by police in 1968 and 1969.

"Last month Attorney General William Saxbe was forced to admit that for 15 years the FBI carried out, in his words, 'practices that can only be considered abhorrent in a free society' in its campaign of sabotage and repression against those struggling for social change.

"The admissions and revelations so far, which are only the tip of the iceberg, have been forced by public pressure aroused in part by suits like this one and the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment," Reid said.

"As more of the facts about these infamous FBI operations are brought to light, we also stand to learn a lot more about the government's role in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

"The pattern of illegal government repression against the Black movement makes it doubly important to get out the truth about the Hampton case.

"This suit deserves the broadest possible support from Black organizations, trade unions, and everyone concerned about civil liberties."



Militant/Bruce Bloy

WILLIE MAE REID: 'This suit deserves the broadest possible support.'

SWP vote returns for Michigan, Minnesota

After long delays by state boards of elections, more of the vote returns for the 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidates are now becoming available. Listed below are the vote totals and percentages for the Michigan and Minnesota SWP candidates.

In Michigan the SWP had candidates on the ballot for all 19 congressional seats and many state offices. For reasons of space not all of these could be listed. The four socialist congressional candidates listed are those who received the highest votes.

Also given for comparison are the returns for the Communist Party (CP) and the Michigan Human Rights Party (HRP).

In California, restrictive election laws kept the SWP statewide candidates off the ballot. With reports in from 46 of the 58 counties, though, SWP gubernatorial candidate Olga Rodriguez has been credited with 1,063 write-in votes.

MICHIGAN

Governor, lieutenant governor

SWP: Robin Maisel, 1,505 0.06  
Ruth Getts

HRP: Zolton Ferency, 28,675 1.1  
Regina McNulty

CP: Thomas Dennis, 1,119 0.04  
William Allan

Secretary of state

SWP: Rachele Fruit, 2,250 0.09  
HRP: James McClure, 13,990 0.5

State board of education

SWP: Gertrude Hawkins, 7,634  
Burton Lee Artz, 3,817

HRP: Karen Lee Baize, 26,864  
Lordell Taylor, 23,875

CP: Peggy Goldman, 5,936

Wayne State University board of Governors

SWP: Michael Kelly, 16,973  
Arturo Ramirez, 6,571

VOTES

%

HRP: Elizabeth Bunn, 29,244  
Albert Steigerwalt, 22,723

U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.

SWP: Hattie McCutcheon, 419 0.4

U.S. Congress, 10th C.D.

SWP: Kathryn Ropers, 570 0.4

U.S. Congress, 13th C.D.

SWP: Judith Hagans, 832 1.1

U. S. Congress, 17th C.D.

SWP: Christy Wallace, 449 0.3

MINNESOTA

Governor, lieutenant governor

SWP: Jane Van Deusen, 9,232 0.7  
Ralph Schwartz

CP: Erwin Marquit, 3,570 0.3  
James Flower

U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.

SWP: Ed Jurenas, 1,887 1.5



## The busing battle

The mob of 600 whites screaming, "Lynch the niggers!" who trapped Black students inside South Boston High School Dec. 11 again made crystal clear what is really involved in the busing controversy.

The incident exposed all the talk about "neighborhood schools" by the antibusing forces as pure demagoguery. It showed that racism is the real issue—racism as vicious and violent as that of any Southern lynch mob.

What is at stake in the battle over busing in Boston?

The struggle over busing is a national struggle, affecting cities across the country, from Pasadena to Detroit. And, giving encouragement to the racists, the U.S. Congress is considering a measure that would permit federal aid to segregated schools, in direct violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The antibusing drive strikes at the heart of one of the most important gains that the early civil rights movement based itself on: the 1954 Supreme Court decision recognizing that segregated facilities, including schools, are inherently unequal, and that Black people have a right to attend desegregated schools.

To cut through the racists' smokescreen, the truth must be told: the white schools in Boston—no matter what deficiencies they have—are still better than the Black schools. This is the reason Black parents are fighting for the right of their children to be bused to white schools.

The real basis of the antibusing movement is defending the relative privileges that go with being white in this society. This movement is opposed to the idea that white children might have to sit next to Black children in a classroom, and that Black children might be able to share in some of the educational benefits available to white children.

The lies and distortions spread by the racists cannot be answered by trying to sidestep the busing issue. The right of Black children to be bused to previously all-white schools is being challenged. That challenge must be met squarely. The buses must not be stopped by racist lynch mobs!

But even more is at stake in Boston than the right of Black children to an equal education. Any victories by the antibusing forces in maintaining segregated schools will be extended into all other areas where discrimination exists, from housing to employment. Any gains by the racists on the busing front will be used against the struggles of all the oppressed, including Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and women. The struggles for such gains as equal pay and affirmative-action programs will be set back.

At this point the racist forces in Boston appear very powerful. They are well financed, they meet in the city council chambers, and they have friends in high places up to and including President Ford.

What can be done to defeat this racist offensive?

In the 1960s, the civil rights movement was up against even greater odds than Black people face today. And yet that movement became a powerful enough force to defeat and bury the whole Jim Crow system. It succeeded through a strategy of direct, mass protest, uniting in action the masses of Black people and their allies, independently of Democratic and Republican Party politics.

The Freedom March on Boston Dec. 14 is a step toward applying such a strategy to the busing struggle today.

Dec. 14 has shown that broad support can be won to this fight from the Black community, the colleges and high schools, the trade unions, religious groups, women's organizations, and political groups.

A major task of the antiracist struggle is to get out the truth about the antibusing movement to the American people. Through rallies, teach-ins, pickets, and other forms of education and protest, the civil rights forces of today need to explain again and again what the real issue is: the right of Black children to seek an equal education.

The forces who organized the Dec. 14 action must now move forward, on the basis of the unity that has been achieved, to mobilize massive opposition to the racist drive and continue that mobilization until Black children win the right to ride buses to better schools without facing lynch mobs.

We must build a mass movement of people who are ready to stand up for basic rights in the face of reactionary attacks, as the courageous Black children in Boston are already doing every day.

### Fantastic

*The Militant* has been fantastic the last couple of weeks.

Our YSA local of seven sold 49 copies last week. Most of these were sold at a meeting of more than 1,000 who came to hear a member of the Assassination Information Bureau talk about the political assassinations of John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King.

Marty Pettit

Ann Arbor, Mich.

### Textile workers

Harry Ring's article on the farm workers in the Dec. 6 *Militant* contains several statements that are inaccurate and misleading. Ring asserts, "As a result of the fierce strike struggles fought in the 1930s all of America's basic production—except agriculture—is unionized. In almost all key industries the union shop is firmly established." Nothing could be further from the truth.

The textile industry, which has much in common with agribusiness, has long-established antiunion methods. These include open violence, firing of union employees, threats against organizers' families, and one little trick not in the agricultural repertoire: Whenever workers win a major organizing battle, the corporation simply fires everyone and moves the plant to another town and the unions must begin again.

The textile unions have been battling the industry tooth and nail since the turn of this century, but because of the amount of time, money, and energy management is willing and able to put into resisting them, today only 10 percent of the more than a million textile workers are unionized.

I do not make light of the farm workers' struggle and have been gratified by the radical press's coverage of their cause. It is, however, a disappointment that *The Militant* and its sister publications have virtually ignored the ongoing battle in the textile industry.

Like the farm workers, most people would support the textile workers' cause if they knew the issues. It is the responsibility of the alternative press to provide working people with the news "The Man" will not publish.

Rachel Maines

Pittsburgh, Pa.

### Would like to be there

Unfortunately, I will miss the Dec. 14 March Against Racism by a mere 21 days. Though I get out too late to participate, I nonetheless send my deepest and warmest solidarity to all my brothers and sisters who will be there "doing it."

When all those racists see the faces of our brothers and sisters demonstrating en masse their contempt of this dying, atrociously corrupt system, it means that the time is near and the ruling class fears it.

Irony that Rockefeller's generosity extends to political figureheads only. His upbringing apparently doesn't include Blacks, Chicanos, or poor whites. We slave just to survive, making the Hunts, Rockefellers, Hearsts, and Wall Street multitudes of money, used solely to buy political favors, overthrow governments, and prosecute and harass so-

called subversives.

The working class has been oppressed long enough. The tide will turn. The struggle will be long and hard but we will prevail.

My sincere regards to *The Militant* which does outstanding work reporting the truth as no capitalist newspaper would—or dares.

A prisoner

Iowa

### Change the name?

I currently subscribe to *The Militant*, and I enjoy the journalistic talent that makes the paper an excellent voice for our cause.

However, I do not feel that the title of *The Militant* adds to our cause. The dictionary defines the word *militant* as "engaged in warfare, fighting, combative." Indeed we are engaged in a struggle, but the word *militant* implies physical violence.

People who are looking for a political alternative are asked to subscribe to the paper, and the title *The Militant* can be very ambiguous to those who are unaware of the nature of this paper.

I would like to see the name changed, for if more people were exposed to socialism (instead of being turned away by the title of one publication) the support for socialism would surely increase.

M. I.

Olympia, Wash.

### Ben Markowitz

Dr. Ben "Doc" Markowitz, a founding member of the Newark, N.J., branch of the Socialist Workers Party, died Nov. 23 at the age of 69. Coming out of the Socialist Party, he attended the founding convention of the SWP as well as succeeding ones for many years.

He participated in all branch activity, including regular subscription and election campaign work. He also served as financial secretary.

A heart attack about 15 years ago drew him to the sidelines, but he continued to remain a sympathizer and generous contributor.

His concern for the party was typically illustrated when on one occasion, following a severe heart attack, he was visited by a member of the SWP at the Veterans Hospital. Ben put \$40 in the visitor's hand, instructing him to pay up his pledge in case he didn't make it.

Joe Carroll

Newark, N.J.

### Fight, don't fink

In an article on auto layoffs in the Dec. 6 *Militant*, Elaine Mitchell claimed that the officials of the United Auto Workers (UAW) are trying harder to solve the problems of the companies than those of the workers.

Harsh words, but I didn't realize how true they are until I saw the Nov. 22 *Wall Street Journal*, which reports on a news conference held by UAW President Leonard Woodcock.

Woodcock announced a big new UAW campaign against the layoffs. Did he call for mass protests, you may ask? Full unemployment





### A tale of two cities

compensation? A shorter workweek?

Not quite. Woodcock announced an *advertising campaign* by the UAW to help the auto barons sell cars!

According to the *Journal*, "The ads will stress the auto industry's (and currently the UAW's) contention that auto price increases aren't really as bad as they look. . . ."

"The UAW also is calling for a review of federal safety and pollution standards. . . . The union said it also supports a five-year moratorium on any new government product requirements for cars. The auto industry has been lobbying hard for both proposals."

So this is how Woodcock is spending auto workers' dues money: to rush to the defense of the price-gougers, air-polluters, planned obsolescence wizards, and deathtrap manufacturers.

I would suggest that the UAW membership find a way as quickly as possible to dispatch Woodcock and his whole crew to one of the Madison Avenue fraud factories, where they should feel right at home, or maybe urge them to go directly on GM's executive payroll and off the union's.

Auto workers need a leadership that will fight, not fink.

G. A.  
New York, N. Y.

#### More on Cuba

I'm glad you are exposing and telling the truth about so much news that has been disappointing. But why not also tell some cheerful news, such as about the progress of the Cuban revolution, life in Cuba, and the benefits the people get.

You haven't had any articles on Cuban life in a long time.

David Asnis  
New York, N. Y.

#### Maoism & Iran

I recently attended a forum held here by the October League (OL), a Maoist group. During the question and answer period, one of the members of the audience brought up the question of Iran.

This person asked how the October League could possibly call itself a communist organization when it gives support to the shah of Iran. The answer was instructive not only of OL, but also of the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

Eileen Klehr, the OL spokesperson, hesitated for a few seconds and then said, "What you are doing is calling for a proletarian revolution in Iran. Why, that's nothing but Trotskyism!"

I, for one, would be willing to start a fund to send Klehr on an extensive speaking tour so that she could continue to expose Trotskyism for what it really is: proletarian internationalism.

Tom Chaddock  
Milwaukee, Wis.

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.

"Look, they're going into our school," shrieked one man in the crowd.

"They've gone in," cried another.

"Oh, God," a woman wailed, "the niggers are in our school."

"The niggers are in our school," the mob repeated.

"C'mon out! C'mon out!" someone in the crowd yelled to the white students inside. Many did.

State troopers trying to calm the mob, though sympathetic to it, were jostled.

"Turn in your badges," one of the racists commanded the troopers. One did.

"Hooray! Hooray!" the mob cheered. "He's the only white man on the force." They were all white.

This scene, which preceded violence by the white mob, was not outside South Boston High School one morning this fall. As reported by a *New York Times* correspondent who was there, it occurred outside Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., the morning before 1,000 paratroopers from the 101st Airborne Division were sent in to protect nine Black schoolchildren who were desegregating the school in 1957.

In Little Rock, as in Boston today, Black students were merely carrying out the orders of a federal court that found the schools segregated. But they were met by white racist resistance of the foulest nature.

Taunts and jeers met the Black students who were led to school each morning by a phalanx of GIs. Once inside, the Black students encountered the same racist villainy that greets Black students in Boston today. But back then, white thugs packed water pistols filled with acid. In Boston they wield aerosol cans of Mace.

And just as the Boston racists inspire resistance to desegregation in other cities, the Little Rock struggle

touched off violent demonstrations—school bombings, shootings, and assorted terrorists acts—by whites in other cities.

Daisy Bates, the president of the Arkansas NAACP, was a central figure in the Little Rock struggle. I got to hear her speak, along with Ernest Green, who was one of the Little Rock Nine, at an awards ceremony honoring the parents of the Nine at the Black political convention in Little Rock last March.

"It did not take 999 persons to change the destiny of this country," Bates said. "It took only nine—nine children. . . . Children who knew how important it was, so that they would walk through that front door and stay there."

The nine students first met in August 1957, Green recalled. "We figured things would go fairly smoothly and that we'd get in without hassle."

But Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus deployed national guardsmen the opening day of school to keep the Black students out. And for three weeks—while public opinion raged—President Eisenhower dallied before sending in federal troops to enforce the law.

Green, recounting that day, said, "We walked through those doors with a thousand troops from the 101st Airborne Division behind us."

"At that time, and in that atmosphere, for somebody, anybody, to do something to protect Black people gave us a tremendous sense of feeling at last that we were somebody," concluded Green, the ex-student, who should know as well as anyone.

It hadn't quite dawned on me as I sat listening, the raw courage those nine children had to muster back then. And what the hell, it was just another story about the Jim Crow South.

Then, in October, I rode along with Black children in a school bus to South Boston High.

### National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



### The Kansas City extravaganza

The stage managers of the Democratic Party put on a midterm extravaganza in Kansas City last week. The purpose was to make a show of party unity and project an activist image.

All the performers were there in Kansas City, doing their bit under the direction of the party's latest ringmaster, Robert Strauss. The continuous two-day performance had a cast of more than 2,000, most of them disguised as "delegates."

The main event was in the huge municipal auditorium, but the action spilled over into the Kansas City Music Hall, where the rules commission met, and into the Le Bistro bar of the Muehlebach Hotel, where everyone met.

Eight panels presented a charade on party decision-making, unrehearsed. The ancient banker, diplomat, and former New York governor Averell Harriman was said to be dazzling in his part as Comptroller of Arms in the panel on foreign policy. He pounded the table, said the United States has nuclear weapons enough to destroy 15 times the world's population, and demanded that "we should show some restraint."

All the known presidential hopefuls were there, each with his own act. George Wallace came to let everyone know he is back in the swing. Morris Udall was there as a mendicant, and Henry Jackson set up his own wagon show where others in the cast could rest up from time to time.

What the whole thing seemed to lack was the clowns. They were not much in evidence, and that was an oversight on the part of the producers. Everyone knows that clowns usually draw crowds, which is what the Democrats were trying to do. It may be that they thought the stellar performance of the West Virginia spellbinder, Senator Robert Byrd, would serve this purpose. He presented the "economic recovery program," consisting of warmed-over wage-price controls.

Some accounts of the Byrd act imply that he was dressed up in a 1930s costume and dragged along a contraption called New Deal with a big sign on it that said "Blacks-Labor-Liberal Coalition," painted against a background of some old-fashioned big-city machines and a nostalgic Solid South scene.

But the real clowns were kept mostly in the wings, emerging only briefly. These were the union bureau-

crats, who came disguised as representatives of working-class voters. They had to be let in because they had paid their admission in advance. The trouble was that they came not as spectators. They thought they ought to be allowed to perform.

They put up some strong arguments at the door, according to all accounts. They had receipts for about \$7-million that they paid to help elect congresspeople last fall. Some still hold individual stubs.

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) spent \$3-million and expected star billing. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union paid out \$516,975 but was unable to use all the check stubs because some were stamped with the Republican label of New York Senator Jacob Javits. The United Auto Workers showed vouchers for \$763,395, all accepted as valid.

Trouble developed within the labor troupe because they had failed to prepare a team performance. They all seemed to be running in opposite directions, which some mistook as part of their act. Clowns often strive to create merriment by putting on sham battles.

There was one memorable appearance by COPE performer Jacob Clayman. He takes care of civil rights for the industrial union department of the AFL-CIO, and wears a Civil Rights badge at all times.

Clayman was let into the rules committee, where he spoke bitterly against the quota system for Blacks and other minorities. He said, "Many of us have spent most of our adult lives fighting to boost the level of those who have been kicked around by our society. Now we are pictured as some kind of social neanderthals."

Six applauded. They were Clayman, another labor hanger-on, a Wallace backer, a Jackson backer, a minion of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, and Representative James O'Hara of Michigan.

In the end Alexander Barkan, leader of the off-key COPE band, told the 200-member labor troupe that each of them could go toot his own horn. "There is no AFL-CIO position," said Barkan.

The Democratic Party will be back with a smaller cast to begin another performance in Washington in January.



**Oh**—Responding to revelations of cancer-causing pollutants in New Orleans drinking water, an official of the American Cancer Association offered a balanced prognosis. "My own personal feeling," he said soothingly, "is that the risk from drinking our present New Orleans water may be less than the risk of a nonsmoker working in a smoke-filled room."

