

# THE MILITANT

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

## Boston marchers: 'Buses must roll!'



Militant/Flax Hermes

Twelve thousand people marched in Boston Dec. 14, demanding desegregation of schools and an end to racist attacks on Black students. See page 4.



Student leaders who organized this teach-in against racism have called national conference to plan further actions. See page 7.

## Students call nat'l antiracist conference

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## THE MILITANT

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**GARDEN CITY TEACHERS END WALKOUT:** The hard-fought strike by teachers in Garden City, Mich., ended Dec. 16 as the 525-member Garden City Education Association (GCEA) approved a new contract. The GCEA had stayed out in defiance of a court injunction since Nov. 11. At one point 11 of their leaders were jailed.

Teachers came under added pressure when Governor William Milliken declared that the school district would be deprived of state aid at the rate of \$46,000 a day beginning Dec. 12. Though touted as "neutral," Milliken's action was intended to put the onus for the loss of funds on the teachers. He gave negotiators an ultimatum to accept one of four options for ending the strike—options acceptable to the board but already rejected by teachers.

Details of the new pact have not been released, but it is reported to specify binding arbitration of the key issues: the GCEA's demands for a cost-of-living allowance and a limitation on class size.

John Melchor, chief negotiator for the GCEA, told **The Militant** that he and the union are still opposed to binding arbitration because "it destroys the whole process of collective bargaining."

However, with limited strike funds, under pressure from Milliken's threats, and lacking stronger support from the labor leadership in the area, teachers felt that continuing the strike could not substantially improve their position.

**JESSE JACKSON CALLS MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS:** Reverend Jesse Jackson has announced that he will lead marchers around the White House on Jan. 15—the anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther King, Jr.—to demand that President Ford's economic policy be geared toward providing full employment.

Jackson said the Chicago-based Operation PUSH is contacting clergy and labor leaders across the country to take part in mass demonstrations against inflation and unemployment.

*This is the last issue of The Militant before our holiday break. The Militant will not be published for two weeks to give our staff a rest and to allow our printshop to move into expanded facilities. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue dated January 17, 1975.*

**APPEAL DENIED, CARLOS FELICIANO JAILED:** Carlos Feliciano, a leading member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, began serving a four-year sentence on Dec. 13. Feliciano was convicted last year in New York on a frame-up charge of possession of explosives. On Dec. 10 Chief Judge Charles Breitell turned down Feliciano's petition to have his appeal heard by the New York State Court of Appeals.

Judge Arnold Fraiman, who presided over Feliciano's trial last year, refused to delay the sentence while other appeals are carried out. Fraiman also ignored the 17 months Feliciano had already spent in prison because of excessive bail while awaiting trial.

Defense attorney William Kunstler announced he would file an immediate appeal based on the inequity of Feliciano's sentence under the discriminatory bail system.

A motion for resentencing is still before Judge Fraiman. Letters and telegrams urging Feliciano's immediate release should be sent to Judge Arnold Fraiman, 60 Centre Street, New York, N.Y. 10007, Attn: State Supreme Court.

**PICKETS CLOSE DOWN HUNDREDS OF COAL MINES:** Still without a contract, the 4,500 mine construction workers who belong to the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) have been picketing coal mines across the country, urging other UMWA members to walk off the job.

United Press International estimated Dec. 17 that 50,000 of the nation's 120,000 soft-coal miners were honoring the picket lines, mainly in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Virginia.

The soft-coal miners officially ended their strike Dec. 6 with the signing of a new contract. However, the union is still in negotiations with the industry over a contract for the mine construction workers. On Dec. 11 the UMWA Bargaining Council, made up of union officials from around the country, sent a tentative contract offer back to the bargaining table.

Since then, the number of striking miners has grown steadily, despite requests from union officials that they remain on the job.

Some of the coal companies have sought to force the miners back to the pits with court orders, but these have thus far been defied.

**AT CANNON MILLS, IT'LL BE TRY, TRY AGAIN:** After the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) won a union-representation election at the J.P. Stevens plants in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., last August, the next test of strength in the attempt to organize Southern tex-

tile workers was the Nov. 20 election at 15 Cannon Mills plants in Kannapolis, N.C.

Kannapolis is an old-style company town, completely owned and controlled by Cannon Mills. A businessman in the area described how owner Charles Cannon kept unions out of the mills for 50 years:

"Mr. Charlie was not subtle about it. He would just walk through the plant and talk to them. He'd walk up to a man and call him by his first name and he'd say, 'I knew ya daddy, boy. I'd sho hate to see you go.'" Violence and police harassment against union activists were and are standard procedure.

Through more than a year's effort, though, TWUA organizer Robert Freeman succeeded in signing up enough workers to request a union election—the first in the history of Cannon Mills.

The growing number of Black workers (now 20 percent at Cannon), as well as younger whites, are more receptive to the union, and less easily intimidated by company threats.

Cannon Mills won this round, with a campaign of posters, letters, and radio commercials urging employees to reject "outsiders." A rumor was circulated that old man Cannon's will had a provision requiring that the plants be closed if a union was ever voted in. The final tally was 6,801 for representation by the TWUA and 8,473 against.

Union organizers vow to keep trying, though. TWUA President Sol Stetin said it would take "a long educational process" and that the union supporters remain "a powerful nucleus for a continuing campaign."

**REIES TIJERINA FREED:** Reies Tijerina is out of jail. He has been granted a parole and ordered released from a state prison by the state parole board in New Mexico. Tijerina had entered prison last June 29 to begin serving two concurrent 2-to-10 year sentences.

Tijerina was framed up because of his role in the fight of Chicanos in New Mexico for the return of land grants stolen from Mexican and Spanish settlers after the U.S. conquered the Southwest during the Mexican-American War. The Chicano activist had been sent to prison for the part he played in a 1967 "raid" on a courthouse in Tierra Amarilla.

Tijerina had previously served a two-year sentence, from 1969 to 1971, for allegedly "aiding and abetting an assault" on a forest ranger during a demonstration in 1969.

**YALIES NOT HOT FOR CAPITALISM:** "A survey of a recent Yale University graduating class has some startling disclosures: the study showed that 61 percent of the class agreed that the U.S. needs a complete restructuring of its institutions, 78 percent disagreed that the traditional capitalist system provides the best possible distribution of wealth and 38 percent want some kind of socialism in America."—**Flighttime**, Ozark Airlines magazine.

—NORMAN OLIVER

## YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

## SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



The Dec. 14 freedom marches in Boston and in cities across the country dealt a blow to the racist offensive against busing and set an example of mass action in defense of Black civil rights. *The Militant* will continue its news coverage of this struggle and its analysis of how this new civil rights movement can move forward.

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# Chicago socialist maps challenge to 'four more years' of Boss Daley

By PETER ARCHER  
and JOEL BRITTON

CHICAGO—This city's vast army of patronage parasites, ward heelers, and vote stealers is heaving a mighty sigh of relief.

From the Democratic precinct captain who stuffs the corner ballot box to the big-time grafters at city hall, all is well.

Richard "Boss" Daley, mayor of Chicago for 20 years, has announced he will run for an unprecedented sixth term.

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid told a rally Dec. 7—two days before Daley's announcement—that she is opposed to four more years of Daley as mayor. "Four more years of Daley," she said, "will mean four more years of corruption, four more years of police brutality, four more years of Chicago being the third-most-segregated city in the country."

The rally celebrated the successful completion of the drive to collect the 40,000 signatures needed to place Reid's name on the ballot in the April 1 election.

Reid will turn in some 67,000 signatures, the maximum allowed, in January.

## Ready for a fight

The socialist campaigners made clear their intention to rally broad support for Reid's right to appear on the ballot. No independent candidate has won ballot status since the undemocratic election code was adopted by Illinois Democrats and Republicans in the early 1940s.

Nancy Rosenstock, SWP candidate for city treasurer, warned, "The gathering of these signatures is not a guarantee that our candidates will appear on the ballot. Mike Royko tells us in his book *Boss* that the attitude of the election board toward independents aspiring to be on the ballot is, 'We throw their petitions up to the ceiling and those that stick are good.'"

"We do not intend to sit back while the Daley machine tries to play with our petitions. We anticipate a fight and we are organizing for one."

The SWP's fight for ballot status is being supported by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). CoDEL is setting out to gain hundreds of prominent signers for a statement in defense of the socialist candidates' right to appear on the ballot.

Ron Dorfman, a signer of the statement and the founder and former editor of the *Chicago Journalism Review*, spoke in support of the SWP's right to be on the ballot. Dorfman reminded the crowd that "this is a year of electoral surprises. . . . I think that if Willie Reid appears on the ballot it may have results that will surprise even some of us."

Reid's supporters pledged more than \$1,800 to help finance a team of young people who will take the socialist campaign to Chicago's high schools and college campuses, to plant gates and community meetings. It was announced that Andrew Pulley, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, will be moving to Chicago and will head up this effort.

Prior to Daley's announcement that he would run again, Chicagoans wit-

nessed the same spectacle seen every election year since Daley took office. One by one, delegations claiming to represent "the people of Chicago" poured into his office, begging the mayor not to desert them but to run again.

Bankers and corporate magnates made the pilgrimage from their plush offices on nearby La Salle Street.

The "labor delegation" consisted of union bureaucrats, flabby from years of patronage and secret deals with the Daley machine at the expense of Chicago's workers.

A "ladies" delegation was orchestrated by Daley's consumer sales commissioner.

The Black delegation thanked Daley for his many services to Chicago's Black community. Presumably they did not bring up his complicity in the 1969 police murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, or his infamous "shoot to kill" order during the 1968 ghetto rebellions.

Daley finally "relented." He returned from the Democratic miniconvention in Kansas City and threw his hat into the ring, saying, "I love Chicago."

The Chicago Democratic Central Committee gave its unanimous backing after praising its boss to the skies. George Dunne, president of the county board, gushed, "Almighty God must love Chicago very, very much because He's blessed us with leadership for 20 years that's unparalleled in history or any other part of the country."

## Split asunder?

Rumors that Daley would not run again due to age (he's 72) and failing health (he was away from city hall for three months last summer) had prompted speculation that the Daley machine would be split asunder in the Democratic primary in February.

Prior to Daley's announcement, the race for the Democratic nomination was shaping up as a contest among four candidates: white liberal alderman William Singer, who has been running for the past year as an "independent" anti-machine Democrat; Edward Hanrahan, the ex-state's attorney who headed up the cop murder



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Sixty-seven thousand Chicagoans signed petitions to put Willie Mae Reid on ballot.

squad that assassinated the Black Panther leaders; Black U.S. Representative Ralph Metcalfe, a longtime Daley machine stalwart, who had a brief falling-out with his boss over police brutality in the Black community a couple of years ago; and an official machine stand-in for Daley if he decided not to throw his support to Hanrahan or Metcalf.

Metcalf was the choice of the Committee for a Black Mayor, headed by Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

Metcalf had stipulated that he would run only if the committee could raise a campaign war chest of hundreds of thousands of dollars, broaden its backing to include figures outside the Black community, and convince the other announced Black candidates to drop out of the Democratic primary race.

If Daley had sat out the election, Metcalf and Hanrahan would have garnered broad backing—Metcalf in the Black community, Hanrahan among conservative whites. Since Blacks are more than 40 percent of the city's population, and since the

white vote would be split among Hanrahan, Singer, and the possible Daley stand-in, the possibility emerged of Metcalf winning the Democratic nomination and then the general election.

As soon as it was clear that Daley was going to announce his candidacy, Metcalf announced that he would not run, since the Committee for a Black Mayor had been unable to fulfill his conditions, especially the money.

Meanwhile, the weak Republican Party here has set up a "search committee," mandated to find a credible candidate as the deadline approaches for filing for their primary.

Willie Mae Reid's campaign for mayor promises to be the biggest, most audacious campaign the Socialist Workers Party has ever run in Illinois. The fight for ballot status can be a landmark battle in the building of an independent alternative to the misrule of the capitalist parties.

Harry Ring of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau, a featured speaker at the Dec. 7 rally, predicted that socialists and supporters of civil liberties all across the country will be following the Chicago mayoral race with great interest.

## Reid 'poured fire and brimstone'



Militant/Bruce Bloy

WILLIE MAE REID: 'Daley stands for corruption, police brutality, and segregation.'

The following is excerpted from an article in the Dec. 9 *Chicago Sun-Times* covering the SWP campaign rally.

Saturday, Miss Reid denounced wage and price controls—"Remember what was controlled? Wages, not prices," and poured fire and brimstone on Mayor Daley, Rep. Ralph H. Metcalf (D-Ill.), former State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, an announced candidate for mayor, and the two-party system in general, while calling for massive public works projects, heavy taxing of corporate profits and a six-hour work day to "spread the work around."

What if employers decide to move their plants out of Chicago? "Have you ever seen a plant run away?" Miss Reid replied. "If they (owners)

don't like it, we're not going to let them close down the plants. We will take them over and say to the rich, 'You go.'"

Her running mate, City Clerk candidate Antonio DeLeon, was equally vehement against the deportation of illegal Mexican immigrants. A former migrant worker, DeLeon said, "I will not turn my back on my mother and father and all the others who came over to work. They have a right to work. There should be no borders."

Ferocious on the podium, Miss Reid proved warm and gentle in an interview later. Describing her name as an "old colored folks' name," she said she joined the SWP because "I was fed up with all the lies about America. I rejected everything I had learned and looked for a fresh alternative."

# Thousands demonstrate to 'Keep

By CINDY JAQUITH

BOSTON—"Keep the buses rolling!" rang out through the streets Dec. 14 as thousands poured into this city in the first massive, national response to the racist attacks on school desegregation here.

Determined to continue to campaign against racism, 250 Black and white students met after the demonstration to call for a national student conference to be held in Boston Feb. 14 to plan future actions. The meeting was called by the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism, which also organized a teach-in Dec. 13 that drew 1,100 students. (For stories on student conference and teach-in, see pages 6 & 7).

The Dec. 13-14 teach-in and march marked a turning point here, after the months of bottle-throwing, racist epithets, and violence heaped on the Black students being bused into white schools in Boston.

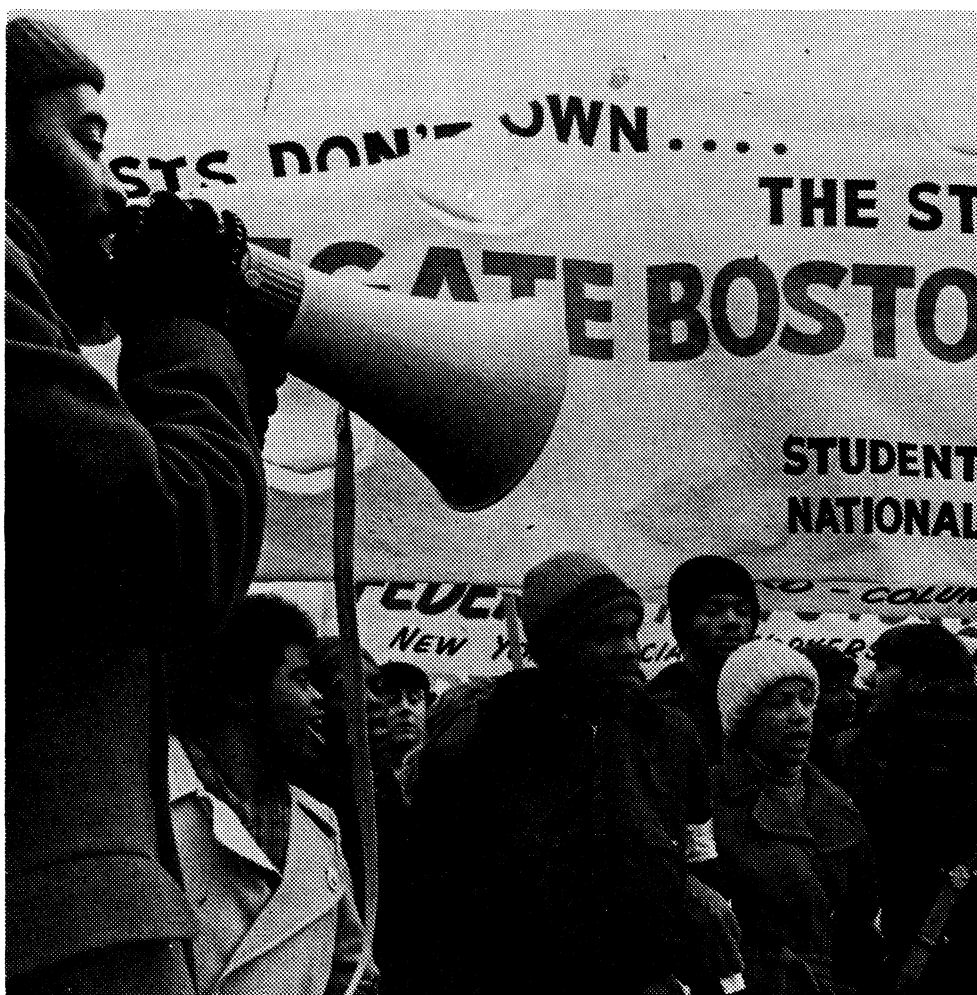
Just three days before the march, a hysterical lynch mob of 600 whites trapped more than 100 Black students inside South Boston High School, chanting, "We're going to kill you!"

## 'Racists don't own streets'

The Dec. 14 Boston freedom march gave the racists their long-overdue answer. As the giant banner at the head of the student contingent proclaimed: "The racists don't own the streets of Boston!"

The demonstrators leading the student contingent were almost dancing with joy as they jumped up and down to survey the length of the march. "You can't even see the end of it!" exclaimed one Black student.

The action—organized on only a month's notice—marked the first time supporters of busing have out-mobilized the "antibusing" bigots in the streets. *Militant* reporters estimated the size of the Dec. 14 crowd at about 12,000. The capitalist press



Militant/Flax Hermes

Student contingent led off march, chanting, 'Buses gotta roll, segregation's gotta go!'

gave figures ranging from 15,000 to 20,000, and the police estimated 20,000. More than a third of the demonstrators were Black.

By comparison, only 5,000 people turned out the next day for an "antibusing" march organized by the South Boston racists. It was a big setback for the segregationist forces.

Reports in the capitalist press have tried to portray the Dec. 14 antiracist march as "violent." To do this, the media have blown up one brief incident during the day, when Massachu-

setts state senator-elect William Owens, an initiator of the march, and members of Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) tried to lead the demonstrators down a route for which they had no permit. Several were arrested and injured when the cops attacked some of the marchers.

Except for this minor incident, the march was peaceful and spirited. The real message of the day was a resounding "No" to the campaign of violence used by the bigots against busing. This came through in the

chants of "Buses gotta roll/Segregation's gotta go!"; "Open up the schools/ Turn the racists back!"; and "Hey, hey, what do you say/We're going to show the KKK!"

## 'Like the old days'

The youthfulness and spirit of the crowd were reminiscent of the mass marches against the Vietnam war. Many people also compared it to the early civil rights protests. One veteran of the civil rights movement turned to the friend marching with him and remarked, "This is like the old days."

There was also a feeling of being part of a new movement, a movement that was just beginning to show its potential power with this action. As one Black student put it: "The racist attacks aren't going to stop with one march; that's why we need more people to join us. We want the racists to know that they can't continue. We're not going to let it happen."

The bone-chilling cold and rain didn't seem to dampen spirits. One group of high-school-age Blacks from St. Louis marched into the assembly point singing. They were part of the Young Eternal Souls, a church choir.

"I think it's ridiculous anytime you can't get out and go to school without being bombed or thrown at," said one.

"I came because I believe in the cause," explained Sharon Campbell, a Black student from Hunter College in New York. Campbell rode to Boston on a bus the day before so she could participate in the National Teach-in Against Racism.

## 'Out of sight'

"At the teach-in, the speeches were definitely out of sight," she said. "I think this should be continued nationwide, and more people from all over the world should participate."

Many students came from the Boston college campuses.

High school and junior high school students also marched. One group of young Blacks emerged from a music

# 'There should be more of these marches'

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON—William Walker was a teen-ager when he marched in the 1963 civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, Ala. He marched again here in Boston on Dec. 14 in the rain, protesting the attacks on Black students being bused into white schools.

"Despite the weather, it's everybody's job to be out here," said Walker, "and you won't find many people here who'd rather be anywhere else."

"I remember I was 19 when we were in Birmingham," recalled Walker, who is Black and grew up in Huntsville, Ala. In his arms, getting a better view of things, was his youngest son, Billy Jr., who was steamy-breathed in the 37-degree temperature, but full of smiles.

Retelling how civil rights workers had passed through Huntsville explaining the struggle in Birmingham, Walker said he and his older brother decided to go down there and help out for a while. They were both out of work and were eager to go.

"We were kind of excited, not really scared, I'd say. But there's been more hell up here—well, almost—than all of what we saw in Birmingham back

then." Walker said he had heard a bus was coming to the demonstration from Birmingham and he was looking for people he might know.

Peter Malone, a towering Irishman from Miami, Fla., was also on the march. Bundled in a white, quilted down jacket and with a white knit cap pulled over a mop of tan hair, he had the appearance of a snowman or a linebacker for the Miami Dolphins. But he is a student at Harvard University, where he studies economics.

"I came to show that not all the Irish are racists like those in South Boston," he replied when asked why he had come. "I think Jonathan Kozol was right when he said that Hicks and Kerrigan should be indicted for their actions," he added, referring to Kozol's remarks at the student teach-in against racism the night before.

Kozol, a well-known former teacher in Boston, had blasted city council member Louise Day Hicks and school committee Chairman John Kerrigan for inspiring the racist mob actions against Black students.

"If there had been Blacks leading those mobs, there would have been

indictments galore," Malone said.

Malone was not the only Irish person in the crowd. A group of Irish demonstrators came from Albany, N.Y., where they are members of the James Connolly branch of the Irish Republican Clubs.

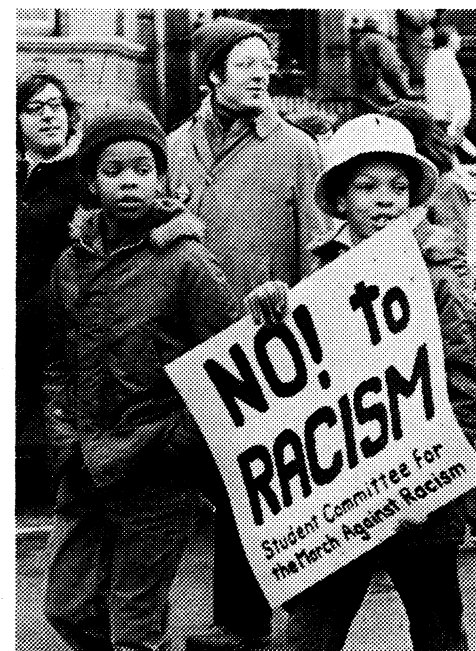
One young man stood shivering while holding the blue banner of the club. "We think it's terrible, you know, that all Irish people aren't here with us instead of with the likes of Hicks and Kerrigan," he said.

Although there was an intermittent drizzle in the morning, by afternoon it gave way to a piercing chill. By four o'clock the crowd was thinning and a bashful sun left reddish clouds in the west. John Alexander was saying, "I think there should be more of these marches."

"That's what the racists have been doing and that's what we'll have to do," Alexander, a Black office worker, said.

He explained that his cousin goes to South Boston High and has had to put up with white kids itching for a fight, so he knows the problems there.

Alexander said he hadn't been on the march, but when asked if he agreed with the chant, "Keep the buses rolling!" he responded emphatically, "Yes! The racists would sooner close those schools than let us stay in them. We can't let them do that."



Militant/Jo Hendrickson



# buses rolling!



Militant/Flax Hermes

Amalgamated Meat Cutters from Chicago were one of several union contingents on march.

school as the demonstration was passing by. They ran to catch up with the head of the march, carrying their instruments with them.

Other Boston residents applauded as the march went by. Some hung out their windows to cheer the demonstrators on.

At no point on the march did the racists dare to appear with their signs or any other organized counterprotest.

A significant number of Blacks who had been active in the civil rights movement joined the demonstration. One such activist was Eunetta Pierce of Chicago, who began marching for Black freedom in 1954. Pierce came in a contingent of trade unionists from Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local P-500.

"I've marched on every march that Dr. King, Dr. Ralph Abernathy, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were a part of," she said. "I believe in the principle of assembling to be heard. This is the only way to do it. You need more marches in the street, like you did in Selma, Ala., like you did in the past."

Another demonstrator from Local P-500 was Joseph Barton, who said he felt Boston has become a national issue. "If it can happen here, it can happen in Chicago," he explained.

## Trade-union support

Several busloads of unionists, many of them Black women, arrived from New York. Delegations were sent from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37; District 65 of the Distributive Workers; and the United Store Workers.

There was also a group marching under a banner that read, "Members of the United Federation of Teachers against racism." UFT head Albert Shanker, notorious for his anti-Black policies, had opposed the demonstration.

Signs and banners identified dozens of other groups, including the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, United Farm Workers, Indochina Peace Campaign, Black Economic Survival, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the "Fred Hampton Contingent," which was organized by several Maoist groups.

Boston tenant groups, a Detroit At-

tica defense committee, women's liberation groups, gay liberation activists, and Boston teachers also carried signs.

There were contingents from many cities, including Atlanta, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C.

Some marchers waved hand-made placards with slogans ranging from "Defend the children" and "Boycott grapes, not schools," to "East Boston says: No quality without equality," a reference to the racists' claim that they are just fighting for "quality" education.

## Return 'again & again'

When the rally began in the afternoon on the Boston Common, many shoppers drifted over to hear the speakers. Reverend Ralph Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the crowd that they would have to come back "again and again" to defeat the segregationists.

William Lucey, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and national secretary-treasurer of AFSCME, explained the need to unite the labor movement, Black groups, whites, church organizations, and others in response to the attacks on Black students.

Marguerite Skinner, a Black attending South Boston High, and Linda Lawrence, a white student at Hyde Park High, spoke.

Other speakers included state senator-elect William Owens; comedian Dick Gregory; Ellen Moves Camp, American Indian Movement; John Boone, former commissioner of the Massachusetts prison system; Jesús López, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Imamu Amiri Baraka, Congress of African People; and Professor George Wald of Harvard University.

As the buses sped off to return demonstrators to New York, Chicago, and other cities, there was a sentiment among the marchers that they had participated in making history, in taking the first steps to launch a powerful, national movement in defense of Blacks' right to an equal education.

"Marches like this are the only way you achieved your civil rights in the 1960s," said Eunetta Pierce. "If it takes that in the 1970s, we'll do it again."

# A 'confrontation' that the media exploited

By LARRY SEIGLE

BOSTON—The Dec. 14 demonstration of 12,000 people here was a powerful, massive response to the racist mob violence aimed at blocking enforcement of the law on school desegregation.

The capitalist news media, however, have seized upon one tiny incident to try to discredit the demonstration. This incident occurred when a handful of the demonstrators tried to lead marchers away from the agreed-upon march route and wound up in an unnecessary scuffle with the cops.

Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of the protesters understood that this irresponsible attempt to physically confront the cops could only hurt the goal of the protest. Such a confrontation could only interfere with the aim of isolating the racists through mobilizing mass support for the right of Black children to attend desegregated schools.

Fortunately, those bent on an adventure were prevented from leading the march into what might have become a bloody and dangerous battle with the cops. This was the result of the good political sense shown by the marchers, and of the actions of the marshals organized by the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 March.

This is what happened:

The police had granted a permit to the Emergency Committee for the Dec. 14 March Against Racism. The permit specified a route from the assembly site to the Boston Common, leading part of the way down Commonwealth Avenue. Commonwealth Avenue is a traditional march route and a major thoroughfare.

However, the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), joined by state senator-elect William Owens, who was one of the initiators of the demonstra-

the assembly site that they had a permit to go down Boylston St. This was not true. They also denied that a confrontation was planned.

Despite repeated pleas from demonstrators and organizers of the student contingent, YAWF marshals and Owens's representatives—who had lined up in the front rank of the march—refused to explain what route they proposed to follow. This method of "leadership" is the epitome of elitism. They wanted to trick the crowd into a confrontation that no one—except the cops—was prepared for, and that the great majority of the marchers opposed.

The effect of this action would have been to shift the political axis of the march from opposition to the racist offensive against busing to a meaningless dispute over which of two streets to walk down.

The majority of the demonstrators, however, wanted to put the spotlight clearly on the violent, lawbreaking actions of the racist mobs. They knew that in Boston, it is the racists who are breaking the law by resisting court-ordered desegregation. They wanted to put maximum pressure on the government to enforce that law. They knew that a confrontation with the cops would give opponents of desegregation an excuse to denounce the protesting forces as "violent."

The march had been scheduled to begin at noon. But the hour came and went with no explanation from the official sponsors. Apprehension was growing that the march would be led into a confrontation with the cops at Boylston Street.

Finally, about 1:15 p.m., the student contingent of about 2,000 people stepped off and proceeded along the permitted route, reaching the Common without incident. This action estab-



Militant/Jo Hendrickson

Vast majority of Boston protesters wanted peaceful march that would keep onus for violence and lawbreaking on racists.

tion, decided—in the name of the sponsoring Emergency Committee—to try to lead the march away from this route and onto Boylston Street.

It was obvious that the cops would not allow the march to proceed on any other than the permitted route. In fact, several hundred cops, some on horseback, and many police vans filled Boylston Street. What the adventurers really wanted, however, was not to march along a different street, but to "challenge" the cops.

The political idiocy of this course of action was bad enough. But Owens and YAWF displayed an even greater irresponsibility: *They repeatedly refused to inform the demonstrators of what they were planning.*

YAWF marchers told the people at

lished that the march could go along the official route without a confrontation with the cops, and put pressure on YAWF and Owens to allow the remainder of the march to proceed.

As the second section of the march, led by YAWF marshals and Owens, approached Boylston Street, the great majority of the marchers still had no idea that a confrontation was planned.

The march halted as it came up against the police blockade. After a brief discussion with the cops, Owens jumped up on a car and shouted, "We'll go down Boylston Street at any cost!" The YAWF marshals in the front rank ran toward the cops, and the police surged forward, injuring several people. Some of the YAWF

Continued on page 26

**BOSTON: 1,100 at teach-in**

# Speakers urge new civil rights fight

By NORMAN OLIVER

BOSTON—"Some people say Boston has retrogressed 20 years. I say Boston has not retrogressed because it never progressed."

There was sustained applause and cheers as Reverend Vernon Carter, pastor of the All Saints Lutheran Church here, spoke these words before the audience gathered at the National Teach-in Against Racism on Dec. 13.

The enthusiastic teach-in, held in the auditorium of the Harvard University Business School, was called by the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism. The gathering of 1,100 people was hosted by the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association.

Reverend Carter, who was the first speaker at the teach-in, is a longtime civil rights activist.

Carter blasted those who "say the days of marches are over. The day we stop marching and singing with our minds fixed on freedom is the day America is doomed."

"I say to you, 'We must march again! We must never cease marching!'"

This call, met with thunderous cheers, struck a responsive chord among the people at the teach-in. They came from as far away as Florida, Texas, and California. Many were students, but throughout the crowd sat older people as well—veterans of past civil rights struggles. The crowd was about 40 percent Black.

## Attack on civil rights

Julian Bond, a Georgia state representative, centered his talk on the attacks on the civil rights of Black people. "From Little Rock's riots nearly 20 years ago to the Bay State's bigots of today," Bond said, "very little except the rhetoric of reaction has changed."

Bond, who was a prominent leader of the civil rights movement, said that "busing," "the sanctity of the neighborhood school," and "quality education" are the words and phrases that have replaced the more blatantly racist slogans of the past.

The Black Georgia Democrat, a founding member of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, described two earlier attempts by Blacks to integrate Boston schools—the first in 1787 and the second in 1844. Both times the government rejected the Black petitioners. Bond said that the attitudes toward Blacks hadn't changed since the Civil War.