**How sober can you get?**—Harvard nutritionist Jean Mayer recommends that Americans limit themselves to one

drink at parties to increase grain supplies for underdeveloped nations. Such moderation, Dr. Mayer says, would benefit our health, conscience, and purse. We're sorry, but we depend on those martini olives, nutritionwise.

**The march of civilization**—Singer Robert Merrill gave a concert at the Sinai Temple in Los Angeles. The head of the temple concert committee announced that Merrill had been asked to omit from the program a song from Wagner's *Tannhauser*.

Wagner was German, and reputedly, anti-Semitic.

**View from the bench**—The Louisiana Supreme Court held that it's legal to punish female prostitutes without punishing their male counterparts. The judges said male prostitution is not a social problem.

**See the world through a bottle**—The Harvey J. Olsen World's Wonder Luxury Air Cruise features a steady

round of bashes, en route and at stops. In Delhi the highlight is a 15-piece band and 15 maharajas. Thirty-six carefree days, \$8,995, everything included, including all you can drink.

**Or even a politician?**—Addressing a union graduating class of apprentice electricians, Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) assured them: "You don't have to be a lawyer or a college professor to be a productive human being with pride and dignity."

## iLa Raza en Acción!

### Miguel Pendás



## Racial discrimination at Santa Barbara

This week I am making this space available for a guest column by Louis Torres concerning a lawsuit by Chicanos against the University of California at Santa Barbara. Torres is an undergraduate at UCSB and a legal assistant at the Legal Defense Center of Santa Barbara. He conducted much of the legal research for the complaint.

Torres also hosts "Impact" on Los Angeles FM station KLOS. "Impact," a program dealing with Chicano cultural and political affairs, is aired each Sunday evening from 11 p.m. till 2 a.m.

The Santa Barbara campus of the University of California has practiced a continual pattern of racial discrimination against Chicanos, according to a lawsuit filed in late October in a federal district court.

The suit was filed on behalf of Chicanos at UCSB by Leon Panetta, a Monterey attorney, and Willard Hastings Jr., director of the Legal Defense Center of Santa Barbara.

Among the plaintiffs in the class-action suit are the Concilio de la Raza; American Federation of Teachers Local 2141; Casa de la Raza; the local chapter of the Association of Mexican-American Educators; El Congreso; and the Community Free

Employment Service, as well as a number of individuals.

The defendants include University of California President Charles Hitch; the UC regents; UCSB Chancellor Vernon Cheadle; and former executive vice-chancellor John Snyder.

The action that touched off the filing of the comprehensive suit was the firing of Ralph Herrera, the assistant to the chancellor for minority affairs, and the discriminatory restructuring of the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) at UC.

Herrera, who is a co-plaintiff, was the only high-level Chicano administrator at the university until he was fired and his position eliminated Sept. 1.

Most Chicanos and other Third World students attending UCSB receive some degree of counseling or financial aid from the EOP. The Chicanos point out that the massive reorganization of the EOP effectively eliminated Chicano participation in the running of the program and was done without input from Chicano faculty, staff, or students.

The administration had earlier promised that no restructuring of EOP would occur without extensive consultation with Chicanos. That assurance, it soon became clear, was simply one more lie that the administration told Chicanos.

The lawsuit clearly points out the type of racist

discrimination against Chicanos and other Third World people that has been perpetrated by capitalist-run universities, despite claims that they are "opening their doors to minorities."

The situation at UCSB is perhaps just a bit more extreme than it is at some other hypocritical colleges and universities. The standard trend of these institutions is to make a minimal commitment to ethnic studies programs, provide grossly insufficient funds to run the programs, and then withdraw even that minimal support.

Thus, the ethnic studies programs—including courses and recruitment efforts—are programmed for failure. Attorney Panetta calls this a form of "backdoor discrimination" that is somewhat subtle and sophisticated, but no less racist and discriminatory in its effect.

The complaint charges that UCSB administrators have willfully stifled the growth of the Chicano studies department, the Center for Chicano Studies (a research unit), and a scholarship fund for Third World students.

The Chicanos are seeking to have the court order the university to develop an effective affirmative-action plan to ensure the hiring of more Chicano faculty and staff, as well as to increase Chicano student enrollment.

## Women In Revolt

### Linda Jenness



## Women enter unions, but not leadership

During the past few years there has been a considerable increase in the number of women belonging to trade unions. In fact, from 1968 to 1972, while the total number of male unionists stayed the same, the number of women in unions grew by half a million, accounting for the net rise in union membership in that period. This is a significant growth in the number of female unionists, especially considering that women still make up only about one-fifth of union membership.

The new influx of women into the unions, along with rising feminist consciousness, is beginning to have an impact on the union movement. The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is the most important organized expression of these changes, and CLUW, in turn, is serving to highlight and publicize the inequalities faced by women workers.

The October 1974 issue of *Monthly Labor Review*, published by the U.S. Department of Labor, contains a useful article entitled "Women's participation in labor organizations." The article presents statistics and facts that highlight the need for an organization like CLUW.

One of CLUW's goals, as stated in the Statement of Purpose adopted at its founding convention last March, is "to promote unionism and to encourage unions to be more aggressive in their efforts to bring unorganized women under col-

lective bargaining agreements. . . ." The need to organize unorganized women, and the benefits women gain by belonging to unions, are clear from the *Monthly Labor Review* statistics.

For instance, although the number of women unionists has increased, the unionization of women has not kept pace with their influx into the labor force. Women made up 40 percent of the work force in 1972, but only 12.6 percent of working women were union members. In 1952, by comparison, women were 31 percent of the work force, with more than 15 percent of working women in the unions.

The increase in women unionists has not affected all unions. In 1972 about one-fifth of all unions still reported no women members, and 30 percent of the unions had memberships composed of less than 10 percent women.

The increase took place in relatively few unions, mainly those that carried out organizing drives during the 1960s. The retail clerks, electrical workers, teachers, government employees, and state, county, and municipal employees unions were particularly responsible for the increase.

The benefits of unionization for women include higher pay: nonunion women workers in blue-collar jobs earned an average of \$647 less in 1970 than their union counterparts. Also, a study of 1,300 union contracts in 1972 showed that

almost two-thirds of them contained clauses of special significance to women. In addition to clauses prohibiting discrimination because of sex, 145 of the contracts insured equal pay for equal work and 503 of the contracts provided for maternity leaves.

Another goal of CLUW is to encourage women's leadership and their movement into policy-making roles within their own unions and within the union movement in all areas."

The need for this, too, is documented in the *Monthly Labor Review*. The article points out that the increase in the number of women unionists has not been accompanied by an increase in leadership positions for women within the labor movement.

In 1972, 149 of the 177 trade unions included in the Labor Department statistics reported that they had no women officials. (The Labor Department does not count "associations," such as the National Education Association, as unions.)

As in 1952, women were national presidents of only two of the unions in 1972. These were the Stewards and Stewardesses Division of the Air Line Pilots and the Veterinarians union.

Even in the 24 unions that have at least 50,000 women members, there were only six women in high posts.

# Coal mines reopen as contract is ratified

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The majority of soft-coal miners returned to work Dec. 9, a month after their nationwide strike began. By a 56-to-44 percent margin, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) members voted to accept a proposed new contract, in the first rank-and-file ratification vote in the union's history.

Almost 80,000 of the UMWA's 121,000 soft-coal miners cast ballots. The unofficial returns announced by the union were 44,754 in favor of the contract and 34,741 against.

Speaking at a news conference here Dec. 5, UMWA President Arnold Miller took note of the complaints voiced by the coal industry and the capitalist media over the union's "cumbersome" ratification procedure. "With true democracy, it takes a little longer" to reach decisions, said Miller, but this is the right of UMWA members.

Miller reminded reporters that "we had years of minority rule in this union" and that now the UMWA would function under majority rule. The union was run for decades by the

ply only to those retiring after 1975.

There was also opposition to the short vacations—two weeks a year, with extra days depending on length of service—and to rotating shifts.

In southern West Virginia, particularly District 29, many miners favored a clause guaranteeing the right to strike over local grievances. This was not won.

There were predictions that southern West Virginia miners would vote down the contract over this issue, but in District 29 the contract passed by a 57-to-43 percent margin.

The contract was also ratified in Ohio's District 6, where there was organized opposition.

In both District 6 and 29, small demonstrations by opponents of the contract took place during the voting. In addition, petitions were circulated demanding the right to strike over local issues.

While these protests attracted some young militants in the union, the motives of the organizers of these actions remain unclear. At a demonstration of 75 contract opponents in Wheeling, W.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

UMWA Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick (left), President Arnold Miller (center), and Vice-President Mike Trbovich at Dec. 5 news conference announcing ratification of coal contract.

autocratic regime of John L. Lewis, and then by his successor, convicted murderer W. A. "Tony" Boyle.

Several reporters asked if the contract gains for miners wouldn't cause more inflation. "I do not consider this contract inflationary," replied Miller. He pointed to the enormous increase in the price of coal during the past year while miners' wages stood still. "The members of our union ought to have the highest wages of any worker," he asserted, explaining that the UMWA had fallen 20 years behind other major unions in benefits.

UMWA Vice-president Mike Trbovich added, "We are not going to compare the lives of coal miners with dollars and cents."

With their first opportunity to decide on a contract, UMWA members studied the terms closely before voting. Those casting ballots against the contract did so for several different reasons, in part depending on their age and on work conditions in their particular region of the country.

Some young miners, for example, felt the wage increase should have been larger and the gap between the highest- and lowest-paid miners smaller. Older miners who had planned to retire this year or next were angry that the biggest pension increases ap-

Va., for example, opposition to the Miller leadership seemed to be more important to many protesters than the terms of the new contract.

A popular sign was "Dump Miller," and copies of the contract were burned, although several demonstrators told this reporter they had not read the document. Others claimed that the 1971 contract, negotiated by Boyle, was *better* than the new contract.

In five of the union's 18 districts the contract was defeated: District 2, in western Pennsylvania; District 12, in Illinois; District 19, in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee; District 23, in western Kentucky; and District 22, in Wyoming, Utah, and Arizona.

There are still 4,500 UMWA members who do not have a contract. These are the mine construction workers, whose contract is negotiated separately. As of Dec. 10, negotiations with the Association of Bituminous Contractors were still unresolved.

Some construction workers put up pickets at the mines Dec. 9 to urge soft-coal miners not to return to work. According to the *Associated Press*, one-fifth of the mines remained closed when miners honored the picket lines and stayed off the job.

# How to defend gains in new miners' pact

By FRANK LOVELL

The new contract signed by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association appears to be a cut-and-dried agreement, but in reality its fate will be determined by the events of the next three years.

Like all labor-management contracts, this one regulates the relations between worker and employer, but it does not resolve their differences. Nor can it anticipate how those differences may erupt during the life of the agreement.

As they have in the past, the coal operators can be expected to ignore provisions of the contract if they think they can get away with it. This will depend on how well the new rights won by the miners are enforced by the union.

According to the contract, wages will increase 10 percent the first year, then 4 percent the next, and 3 percent the last year. This will raise the daily average pay of miners from \$45.40 to \$54.39 by the third year.

For the first time, the contract grants a cost-of-living clause. It will be paid quarterly and will give miners one cent an hour for each 0.4 rise in the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index.

The cost-of-living clause has a "cap" on it. It will compensate miners for price increases up to 8 percent a year but no higher. Over the three years, miners could receive as much as 98 cents an hour more to cover inflation. This would amount to \$7.84 more a day, over and above the other scheduled wage increases.

In the 1971 contract most miners won a 26 percent wage increase. Under the new agreement, the miners could get as much as 37 percent depending on the rate of inflation.

The union won a sizable hike in the pensions of miners who retire in 1976 or later, but those already retired will not receive as much. The maximum pension for miners retired before 1976 will be \$250 a month, up from its present rate of \$150.

The future pension rates will be geared to age and years of service. Thus a 55-year-old miner retiring in 1977 with 30 years in the mines will get \$308.10 a month. A 62-year-old miner retiring in 1977 with 38 years of employment will get \$502.

Another feature that is new in this contract is five paid sick days.

Some of the 34,741 strikers who voted against ratification were dissatisfied with the shift preference clause. They oppose rotating shifts, preferring to work a steady shift, whether day, afternoon, or night. Others wanted the contract to specify that they have the right to close the mines over local grievances.

Another fault found with the agreement was its failure to more nearly equalize wages for all miners. There is a spread of about \$9 a day between the lowest-paid worker and the highest.

Some of these are grievances that can be resolved in favor of the miner, if the elected union grievance and safety committees function effectively.

Gains in the area of safety give the union greater control over work conditions than ever before. The contract recognizes the right of individual miners to withdraw from unsafe work, and it provides helpers on some of the most dangerous equipment.

Although the union did not win its demand of company-paid, full-time safety inspectors elected by the union, the contract does provide for four company-paid inspections by the union each year.

Also for the first time, the union won the right to inspect company dams, waste impoundments, and gob piles (waste from the mine). This was prompted by the 1973 disaster at Buffalo Creek, W. Va., when a gob pile gave way, destroying thousands of homes and killing 125 people.

In addition, the contract requires the mineowners to establish a maintenance program for machinery and to increase the training of new miners.

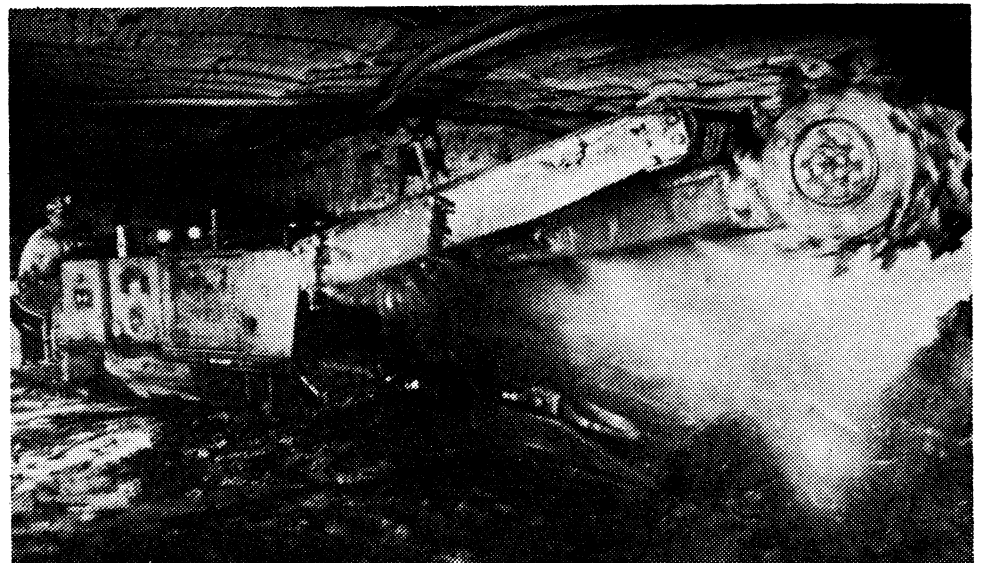
The company cannot be relied upon to enforce these advances in safety. In fact, using the energy crisis as a justification, the mineowners can be expected to try to retreat on these contract terms, claiming that the safety regulations inhibit productivity in the mines.

It will be up to the miners serving on the grievance and safety committees to prevent any such attempts to cut back on safety.

The new contract will also strengthen the hand of the union in its efforts to win over unorganized miners, forcing their employers to sign a contract with the union and contribute to the union welfare and pension fund.

In another era, under the leadership of John L. Lewis, the UMWA made similar stipulations in contracts with the coal operators. Today, the new resurgence of rank-and-file UMWA members gives the formal contract terms new meaning, because the union is in a more powerful position to enforce its gains.

The miners are in a stronger position under their new contract than they were before the strike began one month ago. They now face a constant battle to protect themselves and force the coal operators to abide by the new agreement. If the UMWA members take advantage of their latest gains, they can extend them and strengthen the union as a whole over the next three years.



Enforcement of new safety provisions in contract will be up to miners union



# Israel, Arab oil & imperialism: t

By DAVE FRANKEL

No other region of the world has been more analyzed and discussed in the past year than the Arab East. But as is usually the case, the explanations given the American people by the imperialist rulers and their mass media have had little to do with the actual issues.

According to the supporters of Israel, the Palestinian demand for the replacement of the Jewish state with a single country in which Arabs and Jews could live together on an equal footing is really a disguised formula for genocide. From reading the capitalist press one is left with the impression that the Arabs are not only anti-Jewish fanatics, but are also bent on domination of the world economy.

The demand of the Arab people to control their own oil resources is presented as a threat to the entire world. One "observer" quoted in the Dec. 2 *U.S. News & World Report* says:

"The Arabs must be made to realize that 800 million people in America, Europe and Japan are not going to permit their industrial societies to be destroyed by 80 million Arabs."

The truth is that the struggle of the Arab masses revolves around the same issues that have been central to the colonial revolution as a whole: for an end to foreign domination—both political and economic—and for economic modernization and progress. This—not "oil blackmail" as the Israelis claim—is the basis for the growing world sympathy for the Palestinian cause.

## Why Palestinians fight

The reasons for Arab, and especially Palestinian, opposition to Israel are not hard to find. They have nothing to do with irrational hatred and bigotry, but stem from the history of injustices perpetrated in the course of Israel's establishment.

The problem originated around the time of World War I, when Palestine was taken over by the British Empire from the Turks. This was a period when almost all of Africa and much of Asia was

of potentially hostile Arabism."

Because the Zionist colonization of Palestine was carried out under the protection of the British Empire, the Zionist settlers always sided with the British against the repeated rebellions of the Palestinians demanding independence. An independent Palestine would have put an end to the possibility of establishing a Jewish state there.

## Nature of Zionism

This alliance between Zionism and imperialism was dictated by the nature of the Zionist movement, and the early Zionists made no attempt to hide this. For example, in *The Jewish State*, Theodor Herzl, founder of political Zionism, wrote, "For Europe, we would constitute a bulwark against Asia down there [in Palestine], we would be the advance post of civilization against barbarism."