"The issues here in Boston are clear," said Paul Mailhot, a coordinator of the student committee and one of the chairpeople of the teach-in.

"At stake is the right of Black students to use whatever means are nec-



Teach-in drew young and old, Black and white, from across the country.

Militant/Norman Oliver

essary to obtain a better education." Mailhot said that the racists had mobilized in the streets in their attempt to turn back the gains of the civil rights movement and "they must be answered in the streets."

"The racists have tried to hide their program behind code words," Mailhot said. "They said they weren't racists at all—just concerned parents who didn't like busing; that they favored quality education for everyone in neighborhood schools. But the escalating mob violence has exposed them for what they are—a bunch of bigots and white supremacists."

Cheers and shouts of approval greeted this blast against the racist drive in Boston. For weeks the racists had gone unchallenged in this city. The militant speeches at this teach-in were like a breath of fresh air.

"We're going to show the world," Mailhot continued, "that there's a hell of a lot of us who oppose those racists and we're going to stand up and be counted. That's the way the civil rights movement was built; that's the way the antiwar movement was built. And that is what we are setting into motion today and tomorrow and in the weeks and months to come."

"We're not going to be intimidated and we're not going to be stopped. We're going to keep those buses moving into South Boston and we're going to show those racists that they don't own the streets of this city!"

This slogan—"The racists don't own the streets!"—so captured the mood of the teach-in participants that it became a chant in the demonstration the next day.

The next speaker at the teach-in was Jonathan Kozol, the former Boston teacher who wrote *Death at an Early Age*. Kozol has been fasting since Thanksgiving in protest of the racist

offensive against school desegregation. He was so weak he had to lean on the podium throughout his talk. As he spoke, Kozol's voice trembled, but what his voice lacked in volume was more than made up by the intensity of his moving speech (see facing page).

## Defend Black students

The high point of the evening came when a Black student being bused to South Boston spoke. As Richard Wallace, a student at Dean Junior High School, gave his speech, he was flanked by his brother Reggie and his cousins Kenneth Farmer and Michael Coachman. The speech was often interrupted by applause, and the audience came to its feet with raised fists at the end of the talk (see facing page).

"We all have an obligation to make sure this movement continues," Maceo Dixon, who is a leader of the student committee, told teach-in participants during his fund-raising speech following Wallace's talk. "The racists are organized," Dixon said. "We have to out-organize and out-mobilize them—and we can do it!"

Willie McKinney, president of the student government of Roxbury Community College, called on "people all over the world to come to the defense of Black students in Boston."

Another Black student leader who spoke was Robert Harper, a leader of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association. Harper said that the "teach-in was called to expose the racism of Hicks and the others in South Boston. We have seen that they are opposed not to busing, but to desegregation." He went on to say that institutionalized racism must be fought wherever it exists and that Harvard is "an institution of this nature."

Both McKinney and Harper are coordinators of the student committee. Another coordinator, Parthenia Stanton, also spoke. Stanton, a member of Young Black Voices at Boston University, a group of Black poets, read a number of poems to the gathering. Ray Sherbill, president of the BU student union and also a coordinator of the student committee, spoke too.

Entertainment was provided by Odetta, whose singing roused the crowd during the evening.

During his speech, Dixon said, "We have to have a new civil rights movement." Only this time, "instead of going down south, we'll be going 'up south.'"

Ralph Abernathy, head of the South-

ern Christian Leadership Conference, told the teach-in that that was what he was doing:

"I've come all the way up south to Boston," the civil-rights leader said, "to tell the whole world that all those who oppose the busing of schoolchildren to South Boston High School—all the way from Gerald Ford to Mrs. Hicks—ought to be put in jail!"

Like many other speakers, Abernathy pointed to the absurdity of saying you can achieve equal education in a residentially divided city without busing. "How are you going to have integrated schools without busing?" Abernathy asked. "If you don't go by bus, then you got to go by train. So instead of busing, you'll have training."

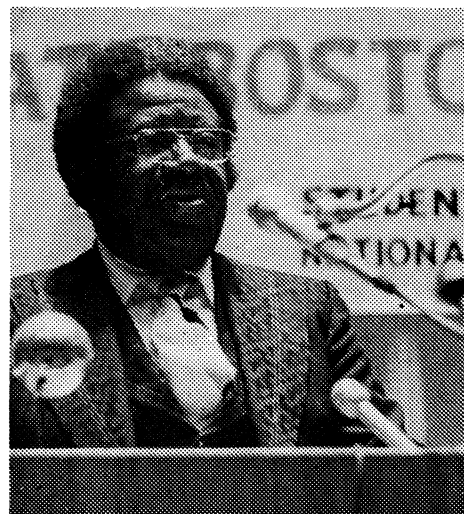
Other speakers were state senator-elect William Owens; John Boone, director of the National Campaign Against Prisons; Darryl DePriest, of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association; and Howard Moore, a prominent Black attorney.

An indication of the wide range of support received by the student committee was the message it received from U.S. Representative Charles Rangel on behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus. Messages also came from Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Ind. Letters of support were read from several officials in the American Federation of Teachers.

There was one message that stood out above all the rest. It read: "I wish to commend your march against racism in Boston on December 14th. Because of health problems of my family, I regret not being able to join you in this great demonstration. Best wishes for a very successful program. Sincerely yours in the continuing struggle for freedom for oppressed people everywhere." The message was signed by Rosa Parks.

Rosa Parks is a symbol of the militancy and combativity of the Black community. When she refused to stand up and give her bus seat to a white woman back in 1956 in Montgomery, Ala., Parks set into motion the Montgomery bus boycott, sparking a struggle that hasn't stopped yet. Black people throughout the country began to stand up and fight for their civil rights.

Like the militant fighters for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s, Dixon told the crowd, "We must stand up and fight for our constitutional rights. Only in this way can we desegregate the schools and smash the racist offensive."



Militant/Norman Oliver

Ralph Abernathy (left) and Willie McKinney join in defense of Boston Black students.



# 'Black students must have your support'

The following speech was given by Richard Wallace at the Dec. 13 "National Teach-in Against Racism." Wallace is a Black student who travels by bus to Dean Junior High School, just two blocks from South Boston High.

On Dec. 11, white students had staged a walkout from schools in South Boston. After the whites left, a lynch mob gathered outside South Boston High, threatening the Black students trapped inside. The Blacks were finally able to escape with the aid of the police.

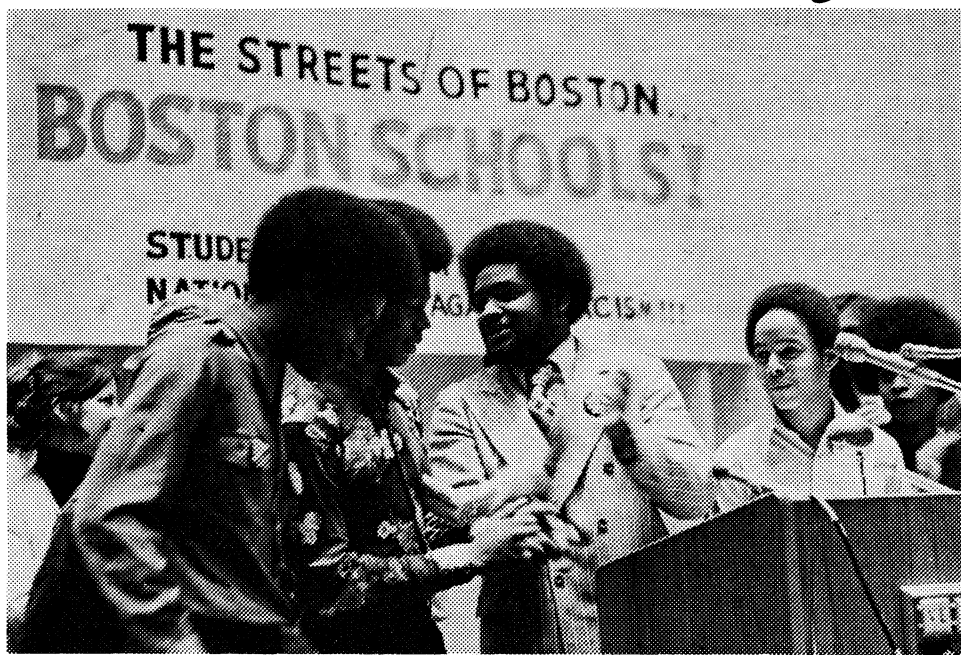
My name is Richard Wallace. [A Black woman in the audience shouts, "Right on!"] I go to Dean Junior High School in South Boston. ["Go on, brother!"]

Every day we get off the bus and a crowd of white kids call us "nigger" and "bonehead." They threaten us and tell us, "Go back to Africa." Inside the school, students call us names. Once, they sent little white kids with white sheets running through the school saying, "The Klansmen are coming!"

The white teachers never explain the work to us. Sometimes they call us "stupid." And they say we can't do the work. I don't think they care if we learn at all. You can't get a good education if you don't know what's going on behind your back. [Applause and shouts of "Right on!"]

The white parents started the thing. They planned the walkout. They tell the students what to do. If the school opens on Monday, there will be big trouble. There's got to be more protection for the Black people that are being bused out there. [Applause.] Instead of having the state police and Boston police, they should call out the National Guard! [Sustained applause.]

I don't like South Boston High and



Maceo Dixon (center) introducing Black students being bused to school in South Boston. At right is Richard Wallace, who spoke at teach-in.

I know some of you people out in the audience don't like it either. They say they'll never let niggers go in there. But we have the *right* to go to *any* school in Boston! [Sustained applause and cheers.]

You people here today must get the truth out about the racism that's been going on in South Boston. Everyone here should go to the march tomorrow. The Black students of Boston must have your support! [Standing ovation.]

The following is excerpted from the speech given by Jonathan Kozol to the Dec. 13 teach-in. Kozol, who was formerly a Boston school-teacher, is the author of *Death at an Early Age*,

which described his experiences in Boston's public schools.

A longtime civil rights activist, Kozol has been on a fast since Thanksgiving in protest of the continued denial of Black people's constitutional rights.

Boston has become the trade name for racism in this country.

In 1964, when I was teaching in Boston public schools, they used to call me "nigger lover." Now, the same thing happens, but more. In the past 18 hours since I spoke out on TV last night, I've been threatened every other time that my telephone has rung.

It hasn't been like that in Boston in 10 years. I had to come here tonight—to Harvard Business School—

with a police escort.

A lot of people say to me, "Well then, don't ask for it. Why don't you shut up?" I will not be silent. And I will speak up! [Applause.]

I'll tell you the same thing I told people in Dallas, San Diego, and across the country:

A lot of you came here in it tonight. I know because I saw it outside. Something dangerous and strange called a "bus." [Laughter.] Let's talk about that dangerous instrument of transportation.

"Bus" was never a scare word in this land as long as it carried kids with freckles through New Hampshire! Bus becomes a scare word only when it means fair play in our hometown! [Sustained applause.]

Let me just say that Mrs. Hicks was never very good at English spelling. Thus, in the spelling book of Mrs. Hicks, "bus" has always been a three-letter word for "nigger."

In a city residentially divided, there can be no integration of the public schools without the use of a bus. If the ride's too long, equip the bus with a film projector and sound system! [Cheers and applause.] If you do it for the corporation heads on Eastern Airlines, why not for the poor kids from Roxbury? [Sustained applause.]

Let the children from the ghetto watch good films for 20 minutes every day on the real estate arrangements that keep them out of Dover, where the governor has his home. Let the children who are riding on the bus out of South Boston to poorer neighborhoods watch 20-minute films on how the First National Bank and other banks in Boston drew a careful red line around the neighborhoods where Black people live.

*Continued on page 26*

## Nat'l conference on busing crisis called

By WENDY LYONS

BOSTON—Fresh from the victory of the day's massive freedom march, 250 students crowded into a classroom at the University of Massachusetts on the evening of Dec. 14, to plan the next step in a campaign to put the racists on the run in Boston.

The student government representatives, leaders of campus organizations, and activists who attended the meeting came from 37 campuses and several high schools all over the East Coast and Midwest.

Called together by the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 March Against Racism, the meeting voted to call a

national conference, to be held in Boston Feb. 14-15, to discuss building a broadly-based movement to fight back against the racist offensive.

Rob Harper of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association presented the proposed conference call, which was passed overwhelmingly. Addressed to the high school and college students of the United States, it says:

"On Dec. 13-14, 1974, thousands of people from all over the country came to Boston to demonstrate in a teach-in and freedom march against racism. We came to say NO to the escalating racist offensive against school desegregation; to say NO to the racist mob violence against Black students; and to expose the real aims—the racist aims—behind the so-called antibusing movement.

"All over the country, the racists are trying to stop the Black freedom movement from making further gains, and to roll back many of the gains that have already been won by the civil rights movement.

"But the racists can be stopped, and the Boston freedom march and teach-in can be the turning point. Just as Montgomery and Little Rock initiated the civil rights movement that put an end to Jim Crow in the South, our stand in Boston can initiate a new surge of freedom struggle all over the country. And just as students helped lead the way in the civil rights movement, we can help lead the way today.

"The freedom movement of today must fight racism on many fronts, especially in key areas like employment, housing, and education. As students, we are particularly concerned about fighting racism in education.

"The racist challenge is clear. In Boston, Denver, Pasadena, Detroit, and elsewhere they are trying to prevent Black and Chicano students from attending white schools. In New York, they are trying to stop the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese people from exercising community control of their schools. Everywhere, the government is cutting back on programs that enable more Black students to attend college, and the school administrations are moving to reassert their domination and cut back on funding of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican studies programs. These are but a few examples of the issues that are involved.

"To counter the racist offensive requires a mass response. Students can be instrumental in mobilizing this response, just as we played a major role in organizing the freedom march and teach-in in Boston.

"To discuss the next steps to take, we are calling for a national student conference to take place on the weekend of February 14, in Boston, Massachusetts.

"Come to the conference. Bring your friends. Bring your ideas. Together we can organize and mobilize, and we can win."

In addition to Harper, six other student leaders signed the call. They are: Parthenia Stanton, Boston University Young Black Voices; Willie McKinney, president of the Roxbury Community College student government; Maceo Dixon, Student Committee for the Dec. 14 March Against Racism; Ray Sherbill, Boston University Student Union president; Marcia Cooling, Northeastern University Student Federation; and Paul Mailhot, Boston State College.

Chip Burlet of the National Student Association (NSA) announced that the call will be reprinted in the NSA magazine.

Students from Boston spoke enthusiastically about what the teach-in and freedom march meant for supporters of desegregation in Boston. One student said, "You have no idea what it was like to watch those racists hold demonstrations week after week unchallenged. Today changes everything. Finally we're getting organized to turn this around."

At the end of the meeting people signed up to be part of a continuations committee that will coordinate plans for the conference and see that the call is widely distributed. Those interested in working with the committee or obtaining further information on the conference can contact the student committee at Boston University Student Union, 775 Commonwealth Ave., Room 435, Boston, Mass. 02215. The phone number is (617) 353-3642.



Robert Harper presented proposal for student conference.

# Marchers say: 'Stop racist attacks!'

## Pasadena

By ANDREA BARON

PASADENA, Calif. — Chanting "Jim Crow must go" and "Hire the drivers, Fire the board," 350 people demonstrated here Dec. 14 to protest attacks on school desegregation in Boston and Pasadena.

The demonstrators assembled in the Black community and marched to city hall for a rally. The crowd was addressed by several bus drivers whose hours and pay have been cut by the reactionary Pasadena school board in its attempt to thwart desegregation.

Although Pasadena is often thought of as a white suburb of Los Angeles, the majority of schoolchildren here are Black, Chicano, and Asian. The Dec. 14 freedom march was a boost to the four-year struggle for desegregation of Pasadena schools as well as a show of solidarity with Blacks in Boston.

Roosevelt Grier, the former professional football player, summed up the sentiments of the crowd when he said that the real issue in both Pasadena and Boston is the right of Black children to a decent education.

Speaking for the Dec. 14 Freedom March Committee, Omari Musa said that the antibusing forces "are trying to take away the gains that were won

in defense of the beleaguered Black community of Boston.