Later, as the socialist movement became a mass force among Jews in Europe and as the impact of the colonial revolution grew, the Zionists had to change their language in order to gain a hearing. But the essence of the movement remained the same, regardless of the use of socialist rhetoric.

The Zionist movement attracted its base from among the oppressed Jews of Russia and Eastern Europe. But instead of directing their struggle against their oppressors, it sought to displace another oppressed and exploited people, the Palestinians, from their homeland.

The fact that the Zionist colonists in Palestine were fleeing oppression does not change the fact that they were transformed into oppressors in their own right. The same process occurred in South Africa, much of whose white population was originally Huguenots fleeing religious persecution in Europe.

For a long time Zionism was a minority movement among Jews. But with the rise of Hitler, masses of Jews were desperately trying to escape the Nazi menace. Both Britain and the United States closed their doors to the mass of Jewish refugees.

This act of callous treachery met with no protest from the Zionists because, as David Ben-Gurion explained in December 1938, "If we allow a separation between the refugee problem and the Palestine problem, we are risking the existence of Zionism."

In other words, the Zionists didn't care so much about how many refugees got out, as long as those who did manage to escape had no place to go but Palestine. In this way Zionism gained its mass base, and the Jewish victims of oppression were sucked up into a colonial movement aimed at displacing the Palestinians.

By the end of World War II the Jewish community in Palestine was sufficiently large—although still a minority of about 30 percent—that the Zionists were able to launch a struggle for their own state. In trying to shed the identification of Israel with colonialism they have characterized the terrorist campaign waged against the British in this period as an anti-imperialist struggle.

## Settler rebellion

It is true that the British wanted to maintain their rule in Palestine. But the Zionist struggle after World War II was waged not only against the British, but also against the Palestinians, who demanded a united, independent Palestine in which Jews and Arabs could live together—the same thing they are demanding today.

The Zionist revolt against the British was similar to that of the white settlers in Rhodesia, who declared their independence from Britain in order to set up their own state at the expense of the Black majority.

When the United Nations voted to partition Palestine in November 1947, there were 1,280,000 Arabs—68 percent—out of a total population of 1,874,000. Although the Jewish population was only 32 percent of the total, 54 percent of Palestine was set aside for the Jewish state. Even in this area, the population was divided almost exactly equally between Jews and Arabs.

"Without a Jewish majority, the survival of the Jewish state as presently conceived is impossible," wrote the Commission on International Affairs of the American Jewish Congress in 1968.

Twenty years earlier, the Zionist settlers acted on that same understanding. When the war of 1948-49 was over, Israel was left in possession of 80 percent of Palestine, and some 750,000 Palestinians had been deprived of their land and their homes.



Ben-Gurion proclaiming the state of Israel. Above him is a portrait of Herzl, the founder of political Zionism.

Many had been forcibly expelled. Others had fled the fighting, just as refugees in any other war. All had been subjected to Israeli threats and had heard stories of massacres such as that at Deir Yassin, where Zionist terrorists killed more than 250 Palestinian villagers.

But when this war was over, in contrast to others, the refugees were not allowed to return. Their property was seized and used in the coming years to make possible a huge influx of Jewish immigrants from all over the world. Those Arabs who remained were also victimized. They were turned into second-class citizens in their own country, and through a series of sordid legal maneuvers by the Israeli government they were deprived of 40 percent of their land.

Moshe Dayan, who doesn't bother to mince words, was quoted in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* on May 10, 1973, as giving a reminder to his more squeamish opponents.

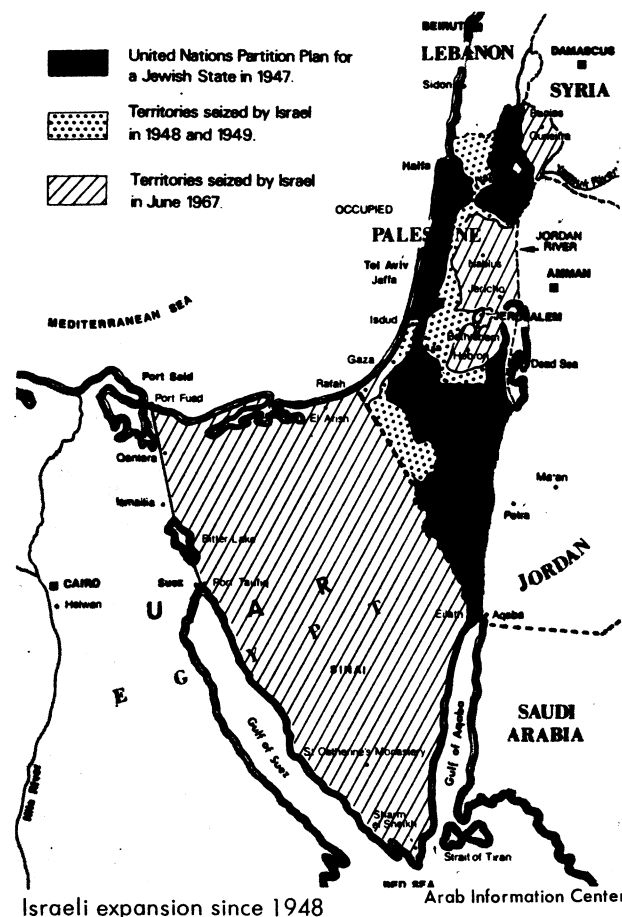
"The establishment of the State of Israel was fundamentally at the expense of the Arabs," he said. "There is no escaping this fact. In most instances, Jewish settlers replaced Arab settlers. At times we bought lands, [and] we acquired a lot more as a result of the 1948 war."

While right-wing politicians and Zionist ideologues in Israel openly justify—and even brag about—the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948, the apologists for Israel abroad peddle the fantastic story that this mass migration was a response to orders from Radio Cairo!

## The real issue

The Palestinians have reacted to their dispossession in the same way that any other people who had been so unjustly treated would. The claim that the Palestinians fight Israel because they hate Jews is a fabrication by those trying to cover up the real issue—the expropriation of a whole country and the expulsion of the majority of its inhabitants. The attitude of the Palestinians toward the Jewish people is shown by the fact that a mass movement has been built among them around the demand that the two peoples live together in a single state.

This demand—formulated by the Palestinian movement in its call for a democratic, secular Palestine—is aimed at reversing the oppression of the Palestinian people and enabling them to exercise their right of self-determination. Palestine was originally denied independence by the British, then partitioned by the United Nations, and finally taken over completely by the Israelis. In every case



under the heel of European colonialism.

The British were no strangers to the idea of augmenting direct rule of foreign lands with settler populations. This was the origin of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland and of the white settler population in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Kenya, for example. In the same way, they saw the Zionist movement as a potential bulwark against Arab nationalist aspirations. In 1917 they issued the Balfour Declaration, promising the Zionists British support in establishing a "national home for the Jewish people" on Arab land.

The British strategy of divide-and-rule was explained by Sir Ronald Storrs, the first civil governor of Jerusalem under the British. He wrote in his memoirs, "Enough [Jews] could return, if not to form a Jewish state . . . at least to prove that the enterprise was one which blessed him that gave as well as him that took, by forming for England 'a little loyal Jewish Ulster' in a sea

# the real issues in the Mideast

the Palestinians themselves were disregarded and their rights denied.

The usual objection raised to the demand of the Palestinians is that regardless of what happened in the past, today Israel exists and it must be recognized before there can be peace. Within this context, most of the European imperialist powers and Moscow have advanced the proposal for a two-state settlement—a big state for Israel and a little one for the Palestinians.

This proposal to recognize a formal equality between Palestinians and Israelis in principle—although in practice the Israelis turn out to be much more equal—ignores the distinction between oppressed and oppressor.

The expulsion of the Palestinians was carried out in order to establish the Jewish state to begin with, and such a state can only be maintained by continuing the oppression of the Palestinians. A similar proposal would be to try to solve the problem of settler-colonialism in South Africa by partitioning the country and giving four-fifths of it to the whites.

In fact, the partition "solution" was precisely the one adopted by British imperialism in Ireland in 1920. The results are apparent today.

## An accommodation?

The simple truth is that there will be no peace in the Middle East as long as the settler-colonial state of Israel exists, whatever its particular borders. The hope for an accommodation between Israel and the Arab peoples can only rest on the idea that the Arabs will finally be beaten into accepting a situation that they know to be unjust. This is something that the Arab governments would be willing to do, but they can't get the masses to go along with it.

The daily bombing and shelling of Lebanon, the repressive regime in the territories occupied by Israel, and the repeated wars against the Arab countries on its borders are testimony to Israeli efforts to break the will of the Arab peoples. The only result has been a deeper anger and determination to resist.

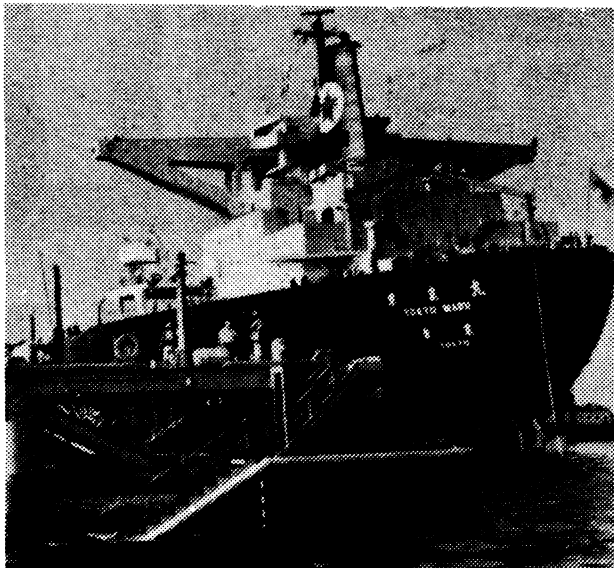
While Israel has been able to maintain itself thus far by force of arms, its successes rest on keeping the Arab world weak, divided, and economically backward. Its existence is tied to continued imperialist domination of the Arab East, and the experience of the twentieth century shows that this attempt to hold back history can only end in failure.

Nevertheless, imperialism has been able to use the Israeli garrison state as a powerful rampart in its battle to hold back the Arab revolution. After the Jordanian civil war in 1970, for instance, it was revealed that Israel and Washington had agreed to intervene jointly if the throne of King Hussein was threatened.

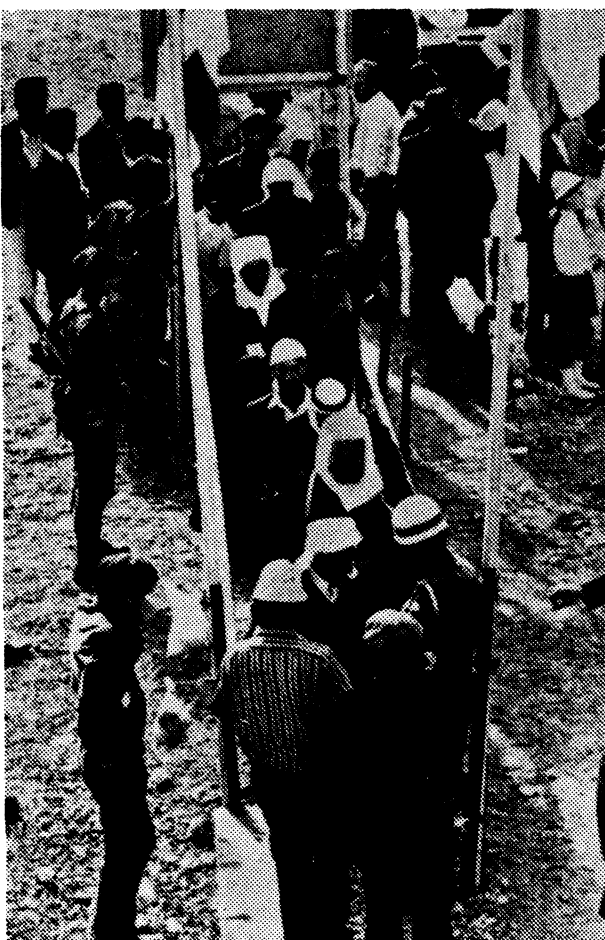
A similar plan was actually put into effect in 1956, when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal and Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt. Such memories have been revived by Washington's threatening stance on oil prices, along with open hints that Israel is being considered for a key role in any Mideast adventure.

## Mideast oil

The right of the Arab peoples to control the oil resources that for so long have served to enrich the imperialist monopolies is the other major issue in Middle Eastern politics.



Japanese tanker in Dharan. Imperialist monopolies have been exploiting natural wealth of Arab world for decades.



Arabs in Jerusalem. Palestinians have been either expelled or turned into second-class citizens in their own country.

Originally, the Arab East was viewed as an area of great military and commercial importance because it is the crossroads connecting Europe, Africa, and Asia. This aspect of the region's importance was increased with the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869.

Another factor was introduced with the discovery of oil there. As early as July 1914, the British parliament heard Winston Churchill, then first lord of the admiralty, argue that the British navy must purchase the Anglo-Persian Oil Company of Iran and that "we must become the owners, or at any rate the controllers of the source, of at least a proportion of the supply of natural oil which we require."

The French imperialists were not far behind their partner. With the end of World War I France took over the (German) Deutsche Bank's 25 percent stake in the Turkish Petroleum Company (later the Iraq Petroleum Company). Britain took over Iraq, and together with Esso and Mobil, the wartime allies began pumping oil out of Iraq and money into their coffers.

In 1933 Standard Oil of California bought the sole right to drill for Saudi Arabian oil for a pittance, and in 1938 oil was discovered in Kuwait. Billions flowed into the imperialist countries, but nothing changed for the Arab masses.

The imperialist propagandists are ready enough to shed crocodile tears over the corruption and backwardness of the regimes in the Arab East, but they never mention where these regimes came from. Without British and American money and guns behind them, the sheikhs and kings would be unable to survive.

While the imperialists work with all their might to keep such regimes as the Saudi Arabian monarchy in power, their liberal publicists argue that the corrupt nature of these governments means that the oil money isn't getting to the masses of people anyway, and therefore, it is implied, it is justified for the monopolies to pay almost nothing for the oil.

But there was never any hue and cry in Washington over the corruption of the Arab regimes until they began demanding some of the oil profits. What is being attacked is the right of the Arab peoples—no matter what governments are involved—to assert their control over their own resources.

## Price too high?

The imperialist representatives also complain—without even a blush—that the oil-producing countries are charging too much for their oil. But the richest of the oil-producing countries, Saudi Arabia, is expected to gross \$25-billion from its oil sales this year. That is considerably less than Exxon, which had sales of \$30.5-billion for the first nine months of 1974.

With a population estimated at 8.2 million, the

Saudi take comes to about \$3,000 per capita. In a country without railroads, or any of the thousands of industries required for industrialization, that would not go very far even with the best of governments.

In Iran, the second-largest oil exporter, an income of \$25-billion must be compared with a population of about 32 million. The per capita income from oil comes to about \$780 a year.

These countries are almost wholly dependent on the sale of oil. To argue that they are charging too much for it is to argue that they have no right to advance. Certainly that has been the situation for the past 50 years of "reasonable" trade relations between the imperialist powers and these colonial countries.

Most recently the mass media has started talking about the "petrodollar pile-up." *Time* magazine wrote in its Nov. 18 issue that "the Petroleum Exporting Countries had piled up by Sept. 30 more than \$38 billion of monetary reserves, or an awesome 19% of the world total. . . ."

But they avoid mentioning that unlike the situation in the U.S. and other imperialist powers, the financial reserves of underdeveloped countries tend to be concentrated in the state treasuries. In the U.S. they are in banks, and each of the two largest U.S. banks in 1973 had larger assets than the combined monetary reserves of the 13 governments in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries! (Bank of America, \$49.4-billion; First National City, \$44-billion. Chase Manhattan, the third-largest U.S. bank, just about matched the OPEC countries with \$36-billion.)

## 'Highest-grade humans'

The oil minister of Kuwait, in an Oct. 14 statement, captured the essence of the imperialist response. "Europe and the United States have determined the place for the developing nations and the Arabs in particular," he said, "and they want us to stay there forever."

"What causes the whole bad propaganda is not



U.S. transport unloading in Israel during October war. Israel serves as base for imperialism.

because we are destroying the economy of the world but because we are trying to move a little bit forward from the place that highest-grade human beings have determined we should stay."

As for the distribution of the oil money within the Arab countries, that is something that the Arab workers and peasants would have settled long ago if it weren't for the intervention of imperialism in their affairs. To the extent that the current regimes are able to cut down the power of the imperialist monopolies inside their countries, the working class will be strengthened in the class struggle.

A defeat for the OPEC countries in their dispute with the imperialists over oil prices would also be a defeat for the working class in those countries and would strengthen the position of the most conservative and pro-imperialist elements.

The exploiters in Washington spend more on their vast military apparatus each year than the total oil revenues of all 13 OPEC countries. Recently there has been a proliferation of threats that this apparatus will be used to put the Arab peoples back into "their place," even at the risk of provoking a nuclear war. That is where the real threat to the peace and well-being of the people of the world comes from.

Here in the U.S. we have an obligation to demand that the imperialist bloodsuckers who have already been responsible for so much death and human misery get out of the Arab East and stay out.

No arms to Israel!

No U. S. troops to the Middle East!

Hands off the Arab revolution!



# Where Texas Raza Unida Party

By HARRY RING

Just before the Nov. 5 elections I spent two weeks traveling in Texas to obtain a firsthand picture of the present state of La Raza Unida Party (RUP).

I visited Houston, Austin, San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Crystal City. I was accompanied by Nelson Blackstock, Houston organizer for the Socialist Workers Party, and Arnold Rodriguez, a Chicano activist and Austin organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The trip proved very useful, providing a more adequate picture of what is happening in the RUP. It clearly indicated that the party is doing better than it appeared to be six months ago. At that time it seemed as if the RUP leaders were drifting to the right politically and the party was not making much headway organizationally.

The trip showed that the party is continuing to grow and is still in a process of political development. There are differing currents of political thought within it. Despite its problems it remains a viable organization.