Demonstrators chanted, "Boston mob's racist violence/ Must be answered — no more silence."

In addition to Black community leaders, the action was backed by dozens of union officials and locals. All three Bay Area chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women participated with signs and banners.

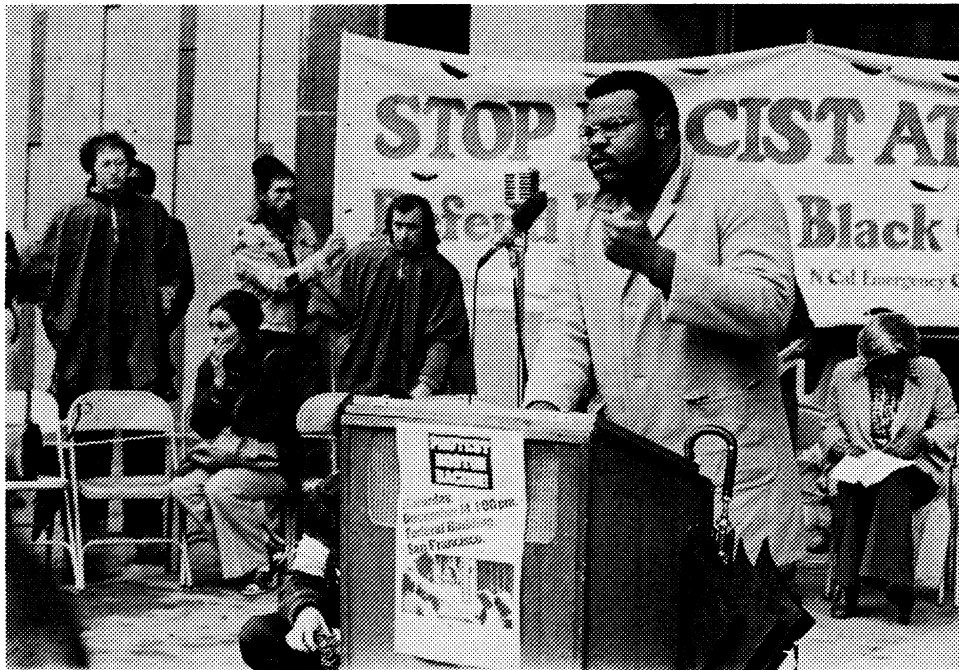
The rally was chaired by Yvonne Golden of the Black Teachers Caucus. It heard from State Representative Willie Brown; Reverend Cecil Williams; Ronayne Thompson, a Black high school student; Andrew Pulley, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance; and others.

Leading up to the action, a teach-in at Berkeley High School drew 125 people, most of them Black students. Local Black radio stations played a taped message from U.S. Representative Ronald Dellums urging support for the demonstration.

## San Diego

By MARK SCHNEIDER

SAN DIEGO — Forty demonstrators picketed the federal court building here Dec. 14 in solidarity with the Boston Freedom March for Human Dignity.



Andrew Pulley addresses Dec. 14 San Francisco rally to oppose racist attacks on Boston school desegregation.

in the civil rights movement over the years. But they cannot stop us. If we have to mobilize millions to get what we deserve, then that's what we'll do."

Marvin Schachter, president of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, said, "Through our struggles in the ACLU we have learned that victories in the courtrooms and legislative halls are not enough. Demonstrations like this are necessary — our victories will continue only if we continue our struggle."

Ten members of the Nazi Party showed up with provocative racist and anti-Semitic signs in an attempt to intimidate the demonstrators. They quickly left when Black youth from a nearby housing project made it clear that their presence was not desired.

## San Francisco

By CATHY FITZGERALD

SAN FRANCISCO — Undaunted by the rain here Dec. 14, a spirited crowd of 500 people gathered outside the federal building to hear Black, trade-union, and student leaders speak out

Prisoners across the street in the county jail greeted the marchers with cheers and clenched fists.

Endorsers of the action included the Black Federation; Herman Baca of Casa Justicia; San Diego State University Associated Students; Young Socialist Alliance; MECHA at the University of California at San Diego; and Southwestern College Black Student Union.

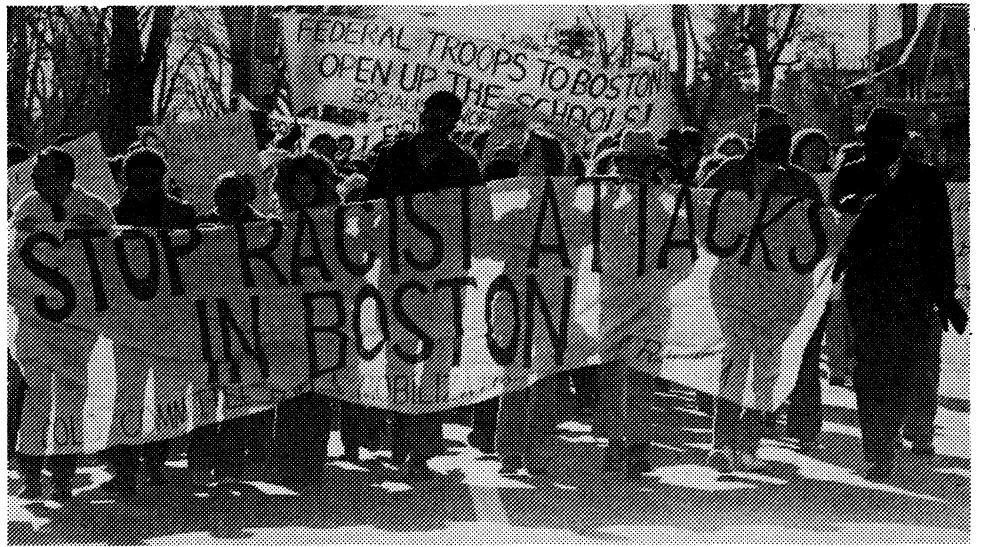
## Seattle

By GARY JOHNSON

SEATTLE — Led by a banner reading, "Defend Black Students in Boston," 300 people marched from downtown Seattle through the Black community Dec. 14.

The demonstration was warmly received by onlookers, many of whom joined the march or gave the clenched-fist salute as it went by.

Thad Spratlen, coordinator of the Seattle Freedom March Coalition, chaired a rally at the Langston Hughes Cultural Center. "What motivates the so-called proponents of neighborhood schools is not antibusing," Spratlen said, "but pure and un-



Dec. 14 solidarity demonstration in Denver

Militant/Frank Lord

adulterated racism."

Seattle NAACP President Lacy Steele succinctly stated the same point: "The problem is not the bus, it's us."

## Portland

By JOHN STUDER

PORTLAND — A demonstration of 175 took place in drizzling rain outside the Portland school administration building on Dec. 14.

The rally had won broad endorsement, including that of Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt. Speakers came from the NAACP, Urban League, and Black churches.

Another speaker, Bobbie McCrainey, linked her own struggle with that of Blacks in Boston. She described her fight to get into a government housing project in the lily-white Portland suburbs, and the harassment her children faced in the suburban schools.

## Missouri

By ALLAN GRADY

ST. LOUIS — Seventy people rallied here Dec. 14 to protest racist attacks on school desegregation in Boston.

The day before, a "Freedom Bus" left St. Louis to take a contingent to the March Against Racism in Boston. The two St. Louis-area locals of the American Federation of Teachers helped finance the bus.

Also on Dec. 14, the Legion of Black Collegians, Young Socialist Alliance, and NAACP organized a picket line in Columbia, Mo., in support of the Boston action.

## Twin Cities

By LEE GEARHART

MINNEAPOLIS — A Boston solidarity rally at North High School here drew 175 people on Dec. 14.

Jim Carson of Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59 declared his union's support for the right of Black students in Boston to attend the schools of their choice. "We must stand together and stop racism by whatever means necessary," Carson told the crowd.

"If we lose in Boston, we all lose," stated August Nimtz, a political science professor at the University of Minnesota. "Black people must be free."

Charles McCafferty, a leading member of Irish Northern Aid, talked of the similarities between the oppression of Black people in the U.S. and that of Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland.

Other speakers at the rally included Sybil Smith, a Black student at Central High and editor of the school paper; Harry Davis, chairperson of the Minneapolis school board; Ralph

Ware, American Indian Movement; Mahmoud El Kati, Minnesota Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Earl Craig, chairperson of the Black Caucus of the Democratic Party national committee.

## Denver

By RICH FEIGENBERG

DENVER — Two days before the Dec. 14 demonstration scheduled here, the right-wing, antibusing Citizens Alliance for Neighborhood Schools demanded the cancellation of the march and the resignation of two school board members who favor busing to integrate Denver schools.

Repudiating these racists, 175 people took part in a spirited march and rally Dec. 14.

At the head of the demonstration were school board member Omar Blair (one of those denounced by the racists); city council member Elvin Caldwell; State Senator Regis Groff; James Reynolds, director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; and Gene Howell, head of the Colorado NAACP.

Messages of support were received from lieutenant governor-elect George Brown and U.S. Representative Patricia Schroeder.

## Texas

By TOM VERNIER

HOUSTON — Two hundred people gathered in Emancipation Park here Dec. 14. The rally against racism was chaired by Ovide Duncatelle, a longtime Black activist.

Debra Andrews, a Black high school student, voiced her anger at the terror unleashed by racists in Boston. "Boston could come to Houston," she warned.

A solidarity action was also held in San Antonio. Sixty demonstrators heard speakers from the San Antonio Coalition against Racism, the NAACP, and the African Liberation Support Committee at a rally in front of the federal courthouse.

## Atlanta

By AL BILLINGS

ATLANTA — A Boston solidarity demonstration was held here Dec. 12. One hundred people marched from the grave of Martin Luther King to a brief rally in Central City Park.

Marchers carried signs saying, "Atlanta Says No to Racist Mob Violence" and "Stop the Racist Offensive in Boston."

A contingent of Atlantans also marched in the Boston antiracist demonstration on Dec. 14.



# Dec. 14 was setback to antibusing drive

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—Throughout this fall, the racist, antibusing forces here were riding high. They were self-confident, aggressive and growing. The liberal politicians were silent, and the conservative ones—from the local Democratic Party officials on up to the president of the United States—were giving them explicit or tacit backing.

Because the antisegregation forces were not organized, the racists could claim to speak for the majority. There was no organized opposition to them.

But the probusing teach-in and march here last weekend has changed the politics of the busing battle. The racists haven't been defeated, but they have been dealt a blow, and their offensive has been slowed down. Under the impact of the antiracist counter-mobilization, they are displaying some weaknesses that weren't visible before.

The reactionaries suffered a sharp setback when they mustered less than 5,000 people at a rally Dec. 15. This rally had been organized to counter the Dec. 14 probusing demonstration.

In calling for the Dec. 15 rally three weeks ago, right-wing radio commentator Avi Nelson, a leading figure in the antibusing movement, predicted that the counterdemonstration would draw "ten times as many people" as the antisegregation march.

The head-to-head test of strength left the racists defeated in the streets that they had monopolized since the opening of the school year.

## Lynch-mob violence

One great accomplishment of the probusing march was that it helped to clarify the true issues involved. It cut through the garbage about "neighborhood schools" and "quality education" that the racists have been peddling and that the capitalist news media have been promulgating.

This process of exposing the real nature of the racist campaign was aided by the widely-televised scene of the lynch mob that formed outside South Boston High on Dec. 11, threat-

ening the lives of the Black students trapped inside.

That mob booed down even its own recognized leader, Louise Day Hicks, when she appealed to the would-be lynchers to leave the area "for your own safety." It became clear that the ugly violence Hicks had been promoting was sweeping beyond her and the other elected officials who are not prepared at this time to shed all the trappings of "legality" behind which they have been operating.

## Divisions among racists

This division in the racist ranks has begun to emerge into the open, and it has shed a little bit of light on the forces involved in the "spontaneous" protests. It is clear that the racist campaign has attracted to this city—like maggots to a carcass—the vilest and most reactionary forces from across the country, including the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan.

At one rally, on Dec. 8, Hicks felt compelled to declare that the Nazis and the Klan were not welcome at antibusing actions. "This is organized resistance, but we're not Nazis," Hicks asserted.

This division led to a dispute over their Dec. 15 demonstration. Some wanted to call it off, perhaps to avoid a direct comparison with the probusing demonstration. In fact, the leading antibusing group, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), backed away from the demonstration, citing the potential of violence as its reason for not endorsing the action.

Nonetheless, a number of ROAR leaders did attend, and they were joined by elected officials, including school committee head John Kerrigan, city council member Albert O'Neil, and state representative Raymond Flynn. All three are Democrats.

Writing in the *Boston Globe* on Dec. 13, executive editor Robert Healy confirmed what many Black students have been saying for weeks about the antibusing movement: the violence in the schools is being systematically organized by the racists.



Turnout for Dec. 15 segregationist march was less than half as large as probusing march the day before.

Healy reported: "What the Justice Dept. agents and the police now believe is that there is an undercover operation for the anti-busing operation which is well-financed and has an excellent communications network."

"There are at least seven so-called 'information centers' operated by the antibusing forces. . . . Six weeks ago, according to a reliable report, they had collected \$30,000 for their operation, and police believe they have more funds now. . . ."

"Police and the Justice Dept. officials have evidence of what they call an 'orchestration' of operations behind the antibusing movement. At 8 a.m. on Wednesday [Dec. 11], before the stabbing at South Boston High School, arrest fact sheets . . . were being passed out in front of the school. . . ."

## 'White Christmas'

At the Dec. 15 antibusing rally, some of the racists, displaying the pressure they felt from the massive march the day before, tried once again to mask their true aims behind "mod-

erate" slogans. Instead of chanting "Kill the niggers" and "Beat the boneheads," they brandished signs such as "We are not racist pigs or animals, we are parents."

The racists even managed to dredge up one Black John Birch Society member from Dallas—the first Black ever to speak at such a rally—to show that theirs is a movement that knows no prejudice.

The *Globe* described how one organizer went around with a bullhorn explaining:

"We're gonna have a black man at the Common today. He's as against busing as we are. Now he's come all the way from Texas to show he's with us, so I don't wanna hear any slurs or racial stuff. Let's show him we're decent people in Southie."

The Bircher received the biggest applause of the day as he attacked the civil rights movement, the welfare system, and "lazy Blacks," and said South Boston is America's last hope.

The "good behavior" didn't last very long, however. One group, marching behind a Santa Claus, burst into song: "I'm Dreaming of a White Christmas."

# Why weren't CP and YWLL in Boston?

By DAVID JAMES

A "routine exercise in left sectarianism"—that's how James Steele, the newly elected national chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), described the Dec. 14 march in Boston.

This attack on the demonstration protesting racist attempts to prevent school desegregation was part of

Steele's report on Black liberation presented to the YWLL national convention. The convention met in Philadelphia at the same time as the Boston action.

Steele's remarks were in answer to an open letter to the YWLL from Andrew Pulley, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. Pulley's Dec. 3 letter urged the YWLL to re-

adjust its convention schedule, suggesting that "routine plans shouldn't be allowed to stand in the way of building the biggest possible turnout and broadest unity around the vitally important actions in Boston."

Steele's sectarian attitude expressed the approach of both the YWLL and the Communist Party (CP) to the action. Neither Stalinist organization had more than token forces present at the action, although virtually every other radical organization in the country turned out for it.

Even on the West Coast, where the CP and YWLL did not send many members to Philadelphia for the YWLL convention, they generally boycotted actions supporting the Boston march. In addition, there was scant mention of the action in the CP's newspaper, the *Daily World*, before it occurred.

But to top it off, the YWLL, as part of its convention, held a rally in Philadelphia on the evening of Dec. 14 where major leaders of the CP spoke, including Angela Davis and General Secretary Gus Hall.

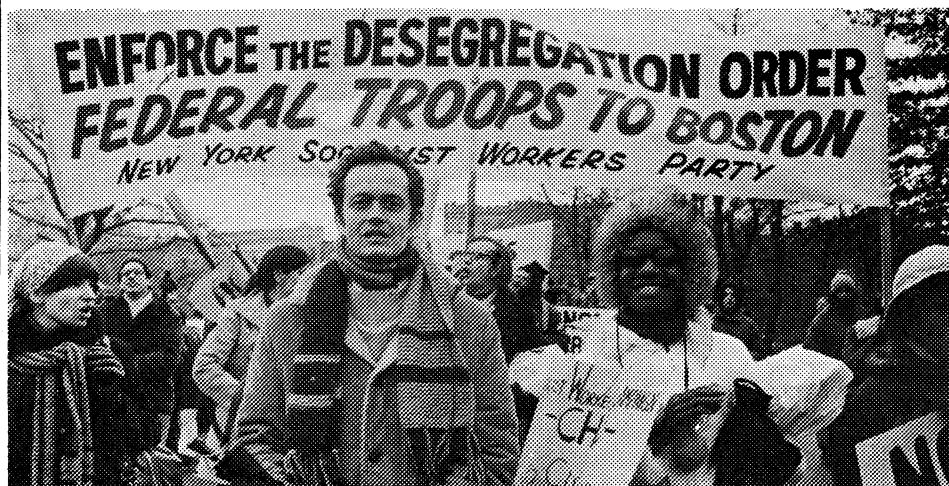
Although the largest antiracist action held in Boston in many years had just



ANGELA DAVIS: Demonstrative boycott

taken place that afternoon, there was only a passing reference to the situation there by one speaker.

From his pedestal in Philadelphia James Steele may lecture thousands of demonstrators in Boston about "routine exercises in left sectarianism," and Angela Davis and Gus Hall can demonstratively boycott these "routine exercises," but they shouldn't be surprised if those who were in Boston turn their backs in disgust.



Socialist Workers Party leaders Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reed traveled to Boston to participate in antiracist demonstration. Stalinists labeled the demonstration 'left sectarianism.'

# Racist school board votes to defy court

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON—The Boston school committee, which for years has steered the long and bitter fight against desegregation in the public schools here, risked placing itself in contempt of federal court Dec. 16 when it voted to defy a court order to submit a city-wide desegregation plan.

By a 3-to-2 vote the committee rejected a plan submitted to it by school department planner John Coakley. The committee was under court order to prepare and approve a plan for phase two of the desegregation process, slated for implementation next September.

The committee's decision to defy U.S. District Court Judge Arthur Garrity renders it liable to jail sentences and the possible disbarment of the three lawyers on the five-member, Democratic, all-white committee.

The committee's attorney, John Mirick, citing his "obligation to the court" as an attorney, submitted a copy of the plan to the judge's clerk.

Garrity originally set from noon Dec. 16 until Jan. 20 for interested groups and individuals to submit recommendations on the committee's

thus held the swing vote.

"I don't want to be part of anyone getting killed," McDonough said, "but voting against (the plan) also gives me problems. It's a question of my livelihood" as an attorney," the *Boston Globe* reported.

At the Dec. 16 meeting McDonough took great pains to impart the impression that he was troubled by his conscience. He alternately put on and took off his half-moon reading glasses or fiddled with them on the table. His face looked strained and his brow beaded with sweat as he said:

"Many times we said we could not balance the schools through busing. But the state board [of education] said we could. We were proved to be correct.

"We know now that it has not been implemented safely. You cannot take one group of people and throw them at another," he asserted. "In good conscience I cannot vote for this plan."

By contrast, John Kerrigan, the tart-tongued, weaselly-eyed committee head, showed up for the meeting exuding confidence. He declared, "Because of partial implementation of this plan there has been bloodshed and people



Racist mob at South Boston High School overturned police cars trying to get at Black students.

plan. But with the committee's defiance, apparently anyone can now submit a proposal for city-wide desegregation.

Reacting to the committee's plan, John Leubsdorf, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said the NAACP may file contempt proceedings against the school committee and may either submit its own desegregation plan or support Coakley's. The NAACP is a plaintiff in the suit that resulted in the original ruling by Garrity in favor of busing.

Coakley's plan, described as the "most sweeping reform in the history of the school system," would have required the busing of 14,000 students in addition to the 17,000 already being bused under the current plan. All along, the school committee has contended that it opposes the busing of any student, thus attempting to mask its racist opposition to allowing Blacks to attend the virtually all-white schools.

Coakley's plan would also have required busing Black students to East Boston and Charlestown, where racists have already threatened violence if busing occurs.

The Dec. 16 meeting was continued from the one held Dec. 13, where the committee heard Coakley's plan but did not vote on it. It was reported that committee member John McDonough had not made up his mind, and

leaving this city. I cannot add to this and will vote no."

This committee will not "increase the hatred that will come to the city as a result of this plan," Kerrigan added.

"Going along with this philosophy [busing] reminds me of a concentration camp. It's time for someone to stand up for this city. . . . No one is going to make me the architect of a plan that will bring bloodshed, especially those maggots who live outside this city."

Kerrigan then instructed the committee's lawyer to go to court and present Garrity with "evidence" of what he says were the double standards used by state police in their treatment of white and Black students.

"Expel the constant troublemakers," Kerrigan fumed, referring to Black students.

"Let the court hear of the assaults on the teachers by these troublemakers," he added; let the white South Boston students explain "what's going on there. I'm sick of it."

At this point he was interrupted by an elderly Black woman in the audience, who gave a short, impassioned plea.

"That's not right. Oh, why don't you be fair for once? Why don't you bring some Black students to court and hear their side?" she pleaded in vain. "Every child has a right to go to school. Why don't you be fair?"

Kerrigan only sneered.

# 2,000 protest college cutbacks at N.Y. rally

By LINDA LOEW

NEW YORK—Massive cutbacks in the New York City budget have begun to hit the City University (CUNY) campuses, and 2,000 students and faculty turned out Dec. 12 to protest at City Hall.

The University administration is now in the process of preparing guidelines for some \$16-million in cuts for this year's operating budget of the more than 20 campuses. Already student aides have been fired, library hours have been reduced, hiring freezes have been announced, increased class sizes have been proposed, and some employees have received notice that they will not be working next year.

The programs in greatest jeopardy are those that have always received inadequate funding, such as evening-session courses, remedial projects, and newer programs won by student struggles over the last few years, like the Black, Puerto Rican, and women's studies programs.

The City Hall rally was called by the University Student Senate (USS), a city-wide body of student government representatives, and the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), a city-wide faculty organization. In a joint statement they urged "students, faculty, and staff to join together in a single voice of opposition to the crippling effects that these cuts will have on all of us."

Protest activities on the various CUNY campuses throughout the city had preceded the Dec. 12 action. Among the schools with the largest contingents at the rally were Brook-

lyn College, which filled three buses, and Hostos Community College, which sent five buses and closed down for the day.

The major theme of the rally, "No cuts, no way," was echoed on huge banners, hundreds of signs, and a chorus of chants after every speaker. Jay Hershenson, chairperson of the USS; Belle Zeller, president of the PSC; Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association; and the student-body presidents of several schools were among the speakers.

Speaking of the national significance of the CUNY struggle, Kelly noted that students across the country have looked to the CUNY schools in the past. She said, "Tell them to fight. Tell them how important it is to the rest of us. Free tuition and open admissions are still a dream to students in other cities. CUNY is now a focal point for the whole funding crisis in higher education."

The full impact of the cuts will not be felt until the beginning of next semester. Furthermore, with the deepening economic crisis, it is clear that the attacks are just beginning. Experience has shown that the real targets of the politicians always turn out to be the policies of free tuition and open admissions.

However, it is hardly likely that these attacks will go unanswered. Almost every speaker at the rally insisted that the fight against cutbacks was only beginning. As Steve Mayo, student body president at Queens College, said, "We are not going to sit back and watch the quality of our education deteriorate."

# Court orders new trial in J.B. Johnson case

By PATH HAYES

ST. LOUIS—Division 1 of the Missouri Supreme Court ordered a new trial for J.B. Johnson Dec. 16. Johnson, whose case has become a rallying point for St. Louis Blacks who are fighting racial injustice, was framed up nearly five years ago for the murder of a St. Louis County policeman.

Johnson's mother, Mary Watkins, said, "This is a tremendous victory for my son and all young Black and poor people unjustly held in this nation's prisons."

Immediately following the decision, Missouri Attorney General John Danforth announced that his office would appeal the decision to the full court.

A statement released by the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson commented, "This desperation move by Danforth is the latest in a series of stalls designed to continue the suffering of this young Black man. J.B. Johnson has suffered enough," they said, demanding an end to the vindictive political persecution by the county and state officials.

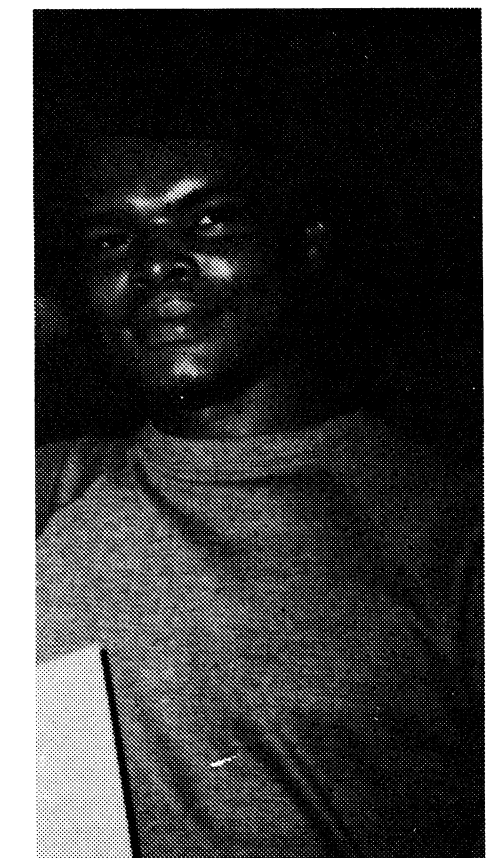
The court, in a 2-to-1 decision, ruled that St. Louis County Circuit Judge Herbert Lasky allowed prejudicial error during the trial by permitting the prosecuting attorney, Noel Robyn, to use an alleged statement by Johnson to police that had previously been ruled excluded from the trial.

Johnson's alleged statement was illegally introduced into evidence by a St. Louis County policeman in an effort to rebut Johnson's testimony.

Lawyers for Johnson, who include

noted civil liberties attorney William Kunstler, announced that they will go to court immediately to obtain Johnson's release. They stated that Johnson must now be considered innocent, until and unless proven guilty.

Mary Watkins declared, "I want my son home for Christmas."



Militant/Linda Somes

J.B. JOHNSON: May be home for Christmas.



## Washington charges 'tyranny'

# Imperialist hypocrites crack whip at UN

By DAVE FRANKEL

Speaking to the United Nations General Assembly Dec. 6, U.S. representative John Scali delivered a strident attack on "the growing tendency of this organization to adopt one-sided, unrealistic resolutions that cannot be implemented."

Scali argued that the decision to bar South Africa from participating in General Assembly deliberations, the invitation of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat to the UN, and the vote to support the right of the Palestinians to self-determination were all "self-centered actions [that] endanger the future of this organization."

Reminding the delegates of where the real power is, Scali noted that "the minority which is so often offended may in fact be a practical majority, in terms of its capacity to support this organization and implement its decisions."

He urged the member nations to remember their place in the scheme of things, since "they are not equal in size, in population, or in wealth. They have different capabilities and, there-

fore, different responsibilities, as the [UN] charter makes clear."

Of course, the fulminations of Scali and the representatives of Washington's imperialist allies in Europe against "the tyranny of the majority" should be taken with a grain of salt. The U.S., Britain, and France still retain their permanent seats in the Security Council, along with the right to veto any UN action, as opposed to verbal declarations.

And in the General Assembly as well, votes such as the recent ones in favor of Washington's puppet regime in Cambodia and the UN's continued military occupation of Korea show that the imperialists are far from losing all control over the organization they created almost 30 years ago.

However, in the last 30 years much of the world's population has achieved political independence. In addition, social revolutions have triumphed in China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba, and all this has been reflected at the UN.

The most recent gains for the colonial peoples at the UN are direct results of the increased self-confidence and combativity generated by the success of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in raising oil prices and keeping them raised in the face of growing U.S. opposition. Washington's condemnation of "self-centered actions" is simply an attack on the right of the colonial countries to pursue their own interests.

The crude hypocrisy of Scali's attack on "the tyranny of the majority" can only be fully savored by recalling a little of the history of the UN. As Paul Hofmann candidly noted in the *New York Times* Dec. 8:

"When the organization was founded in San Francisco in 1945, it was a club of the victors of World War II. The United States, the pre-eminent global power as sole possessor of the atomic bomb, had just to say a word and the 20 Latin American republics and other allies would form a secure majority among the 51 assembly



Washington used UN as its adjunct in carrying out counterrevolutionary war in Korea, but now it is complaining of 'self-centered' actions by colonial countries.



Attack by Scali at UN on 'tyranny of majority' was part of U.S. offensive against anti-imperialist measures of colonial countries, especially in Mideast.

members."

From the point of view of the people of the world, this was an artificial majority. Most of Africa, the peoples of Indonesia and Indochina, and the hundreds of millions on the Indian subcontinent had no voice or vote, since they were denied independence by the European imperialists.

Nevertheless, the Israeli settler-colony was happy enough to parade the 1947 decision of this body to partition Palestine as the legal basis for its usurpation of another people's land. When a much more representative UN affirmed the rights of the Palestinians, the response was talk about "the tyranny of the majority."

Washington and its allies would like to perpetuate a situation in which, as Algeria's representative to the UN ex-

plained, they made the rules and those "who joined the international community later . . . had no choice but to accept an international order, an international law, and international customs that were established without reference to us and sometimes—why not say so?—contrary to our own interests."

The way in which Washington used its domination of the UN to further its imperialist policies in the past was best illustrated by the Korean war. Under the pretext of a supposed North Korean attack on South Korea, the UN voted to condemn the North without ever hearing its side of the story.

U.S. forces intervened under the UN flag, and invaded North Korea. When Chinese forces entered the fighting to

*Continued on page 26*

## Governor & press launch witch-hunt

# Puerto Rican gov't forces strikers back to work

By DAVE FRANKEL

Three thousand employees of the Puerto Rican Aqueducts and Sewers Authority (Autoridad de Acueductos y Alcantarillados—AAA) were forced to return to work Dec. 12 after a strike of 40 days.

In attempting to break the strike against the government-run water authority, the colonial government jailed the leaders of the striking union, called up 1,700 national guardsmen, and finally invoked a compulsory arbitration law. A three-member arbitration panel appointed by the Puerto Rican Department of Labor announced its decision Dec. 6.

The government-appointed panel, arbitrating a strike against a government-run utility, upheld the government's position that any wage increase above 10 percent would be a violation of the law limiting wage increases for public workers. In reference to this, Puerto Rican Governor Rafael Hernández Colón insisted that "the Puerto Rican lives under a government of laws . . . the doors of anarchy are not going to be opened during my administration."

The AAA workers had been demanding a two-year contract with a wage increase of about 20 percent for each year—hardly an unreasonable demand in a country where infla-

tion is running at a rate of 15 percent a year. The arbitration panel awarded them an increase of approximately 10 percent a year, as part of a three-year agreement. In addition, the workers were denied payment for the time they were on strike.

The strikers were informed that they would be fired if they didn't accept the arbitration findings and return to work. In a Dec. 9 meeting the AAA workers voted to return to work "as enemies of the Acueducts and Sewers Authority and in order to continue the struggle from within."

The meeting decided to refuse to sign the contract imposed by the arbitration panel and to continue a legal suit aimed at having the compulsory arbitration law declared unconstitutional. The bitterness of the workers was increased by the fact that more than 30 people, mostly AAA strikers, have been arrested since the strike began on charges of committing acts of sabotage. The AAA has suspended the employees accused of sabotage, although they have not even been tried yet.

The government crackdown against the AAA workers was clearly intended to make the AAA strike an example to the labor movement as a whole. The deteriorating economic situation in Puerto Rico has led to rising labor

militancy: in early December there were eight strikes going on in the San Juan area alone.