The principal areas of growth of the party in the first years were in the south-central Texas and Rio Grande valley towns near Crystal City, where the party was born in January 1970. That growth culminated this past election with the RUP winning a majority of the board of commissioners for Zavala County, of which Crystal City is the county seat, and electing party leader José Angel Gutiérrez as county judge.

## Growth in urban areas

In the past year, the most significant organizational gain of the party has been the development of viable groups in several urban areas. Until recently San Antonio was virtually the only major city with a really functioning RUP. Now there are active groups in Houston, Austin, Corpus Christi, El Paso, Dallas, and elsewhere.

The political problems confronting La Raza Unida were most clearly apparent in the campaign of the party's gubernatorial candidate, Ramsey Muñiz.

To win 20 percent of the vote, which would have given the party full legal status, Muñiz tried to win a significant number of votes from liberal whites and from more moderate Chicanos who do not yet support Raza Unida.

To accomplish this, Muñiz tailored his campaign in a way that he, his campaign manager, Carlos Guerra, and others in the party leadership felt would be effective.

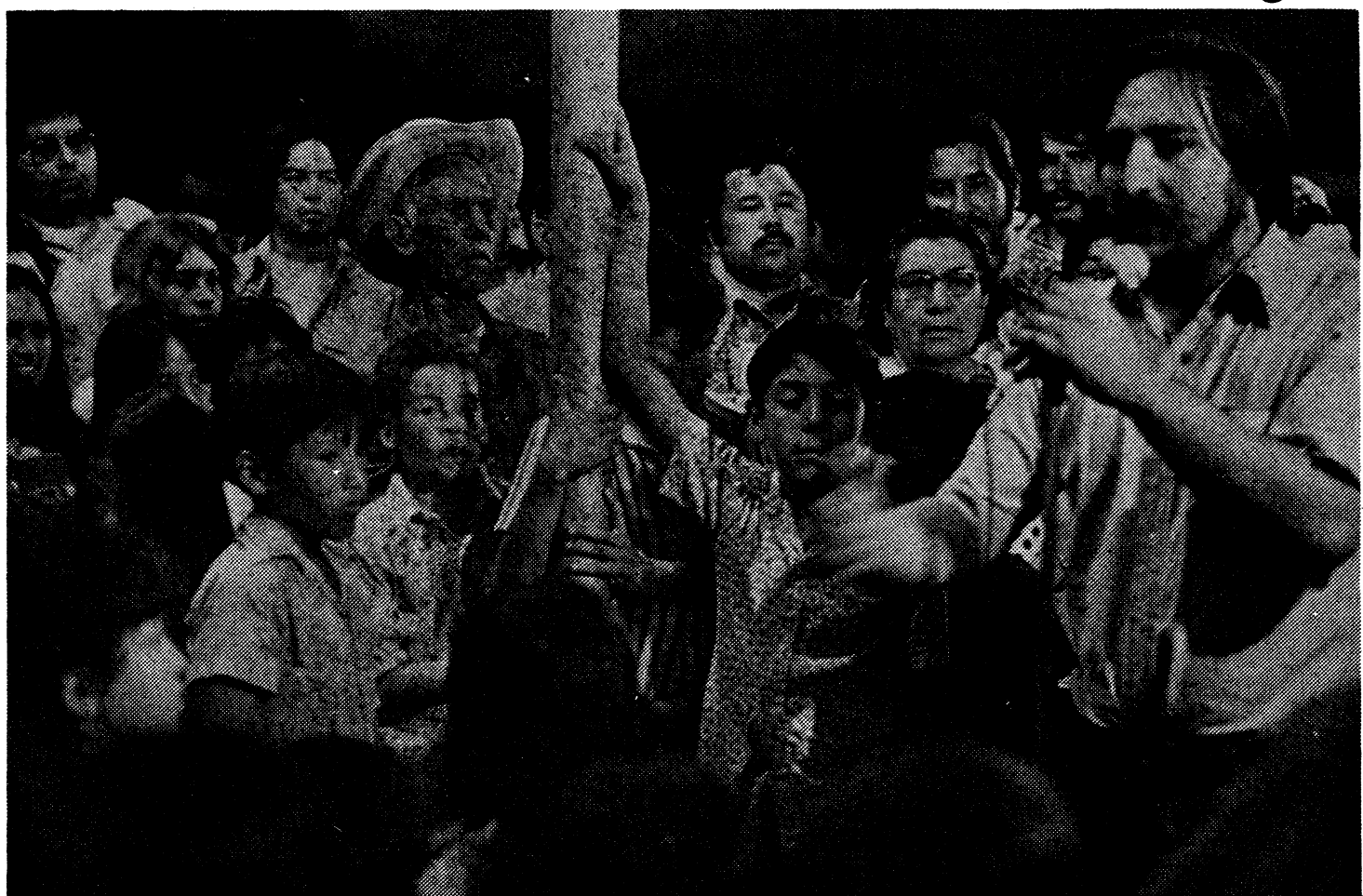
What Muñiz did in essence was to water down his ideas and water down the concept of La Raza Unida as an independent Chicano party.

His formal platform was written to be noncontroversial. He favored elimination of the sales tax, increased corporate taxes, improved education, and "better government." But there was little that addressed itself to the problems of the Chicanos as an oppressed people, or why they need an alternative to the two major parties.

## Party label omitted

Much of his literature did not carry the party label. On posters and bumper stickers with the name Muñiz, a small Texas flag replaced the tilde over the letter *n*.

In speeches to Chicano audiences Muñiz spoke militantly and effectively of the need for building their own political party and power. Anglo audiences, however, were assured that the name La Raza Unida simply meant "people united."



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Raza Unida Party rally in Crystal City. Although 1974 gubernatorial campaign showed some political weaknesses, RUP made gains throughout state and is attracting many Chicano activists.

Questioned closely about the ethnic composition of La Raza Unida Party by a group of businessmen at the Corpus Christi yacht club, Muñiz responded, according to the *Corpus Christi Caller*, that the name had been chosen when the party was launched but it could be changed later.

But Muñiz's approach to winning a higher vote proved a dismal failure. Muñiz was credited with 5.6 percent of the vote, 0.4 percentage points less than he received in 1972.

His strategy was self-defeating on two counts. First, it did not and could not win the liberal white vote. Throughout the campaign, liberal Democrats—both white and Mexican-American—were his bitterest opponents. Their determination to bear down on anyone taking votes from the Democratic Party was not softened by Muñiz's assurances of "moderation."

Even more costly was the fact that while such a campaign failed to win support from white liberals, it did succeed in turning off some Chicanos.

By trying to suggest that he was only a little different from the liberal Democrats, Muñiz actually gave up the votes of thousands of Chicanos who see no reason to go to the polls at all unless they are inspired by the prospect of a real choice, a real difference.

## 'Out-gringo the gringo'?

At a meeting in San Marcos, one person told me, Muñiz responded to questions from his supporters about this by saying: Look, we're going to out-gringo the gringo. All we want is their votes. For years they've been coming to our neighborhoods with all kinds of promises. Now we'll do it to them. But when we get in, Chicanos will control.

Unfortunately, politics doesn't work that way. That's like going to Las Vegas to try to beat the house at its own game. If the gambling casinos were that easily beaten they'd be out of business already. And if the people who run the political system could be beaten that easily, they'd already be out of power, too.

I think that where Muñiz and others got off the track on this question was

by starting from the assumption that getting votes is the paramount thing in building La Raza Unida Party.

Obviously votes are important, but for a party seeking fundamental change they are not decisive.

Most RUP activists agree that the goal of the party is to help achieve Chicano liberation—that the party can and should relate to other forces that are victims of this society, but that the starting point is to organize Chicanos to fight against their particular oppression.

## Question of alliances

The idea that Chicanos can win support and forge alliances with other oppressed layers who have common interests in fighting the oppressors of the Chicano people is an essential one. Recently there has been interest expressed among some RUP activists in the prospects of Black people organizing their own independent political party.

And as the level of militancy rises inside the trade unions, many of which include both Anglo and Chicano members, Chicano activists can begin to see that the prospect of united action with Anglo workers around specific demands and issues is not utopian.

There is no doubt that many people who today vote for liberals can be won to support the RUP's stand of independence from the two capitalist parties.

But those whose politics are based on defending the system of exploitation we have today can never be won over. Trying to ally with them can only be self-defeating, because such an alliance can only be realized if it is on the basis of *their* program. Such "allies" will insist on subordinating the interests of the Chicano people to the needs of maintaining the current political, social, and economic setup.

It is exactly this kind of "alliance" that exists between most Chicanos and the Democratic Party. A vote-catching machine like the Democratic Party is exactly what Chicanos don't need.

Muñiz's failure to consistently expose and indict the Democratic Party, in the hope of wooing liberal Democratic voters, could lead some RUP

activists to conclude that the RUP could at times support some liberal Democrats.

Muñiz should have explained that Raza Unida is a different *kind* of party from both the Democrats and Republicans. It is a party based on the movement of the Chicano people against racism and exploitation, not a party based on upholding the privileges of the racists and the exploiters. This, after all, is why the Raza Unida Party was formed in the first place.

The Chicano people will be in a much stronger position to form alliances that are advantageous to them—on the level of electoral politics as well as of mass action—if they have their own independent and strong political party.

## Militant, mass movement

But how can such a mass independent Chicano party be built? It is becoming apparent to increasing numbers that none of this country's basic social problems are going to be solved at the ballot box, including the problems of the Chicano people.

To solve these problems will require a militant mass movement of the Chicano people. In the course of day-to-day struggles, ever greater numbers of Chicanos will come to realize the need for fundamental social change. Turning out at the polls on election day to vote RUP is just one of those struggles.

This means La Raza Unida must be much more than simply an electoral party. To be effective it must participate in, organize, and lead struggles of the Chicano people on a year-round basis.

And there certainly are more than enough issues to mobilize around.

When La Raza Unida Party in Austin played a major role this past October in leading a march against police brutality, it was pointing the way to build an effective party.

There are many other significant community issues—the fight for quality education and for community control of the schools; the fight for adequate, community-controlled medical care; and for decent, low-cost housing.

There are other important issues, too. With the mounting racist drive



# stands today

against undocumented workers by *la migrá*, the fight to stop the deportations could and should be a central activity for La Raza Unida Party.

Similarly, support to the United Farm Workers would be an important act of solidarity with Chicanos in the fields that would help organize and strengthen the movement in the barrios.

Consideration of such a party-building perspective for La Raza Unida is important because, despite political limitations, the party has demonstrated its viability.

## Tireless campaigning

The past gubernatorial campaign, as well as the one in 1972, had, in a sense, contradictory results. While the watered-down appeal limited the gains, Muñiz's tireless campaign efforts did bring La Raza Unida to many people.

Muñiz's appeals to Chicanos have had a deep impact, and in the past two years many activists have been won to the party ranks.

At the conclusion of our tour I talked with Pedro Vásquez, a longtime Houston Chicano activist. Vásquez was the 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidate for state attorney general and, all during October and early November, was on a Young Socialist Alliance team traveling around the state campaigning for the SWP state ticket.

Vásquez was an early activist in the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) and is well-informed about the Chicano movement throughout the state.

Vásquez said there is no question that the RUP has expanded in the past two years, both in numbers and geographically. It is winning new young activists, he said, and reviving some older ones.

At the time the RUP replaced MAYO, he explained, a number of MAYO members dropped away. Now, he said, in several towns he found a significant number of these people have come into the RUP and have begun to play an active role in it.

It was his experience that the party has grown in political awareness as well. In a number of smaller towns, like San Marcos and Denton, he found there was a pronounced emphasis on projecting the party in the campaign rather than just the individual candidates.

Among these activists, he said, there was a questioning of the Muñiz approach to the campaign. A number of them asked Muñiz about this when he came to their areas. They expressed the view, Vásquez said, that presenting the idea of Raza Unida as simply "people together" was compromising the needs of Chicanos and the need for the party to fight for Chicanos.

In several places local Raza Unida activists added the name of La Raza Unida Party to posters that did not already have it.

## Gains across state

At the University of Texas in Austin, he said, students not only went into the East Austin barrio to campaign for Armando Gutiérrez for state assembly, but maintained a daily literature table on campus. When Raza Unida helped organize the march against police brutality in Austin, the RUP campus table became a focal point for building the action.

Vásquez said he had not traveled into west Texas, but a friend whose report he considers reliable told him that there were now small functioning groups of Raza Unida supporters in many of the west Texas towns.

Just the idea of a Chicano running for governor evokes a nationalist response of pride, Vásquez observed. In San Marcos, for example, while the activists were mainly Chicano students, he noticed an appreciable number of Raza Unida election posters in people's front yards and in their windows.

What Vásquez described coincided with what we observed during our trip. In San Antonio, for example, two years ago the party had support in the principal barrio and among high school students there. This time, it also had active supporters on all the city's campuses where there are Chicanos.

Two years ago in Austin, the party shared a small office in the student union with another campus group. This time it was visible on campus and had a campaign headquarters in the barrio.

In Corpus Christi, real activity was just getting under way when I visited there a year ago. This year, just before we arrived, the RUP held a campaign rally in a park that drew nearly 3,000 people. While we were there the Democrats held a rally in the park with a claimed attendance of several hundred. A picture in the daily paper indicated that it was less.

In neighboring Robstown, a mainly Chicano community of about 10,000, we attended a monthly Sunday afternoon gathering of Las Familias Unidas, the community group on which La Raza Unida Party is based there.

There was a Chicano rock band, a dollar dinner, and speeches by the RUP candidates. We counted nearly 200 people at the gathering and were told this was a normal attendance.

Guadalupe Youngblood, RUP state chairperson, who lives in Robstown, said the party had just opened a bookstore there.

In Houston, the RUP had consisted of a small group on the University of Houston campus. This year there were an estimated 50 to 60 people who campaigned regularly for María Jiménez, RUP nominee for the state legislature.

The day after the elections both the *Houston Post* and the *Chronicle* rushed into print with articles pointing to the RUP vote returns and assuring their readers that La Raza Unida Party was dead.

That clearly comes under the heading not of reporting but of wishful thinking.



# L.A. women protest forced sterilizations

By MARIANA HERNANDEZ

LOS ANGELES—A \$6-million suit has been filed against the Los Angeles County-University of Southern California Medical Center by three young women—two Chicanas and a Black—who were permanently sterilized without their knowledge or consent.

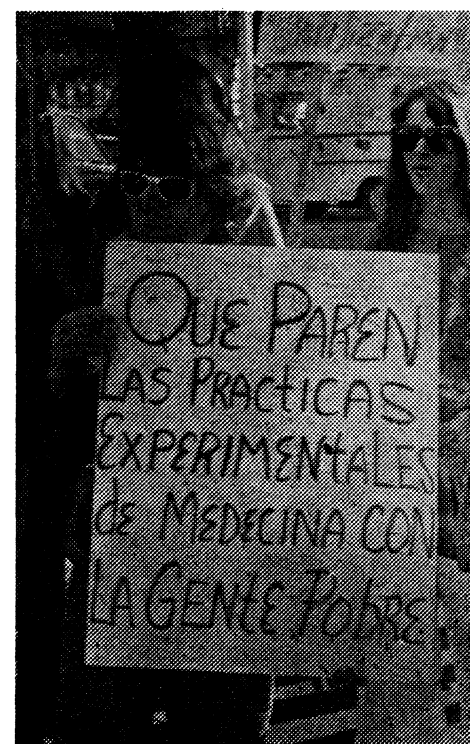
The claim, which seeks \$2-million in damages for each woman, said permission for the sterilizations (tubal ligations) was sought while the women were in great pain and under heavy sedation during Cesarean childbirth.

Shortly after this scandal was made public, a study showing that forced sterilization of minority women is a common practice in U. S. hospitals re-

va is a pattern throughout the Southwest and has been particularly true of Colorado, where he received his medical training.

"What they did to minority-group women there, particularly to Mexican-Americans, really turned me off," he said. "They would get a young woman, maybe 19 or 20, who was having a baby and start right in on her in the delivery room, urging that she have her tubes tied."

"If she said no, they would all stand around her bed every morning while on rounds and repeatedly suggest that she have the operation. They kept telling her that it was 'simply a matter of having your tubes tied, and then



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Nov. 23 demonstration. 'Stop medical experimentation on poor people.'

ceived wide publicity here. Bernard Rosenfeld and other young doctors who have worked at the L. A. County-USC Medical Center found that poor, Black, and Chicano women have been cajoled, pressured, and sometimes coerced into consenting to surgical sterilizations while in the throes of childbirth.

The Committee to Stop Forced Sterilizations, a coalition of feminists and community groups, has been formed to support the suit and to demand that forced sterilizations be stopped at the county hospital.

Two additional women have filed suits, bringing the total to five.

Two of the women were led to believe that the consent forms they signed for tubal ligations were for temporary sterilizations. The third woman, Melvina Hernández, said she was unaware that a sterilization operation had been performed and that six weeks later she had an intrauterine device (IUD) inserted, which she had used for two years until she learned that she had, in fact, been sterilized.

Hernández states that at the time she supposedly "consented" to sterilization she was groggy from drugs and exhausted from labor much of the time and that never was she or her husband, who was in a nearby waiting room, consulted.

Elidia Silva and Beverly Graves signed the "informed consent" form because they thought the sterilization was a temporary form of birth control. Silva said that the medical staff communicated to her only in English, of which she understands little, and that the form she signed was never explained in her native language—Spanish.

Dr. Juan Nieto, a 25-year-old intern at the county medical center, pointed out that what happened to Sil-

you won't have to hassle with the pill any more."

Nieto said he was convinced that many patients who barely spoke English had "no idea that the procedure being urged on them was permanent. They probably thought they could simply have their tubes 'untied' later."

Dr. Rosenfeld charged that there is a "push" for doing a large number of sterilizations and that this was motivated by doctors' racist beliefs regarding "overpopulation" and their beliefs as to what is "ideal" family size. Many have the conception that "the more tubes you tie, the fewer kids you have to support on welfare later."