Unemployment stands at an official rate of 15 percent, and the real figure is probably double that, while inflation shows no sign of easing up.

A series of bomb attacks against various AAA installations, business headquarters, National Guard trucks, and other sites was used by Hernández Colón as a pretext for calling up the National Guard Nov. 28. The bombings—at least some of which were obvious police provocations—were also the signal for an unrestrained red-baiting campaign in the capitalist press. The newspapers and government officials tried to link the strikers and the Puerto Rican independence movement—especially the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP)—to the bombings.

On Dec. 3 the homes of eight PSP members in Ponce were raided and searched by police, who asserted that arms and ammunition were stored in them. They claimed to find one .22-caliber pistol and arrested Eduardo Cruz, a PSP leader in Ponce, on a weapons charge.

The type of press campaign that has been whipped up was indicated by a column in the San Juan daily *El*

*Nuevo Día* on Dec. 10. Titled "Dangerous Ideology," it explained:

"Some important groups of Puerto Rican workers, already organized in unions, are allowing themselves to be ensnared by false leaders who maintain enslaving ideologies, such as communism, and are allowing these leaders to direct their trade union struggles for better wages and working conditions. . . .

"The communists of the campus and the foolish tools that they have been able to recruit and brainwash, are directed by the communist, Castroist party machine that operates in Havana."

These witch-hunting attacks on the labor movement were initiated by Hernández Colón, who calls himself "a Teddy Kennedy liberal." In an interview on Dec. 6 with *New York Times* reporter Tom Buckley, Hernández Colón accused "party activists who have been trained in Cuba" of being responsible for the bombings.

"I could give you the names," said this liberal witch-hunter, "but it would serve no purpose since we lack evidence at this time."

But such a small detail—"We lack evidence"—won't be allowed to stand in the way of the union-busting political frame-ups the colonial administration is cooking up.

## Next step in Boston

The city of Boston, the state of Massachusetts, and the federal government are refusing to enforce their own laws and defend the lives of Black students.

The frenzied racist mob that blockaded South Boston High School Dec. 11 was out for blood. "We're going to kill you!" and "Lynch the niggers!" they screamed at the Black students trapped inside. As the students ran toward their buses between police lines under a hail of bricks, rocks, and bottles, it is a miracle the racists did not get their wish.

In the wake of this lynch-mob assault, the Boston NAACP went to federal court and demanded that the government act to protect the lives of the embattled Black students.

Judge Arthur Garrity, who ordered desegregation of the Boston schools, ruled favorably on many of the NAACP's requests. He banned violent or disruptive activity near the schools or along bus routes, and ordered the school committee to issue a regulation prohibiting the use of racial slurs on school property.

But these orders are left toothless by Garrity's refusal to order the National Guard called out, as the NAACP has asked, to defend the students. Garrity insisted that the recent reduction of the number of police in South Boston was "a miscalculation that probably would have been done by anyone in an official position," and said he was sure the police could handle the situation.

School authorities have kept South Boston and Roxbury high schools closed since the lynch-mob attack, however, precisely on the grounds that they cannot guarantee the safety of the pupils. The government's refusal to use the necessary armed force to keep the schools open and safe is a concession to the racists and a blow to desegregation.

The racists have been fostering turmoil and violence in the schools with the central aim of sabotaging the court-ordered busing—getting the schools shut down and "proving" that desegregation doesn't work. Emboldened by their success to date in defying the law with impunity, the school committee has now refused to submit a Phase II desegregation plan as earlier ordered by Judge Garrity.

Garrity must enforce his own law! All necessary force must be used to open the schools and protect Black students! It took troops with rifles and bayonets to block the racist violence in Little Rock 17 years ago, and that is what is required in Boston today.

The battle against the forces of reaction in Boston must now be carried forward. The Dec. 13 teach-in and Dec. 14 freedom march sounded sharp opening shots on the side of civil rights. Students have taken the lead, as they did in the earlier civil rights movement, by setting the next step in the campaign. They are urging supporters of civil rights to come to Boston again Feb. 14-15 for a conference to plan further action. This conference can be a powerful boost toward developing an ongoing mass movement that can defeat the racist offensive.

## Rights victory

The injunction issued Dec. 13 against FBI spying at the Young Socialist Alliance convention represents a victory for everyone fighting for social change. When revolutionary socialists win greater rights, it means a gain for the civil liberties of everyone.

This decision is yet another reflection of the political changes wrought by the deep radicalization that has spread throughout this society since the 1960s. In response to the Vietnam war, racism, Watergate, and the economic crisis, broad masses of the American people have come to distrust and to challenge the undemocratic nature of the most basic institutions of this country.

This challenge has its ramifications in the legal arena. Juries have more frequently refused to convict victims of government frame-ups. The government has been forced to abandon prosecutions of other victims. And suits have been brought against the FBI and other secret-police organizations to force a halt to their harassment of political dissenters and to compel the public disclosure of government secrets.

The degree to which the government will grant concessions on these demands for democratic rights depends on the strength of public support mobilized behind these actions.

An exemplary job is being done on this score by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which has already gained broad support for the SWP and YSA suit that led to the historic preliminary injunction concerning the YSA convention.

Now is the time for redoubled efforts to move forward on the strength of the victory the PRDF has just won.

During this holiday season we hope **Militant** readers will remember the tens of thousands of our brothers and sisters behind prison bars.

The **Militant** receives many letters each week from prisoners all across the country. This week we are turning the entire letters column over to these readers.

A growing number of prisoners subscribe to **The Militant**. Many cannot afford to pay. In such cases we send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions.

We ask readers to help defray the cost of these subscriptions through **The Militant's special Prisoner Fund**. When making up your gift list, consider sending **The Militant** to a prisoner. A \$4 donation sends **The Militant** to a prisoner for six months. Send your donation to: **Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.**

### Prisoners' Xmas fast

In 1973 I had the honor of participating in a national prisoners' Xmas fast. Our fast was called as symbolic solidarity with struggles across the country. Among them was the plight of the Attica Brothers. We could not celebrate while comrades were being oppressed around the world.

Almost a year later in the struggle we have had some victories and some losses. We have also had some comrades killed. But the struggle continues and so does oppression.

At this time I call on all prisoners reading this to announce and organize the national prisoners' Xmas fast for 1974—to refuse to partake of the Xmas meal the oppressors put before us to celebrate their capitalist holiday.

As long as there is an oppressed class I am of it and cannot celebrate until the final victory.

*A prisoner  
Missouri*

### Obscene amassing of wealth

I have been fortunate enough to have received **The Militant** for the past two years while in prison. It has given me a much broader perception of politics USA and the oppressive forces at work to maintain the stranglehold the wealthy people have on the masses. I cannot imagine anything more obscene than the amassing of wealth while millions in the world starve to death.

Please continue my subscription for another six months.

*A prisoner  
California*

### The Militant suppressed

This facility has been suppressing the delivery of your paper. From June to November 1974, only one copy was received.

I have been confined since April and have been trying to get this facility to release your paper, which has been arriving addressed to me. The facility lieutenant had previously stated to me that **The Militant** would "never" be allowed in.

Only recently, after considerable correspondence, did the chief deputy for security and correctional services state that **The Militant** could be delivered to me.

Now, in the event that the sheriff's department will comply with postal regulations and their own directives, I will begin receiving my renewal subscription.

I'm looking forward to your next issue. Thank you.

*A prisoner  
California*

### Would be sorely missed

**The Militant** is the only paper I can trust for a factual account of the activities that are of interest to me. I find that the establishment news media either slant their news or fail to report it altogether.

The paper you send me is passed around to many of my brothers here and it would be sorely missed if for some reason it were discontinued. I personally use it as an educational tool for myself and as a means to raise the political and social awareness of my brothers.

I would also like to say that I look forward to Miguel Pendas's articles. He's right on! Please continue your great work and rest assured that many of us here are with you 100 percent.

*A prisoner  
California*

### Inhumane conditions

I am writing to you at this time to tell you a few things about this prison. First is the unsanitary living conditions. The quality of the food served here is pathetic. It is not uncommon to find such delectable morsels as hair (in just about anything); worms in the soup, potatoes, and elsewhere; and roaches in anything that does not come from cans.

One inmate found a mouse's head in his spaghetti. Upon bringing this little tidbit to the attention of one of the food-service personnel, he was told, "What's the matter? Did you have to pay extra for it?"

Another dismal fact about the living conditions here is that the inmates are paid only ten cents an hour, which means an inmate must work for five-and-a-half hours simply to purchase one package of cookies. Inmates make anywhere from \$2 to \$12 per month.

These things are just a drop in the sea when you look at all of what goes on here "behind closed doors."

*A prisoner  
Ohio*

### Tells it like it is

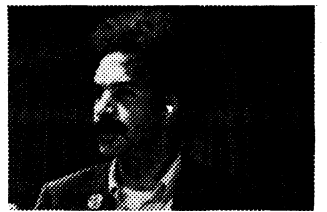
Please renew my six-month subscription. **The Militant** is the only leftist periodical that really tells it like it is.

I look forward each week to receiving **The Militant**, but many times it is censored by these repressive authorities and I don't even get a chance to see it. But that only shows that these tools of capitalism will go to all lengths to see that anything that is diametrically opposed to their system is suppressed.

I do see that copies I receive are distributed so that all inmates will get a chance to see for themselves the real causes of racism, sexism, and exploitation.

In the future I'd like to see some in-depth articles dealing with these





## Looking forward from Dec. 14

concentration camps and our struggle to improve our conditions.  
*A prisoner*  
*New York*

### Powder keg exploded

It has finally happened. The short fuse burning on the powder keg of inhumane pressures has exploded. Recently, shotgun-armed guards opened fire on unarmed, nonviolent inmates here and gunned down at least three of them.

Is this the price the inmate population here has to pay for peaceful collective bargaining? Do we have to waste our blood and shed the blood of our oppressors to obtain our fair shake?

*A prisoner*  
*Georgia*

### Protest over conditions

This is just a thank-you letter for adding my name to the subscribers list. I have always enjoyed *The Militant*. I am also sending you a copy of a petition we circulated here, protesting the lack of decent food and the fact that guards are not giving us enough time to eat. Altogether, it was signed by 432 men.

*A prisoner*  
*Tennessee*

### Family turned away

There are two facts I would like to make known of our repressive state here. First, they have disregarded a federal court ruling that mail from a prisoner's lawyer not be opened other than in the prisoner's presence. They claim that the state attorney general sent down orders to disregard the federal court ruling.

And on my visits, they are constantly humiliating all my visitors. Almost every time my family comes up they are told lies and turned away, and if they ask to see the warden, the state police are called out on them.

It is my wish that I continue to receive your wonderful paper. Unfortunately I am still in the same poor financial circumstances as before, and so I appeal to you once again to send me a complimentary subscription. Thank you, and keep up the good work.

*A prisoner*  
*Michigan*

### A truer way

This is a letter applying for renewal of my subscription. I decided to write as soon as possible, because I do like *The Militant* very much.

Keep in the struggle, because there are quite a few of us Chicanos who do believe in a truer way!

*A prisoner*  
*California*

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.

BOSTON—Last spring, when the antibusing forces laid their cards on the table after losing a hand to the courts, and said they'd be donning battle gear in the fall to combat school desegregation, they didn't want to appear racist. So they hustled the support of a few Blacks. A newspaper picture even showed one of their demonstrations with a few Black faces in the crowd.

But that was before the violence and epithets lent real meaning to the terms "forced busing" and "neighborhood schools."

Now the racists have problems. So they tout their cause as "one of principle, not race," hoping to mask their bigotry. But that doesn't work. So at their Dec. 15 rally they tried Clay Smothers, a Black radio commentator from Dallas, Tex., who said, "I ain't no white folks' nigger." But that didn't work either.

Fact is, nothing will work. The racists could have Disney on Parade, soul singer James Brown, and a hurdy-gurdy man with a monkey passing out sawbucks, and it still wouldn't draw Blacks to their rallies.

That's because Blacks understand that this antibusing movement is clearly anti-Black. And more and more are joining the struggle to stop the racists, regardless of differences they may hold on the questions of busing itself, community control of the schools, or the demand for federal troops to enforce the court order.

So it was heartening to see so many Blacks on the March Against Racism Dec. 14. Blacks not only from across the city, but indeed, from across the country. And as well, Puerto Ricans, whites, and others who realize the importance of defending the Black community against this racist offensive.

It seemed that for many Blacks who were there, the teach-in the night before the demonstration, and the demonstration itself, were more than movement functions. They were simply *the* place to be in Boston last weekend.

Both seemed to be family affairs. There were toddlers in strollers and children in parents' arms. Men hobbling from age or from happenstance, and one in a wheelchair. There was long hair and there was short hair. There was gray hair. On a few heads, there was no hair. There were even a few mutts to be counted.

At the demonstration, cold spirits, hot coffee, hot tea, and hot chocolate kept many warm. At the teach-in, it was fiery phrases.

"The walls of South Boston will come tumbling down. Racism will not stand. . . . Its walls will crumble," the Reverend Vernon Carter of All Saints Church in Boston declared at the teach-in. "Racism can be destroyed. . . . Those who would be free must strike the first blow."

"The day we stop marching is the day freedom is doomed. . . . We must march again. We must never cease marching. I like marching because when I march I'm marching over land that for 300 years our fathers have given their blood and sweat for."

Yes, the teach-in was inspiring and the demonstration, too. Looking back, we can see that they proved one thing—that it is possible to unite diverse forces in defense of the Black community, in defense of its right to a safe, desegregated education, and in opposition to the racist offensive.

Yes, it took long hours and often slow, uphill work to do this, but the momentum that was generated must not be lost. As we move forward to the February antiracist conference, it is certain there'll be more long hours and more hard work, even though now it will be easier to involve the unions, the student groups, and every conceivable Black organization that's worth its name.

Yes, the racists were dealt a blow last weekend, but they're stubborn and they're not through. They've got the numbers, money, and backing that we'll have to match. But one thing the Dec. 14 demonstration did prove is that the racists don't own the streets. And, yes, as Reverend Carter said, those walls will come tumbling down.

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Women answer Louise Hicks

BOSTON—At the Dec. 13 National Teach-in Against Racism held at Harvard University one of the speakers, author Jonathan Kozol, drew loud applause when he referred to Louise Day Hicks as "the woman who set back the dignity of women's liberation by about 100 years. . . ."

Certainly the spectacle of Hicks and other women of her ilk leading the racist antibusing movement has been despicable. These women stand on the wrong side in the fight for the rights of the Black community, and their goals are the polar opposite of those of women's liberation.

The feminists won't be found with that gang, throwing rocks and bottles at Black schoolchildren, screaming obscene racial slurs, and participating in lynch mobs.

The feminists and feminist sentiment were to be found on the *other* side this past weekend, rallying and marching against racism.

There were thousands of women among the demonstrators, including several contingents composed primarily of women. A contingent wearing blue and white hats with "United Store Workers" written on the side were predominantly Black women. And a large percentage of the contingent from District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) were Black women.

Several feminist groups organized contingents with banners and signs. And one women's liberation group organized a bus from New Haven, Conn., to attend the march.

On Dec. 13 the Boston chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) sponsored a press conference to announce labor support for the demonstration. AFSCME, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Service Employees International Union, United Farm Workers,

Massachusetts Teachers Association, and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America all sent representatives. All, save one, of the representatives were women.

CLUW also had its own contingent at the march, and CLUW members handed out a leaflet stating their opposition to the white boycott of the schools and the organized violence against Black schoolchildren.

Many well-known feminists endorsed the antiracist activities. I spotted Florynce Kennedy in the crowd, and Gloria Steinem was on the speakers platform. Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate challenging Mayor Richard Daley in Chicago, marched at the front of the first contingent to leave the assembly point. Mary Peabody, who created a national stir when she was arrested on the civil rights march in St. Augustine, Fla., in 1964, attended the teach-in on Friday night. (At the time of her arrest, Mary Peabody's son was the governor of Massachusetts.)

Then, of course, the real heroines of the day were there—the Black students who are courageously standing up to the racist mobs and the parents who are supporting them. Marguerite Skinner, a Black student at South Boston High, addressed the rally on Saturday, as did Linda Lawrence, a white student at Hyde Park High. Parthenia Stanton, one of the coordinators of the Student Committee for the December 14 March Against Racism and a member of Young Black Voices, spoke at the teach-in.

All in all, it was not a good day for the Louise Day Hickses, nor for those who wish to hold these racists up as examples of American "womanhood."

On Saturday, Dec. 14, the dignity of women's liberation was marching up the streets of Boston chanting, "Keep the buses rolling, turn the racists back!"



**Optimist**—West German finance minister Hans Apel said that he foresees no immediate danger of a world economic collapse.

**Foot-in-mouth disease**—At the recent Democratic Party conference, George Hardy, a union official, told the labor caucus that people could vote as they chose, because "you're all free, white, and 21." Responding to outraged shouts from Blacks, he quickly amended it, "White and colored."

Another official, trying to soothe matters, chimed in, "We're all grown men," adding hastily, "and women." A third official sagely suggested, "Forget it, you're just making it worse."

**Mixed victory**—After years of protest, women workers at a cigarette factory in England began getting 60 free cigarettes a week, the same number allowed males. Previously they had re-

ceived half the male allotment. The company could have argued that they considered the women workers more valuable.

**Or else . . .**—A Florida couple sued a Fernandina Beach hospital, charging it had held their newborn baby hostage for several hours for a \$69 bill.

**No sweat**—The FDA found that the chemical element zirconium, used in

several major antiperspirants, may be exposing 100 million Americans to lung disease. The department said this could be "extremely serious," but did not recommend banning the stuff.

**How does this grab you?**—Neiman-Marcus is featuring shatoosh scarves, "woven from the delicate throat hairs of the Ibex goat." The yield is but 12 ounces per goat annually. Only \$350.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

### Miguel Pendás



## El Calendario: days to remember

"Help destroy the myth of the 'sleeping giant!'" exhort the publishers of *El Calendario Chicano* for 1975. It is an informative, attractive, and reasonably-priced calendar that commemorates hundreds of events in Chicano history.

"Our people are not a 'suddenly awakening minority' who have been taking siestas for the past 200 years," states *calendario* coordinator Armando Valdez in the notes. "We are and have always been a proud and fighting people who have daily struggled to maintain our dignity in a nation that has exploited and abused us."

Having the *calendario* hanging on your wall is an educational experience.

Well-known events such as Mexican Independence Day (Sept. 16) and the massive Chicano Moratorium antiwar demonstration (Aug. 29, 1971) are included. But so are many more obscure events that the *gringo* rulers have blotted out of the memory of *la raza*.

Did you know that a Chicano, Gabriel Moraga, was the first to explore the Sierras, 20 years before Jedediah Smith? Of course, we know who ended up getting all the credit in the Anglo history books.

Everybody knows that Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the abolition of slavery in 1863. But how many know that President Vicente Guerrero proclaimed the abolition of slavery in Mexico 34 years before, on Sept. 15, 1829?

Chicanos will be proud to learn that many of their ancestors fought back courageously against the Anglo vigilantes who sought to despoil them of their land and lives. One resistance leader of South Texas, Juan Cortina, fought a *gringo* terror gang called the "Brownsville Tigers." The Tigers were forced to retreat Oct. 24, 1859, leaving behind a cannon that Cortina fired every morning to wake them up.

Militant labor traditions of Chicano workers are also celebrated in the *calendario*. Emma Tenayuca Brooks, a 20-year-old Chicana, was a leader of the 1938 pecan-shellers' strike in San Antonio, Texas. On Feb. 1 of that year thousands of Chicanos walked off their jobs at 130 shops. The strikers braved bloody police repression for 37 days and succeeded in winning union recognition.

The brutality of Anglo domination is brought home in a number of incidents from the past. Lynchings were common. On March 22, 1882, "A Chicano named Florentino is fatally shot by Wyatt and Warren Earp, Doc Holliday, and others for no apparent reason, according to the *Tombstone Epitaph*."

Some of the events from the past have an uncanny timeliness. On Feb. 15, 1909, the *Denver Republican* reported that the Lakeside resort would employ no Mexican bands for their concerts,

because hiring Mexican bands keeps Anglos from working. Sound familiar?

In reporting contemporary events, the *calendario* gives us an appreciation of the fact that many of us have participated in the making of history. On Nov. 6, 1971, it reports, a contingent of 1,000 Chicanos in Denver joined a march of over 10,000 protesting the Vietnam war.

Certain dates can serve as occasions for the Chicano liberation movement to honor those who have fallen in the struggle against racial and class oppression. It was on April 10, 1919, that soldiers of Col. Jesus Maria Guajardo, a lackey of U.S. imperialism, assassinated the revolutionary Mexican peasant leader Emiliano Zapata in Chinameca. And on Nov. 21, 1922, Ricardo Flores Magón, a courageous Mexican freedom fighter, died a political prisoner at the Leavenworth, Kansas, federal penitentiary.

Capitalist society commits a crime by suppressing the work of such artists as Malaquias Montoya, Carmen Lomas Garza, Sergio Hernández, Ramses Noriega, and Mujeres Muralistas, a group of Chicana muralists, whose drawings adorn *El Calendario*.

The *calendario* costs \$1.50, or four for \$5. Add \$.50 per calendar for first class mail. Order from Southwest Network, 1020 B Street, Suite 8, Hayward, Calif. 94541.

## National Picket Line

### Frank Lovell



## A new leader in steel union

The following guest column was written by John Isenhower, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 65.

CHICAGO—More than 1,500 steelworkers packed USWA Local 65 hall in South Chicago Dec. 8 for the swearing-in ceremony of the union's new director in District 31, Ed Sadlowski.

The affair was unusual in several respects. It was the first time that a director of this largest district of the steelworkers union has taken the oath of office here in Chicago, not at the international headquarters in Pittsburgh. The oath was administered this time by the leaders of all seven subdistricts, not by USWA International President I. W. Abel.

Abel was not present due to "previous engagements." But all who were there understood that the real reason for his absence was to draw a line between himself and Sadlowski, and by doing so he also drew a line between the international officers and District 31.

Abel and Joseph Germano, former dictatorial director of District 31, had handpicked Sam Evett as the man to run the district, and had promoted

and financed Evett's campaign against Sadlowski in the past two union elections.

The recent election was a court-ordered rerun due to massive fraud in the previous one. Sadlowski campaigned for union democracy and won a 2-to-1 victory. In his acceptance speech at the ceremony, Sadlowski said that "never again will someone who pays the freight in this union have to wait a quarter of a century to get on the ballot" for union office. "And never again will we call the leadership of this union an 'official family.'" Sadlowski promised "programs and procedures to make sure every guy and gal who pays dues has a voice."

Attorney Joseph Rauh was introduced and spoke at the swearing-in. Steelworkers cheered when he said, "District 31 and all the steel union is going to become a fighting union like the United Mine Workers."

Rauh is Sadlowski's attorney and was instrumental in having the courts set aside the fraudulent election in District 31. He also represented Arnold Miller and Miners For Democracy, which ousted the old Boyle dictatorship in the UMW.

It is clear that the bid to democratize the steel-

workers union is far from won, and that the Abel bureaucracy retains powers that the old Boyle machine lacked.

Abel, it turns out, has appointed Evett to be his personal representative in the Midwest. Even though Evett stole one election and was repudiated in another by the membership of District 31, he remains on the union payroll and continues to interfere in the affairs of this district.

When Sadlowski walked into his office after being elected he discovered that Evett, who had previously been in charge, had left with most of the files and some of the funds.

Sadlowski has announced that he will rely upon the membership of District 31 to carry through a self-defense program against contract violations, layoffs, speedup, and unsafe working conditions imposed by the steel companies. "My place isn't in some paneled office anyway," Sadlowski says. "It's on the street, with the rank and file."

The success of Sadlowski and his supporters in organizing and leading the rank and file to bring better working conditions in the mills may well determine the character of the future leadership of the United Steelworkers of America.



# Blacks, women fight discriminatory layoffs

By LINDA JENNESS

Even the modest gains made in recent years by women and Blacks in hiring and job upgrading are on the verge of being wiped out. Through the decades-old dictum of "last hired, first fired," women and Blacks by the tens of thousands are being fired in the current mass layoffs.

In November the official unemployment rate jumped from 6 percent to 6.5 percent, the biggest monthly jump since 1960.

"The government described the November increase as widespread," wrote the *New York Post*, "but adult women and blacks were hardest hit. The jobless rate for adult women rose from 5.6 to 6.6 per cent while the rate for blacks increased from 10.9 to 11.7 per cent." And all predictions are that the situation is going to get much worse.

During the past decade women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans have fought for preferential treatment in the job market. Many turned to the courts demanding that businesses be forced to implement affirmative-action plans to hire, train, and advance women and minority workers.

American Telephone and Telegraph was forced to pay \$51-million in back wages, and nine steel companies agreed to pay \$30.9-million to the victims of their discriminatory practices. These and other victories convinced even some of the most thick-headed employers that failure to meet the quotas suggested by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) would cost them a hunk of money in back pay and benefits.

The question posed by the affirmative-action plans was relatively simple: who should be hired and promoted first? And the answer was obvious: those who have been systematically discriminated against, that is, women and the oppressed minorities. The affirmative-action plans were a small but significant step toward overcoming the effects of long years of discrimination and achieving equality.

Today, as a result of the recession and massive layoffs, women and Blacks face a different situation. Because they were the most recently hired — often as a direct result of affirmative-action plans — they are now the first to get axed.

### Suits challenge layoffs

In response to these attacks on recently won gains, at least half a dozen suits have been filed challenging the discriminatory nature of the "last hired, first fired" policy.

In Fremont, Calif., for instance, eight women filed suit against General Motors when the company laid off 1,400 workers. Among the 1,400 were 500 women — almost every woman who worked in the plant.

Charlotte Casey, one of the women filing the suit, told the *Wall Street Journal*, "We feel the fact that we were laid off wasn't our fault. They weren't hiring women until 1968." She argued that seniority "perpetuates discrimination because women as well as minorities are always at the bottom of the seniority list."

In another lawsuit, Black workers in Harvey, La., took Continental Can Co. to court when all but two Blacks were included in the large layoff there.

In most of these cases, the efforts of women and Blacks to protect their jobs have run headlong into the seniority system. Although the courts have taken a variety of positions, the question has usually been posed this way: which is better, affirmative action or seniority? In other words, who should be fired first?

And unfortunately, a number of union officials — those who have opposed affirmative action or quotas all along as "discrimination in reverse" —



New York unemployed line. Women and Blacks are still the 'last hired, first fired.'

Militant/Norman Oliver

are going along with the attack on women and Blacks. These officials argue that strict seniority in layoffs is a cardinal principle of unionism.

### 'Divide and rule'

Accepting the problem on these terms — affirmative action *versus* seniority — is a big mistake, though, because it plays right into the bosses' tactic of "divide and rule." They would like nothing better than to see workers fighting among themselves over a dwindling number of jobs, rather than waging a united fight against the boss for laying off *anybody*.

The fact that during a time of economic growth the question was "who should be hired first?" does not mean that in a period of recession the question should simply be stood on its head to ask, "Now who should be fired first?"

First let's consider what seniority really means. The seniority system is a right won by the labor movement in the 1930s. Like the hiring hall, the seniority system is an attempt to curb the bosses' ability to fire anyone they choose. It not only protects older workers, who are the least likely to find other jobs if fired, but also partially protects union militants and others that the bosses consider "troublemakers."

The seniority system is far from a panacea, however. It was never conceived as, and obviously cannot be, an answer to unemployment, and even less to the mass unemployment we now face. Seniority never protects the newer, younger worker. And it does nobody any good if the plant is closed.

Right now this is not an academic question. Literally tens of thousands of workers are being thrown onto the streets, including those with 10, 15, or 20 years' seniority.

Also, because of the lack of concern over the years by both the bosses and the present union leadership about the special plight of Black and women workers, the seniority system, as it stands, does serve to perpetuate the relative privileges of white male workers.

The efforts by women and Blacks to protect their jobs and change the *discriminatory* aspect of the seniority system should be supported. The goal of these workers is not to abolish the seniority system, but to equalize their position in it. For instance, in the lawsuit brought by Black workers against Continental Can Co., the judge ruled that the percentage cut in Black employment could not be greater than the cut in the total work force. This would force the reinstatement, with back pay, of seven Black workers. In another

case a judge made a similar ruling: that the percentages of minorities and women in the work force after the layoffs should be close to the percentages when the layoffs began.

Other efforts to change the discriminatory character of the seniority system involve implementing a plant-wide seniority list as opposed to the department-based lists.

These and other efforts to protect women and Blacks from the brunt of the layoffs are laudable, but they are not enough. The effect of these actions is limited unless those involved develop a broader perspective.

Neither seniority nor affirmative action in and of itself really addresses the question of unemployment. And that's the fundamental question right now: *how to stop the layoffs and provide jobs for all*.

The only force that is capable of winning this goal is the mass, mobilized power of the organized labor movement.

The pressure of united mass action by the labor movement could force implementation of a shorter workweek, with no reduction in pay, to share the available work among all who need jobs. It could win an emergency public-works program to provide useful employment for millions.

### Role of CLUW

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has gone on record in support of the shorter workweek as one solution to unemployment. CLUW could begin a campaign to popularize the shorter workweek and rally women workers to fight for this solution.

Through such a campaign, an organization like CLUW could play an important role in teaching male unionists that it is to their advantage to support the demands of women workers for equality and to fight together with them for solutions that benefit the entire working class.

And workers on the job do not need to wait until such a plan is implemented on a national scale. They can begin fighting for it in their own workplaces *right now*. If a boss threatens to lay off, for example, 20 percent of the work force, the union can answer with the demand to shorten the hours of work, with no loss in weekly pay, as much as is needed to keep everyone on the job.

The proposals being discussed in Congress to provide a limited program of public-service jobs are a caricature of the kind of massive and immediate public-works program that is needed.

A public-works program should be devoted to *useful* projects such as the construction of low-cost homes for workers and a mass transportation system. It should build schools, child-care centers, and hospitals.

Some may complain that these proposals are utopian and impractical. Far from being unrealistic, a struggle for a shorter workweek and a massive public-works program is the *only* way to halt unemployment.

It's true that it will not be easy to achieve labor unity to fight for such a program. But one thing is certain: if we do not strive to build a united movement for jobs for all, if we simply accept that male and female, white and Black workers must fight it out over who will be fired, then the only winner will be the boss.

The labor movement has the power to win jobs for all. The power of working people in this country, if mobilized and directed, could accomplish this and much, much more.



March for jobs in Chicago last year. United action by labor movement against unemployment is even more urgent today.

# 1974 SWP campaigns scored presented socialist alternativ

By NANCY COLE

Watergate, inflation, and unemployment made it a tough election year for both the Democrats and Republicans. Incapable of posing solutions and rarely even addressing the issues, their campaigns were generally acknowledged to have aroused little enthusiasm. Voter turnout dropped to the lowest point in 28 years.

For the Socialist Workers Party candidates and their supporters, however, the 1974 campaign was the biggest and most exciting campaign ever run in a nonpresidential year.

A total of 129 SWP candidates in 15 states and the District of Columbia provided a socialist alternative to the tweedledum, tweedledee politics of the two capitalist parties. And in this time of deepening social and economic crisis, as confidence in the government plunges to new lows, a growing number of people were interested in hearing about that alternative.

Many listened to and respected the SWP candidates for another reason, as well: the socialists were known as participants and active supporters of community and labor struggles. In contrast to the pie-in-the-sky promises of the Democrats and Republicans, the socialist candidates hailed such independent struggles by working people as the real road to social change.