After a demonstration Nov. 23 by the Committee to Stop Forced Sterilizations, attended by 250 people, and an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* opposed to the practice, the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) ordered a nationwide inquiry to "ensure enforcement of national guidelines designed to protect indigent patients from possible 'voluntary' sterilization abuses at some of the nation's most prestigious hospitals."

The Committee to End Forced Sterilizations is demanding that the County-USC Medical Center comply with the HEW guidelines, which require that the person be formally advised before giving her written consent to the operation; that no benefits such as welfare checks or child-support payments can be cut off should the patient decide not to be sterilized; that detailed information be supplied about the surgical procedure, its attendant risks and discomforts—and the fact that the operation must be considered permanent; and the patient be counseled on forms of birth control other than sterilization, such as pills, intrauterine devices, and diaphragms.

# Mich. teachers block move to break strike

By PAULA REIMERS

DETROIT—Striking teachers of the Garden City Education Association (GCEA) have defeated yet another attempt to crush their walkout.

On Dec. 9 the Garden City school administration tried to reopen the schools.

A hastily called picket line of 500 to 700 teachers and supporters answered the administration's threat. The schools remained closed, with fewer than 20 of the 525 GCEA members crossing the picket line.

The picket line drew support from 20 locals of the Michigan Education Association, including teachers from as far away as Saginaw, Port Huron, and Troy. Representatives from the American Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Auto Workers; and Graphic Arts International Union also joined the picket line.

The demonstration, held in snowy, 25-degree weather, was a forceful show of solidarity.

The GCEA originally struck in September, but was forced back to work by a court injunction. When continued negotiations failed to produce a contract, the teachers walked out again on Nov. 11.

On Nov. 17, 11 teachers were jailed for defying the court back-to-work order. After spending one night in jail, they were released on bond pending appeal.

The morale of the strikers remains high. On Nov. 29 they voted, on recommendation of the union negotiating team, to reject a settlement proposed by a state mediator.

The proposed contract contained no cost-of-living allowance and no limitation on class size, the two key demands of the union in the current negotiations.

It was in the wake of the teachers' refusal to buckle to cajoling by the state mediator that the school administration tried its strikebreaking move.

Underscoring the importance the state government places on defeating the strike, Governor William Milliken asked to meet with the teachers' negotiating team on Dec. 10. Results of the meeting were not known at *Militant* press time.

The teachers have received strong support from unionists throughout the area, including affiliates of both the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers.

The Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT) administrative board, meeting on Nov. 18, passed a resolution of solidarity with the Garden City teachers. The resolution urged MFT locals to help the GCEA by collecting money, joining in picketing and literature distribution, and setting a date in conjunction with the NEA for a mass picket to show support for the strike.

New developments show the effect



Garden City Education Association members leaving Wayne County jail

of the militant attitude of the Garden City teachers on other teachers in the area.

In late November, teachers in the Crestwood school district voted to strike Dec. 2 if they had no contract by then. The strike actually began Dec. 4 due to snow storms.

The Crestwood Education Association, like the GCEA, struck at the beginning of school in September but

was forced back to work by a court injunction. Crestwood teachers have been without a contract for more than a year.

The Garden City strike has become a test of power and will for teachers locals and school administrations across the state. And as the Crestwood district shows, the Garden City teachers have set an example of militancy for all teachers.

# NY milk drivers fight to defend jobs, pay

NEW YORK—To the surprise and chagrin of the mayor's office, the milk dealers, and the officials of Teamsters Local 584, the union membership voted down a proposed settlement to their strike on Dec. 8.

The 2,700 milk drivers and inside plant workers had struck Dec. 4, effectively cutting off milk supplies to 10 million consumers in the New York area.

Local 584 President John Kelly quickly reached an agreement with industry negotiators and recommended that the members return to work before voting on the contract. This maneuver was rejected by a meeting of shop stewards.

An extraordinarily undemocratic provision of the union's constitution requires a two-thirds majority to reject a contract. Even so, the membership vote of 1,008 against and 486 in favor was 12 short of approval.

Many strikers entering the meeting

room to vote gave a thumbs-down sign or shouted "Down!" into television microphones. A cheer went up when the vote tally was announced.

"That will show those bosses they can't con us," said Jacob Shapiro, a milk driver for 31 years.

The drivers objected to milk dealers' demands, accepted by union negotiators, that larger trucks be introduced and that the drivers' commissions be based on the volume of milk delivered, regardless of price.

Larger trucks would lead to a loss of drivers' jobs, since fewer trucks could deliver the same amount of milk. The switch to commission on volume would freeze drivers' incomes while the price of milk (and all other necessities they buy) is jacked up.

"The employers are saying we make \$30,000, \$35,000 a year," Robert Kirschner told a reporter while on picket duty outside Holland Farms in Queens.

"I make \$13,000. I'm a driver, a milkman. I take home \$226. My base pay is \$198, and then I get a commission."

"No clock, no overtime. If I get stuck in a snowstorm, delayed, then I just keep on working. It's all on my own time."

Joseph Bitz, 62 years old, told the reporter, "I'm an inside man. I mean I work in the plant, lifting, hauling, doing bulk work. An inside man gets \$216.50 a week. I take home \$160, and so I turn around and buy a chicken and bang, that's it. That's my salary."

City officials are now stepping up pressure to end the strike, claiming to be worried about schoolchildren not getting their milk and threatening to declare a "health emergency."

Although the union officials have done nothing to publicize it, the fact is that the milk dealers' and processors' schemes for higher profits will

reduce, not improve, service to customers. For example, one of the dealers' demands for "higher productivity" is to make fewer daily deliveries.

The 20,000 dairy farmers who supply the struck processors are also exploited by them. The farmers get less than 19 cents for a quart of milk that sells in the city for 45 cents or more. And while prices in the stores have been rising, the price to the farmer has been going down.

It is evident that the Teamsters could greatly strengthen their position by seeking an alliance with the small dairy framers on the one hand, and on the other by taking their case against the milk dealers to the public.

There is no indication the officials of Local 584 plan such a course. But the strike is shaking things up in the union, and if its present leaders don't show a little more backbone and good sense, they may find themselves out of a job one of these days.

# Attica defendant beaten by guards

By KURT HILL

BUFFALO—Attica defendant Charles "Charley Joe" Pernasilice was assaulted and knocked unconscious Dec. 10 by sheriff's deputies as he was coming to court from Erie County Jail.

Pernasilice entered the courtroom late, barely able to walk, bracing himself on chairs as he made his way to the defense table. He had a large red bruise on his jaw, and the right side of his face was swollen. As he reached his lawyers, he said, barely audibly, "They tried to kill me in there."

Defense attorneys William Kunstler and Ramsey Clark immediately began to protest to Judge Gilbert King, who had ordered Pernasilice confined to the jail Dec. 9 because he was 90 minutes late for court.

King at first tried to proceed with the hearing as usual, but the defense attorneys demanded an immediate hearing

on the assault. Spectators in the room refused to sit down until the judge agreed to the hearing.

Pernasilice was the first to testify. He stated that he was subjected to a search on the way to court and guards attempted to take away a book and some personal letters.

When he protested, Pernasilice said, he was punched in the jaw by one of the guards. Another grabbed him in a headlock and strangled him until he passed out. When he regained consciousness, he said, he was dragged to his feet and guards banged his head repeatedly against the wall of the room.

Pernasilice said he was surrounded by "blue uniforms" and heard one of the guards say, "I hope he dies." He said he had three large bumps on his head, was dizzy, and had trouble breathing and walking. Pernasilice is 5 feet 8 inches tall and weighs 125 pounds.

King ordered that the guards involved in the incident be brought to court. It was a full hour before they arrived, even though the jail is right next to the court.

Defense attorneys protested that the guards and jail officials were stalling in order to prepare a story to justify the assault. One of the guards who testified later confirmed that they had in fact held a joint meeting during the court recess.

One of the guards to testify was Lake Kearney, who said that Pernasilice verbally protested the seizure of his belongings and it "was necessary to take them by force." He said that he and another guard held Pernasilice against a wall and took the articles.

Asked whether Pernasilice was thrown to the floor, Kearney said, "No, we wrestled him to the floor."

Both corrections officers are more than six feet tall and appear to weigh about 200 pounds.

# World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 20, 1974

## British unionists sit in jail for 'crime' of picketing

By Robin Hunter and Tony Hodges

London

"If it is true, and it may be, that the deterrent effect of the original sentence has contributed to a period of relative peace, this court would be undoing the good work the sentences have done if we decide to set aside the sentences." With these words, Lord Widgery, "Lord Chief Justice," turned down appeals brought by two building workers, Des Warren and Eric Tomlinson, against jail sentences meted out by a court in Shrewsbury last year under the Tory government.

Widgery's judgement came October 29, less than three weeks after the reelection of the Labour government. It put the Shrewsbury Two back

in jail—Warren for three years and Tomlinson for two—for the "crime" of picketing during the 1972 building-workers' strike. They had been found guilty last December under the anti-union Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875, an act which the Labour government has still not seen fit to repeal.

The 1972 building-workers' strike had provoked the ruling class's ire because of the militant methods of struggle employed by the strikers. "Flying pickets" travelled from one building site to another, spreading the strike all over the country. The militancy and determination of the rank and file won a 20 percent wage rise, way outside the norm for wage increases set at that time by the Tories'

"voluntary" incomes policy.

The victories scored by the building workers—and the miners earlier that year—prompted the Tory government to try to clamp down on strike picketing. Some months after the end of their strike, twenty-four building workers were arrested and charged with illegal picketing under the 1875 act. The arrests were all made in the west of England and north Wales, areas where trade unionism in the construction industry is weak and where the government felt that it could get away with a frame-up without provoking a major protest from the unions.

Six of the twenty-four were convicted, Warren and Tomlinson receiving the harshest sentences. Almost nothing had been done by the bureaucrats of the two main construction unions—the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT)—to build a defence campaign. The UCATT's do-nothing attitude had, in fact, been well put by the union's general secretary, George Smith, some weeks before the trial: "If these lads are innocent," he said, "then British justice being what it is will find them innocent."

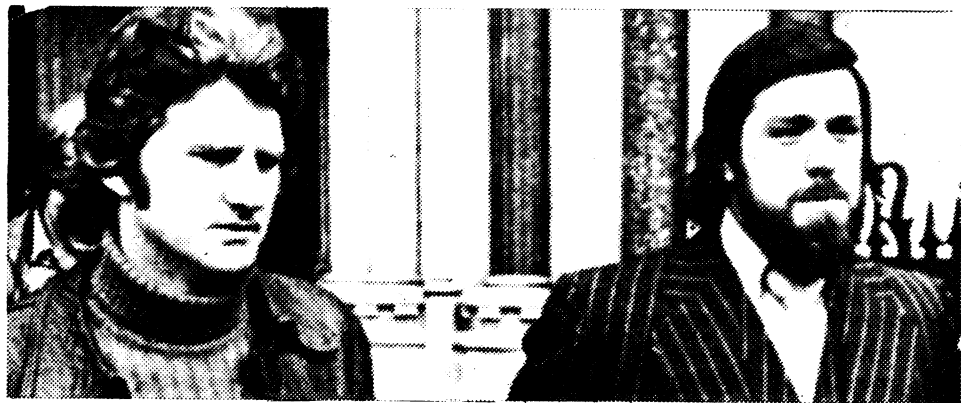
The union leaders' failure to build a powerful defence campaign also let the Labour party leaders off the hook

when a Labour government was formed after the February generalelection. Though Warren and Tomlinson were eventually released from jail on bail pending the hearing of their appeals, the Labour government refused to order the charges to be dropped and kept the 1875 act on the statute book.

In this context, Widgery could be more than confident that his rejection of the appeals would not set off much response from building workers or other trade unionists.

Len Murray, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, confined his protest to a polite letter to Home Secretary Roy Jenkins to inform him that "the TUC general council is very disturbed both by the use of criminal conspiracy charges against pickets for the first time in recent years, and by the severity of the sentences." Murray put forward no action proposals.

Sporadic local protests broke out in several towns, an indication of the potential for a powerful campaign of action if the leadership had been forthcoming. Thousands of Liverpool building workers shut down building sites after Widgery's ruling. And in London, thirty sites stopped work to support a rally held by the London region of UCATT, November 5. One-day strikes were held in Scotland, too.



The 'Shrewsbury Two,' Des Warren (left) and Eric Tomlinson

## Protests hit high prices, joblessness in Europe

Massive protests are spreading in Western Europe against rising inflation and unemployment.

In Italy fourteen million workers staged a nationwide political strike December 4. The walkout, sponsored by the three main trade-union federations, ranged from two to eight hours in different sectors of the economy.

The workers were demanding higher cost-of-living adjustments in their wages, guaranteed jobs, and greater social security benefits.

Italian workers had staged a similar protest strike in October, also for higher wages and job security. Participation in that strike was about ten

million, according to the November 11 *U. S. News & World Report*.

Unemployment is also a concern of Danish workers. About 100,000 held a demonstration November 26 around this issue despite the fact that the leadership of the major trade unions had refused to support the action.

The protest was held outside the parliament building in Copenhagen. It was timed to coincide with the opening of negotiations between the trade unions and the employers association on a new national collective-bargaining agreement.

Despite the opposition of the union officialdom, about 15,000 workers participated in one-day wildcat strikes in solidarity with the demonstration.

Unemployment in Denmark is more than 8 percent.

In France, a strike by the country's postal workers that began in mid-October sparked a wave of strikes by other employees in the civil service and nationalized industries. The main issues are higher wages and the creation of more jobs. Millions of French workers walked off their jobs November 19 in a general strike in support of striking postal workers and other government employees.

The postal workers unions voted

November 28 and 29 to "suspend" their strike, while maintaining their demands. The end of the strike was generally seen as a victory for the government, headed by President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, which didn't want to give in to the postal workers' demands for fear of encouraging sim-

ilar strikes throughout the civil service.

The two major French union federations have called another one-day general strike for December 12 to protest rising unemployment and inflation.



Fiat workers in Italy demonstrating against layoffs



# Leon Trotsky on how workers can defeat

By Leon Trotsky

[The following letter, dated March 2, 1934, was addressed by Leon Trotsky to his followers in France. It is printed by permission of Pathfinder Press from a forthcoming volume of the series *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)*. (Copyright 1975 by Pathfinder Press, Inc.) The translation from French is by Russell Block for Pathfinder Press.]

Dear Friends,

Since I am in Switzerland,<sup>1</sup> I cannot follow the events in France at close hand. But let me say that before emigrating here, I accumulated a certain amount of experience in these matters in Germany. And the Menilmontant affair<sup>2</sup> fills me with the direst foreboding. If things proceed along this line, catastrophe is inevitable.

What is the objective, not just for the moment but for the entire coming period? It is to get the workers to take up the struggle against the fascists before these elements have become the dominant force in the state, to get the workers used to not being afraid of

1. The phrase "I am in Switzerland" is intended to help hide the author's identity. Actually Trotsky was living incognito in Barbizon, a village near Paris. Because of the pressure of the French authorities and threats emanating from both fascist and Stalinist circles, he could not take a public stand on subjects as sensitive as the one he discusses here. In view of these conditions, Trotsky did not sign the letter.

2. For information on the Menilmontant affair, see article below.



September, 1945. One thousand trade unionists protest appearance of American fascist Gerald L.K. Smith in Detroit.

the fascists, to teach them how to deal blows to the fascists, to convince them that they are stronger in numbers, in audacity, and in other ways.

In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to "arbitrate." We know what this means from the sociological point of view. However, this is not a matter of sociology but of giving blows and taking them. Politically it is part

of the nature of a pre-Bonapartist, "arbiter" state that the police hesitate, hold back, and on the whole are far from identifying with the fascist gangs. Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the "arbiter," its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That

is the whole point.

In the case of Menilmontant, as far as I can tell from here, the operation was handled in the diametrically opposite way. *L'Humanité* reports that there were no more than sixty fascists in a thoroughly working-class neighborhood! The tactical, or if you will, "technical," task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks.

The "arbiter" defended freedom of assembly (for the moment the state is also defending workers' meetings from the fascists). This being the case, it was totally idiotic to want to provoke an armed conflict with the police. But this is precisely what they did. *L'Humanité* is exultant—they erected a barricade! But what for? The fascists weren't on the other side of the barricade, and it was the fascists they came to fight. Was this an armed insurrection, perhaps? To establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in Menilmontant? This makes no sense. As Marx said, "One does not play at insurrection." That means, "One does not play with barricades." Even when there is an insurrection, you don't erect barricades just anywhere, any time. (You can learn something from Blanqui on this score—see the documents published in *La Critique Sociale*.)<sup>3</sup>

They succeeded in (a) letting the gilded youth<sup>4</sup> return home in fine

## Background to Trotsky's article on fighting fascists

By Gerry Foley

"An Unheard of Provocation," the headline said in the February 26, 1934, issue of the French Communist party organ *L'Humanité*. "They Are Holding a Fascist Meeting Tonight in the Twentieth Arrondissement of Paris! The Twentieth Section of the Socialist Party Rejects a United Front of Action. Workers Strike Back Under the Leadership of the CP!"

The meeting in question was a rally in the Twentieth Arrondissement staged by "national groups"—the Action Française, the Jeunesses Patriotes (Patriotic Youth), Solidarité Française, the Fédération des Contribuables (Taxpayers Federation) and others. It was to be held in the Salon des Prévoyants on the Rue des Pyrénées, in the center of the working-class Menilmontant district.

The Communist party's appeal for an antifascist action under its own banner, coupled with a denunciation of other working-class organizations for not participating, was typical of the ultraleft phase of Stalinism from 1928 to 1934.

The Comintern said that the world had entered the "Third Period," the period of the final and inevitably fatal crisis of capitalism.

Its concept of the "united front from below" was a corollary of this notion. Since revolution was on the immediate agenda, the primary obstacle was the reformist forces in the workers movement. But, in view of the momentum

of the revolutionary crisis, the CPs could simply ride over them.

In the period following the Nazi victory in Germany, which was facilitated by the ultraleftist aberrations of the Comintern and the German CP, the Kremlin made a complete about-face. It began calling for a "Popular Front" with the bourgeois parliamentary parties that represented the same fundamental class interests as the fascists and that were bowing to fascism wherever capitalism was threatened.

The shift had a certain logic. It was, in fact, just the other side of the coin of ultraleftism. Whereas the bureaucracy had hoped before to override the basic social laws by using its "muscle," now it was trying to do the same thing by diplomatic deals with sections of the ruling class.

Even after the Nazi victory in Germany, it took Stalin some time to decide to change the line. It was only in June 1934, for instance, that the French Communist party formally proclaimed the turn to "unity against fascism."

However, on February 6, 1934, the fascists had already come within an inch of taking power in the country during the Stavisky riots. It was fortunate that the capitalist class did not yet feel the need to rely on the fascists to "restore order." The police of the Daladier government fired on the fascist demonstrators and forced them to retreat.

Trapped by its ultraleft line, the Communist party was unable to respond to the fascist threat by project-

ing a line to mobilize the masses. In fact, it joined the fascist demonstrations of February 6, later echoing the fascist complaints about police "gun-slingers," apparently on the theory that since revolution was immediately on the agenda any challenge to the institutions of bourgeois legality opened the way for war on the capitalist state.

The fascist take-over attempt sparked a tremendous upsurge among the workers. The Communist party itself was swept along for a moment despite its sectarian line. At the last minute, it made a quick switch, coming out in support of the call for a nationwide one-day general strike on February 12, which turned into a massive demonstration of the potential power of the working class.

The development of these united mass actions by the workers was a resounding confirmation of the line put forward by the small French Trotskyist organization, the Ligue Communiste (Communist League).

"Everywhere the Ligue had a nucleus or even an isolated activist," a participant recalled, "workers alliance committees sprang up. This was the case in Suresnes, Boulogne, and Corbeil, where these committees included organizations determined to struggle. In the provinces the Trotskyists were in the forefront of the street demonstrations. The power of their slogans was such that they were acclaimed at the Socialist party rally in Wagram, and for the first time a representative of theirs was able to speak—for ten

minutes—at the big Communist rally in Bullier."

However, this upsurge did not convince the CP of the need for united class action. Paradoxically, it may even have prolonged the plausibility of the Third Period line. Schooled in ultraleftism and get-rich-quick schemes, the CP cadres could have thought that now only a spark was needed to ignite a prairie fire.

In the first phase of an upsurge, the bankruptcy of ultraleftism is not as apparent as it is in quieter times, or at the decisive moment. Ultraleft initiatives can feed on the general radicalization and appeal in particular to the impatient. It is precisely in such phases, on the other hand, that ultraleftism presents its greatest dangers by threatening to disorient and destroy the most advanced and courageous elements and scatter rather than assemble the forces needed to win a decisive victory over capitalism.

The Menilmontant operation was a good example of such an ultraleft adventure.

The fascist meeting was small, only about sixty people, but was protected by about 400 police surrounding the meeting place. The demonstrators, numbering about 2,000 according to the February 26 *L'Humanité*, ended up in a pitched battle with the police as the fascist meeting proceeded. In the course of the confrontation a 19-year-old worker was killed. This action was a "propaganda" success, as the ultraleft CP saw it.

# fascist gangs



Socialist Workers Party was in leadership of antifascist struggle in 1930s and 1940s, urging united front of workers organizations and decisive mass action.

shape; (b) provoking the police and getting a worker killed; (c) giving the fascists an important argument—the Communists are starting to build barricades.

The idiot bureaucrats will say: "So, you want us to forget about building barricades out of fear of the Fascists and love of the police?" It is a betrayal to reject building barricades when the political situation demands it and when you are strong enough to erect them and defend them. But it

3. Louis-Auguste Blanqui (1805-81) was one of the great revolutionists of the French working class. The *Critique Sociale* (Social Criticism), a collection of his writings, was published in 1885. Blanqui spent almost half his life in prison—thirty-seven years—because of repeated participation in the armed action of small groups. Engels in 1874 said of him:

"Blanqui is really a political revolutionary, socialist only in his emotions, sympathizing with the sufferings of the people, but without a social theory of definite, practical proposals for social reform; in his political action he is essentially a man of deeds, and is of the opinion that a small, well-organized minority, which strikes at the right moment, can carry with it the mass of the population and thus consummate a successful revolution. One sees that Blanqui is the revolutionary of a past generation."

4. "Gilded youth." Youths of wealthy background who sought excitement, including violence, in ultrareactionary movements. Until recent years, it was quite rare for youths of well-to-do families to find their way to the cause of the proletariat. References to the "gilded youth" and their readiness to play the role of "young bourgeois bullies" can be found in socialist literature going back to the 1840s.

is a disgusting provocation to build sham barricades for a little fascist meeting, to blow things up out of all political proportions, and to disorient the proletariat.

The task is to *involve* the workers in increasing numbers in the fight against fascism. The Menilmontant adventure can only isolate a small, militant minority. After such an experience, a hundred, a thousand workers who would have been ready to teach the young bourgeois bullies a few lessons will say, "No thanks, I don't want to get my head broken for nothing." The upshot of the whole undertaking was just the opposite of what was intended. And not to mince words, it wouldn't surprise me very much if it came out after a while that the ones who shouted loudest for the barricades were fascist agents planted in the ranks of the Stalinists, fascists who wanted to get their friends off the hook by provoking a confrontation with the police. If this was the case, they succeeded well.

What should the most active and perceptive elements have done on the spot? They should have improvised a small general staff, including a socialist and a Stalinist if possible. (At the same time it should have been explained to the workers that the neighborhood general staff should have functioned on a permanent basis on the eve of the demonstration.) This improvised general staff, with a map of the district spread out in front of them, should have worked out the simplest plan in the world—divide up one or two hundred demonstrators into groups of three to five, with a leader for each group, and let them do their work. And after the battle the leaders should get together and draw the balance sheet and the necessary lessons for the future. This second meeting could provide a good core for a permanent general staff, a good underpinning for a permanent workers militia in the district. Naturally, there would have to be leaflets explaining the need for a permanent general staff.

For the perceptive, revolutionary elements, the balance sheet offers the following lessons:

- a. You have to have your own general staff for such occasions.
- b. You have to anticipate the possibilities and eventualities in such conflicts.
- c. You have to establish a few general plans (several variants).
- d. You have to have a map of the district.
- e. You have to have the proper leaflets for the situation.

This is all I can say for the moment. I am almost sure that these suggestions are completely in accord with your own ideas. So much the better.

## World news notes

### Luis Vitale allowed to leave Chile

Luis Vitale, a prominent Chilean historian and former trade-union leader, was allowed to leave Chile by the military junta on November 28. Arrested shortly after the coup in Santiago, Vitale spent long weeks in the Santiago National Stadium. He was severely tortured before being sent to a concentration camp, where for some time his life hung in the balance. Defense campaigns were waged in many countries demanding his release.

On November 29 Vitale arrived in Frankfurt, Germany, where he has received a post as a professor at the Frankfurt University. The Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group) is arranging a speaking tour in West Germany for Vitale, who is a leader of the Fourth International.

### Ambassadors refuse to discuss Moroz

The Soviet and Ukrainian ambassadors to the United Nations have turned down a request by three prominent Americans to discuss the case of Valentyn Moroz. Moroz, an imprisoned Ukrainian historian, is reported to be near death from a hunger strike that began July 1.

In a letter to the Soviet officials October 28, the International League for the Rights of Man and Amnesty International's U.S. section had requested a meeting between the ambassadors and a delegation composed of historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.; Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Rose Styron, a writer.

The letter stated that the conditions under which Moroz is being held violate the minimum rules for treatment of prisoners adopted by the United Nations. The two organizations further charged that Moroz's imprisonment violated his right to freedom of expression and the rights of national minorities to cultural expression.

### Abortion legalized in France

The French National Assembly passed a bill November 29 liberalizing access to abortion. The old law, passed in 1920, provided stiff penalties for women receiving abortions and for persons performing them. It was repealed after a stormy debate by a vote of 284 to 189.

A public campaign to secure the right to abortion began in 1971, when 343 prominent French women announced that they had received abortions. The Ministry of Health itself admits that as many as 300,000 illegal abortions are performed in France each year. The actual number is believed to be several times higher.

The new law, while a step forward, contains reactionary restrictions. Abortions are to be made legal only during the first ten weeks of pregnancy, and then only for women who are permanent residents of France. Women under the age of eighteen are required to secure the approval of their parents. And the cost of the abortion has to be paid by the patient instead of by the national health system.

### Meinhof sentenced to 8 years

Ulrike Meinhof, an alleged leader of the West German urban guerrilla group Red Army Faction, was sentenced to eight years in prison, November 29 by a West Berlin court. She had been charged with organizing the May 1970 prison escape of Andreas Baader, another alleged leader of the RAF. Meinhof and Baader, who were both arrested in 1972, are also scheduled to stand trial in Stuttgart next spring in connection with a series of bombings.

A second defendant in the West Berlin trial, attorney Horst Mahler, was sentenced to four years in prison. Mahler, who is already serving a twelve-year sentence on a charge of bank robbery, will have to remain in prison a total of fourteen years, the court ruled. In the past, Mahler had provided legal assistance to alleged RAF members.

A third defendant, Hans Jurgen Baecker, was acquitted.

Meinhof and thirty-nine other prisoners held on charges of participation in RAF actions began a hunger strike September 13 to protest the conditions of their imprisonment. One of the hunger strikers, Holger Meins, died November 9.

### Malaysian students protest inflation

Five thousand students held a demonstration in Kuala Lumpur, capital of Malaysia, on December 3 to protest rising prices. They were attacked by riot police, and in the course of ensuing clashes 1,135 students were arrested, according to a December 4 Reuters dispatch.

The next day about 200 students continued their protest, despite the fact that police had cordoned off the University of Malaya and were stationed in streets throughout the city.

In September, the secretary-general of the University of Malaya Student Union, Hishamuddin Rais, and others were arrested for demonstrating in support of homeless families who had occupied an area as squatters. Students staged a demonstration and an occupation of the university demanding the release of Rais, who is to be tried in January together with the squatters.



Militant/Evelyn Clark

Boston, 1974. Fascist groups see fertile ground in racist antibusing drive.



# 75,000 rally against repression in Bangladesh

By Ernest Harsch

The Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party) organized a rally of 75,000 persons in Dacca October 13. According to a report in the November 15 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the demands of the JSD speakers included the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the withdrawal of all arrest warrants on political figures now in hiding, and a public investigation into the secret activities of the police Special Branch.

Although the regime of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has released no official statistics on the number of political prisoners now held in the country's sixty jails, unofficial estimates put the figure at between 12,000 and 14,000, according to a report by Fazle Lohani published in the October 27 issue of the Dacca weekly *Holiday*.

Among the more well-known political prisoners are M.A. Jalil, president of the JSD and a leader of the Bangladesh liberation struggle in 1971; A.S.M. Abdur Rab, general secretary of the JSD; Wahidur Rahman; Chanchal Sen; Al-Mahmud, editor of the JSD daily newspaper *Ganokantha* (People's Voice); Mesbahuddin Ahmed, executive general secretary of

the Opposition Sramik League; and Masihur Rahman, general secretary of the National Awami party (Bhasshani).

Many of the political prisoners were arrested under repressive legislation passed in February giving the regime and its Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini (National Defense Forces) greater powers against political opponents. The Rakkhi Bahini (Amendment) Bill 1974 and the Special Powers Act gave the regime legal authority to arrest, detain, try, and sentence anyone for acting, writing, or speaking against the "national interests." Any measures carried out under these repressive laws cannot be challenged in court.

In addition, informal press censorship was instituted, and in September Dacca passed the Newsprint Ordinance, which gave it the power to ration paper to all newspapers. (The JSD's *Ganokantha* was consequently forced to slash its circulation and to cut its size from eight pages to four.) All strikes have been banned.

After being arrested, political opponents often undergo interrogation by the Rakkhi Bahini or the Special Branch of the police. Lohani cited the case of one young man, who, after his release from the Rakkhi Bahini's custody near Dacca, reported that he was clubbed and had pins

driven under his nails during "questioning." The torture of three women, Aruna Sen (mother of Chanchal Sen), Rina Sinha, and Hanufa Begum was reported in the February 17 *Ganokantha*.

Even if the political prisoners survive their treatment by the Rakkhi Bahini, they may still have to face the hired goons of the ruling Awami League. In early 1974, for instance, a group of Awami League thugs forcibly removed four members of an opposition political party from the Pabna district jail and murdered three of them (the fourth was said to have gotten away).

Moreover, there were many thousands of other political opponents that the regime didn't even bother to arrest. According to Lohani, up to 30,000 persons have been killed by the Awami League goon squads, the various police forces, and the Rakkhi Bahini since December 1971 (when Bangladesh won its independence from Pakistan).

"Over the past 34 months of Awami League rule," Lohani wrote, "the country witnessed an unbroken wave of political persecution of unsurpassed ferocity. Murder, abduction, beating, torturing, rape and arrest, organized almost in total freedom by the armed squads of various denominations, who were often fitted out by influen-

tial Awami Leaguers, polluted the political atmosphere so badly that fear and suspicion have almost become a permanent feature of everyday life in Bangladesh today."

Another report by Lohani, published in the November 10 *Holiday*, described the jail conditions of the political prisoners.

"The Dacca Central jail," Lohani wrote, "biggest and oldest in the country, with a capacity of 1,500 prisoners, is now bursting at its timeworn seams with an influx of inmates well beyond the recommended capacity. At night prisoners, convicts and detenus together, bed down on the floor of a dormitory, known as *khata*, lying in rows, like sardines in a tin, with hardly a six-inch gap between two sleepers."

The detention of thousands of political prisoners and the barbaric conditions in the jails have sparked protests by some of the inmates themselves. In May, nine members and supporters of the JSD imprisoned in the Mymensingh jail staged a hunger strike to protest conditions and the beating of prisoners (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 3, p. 696). On August 29, sixty-one prisoners at Dacca Central Jail were beaten by guards after a protest over the lack of medical care.

# Australian Blacks demand housing, jobs, land rights

Blacks from all over Australia gathered in Canberra October 29 and 30 to protest the Labor government's lack of action in meeting their demands for more jobs, better housing, and improved medical care.

The more than 100 Blacks who demonstrated outside Parliament House on October 30 jeered Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's attempt to justify government policy. To further dramatize their protest, the demonstrators set up an Aboriginal mission, similar to the Aboriginal Embassy that stood for two years on the parliament lawns.

In all, eighteen organizations were represented in the protests, a broad cross section of the Black movement in Australia. The initiative for the action came from the Organisation for Aboriginal Unity, a newly organized coalition of Black groups based main-

ly in Sydney.

One of its organizers is Denis Walker, a leading militant from Queensland. Walker is at present facing extradition proceedings in Sydney, an attempt by the reactionary Queensland state government to bring him back to face trumped-up charges.

Walker told the revolutionary-socialist newspaper *Direct Action* that the Canberra protest stemmed from the Labor government's failure to take action to guarantee democratic rights and better living conditions for Blacks. He said that the immediate cause of the protest was the government's refusal to grant adequate funds to "survival" services, such as the Aboriginal Legal Service and the Aboriginal Medical Service.

Instead, the government is trying to control the political activities of the

Black organizations by restricting their financial resources. The minister for Aboriginal affairs, Senator Cavanagh, and the secretary of the Aboriginal affairs department, Barrie Dexter, have tried to "single out individual organizations, and attempted to take away their self-determination, to bring them into line, and generally to take them out of the political sphere in their particular area," Walker said.

Walker estimated that at least two-thirds of the A\$163 million [US\$215 million] the Labor government allocated to Black affairs in the last budget is lost in the white-controlled bureaucracy. Very little actually gets to the Black community.

Walker outlined the main demands that the Black organizations are directing toward the federal Labor government:

1. Total Black control of the Aboriginal affairs department.
2. Removal of Senator Cavanagh as minister of Aboriginal affairs and of Barrie Dexter as head of the department.
3. Abolition of the racist Queensland Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Acts, as the federal government has consistently promised, but failed, to do.
4. Government action on its unfulfilled promises of self-determination for Blacks—in particular land rights and compensation.
5. Adequate financing to deal with the medical, legal, housing, employment, and other problems of Blacks.

The general feeling of Blacks in Australia was summed up in the statement issued by the Canberra Aboriginal mission. The statement said, in part:

"We . . . challenge the Australian Government to meet us and justify their callous disregard of our problems. . . .

"Look at the disproportionate numbers of Blacks in your jails, look at the dual standards of housing, employment and prosperity. Listen to the death cries at Blacks' camps [of] children who constitute one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world, return to our old people, and listen in the schools as white teachers claim that Australian history began in 1770. . . .

"No more promises. We will now sit down in Canberra and we will not go until we can see that our people are getting those things they have been promised . . . NOW WE MOVE."



Aborigines take over steps of Australian parliament in protest action

Direct Action

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# Cannon fund closes, raising \$62,457

By CAROLINE LUND

Directors George Novack and Reba Hansen have announced the conclusion of the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund, expressing their thanks to all those who helped bring the fund up to its impressive total of \$62,457.22.

One of the projects aided by the fund is the publication of a new edition of Cannon's book *America's Road to Socialism*. Pathfinder Press has announced that this book, which has long been out of print, is scheduled to appear Dec. 28.

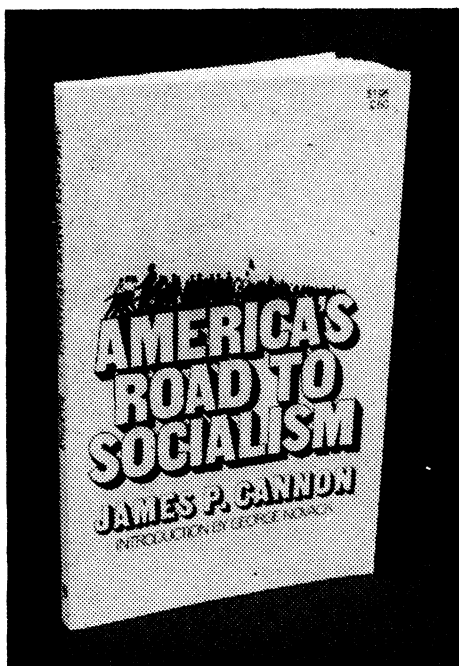
Jim Cannon died Aug. 21 at the age of 84. His life embodied the richest experience of any figure in the American labor movement. Cannon was a member of the pre-World War I Socialist Party and Industrial Workers of the World, a founder and leader of the early Communist Party, and a leader of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party.

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was launched last August at a tribute to Cannon attended by 1,250 people in Oberlin, Ohio. The fund started out with more than \$50,000 pledged at this one meeting.

A total of 850 people made pledges to the fund. Together with those who made cash contributions, the total number of contributors topped 1,000. Those who still have pledges outstanding are asked to pay them by Dec. 31.

A generous contribution came recently from the St. Louis branch of the Socialist Workers Party. The St. Louis SWP, which was established only last year, had been collecting a fund to enable the branch to move to a new and bigger headquarters. They were able to negotiate an expanded headquarters at considerably less expense than projected and decided to send \$550 to the Cannon fund.

Thirty-nine *Militant* subscribers con-



To appear Dec. 28, with the help of the Cannon fund.

tributed \$573.25 specifically in response to a letter from the *Militant* editors.

The main purpose of the fund is to aid in the publication of the many valuable writings and speeches of Cannon that have yet to come to print. The work of selection and editing of Cannon's correspondence and other material is now proceeding under the direction of George Breitman and Les Evans.

Another use of the fund has been to maintain *The Militant* in the face of rapidly rising costs of paper and other expenses. The fund has helped make it possible for *The Militant* to publish eleven 32-page issues since the beginning of September (the normal size is 28 pages), as well as to send out reporters to cover the struggle against the racist offensive in Boston and to cover the coal miners' strike.

# Civil liberties group hears Fonda, Hayden

By LINDA JENNESS

NEW YORK—Actress Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, a defendant in the Chicago 7 conspiracy trial, were given the Tom Paine Award at the annual fund-raising dinner of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) held here Dec. 6.

The NECLC is a civil liberties organization that has supported many landmark defense cases. It was founded in 1951 in response to the McCarthyite witch-hunt and for 23 years has fought for freedom of speech, press, travel, dissent, and other rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

Leonard Boudin, noted constitutional lawyer, is general counsel for the organization.

Among the cases currently being handled by NECLC is that of Steven Wattenmaker, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, who is fighting a threatened discharge from the U.S. Army Reserve.

The Army claims Wattenmaker is a member of a "subversive organization" and that his remaining in the Reserves poses a threat to "national security." The Army cites as authority the attorney general's list, which was supposedly abolished last June by former president Nixon.

Special guest at the dinner, attended by 1,000 people, was Representative Michael Harrington (D-Mass.). Harrington, with the help of Leonard Boudin, is filing a suit in federal court challenging the covert activities of the CIA.

The chairperson of NECLC, Corliss Lamont, presented the Tom Paine Award to Fonda and Hayden for their continuing work against the war in Vietnam through the Indo-China Peace Campaign. Fonda is also suing the federal government for violating her constitutional rights. In a suit filed in October 1973, she charges that she has been a target of surveillance, provocation, burglary, and harassment because of her antiwar views.

In her speech accepting the award, Fonda emphasized that the war in Indochina continues and that "as long as this government supports dictatorships around the world, we're not going to have democracy in this country."

Hayden spoke of the dramatic change in the political consciousness of the American people brought about by the massive antiwar movement. "When the history of the 15 years of struggle against the war is written," he said, "it will be one we are proud of."

# Mich. protest exposes war research institute

By MARTY PETTIT

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — About 150 persons rallied outside the county building here Nov. 6 to protest a plan for Washtenaw County to help finance the Environmental Research Institute of Michigan (ERIM), a war research facility.

The demonstration, built by the broadly sponsored Ad Hoc Committee to Stop ERIM War Research, succeeded in prompting the county board of commissioners to place the funding proposal on the ballot for the next election. It had been expected that they would go ahead and pass the measure at their Nov. 6 meeting.

The predecessor of ERIM was the University of Michigan Willow Run Laboratories. Willow Run was a target of protest in the 1960s by antiwar students. As a result of those protests the laboratories changed their name to ERIM and severed their most obvious ties with the University of Michigan.

The war research continued, however, and ERIM now receives more than 50 percent of its contracts from the Defense Department.

The Willow Run Laboratories developed the "electronic eyes" used by U.S. forces in the Indochina war. These include acoustic, seismic, and infrared sensors, as well as the laser bomb sights used in the "smart bombs" dropped during the Christmas 1972 terror bombings against North Viet-

nam.

ERIM recently asked the county of Washtenaw to grant it \$3-million in low-interest industrial bonds to finance a move onto new property. It was to stop this move that the Ad Hoc Committee was formed.

Participants in the committee include the Young Socialist Alliance, the Human Rights Party, New American Movement, Interfaith Council, Indochina Peace Campaign, New Morning Media Collective, and local figures in the Democratic Party.

After rallying outside the county building, the protesters moved inside to attend the meeting of the board of commissioners. The committee had arranged to have a slide show called "The Automated Air War" placed on the agenda of the meeting. The slides graphically described the type of anti-personnel bombs that ERIM helps to create.

Along with the slide show, the commissioners listened to remarks by Barbara Fuller of the Interfaith Council, Professor Don Ruchnagel of the University of Michigan, Bruce Cameron, and Dan Marksel of the Young Socialist Alliance.

David Goodman, a leader of the Ad Hoc Committee, told *The Militant* that after the committee's victory in blocking approval of the funding proposal, "our next big job is to convince the majority of voters to vote down the proposal."



Michigan Free Press

Protesters surround William Brown, president of war research unit, who is speaking before board of commissioners.

# Dallas students speak out on deportations

By DAVID GULLION

DALLAS—About 50 people attended a meeting here at El Centro Junior College Nov. 27 to protest the deportation of Mexican workers.

Roberto Arredondo, speaking for the Brown Berets, a Chicano organization, denounced Attorney General William Saxbe's proposal to deport one million undocumented Mexican workers.

"These workers, who during times of prosperity are exploited and used as a source of cheap labor, are now being used as scapegoats for the economic ills that we are facing," he stated.

He continued: "Mr. Saxbe says that they add to our unemployment and to government costs by collecting food stamps, workmen's compensation, and welfare payments. But what happens if these people apply for these benefits? Right! You guessed it. If they apply, they must show identification, and if they do not have proper identification, they are deported, often without being given the opportunity to tell their families and friends what has happened to them."

Joseph Stewart, a Black activist, emphasized the need for all people—Black, Brown, and white—to join together in the fight against deportations.

Robert Roper spoke next for the Young Socialist Alliance. "American businessmen openly boast about the enormous profit rates they get from investments in Mexico," he said. "Is it any wonder that Mexico remains poor and has a high rate of unemployment in the face of this plundering? This is why Mexican nationals come to the United States. They are forced to come here by the same system that is responsible for inflation, unemployment, and recession in this country."

Roper noted, "In a period of economic crisis, the capitalists attempt to pit worker against worker in order to prevent the workers from joining forces against them. This is why the press is playing up the white workers' fear of losing their jobs. The bosses say, 'These Mexican workers are trying to get your job, so you'd better not ask for a raise.' This fostered competition among workers is a major reinforcer of racism in this society."



## One week in the life of a coal miner

One Sunset A Week: The Story of a Coal Miner by George Vecsey. E.P. Dutton and Company. New York, 1974. Cloth, \$7.95.

Perhaps sensing the changing moods of workers, many fine writers are once again turning their attention to industrial conditions and hazards. This comes after many years of neglect and ignorance.

George Vecsey, after a decade of sportswriting, was assigned to cover Appalachia for the *New York Times*. While reporting on a coal strike, he heard about a wise old miner who might explain the coal region to him, Dan Sizemore.

Sizemore, the subject of *One Sunset A Week*, has spent 36 of his 55 years underground in the mines. "He has crossed the Appalachians hundreds of times in search of coal, a lifetime of work that has left him coughing. 'His cough is deep and dry, not something transient like a heavy chest cold or even pneumonia—something you can



Stooped over and shoveling coal. A miner's job is backbreaking work.

er's family for a week, he combines the conditions that radicalized Dan and Margaret Sizemore with a description of Appalachia and its hardy residents.

"Ike's Recession" in 1958 was the first time Dan ever experienced unemployment. Margaret was pregnant for the seventh time. It was a sobering experience for the man who was never laid off. The coal industry crashed, with mines closing everywhere, and the United Mine Workers cut entire areas out of union membership. The overall registration of the UMWA, which had been 600,000 in 1947, plummeted down toward 200,000. Mechanization has cut the UMWA working membership to 125,000 today.

Then came the day Sizemore—a man who like so many others had never known poverty and was contemptuous of others who had—was forced to stand in line to collect his first unemployment check.

Vecsey writes: "There must have been four hundred men standing [in line], men who would rather have been risking their lives under the ground

than standing on line, taking the dole. When Dan came home with the welfare check, he rushed to the bathroom and threw up."

The Sizemores experienced extreme poverty and the death of the seventh child, the result of medical neglect. The nine-month layoff changed everything.

As people typical of their generation, "who believed in Jesus Christ and Franklin Delano Roosevelt," they learned to despise the church, the "bomber presidents," and the political leaders of their mountain community. In becoming radicals the Sizemores may have set themselves apart from the rest of their mountain neighbors, but they were also showing the way.

Black lung disease is no stranger to the Sizemore family. Dan and his two brothers, also miners, have trouble breathing. Only recently, in 1969, did federal officials concede that coal dust causes black lung.

But to get compensation under the black lung law (the disease strikes almost all those who work in the mine 20 years or more) is still a great struggle. They "shuffle from hospital

to Social Security office, from doctor to lawyer, in an attempt to get certified," writes Vecsey.

"Although it is not apparent from the way they move in their clumsy mining gear . . . many of them have some physical disability. Seen in street clothes, a lot of them walk in the slightly disjointed fashion of something that has been broken and put back together again, like marionettes.

"Particularly the hands. Shaking hands with a coal miner is always an adventure. He slips you his hand and you sort out the damage without showing any expression. Hmm. Top joint missing on the index finger. Hmm. No thumb. Hmm. Two smallest fingers gone. Hmm."

Fatality rates are at least twice as high in American as in European mines. It is the most dangerous occupation in the country.

With the help of Dan and Margaret Sizemore, the author's eyes are trained on the nature and dangers of mining. The sensitive writer describes the radicalizing influence of the past two decades on a miner's family. Nobody brainwashed Dan Sizemore.

"Strictly on his own, Dan decided that no large industry should be privately owned. . . . He started reading about depletion allowances for the coal company, getting madder than hell that he could not take money off his income tax for his blackened lungs and his weary body.

"He decided that competition between companies had ruined his lungs. He decided it would be better to spread out the work, three or four days a week guaranteed for everybody, than to have booms and busts, layoffs that crippled people forever. But he knew that capitalism would never reform itself."

For those who wish to understand the conditions that led to the determination and anger of the miners' strike against the most powerful corporations in the United States, *One Sunset A Week* is indispensable.

—HERMAN KIRSCH

## Books

cure—but permanent, at least as permanent as breathing itself."

In novelistic fashion, Vecsey takes us through seven days in the home of Dan Sizemore, the father of eight children, two of them in Canada, refugees from the Vietnam war draft. Flashbacks allow the reader to closely observe the rugged Appalachian.

Sizemore, a man who never joined the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) because of his position as foreman, is deeply concerned about the plight of the men he supervises. In this book we see the fascinating evolution of a 100 percent company man, who fired men without a pang of conscience for not moving coal, into the man who now considers himself a confirmed Marxist.

George Vecsey is an experienced and disciplined writer. Living with the min-

## Teachers and the fight to defeat racism

Which Way for Teachers? by Maceo Dixon, Catarino Garza, Cindy Jaquith, and Jeff Mackler. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 1974. 50 cents.

Among those marching against racism in Boston Dec. 14 will be teachers from the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

The endorsement of the Dec. 14 Boston action by several NEA and AFT affiliates is an important example of how teachers can unite with the Black

## Pamphlets

community in the fight for decent education.

The issue of racism in the schools—now highlighted by the busing crisis in Boston—is a central theme running through the new pamphlet *Which Way for Teachers?*, a collection of recent articles from *The Militant*.

These articles point to the scandalous role AFT President Albert Shank-

er has played in defending the racist status quo in the schools and inside the AFT itself. In one article, "In Defense of Quotas: A Reply to Shanker," Maceo Dixon blasts Shanker's opposition to quotas that would increase the number of minority and women teachers. Dixon is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Shanker claims that preferential hiring of minorities through quotas is "discrimination in reverse" and threatens the jobs of white male teachers. In his reply, Dixon points out:

"Capitalist society has had a 'quota system' for centuries, one that excludes oppressed minorities and women from jobs and positions reserved for white men. That's precisely why preferential treatment is necessary today. . . .

"The fight should not be between Black and white teachers," Dixon explains. "The real fight is between the teachers, students, and parents on the one hand, and on the other, the city and federal governments, which refuse to provide adequate funds and facilities to meet society's educational needs."

The AFT leadership's record in other areas of concern to teachers is no

better. Catarino Garza, a bilingual teacher in New York City, documents this in his article, "'Teacher Unity' in New York: The Real Record."

Garza looks at the problem of uniting the 1.5-million member NEA and the 425,000-member AFT into one teacher organization. He assesses the AFT-NEA merger in New York State, pointing out how the reactionary policies of Shanker have prevented teachers from taking advantage of their power as one united union.

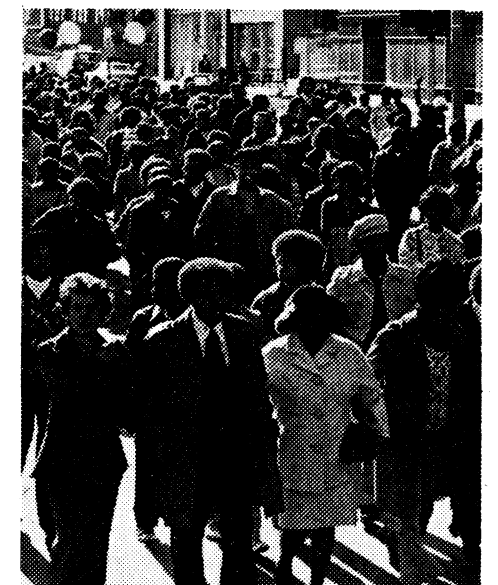
The issue of merger is also discussed in three articles by Jeff Mackler, vice-president of AFT Local 1423 in Hayward, Calif., and by *Militant* staff writer Cindy Jaquith. These articles focus on the debates at the 1974 national conventions of the AFT and NEA.

Mackler and Jaquith explore such key questions as: How can teachers be mobilized to fight for decent wages, for smaller classes, against layoffs, and for an end to cutbacks in funds for education? Should teachers view themselves as "professionals" or as workers? How can teachers forge alliances with the oppressed minorities and with other working people, particularly in the unions? Should teachers continue to rely on the Democratic

and Republican parties to meet their needs, or should they embark on a course of independent political action?

This pamphlet will be invaluable for teachers everywhere, and for activists in the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano control of education.

—ELAINE MITCHELL



Pamphlet explains why teachers should join with Black community in fight for equality in education.

# Behind the Leavenworth prison rebellion

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Leavenworth Brothers Jesse López and Armando Miramón were acquitted Nov. 22 of charges stemming from the July 31, 1973, rebellion at Leavenworth federal penitentiary.

The two Chicano inmates faced life sentences in the Wichita, Kans., trial on charges of kidnapping and assault.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Antonio Rodriguez, the Los Angeles attorney who defended López and Miramón, talked about the trial.

López and Miramón asked Rodríguez to come onto the case in addition to their two court-appointed attorneys because of his role in the case of Los Tres del Barrio.

Los Tres are the Chicano antidrug activists who were entrapped into shooting a federal agent posing as a heroin dealer in 1971. Juan Fernández, one of Los Tres, was sent to Leavenworth and served on the grievance committee that sprang up during the rebellion.

What actually precipitated the rebellion, Rodríguez said, was the death of a prisoner two or three days before because of lack of medical attention. Prison officials said he was just faking an illness and threw him into "the hole," where he died.

The revolt is said to have started when a white prisoner, William Hurst, took some guards as hostages. Along with other prisoners, Hurst held two guards in the laundry room while a list of prisoner demands was presented to the warden.

They asked that a grievance committee be set up consisting of three Blacks, three Chicanos, and three Anglos. Demands centered on improvement of food; abolition of the hole; improved working conditions and wages in the prison's factory, where prisoners manufacture clothing, furniture, and shoes; adequate health care (there is only one doctor for 2,000 inmates, available only eight hours a day, five days a week); better psychological care; an end to racist treatment; more Black and Chicano guards; an end to guard brutality; and access to the news media.

Miramón and López were asked to be among the negotiators.

At the same time that the hostages were being held in the laundry room,



there were outbreaks in a cellblock and in the factory. A guard was killed in the cellblock.

Four Blacks who were charged with kidnapping, assault, and murder in connection with the cellblock action—Odell Bennett, Jesse Lee Evans, Alf Hill, and Alfred Jasper—were convicted earlier this year.

The white prisoner who is said to have begun the revolt, William Hurst, also faced charges but died under suspicious circumstances before he could come to trial. Guards claim that he committed suicide by hanging himself in his cell, but no autopsy was ever performed.

The government's case against López fell apart. The prosecution could not prove that he had anything to do with the taking of hostages. López was also charged with assaulting a guard. However, the guard who was supposedly assaulted misidentified López as Miramón on the witness stand. He tried to explain this away by saying, "They both look alike."

Judge Frank Theis was thus forced to dismiss the case against López.

But that still left the kidnapping charge against Miramón.

"We discussed defense strategy with the Brothers," Rodríguez explained, "and we decided that our case had to deal with what the rebellion had been about. That is, the rebellion was to

expose prison conditions, and to try to create conditions for prison reform and prisoner rights," and was therefore entirely justified.

The obstacle to this was Judge Theis, who declared from the outset, "I will not let you put the system on trial."

The defense dealt with this by contending that López and Miramón were being held in virtual psychological torture chambers and thus were not criminally responsible for their actions. Thus, the defense was able to present testimony regarding prison conditions.

Both López and Miramón had spent a considerable amount of time in the hole. Armando Miramón, now 33, has been in prison since he was 14 in the Los Angeles barrio of Boyle Heights. Rodríguez estimates that Miramón has spent anywhere from six to 10 years in the hole. Jesse López has been in prison for seven years, six of them in the hole.

Rodríguez recounted some of the testimony in regard to the hole. "Phase One" is the worst section. "You have no belongings other than what they give you," he explained. "You have to shave with a community razor; there is only a mattress on the floor, no ventilation, and the window is always closed."

The guards submit the prisoners to racist abuse, beatings, and psycholog-

ical tricks designed to make them doubt their sanity.

Jury members saw for themselves what the hole does to prisoners as a number of these men came to the witness stand to testify on behalf of López and Miramón. Some had trouble expressing themselves because of their long isolation, said Rodríguez.

Testifying for the defense was Harry Jones, a reporter for the *Kansas City Star*, who has received awards for his reporting on prisons. He visited the hole at Leavenworth and declared it the worst he had ever seen. "I'm ashamed of my government for treating people like animals," Jones said at the trial. "There must be a better way."

Also testifying was Steve Fox, a professor at the University of Iowa who specializes in the study of the effects of long-term isolation on human beings.

In presenting the case, "we asked the jury to look at the evidence within the context of a prison, not of our own lives," Rodríguez said. The defense appealed to the jury on the basis that it was their "duty to let Armando go as a protest against prison conditions," he added. They did just that.

"Some of the jurors told us afterwards that if they had not understood what prison conditions were like they would never have acquitted," Rodríguez said.

## Socialists win backing in Ore. disclosure fight

By GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND, Ore.—On Dec. 3, the Oregon Socialist Workers campaign committee filed a petition with Secretary of State Clay Myers requesting that he exempt the committee from disclosing the names of its financial contributors.

At a news conference at the state capitol in Salem, John Studer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, explained, "We are requesting this exemption because to file the names of our contributors would subject them to harassment and intimidation from the FBI and other governmental agencies."

"The FBI has openly admitted carrying out illegal activities against members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. They have admitted bugging our telephones; visiting landlords and employers, which results in loss of employment and living quarters; and putting a mail cover on our 1972 national campaign committee headquarters."

Lisa Broberg, representing the Ore-

gon chapter of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), explained that CoDEL is supporting and helping to publicize the request for an exemption. "CoDEL is a national organization devoted to guaranteeing that all points of view are heard in the political arena," Broberg said.

"It is our opinion that as long as the government maintains its right to harass and intimidate members and supporters of the SWP, the YSA, and the Socialist Workers campaign committee, they cannot at the same time force the campaign committee to turn over to the government its list of financial contributors. To do so would be the equivalent of turning over an enemies list to the government."

The central committee of the Multnomah County Democratic Party released a statement urging the secretary of state to grant the committee an exemption. "Such exemptions for minor political parties," their statement read in part, "will protect their constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression while upholding the intent of the law to open the financial deal-

ings of the major parties to public scrutiny."

In addition, State Representative Vera Katz is planning to submit a bill to the state legislature to exempt the Socialist Workers campaign committee from the Oregon disclosure law provision.

A debate on the right of the committee to an exemption has been carried out in the pages of *Metropolis*, a Portland State University magazine with a circulation of 20,000. The executive director of Oregon Common Cause responded to an article by Stacey Seigle, SWP candidate for governor in 1974. In the reply, Common Cause argues against granting the socialists exemption because "experience has shown that a small party like the SWP can be secretly funded by one major party or candidate as a vehicle to drain votes from an opposing campaign, candidate, or party."

Seigle is preparing a rebuttal to this scurrilous accusation, which will appear in the January issue of the magazine.

The campaign committee, along

with the Northwestern Legal Clinic, is prepared to file suit in state court for the exemption if the secretary of state refuses the request.



John Studer of the SWP explained that to file names of contributors with gov't would subject them to harassment by FBI.



# Calendar

## CHICAGO

**REPORT ON DEC. 14 BOSTON MARCH AGAINST RACISM: PANEL DISCUSSION.** Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737

## HOUSTON

**STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM IN AFRICA.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**THE U.S. THREAT OF A MIDEAST OIL WAR.** Speakers: Marc Bedner, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**"I AM JOAQUIN"—FILM BASED ON EPIC POEM BY CORKY GONZALES.** Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Second Floor, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## ST. LOUIS

**ABORTION RIGHTS IN MISSOURI—TWO YEARS AFTER THE SUPREME COURT DECISION.** Speakers: Judy Widicombe, executive director, Reproductive Health Services; Frank Sussman, American Civil Liberties Union attorney. Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland Ave., Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN DIEGO

**HUNGER: IS THE WORLD RUNNING OUT OF FOOD?** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**VIETNAMESE STUDENTS FIGHT FOR ASYLUM.** Speakers: Cao Thi My Loc, South Vietnamese student facing deportation; Sandi Sherman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**WHY CAMPAIGN REFORM LAWS WON'T WORK: RALLY TO SUPPORT THE EXEMPTION OF THE SWP FROM THE CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT.** Speakers: Linda Jenness and panel of civil libertarians. Fri., Dec. 20, 7 p.m.: refreshments; 8 p.m.: program. 1345 E St. N.W. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Committee for Democratic Election Laws. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...YSA

*Continued from back page*

is open to all young people interested in socialist ideas.

The convention will begin with an international report by Andrew Pulley, YSA national chairperson, which will discuss the emerging struggles

around the world and the prospects for socialist revolution.

Later in the convention schedule there will be a discussion of the YSA's perspectives for campaigning in support of the Socialist Workers Party's 1976 presidential ticket. The SWP plans to launch its 1976 presidential campaign at a rally at the Jefferson Hotel, the site of the convention, on Sunday night, Dec. 29.

Convention delegates will discuss reports on the political situation in the United States, the Chicano struggle, the Puerto Rican student movement in the U.S., the YSA's fight against government harassment, and other topics. The reports and discussion by delegates will be followed by workshops in which all those attending can participate and exchange experiences.

Other activities at the convention will be a panel on the women's liberation movement and a panel on international campaigns in defense of political prisoners in such countries as Chile, Argentina, Iran, and the Soviet Union.

At the close of the convention, the new national leadership of the YSA will be elected to take responsibility for implementing the convention decisions during the next year.

For more information about the convention schedule, housing, and transportation, contact the YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, or the YSA nearest you.

# ...spying

*Continued from back page*

and was actually withdrawn by the party in 1940 for reasons unrelated to the Smith Act frame-up.

The Smith Act case was not enough "evidence" for the judge, who asked whether the FBI, in all its years of spying on YSA conventions, couldn't find any better evidence of YSA "subversiveness" than a 36-year-old document.

Glassman then said yes, the FBI had found something else. He held up a booklet published by the YSA called *Young Socialist Strategy for '72*, which contains resolutions and reports from the 1971 YSA convention.

Treating the booklet as if it were some kind of secret document (it is a widely sold pamphlet), Glassman

quoted a section of the YSA's 1971 Political Resolution that says: "As revolutionary socialists, we harbor no illusions, nor encourage any, in the possibility of bringing about fundamental social change through the bourgeois electoral process."

The judge asked Glassman why the government waited so long to present this "evidence." Griesa said he even recalled seeing the newspapers of the YSA and SWP being sold on the street corners, and asked why the FBI couldn't have presented evidence from such easily obtainable sources.

He added, "Statements that the ballot box is not the route to emancipation is not a very strong case at all" for calling a group "subversive."

Griesa asked whether the government had any evidence at all that the YSA or SWP were involved in inciting any actual illegal activities such as bombings, riots or sabotage.

All that Glassman could point to was the YSA's support to struggles against dictatorships in other parts of the world and its support to the Fourth International, the international revolutionary socialist movement.

In response to Judge Griesa's request for better "evidence," Glassman said the government may want to present such "evidence" to the judge *in camera* (behind closed doors), without allowing the YSA to even hear or reply to the charges.

The judge did not completely rule out such a procedure, although he said that if the FBI is informing employers that people associated with the YSA are "subversive," then it "must have something to back that up that can be said publicly."

"Of course we don't know how the judge will rule," said YSA National Secretary Rich Finkel, "but we feel that this hearing has been a clear indication of the bankruptcy of the government's case for the right to spy on us. If we win, the decision will be a victory for everyone who is subjected to such illegal FBI surveillance."

The motion for an injunction to stop FBI spying on the YSA convention is part of a broader suit by the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party challenging the constitutionality of all forms of government spying and harassment.

Those who wish to aid this important effort should contact the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is publicizing and raising funds for the case, at P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Readings on the Mideast

**ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism** by Gus Horowitz, an EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS publication, 8x11 format, \$1.00

**MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. CAPITALISM** by Dick Roberts, \$3.35

**ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST War Anthology**, taken from the pages of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 8x11 format, \$.75

**SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE MIDEAST: A Debate from the pages of THE MILITANT and DAILY WORLD**, Dave Frankel versus Tom Foley, \$.60

**WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: The Socialist View** by Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas, \$.60

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

# The U.S. Role in Southern Africa

by Malik Miah

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# Socialist Directory

**Arizona:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

**Tucson:** YSA, c/o Tim Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

**Los Angeles, Central-East:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

**Los Angeles, West Side:** SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

**Los Angeles:** City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-357.

**Sacramento:** YSA, c/o Marlene Metcalf, P.O. Box 2061, Sacramento, Calif. 95810.

**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: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

**San Jose:** YSA, c/o John Hummer, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

**Santa Barbara:** YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

**Greeley:** YSA, c/o Barbara Jaeger, 712 15th Ave. Court, Greeley, Colo. 80631.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 575-5810.

**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, 629 Bannister St. #4, Honolulu, Hawaii 96819.

**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.

**Urbana:** YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-4738 or 842-8658.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: YSA, 709 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: (301) 383-8128.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

**Worcester:** YSA, Box 229 Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

**Detroit:** SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI:** St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 2, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

**NEW JERSEY:** New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (201) 828-4710.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

**Brooklyn:** SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

**Buffalo:** YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

**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.

**Ossining:** YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562. Tel: (914)-8565.

**Upper West Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834.

**OHIO:** 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) 391-03278.

**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, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

**State College:** YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

**TENNESSEE:** Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

**TEXAS:** Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

**San Antonio:** YSA, c/o Andy Gonzalez, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Texas 78207.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

**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.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, 108 N. Breese Terr., Madison, Wis. 53705.

**Milwaukee:** YSA, UW-Milwaukee Union Box 139, Rm. E-382, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201. Tel: (414) 963-5551.



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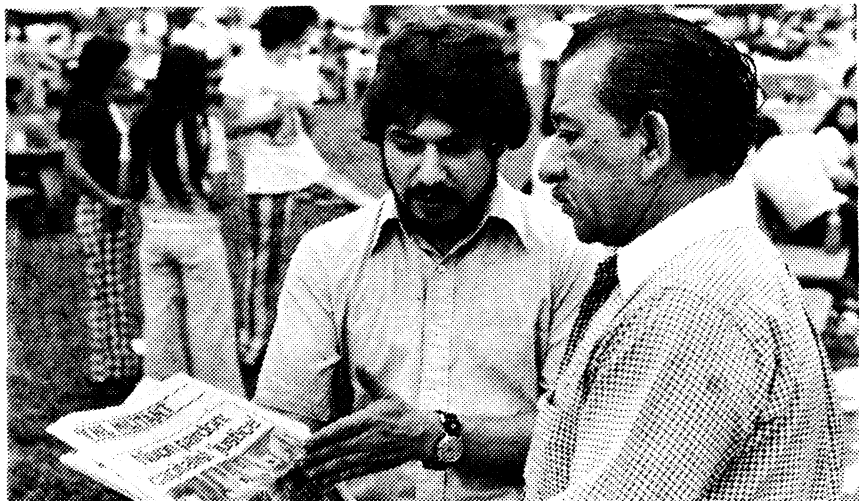
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## Socialist youth plan activist convention

By JUDE COREN

Hundreds of young people will be traveling to St. Louis Dec. 28 for the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, despite the announced plans of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to spy on the convention. (See accompanying article, this page.)

One of the topics of discussion at the convention will be how to continue and step up the YSA's fight for democratic rights and the fight against FBI and government surveillance and harassment.

One event in St. Louis at the time of the Young Socialist Alliance convention will be a Socialist Workers Party rally to announce the party's 1976 presidential ticket and launch its campaign against all the Democratic and Republican Party contenders.

Introducing the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates will be Barbara Mutnick, SWP senatorial candidate from Missouri in last November's elections.

The rally will begin at 8 p.m. Sunday, Dec. 29, at the Jefferson Hotel, 415 N. 12th at Locust in St. Louis. For more information on the rally, contact the SWP at 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, in St. Louis. Phone (314) 367-2520.

"The reason the FBI is so intent on harassing us," said YSA National Secretary Rich Finkel, "has nothing to do with any so-called illegal activities of the YSA, as they claim. It's because the YSA has consistently been involved in, and in the leadership of, the struggles for social change that have been unfolding around the country."

During the past year, the YSA has been involved in such varied activities as organizing support for the United Farm Workers' boycott; participating in the struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of education in New York's school District 1; working with the Coalition of Labor Union Women; gathering support for the Wounded Knee and Attica defendants; protesting U.S. support for dictatorial regimes such as those in Chile and South Africa; and joining in campus struggles against cutbacks and tuition hikes.

For the past month, Finkel explained, the primary task the YSA has set for itself has been building support for the National Teach-in Against Racism and the National Freedom March in Boston on Dec. 13 and 14.

This campaign has included speaking tours by eight national leaders of the YSA, who visited campuses and high schools throughout the country. YSA members have distributed thousands of special supplements of their newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, calling on everyone to march on Boston Dec. 14 to oppose the racist violence

against the Black community.

The struggle in Boston and how to fight racism will be a major topic of discussion at the convention, which lasts from Dec. 28 to Jan. 1. The convention will hear a report from Maceo Dixon on the Black liberation struggle and how the YSA can continue the struggle against the racist offensive in Boston. Dixon was one of the YSA leaders who toured the country building the march on Boston. He has spent the past two weeks in the Boston area organizing support for the march and teach-in.

The national convention is the highest decision-making body of the YSA and is preceded by written and oral discussion in YSA chapters around the country. Any member can make written proposals or discussion contributions, which are circulated to the entire membership.

Delegates to the convention, selected by YSA chapters, will discuss the major political developments—national and international—of the past year and chart a course of action for the YSA in the year ahead. The gathering

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Militant/Maceo Dixon

Convention will discuss continuing struggle against racist offensive against school desegregation.

## YSA vs. FBI: gov't put on spot

By CAROLINE LUND

The Young Socialist Alliance confronted the government and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in court Dec. 9, demanding an injunction to stop the FBI's announced plans to spy on the upcoming convention of the YSA. Representing the YSA were Herbert Jordan and Randlett Walster of the law firm Rabinowitz, Boudin, and Standard.

The government's case was so weak that Judge Thomas Griesa of the U. S. District Court spent almost the entire half-hour session plying the government lawyer, Steven Glassman, with embarrassing questions. The judge finally told Glassman that the "evidence" on which the FBI based its claim of the right to spy on the YSA was not sufficient, and gave him two days in which to come up with any further "evidence" the FBI could produce.

Griesa gave the YSA an additional day after that to reply to any new material from the FBI, and then the hearing is to resume the following day, Dec. 13. It is possible that Griesa will rule on the YSA's motion at that time.

The judge did not go along with the government's central argument, which was that the YSA had no right to demand a court injunction against FBI spying because no "actual harm" comes to the YSA as a result of the FBI surveillance of its conventions.

The YSA contends that the FBI spying is a violation of its members' First Amendment right to free speech and assembly because it inhibits young people from attending the convention. It also has an inhibiting, or "chilling" effect on discussion at the convention itself.

"You cannot just write off the idea of a chilling effect," Griesa told the government attorney. He asked Glassman exactly what the FBI intends to do with the names of participants in the YSA convention obtained by its undercover informants.

Glassman replied that he didn't have "complete knowledge" of that and would have to ask the FBI, but he admitted that the names are disseminated to government agencies, particularly in relation to the "loyalty checks" that are conducted on government employees.

Griesa asked whether the FBI tells such government agencies that the employee in question is associated with a "subversive" organization, and Glassman answered yes.

The judge said he wanted to know what would happen to such an employee, and whether there was any kind of "onus or stigma" placed on him or her. To illustrate his point, Griesa said that, for example, "the FBI wouldn't report on a person if it were a Democrat or a Republican, or a member of the Episcopal Church, or a member of a synagogue, would it?" He asked Glassman if he would like it if the FBI told his employer that he was a "subversive."

The second line of questioning from the judge that put the government attorney on the spot was in relation to the FBI's basis for labeling the YSA "subversive."

Griesa asked whether the FBI still carried out the same types of activities against the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party that it did prior to the abolition last June of the attorney general's list of "subversive organizations."

Glassman answered that, attorney general's list or no attorney general's list, "the government still considers some organizations to be subversive or nonsubversive, so the existence or nonexistence of the attorney general's list doesn't mean that an investigation would not be carried out."

When asked what basis the government now had to consider the YSA "subversive," Glassman claimed that the YSA was the "youth arm" of the SWP and quoted from a statement by FBI agent Hugh Mallet saying, "As stated in the SWP's Declaration of Principles, portions of which are quoted in *Dunne v. United States* . . . the purpose of the SWP is the overthrow of the United States Government."

*Dunne v. United States* is the record of the 1941 wartime Smith Act frame-up of 18 Socialist Workers Party and trade-union leaders. Subsequent court decisions have totally undermined the validity of the 1941 convictions. Furthermore, the Declaration of Principles referred to simply does not advocate violent overthrow of the government,

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