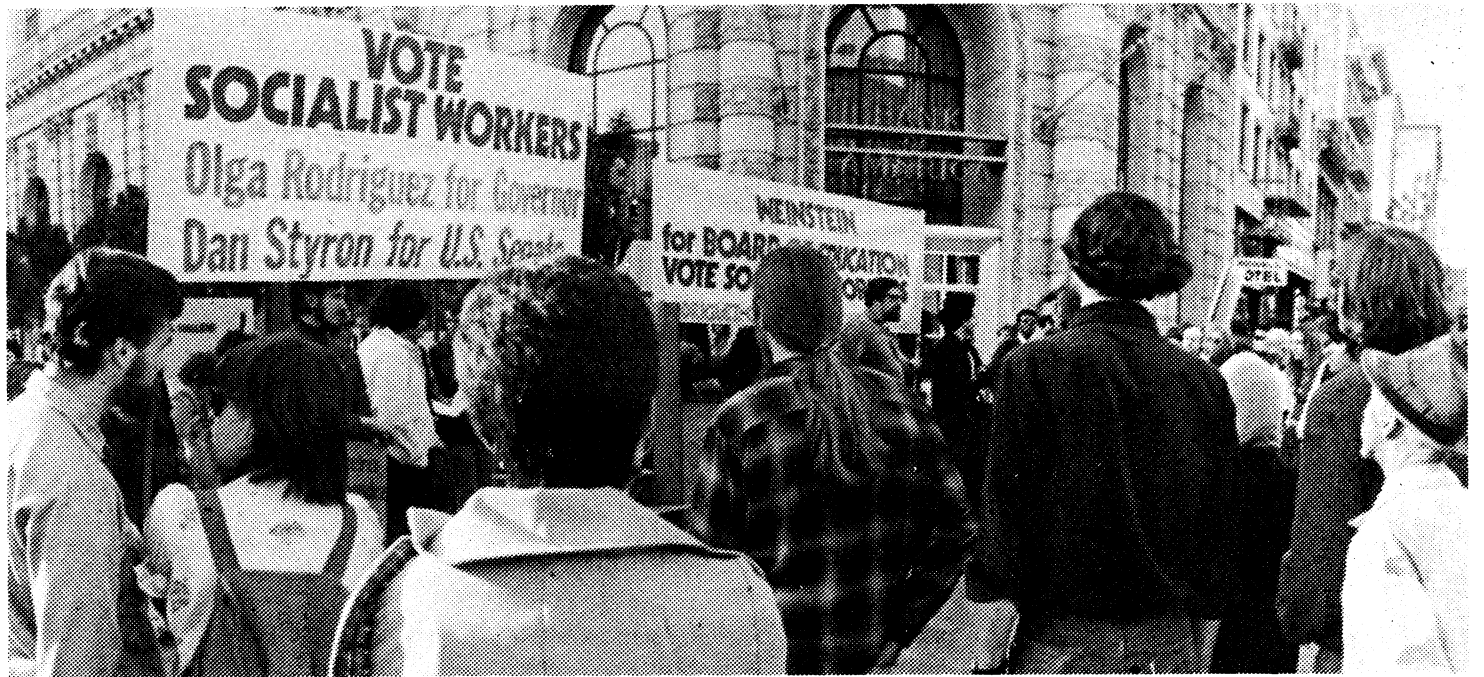
## Defended Boston busing

One of the most significant issues of the 1974 campaign was the racist offensive against busing and school desegregation in Boston.

While the Democratic and Republican candidates either backed the racists openly or tried to duck the issue, the SWP candidates throughout the country unequivocally defended busing and helped mobilize support for the Black students. Some traveled to Boston to observe the situation firsthand in order to bring the truth about Boston back to their areas.

In Boston, the SWP addressed all its speaking tours, press statements, frequent 30-second radio spots, and the equal time it won on TV and radio, without exception, to this racist attack on civil rights.

"We got a lot of feedback," says SWP campaign director Joan Paltrineri, "and in the weeks leading up to the election, more than 200 people called our campaign headquarters to



Militant/Ron Payne

Socialists organized street rallies to reach broadest possible audience of working people. Above, California gubernatorial candidate Olga Rodriguez speaks in San Francisco.

express their support for the stand we had taken."

Many other examples could be cited of the activist orientation of the 1974 SWP campaigns. In Atlanta, where protests erupted against police slayings of Black people, SWP gubernatorial candidate Vince Eagan was a leader in the fight to fire the racist police chief and abolish the police terror squads.

Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for New York's 18th Congressional District seat, won respect and support for her active role in the fight for community control of the schools by oppressed minorities on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

During the last month of her campaign a storefront headquarters was opened on the Lower East Side. It became a gathering place for community activists, a distribution center for bilingual campaign literature, and a location for classes on socialism.

In Washington, D.C., the SWP candidates were probably best known for their strong advocacy of genuine home rule for the predominantly Black city. They campaigned vigorously against a phony "home rule" bill that actually left all power in the hands of federal officials.

SWP candidates spoke at public hearings, joined protest demonstra-

tions, and walked strike picket lines. They were able to speak before a small but significant number of union meetings.

Illinois senatorial candidate Ed Heisler, a railroad worker, addressed the Twin Cities Labor Federation of Champaign-Urbana and later toured United Mine Workers locals in southern Illinois.

In San Francisco, Sylvia Weinstein, a well-known union and community activist, ran an energetic and broadly supported campaign for board of education. She spoke at meetings of the teachers', longshoremen's, painters', and city employees' unions.

Michigan SWP congressional nominee Sheila Ostrow was among the candidates who addressed a meeting of the Greater Flint Council of the United Auto Workers.

The SWP campaigns were internationalist in outlook. They actively supported protests in defense of political prisoners in Chile, South Vietnam, South Korea, Northern Ireland, and other countries.

In the face of the hysterical anti-Arab campaign being whipped up in this country, they spoke out forcefully against the U.S. war drive and in defense of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

## Socialist soapboxing

The socialist campaigners experimented with ways to reach the broadest possible audience of working people. Several of the campaigns held frequent street-corner rallies in the tradition of the early socialist soapbox speakers.

While candidates gave short agitational talks, supporters circulated through the crowd selling *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* and distributing literature.

Approximately three-quarters of a million pieces of printed campaign literature were distributed nationwide at these rallies and through other activities. In New York, Texas and California this included 35,000 pieces of literature printed in Spanish.

The candidates traveled widely to speak wherever they could get a hearing. In California, SWP gubernatorial and senatorial candidates Olga Rodriguez and Dan Styron had some 400 speaking and media engagements each during their campaigns.

Efforts to gain coverage for the socialist campaigns in the news media made some headway in 1974. In some

places the press was forced to acknowledge as news the activities of the SWP campaign. And by demanding enforcement of equal-time laws, the SWP won many hours of radio and television time.

Last spring the Massachusetts SWP sent a delegation to protest to the *Boston Globe's* political editor the paper's discriminatory policy of not covering the SWP campaign. They succeeded in forcing the *Globe* to step up its coverage and to include the SWP in opinion polls taken by the paper.

## Debated opponents

The SWP candidates demanded that their capitalist-party opponents debate them, with some successes. One hundred and seventy-five people turned out to hear John Conyers (D-Mich.) debate his socialist challenger, Hattie McCutcheon.

Former Republican governor of Ohio James Rhodes refused to attend a Cleveland debate with his opponents, Democratic incumbent governor John Gilligan and Nancy Brown of the SWP. An empty chair was placed where Rhodes was to have sat.

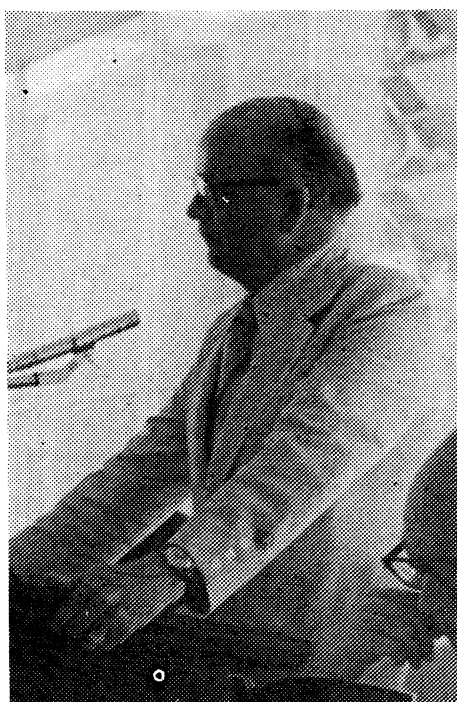
An *Associated Press* release carried by newspapers throughout Ohio reported that Gilligan "contrasted the 'great conviction' of one of his reelection opponents [Brown] with the absence of the other. . . ." The article detailed Brown's "leveling of criticism at both men."

For the most part, though, capitalist politicians were reluctant to take on their socialist opponents face-to-face.

A series of television debates in Boston was restricted to the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial candidates. SWP candidate Donald Gurewitz charged that his exclusion was an attempt to avoid the issues of busing and school desegregation—issues that the Democrat and Republican refused to discuss, while Gurewitz took an unambiguous position in support of the Black community.

While the debates were held without Gurewitz, much publicity and support were generated, including favorable editorials in the *Christian Science Monitor* and on TV Channel 7.

Michigan SWP gubernatorial candidate Robin Maisel protested his exclusion from a debate held in the offices of the *Detroit Free Press* by organizing a picket line outside the newspaper's offices during the debate. Newspapers



Militant/Joel Aber

SWP candidates confronted their capitalist party opponents on many occasions. Above, Vince Eagan (left) debates other contenders for governor of Georgia, including arch-segregationist Lester Maddox.



# Big gains, to thousands

across the state printed a *United Press International* Wirephoto of Maisel holding a picket sign denouncing the discrimination.

## Ballot fights

In addition to discrimination by the media, the political monopoly of the two capitalist parties is upheld by restrictive ballot laws. In most states smaller parties are required to collect exorbitant numbers of signatures to qualify for the ballot.

In some states the requirements were too prohibitive in 1974, and the SWP was forced to run write-in campaigns. In many states, though, the socialist campaigns mobilized their supporters to collect the required signatures. A grand total of 400,000 signatures was collected to put SWP candidates on the ballot in 1974.

Even after the work of petitioning, several campaigns had to wage fights against attempts to declare their signatures invalid. In Illinois two well-covered news conferences by SWP senatorial candidate Ed Heisler protested the discriminatory ruling by the state board of elections. This adverse publicity was sufficient to force the state officials to back down.

In Texas, court action by the SWP and a broad defense effort stymied an attempt to throw the socialist candidates off the ballot.

In New York, a Democratic Party official challenged the 56,682 SWP signatures on a technicality, and another official told the *New York Times*, "We're sick of those minor parties siphoning votes away from us." A broadly supported effort organized by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) won ballot certification for the SWP.

Missouri senatorial candidate Barbara Mutnick was not so fortunate. The state supreme court upheld the state's ruling that only 6,772 of the 29,014 signatures filed to put her on the ballot were valid—despite the fact that even Mutnick's own signature and that of a state representative were among those falsely disqualified.

But the energetic fight put up by Mutnick's supporters was major news across the state, and headlines read, "Socialist to Campaign Whatever Court Rules" and "Barbara Mutnick Blasts Supreme Court Decision, Vows Vigorous Write-In Campaign."

## Fought 'Watergating'

The ballot wasn't the only front on which the Socialist Workers campaigns fought for democratic rights. Watergate and its related disclosures exposed the tactics used by the government to stifle its opponents.

The lawsuit filed on behalf of the SWP and YSA in 1973 to halt illegal government harassment was pointed to by SWP candidates as an example of one of the ways socialists are fighting back.

As local cases of "Watergating" were revealed, the socialist candidates took them on. In Texas, Georgia, and Michigan, the SWP candidates led well-publicized delegations to confront government officials and demand an end to police infiltration and spying.

In a purported effort to clean up politics, a wave of campaign "reform" laws has placed even more restrictions on smaller parties and working-class organizations. These new federal and state laws require that SWP campaign committees turn over to the government the names and addresses of their contributors.

Rather than provide the government with additional targets for harassment and surveillance, the SWP campaign committees have refused to comply and have initiated court actions against these disclosure provisions.

In Minnesota the SWP's request for an exemption from disclosure went before the state ethics commission and was granted. During the public hearings before the commission, the SWP's stand was the subject of four newspaper editorials and 46 articles in 19 newspapers throughout Minnesota.

## YSA support

The greater scope of the SWP campaigns this year would not have been possible without the work of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), whose members were among the most consistent and dedicated campaign activists.

They took special responsibility for winning youth to support the socialist campaign by organizing street rallies outside high schools, speaking engagements before high school and college audiences, and campus classes on socialism.

The 15 young socialist teams that traveled throughout the country before the elections also made a vital contribution to the geographical scope of the socialist campaigns.

Much of the support won for the SWP candidates came from high school and college students. Reflections of this support were the editorial endorsements of Oregon SWP gubernatorial candidate Stacey Seigle by the student newspaper at Portland State University and endorsement of Joyce Tally, candidate for University of Colorado board of regents, by the daily student paper at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

During the course of the campaign, scores of campaign supporters decided to join the YSA. Many of them will be attending the YSA's national convention, to be held Dec. 28-Jan. 1 in St. Louis. There, as part of mapping out the YSA's perspectives for the year ahead, they will participate in organizing and launching the biggest Socialist Workers Party election campaign ever—the 1976 presidential campaign.

## N.Y. SWP vote

Some of the vote returns for the New York Socialist Workers Party candidates in the November 1974 elections have now been made available. The vote totals and percentages are listed below. Also given are the returns for the Communist Party (CP) candidates.

	VOTES	%
Governor, lieutenant governor		
SWP: Derrick Morrison	8,857	0.17
James Mendieta		
CP: Jose Ristorucci	5,232	0.10
Carol Twigg		
U.S. Senate		
SWP: Rebecca Finch	7,227	0.14
CP: Mildred Edelman	3,876	0.08
Attorney General		
SWP: Raymond Markey	12,283	0.24
CP: Michael Zagarell	6,424	0.13
Controller		
SWP: Samuel Manuel	14,504	0.30
CP: Daniel Spector	8,085	0.17

# Teamsters, Chicanos unite to boycott Coors

By JACK RASMUS

SAN FRANCISCO—A prolonged struggle by Teamsters Local 888 in Northern California against Coors beer has led to what many would have considered unlikely—united action between the Teamsters and Black, Chicano, and Native American groups.

In a recent interview with *The Militant*, Andris Cirkelis of Local 888 explained what the fight with Coors is about and how it has affected the Teamster local's policies. Cirkelis is field director for the Coors boycott.

The dispute dates back to June 1973, he said, when Northern California beer distributors provoked a strike by Local 888, which represents some 1,000 beer-truck drivers working for 60 distributors.

"Most of the distributors eventually signed the contract, except for the various Coors distributors," Cirkelis said. "They got out of the contract by hiring scabs and, using their votes, with the

conceived an affirmative-action program with the purpose of bringing more minority people into our local."

He explained: "The essentials of the program are: first, that for the first six months strictly minorities would be hired; second, subsequent to that, hiring would be on a one-to-one basis; third, that an employer-union-community board would be set up to review the program to see that it works effectively."

The plan also includes a job-training program for minority workers.

"Out of the bitter, prolonged strike we realized this program is late in coming. . . . It may be late, but we are acting now and we're trying to set an example for others to follow and the sooner the better," Cirkelis added.

The affirmative-action plan was proposed last summer by Local 888, but only two distributors have accepted it. Instead, under the leadership of



Militant/Howard Petrick

Many rank-and-file Teamsters oppose attacks on United Farm Workers, which are major obstacle to unity between Chicanos & Teamsters.

help of the National Labor Relations Board, decertified [the union at] their distributorships."

Thus, after 18 months, the union remains on strike against the Coors distributors (except for four who did sign the contract) and has resorted to a boycott to try to regain collective bargaining rights.

Coors, the fourth-largest brewing company in the United States, has become notorious for its antiunion tactics. "They brag about their ability to withstand union organizing efforts," Cirkelis said. "In their plant in Denver, of 4,200 people, less than half are organized in a company union. For the last several years 13 different unions have been on strike against Coors since the company broke the union there."

Teamsters charge that Coors has deliberately provoked strikes and aimed at eliminating load limits and the union hiring hall. According to Cirkelis, in Southern California Coors "ultimately succeeded in breaking the union to the point where it is not effective in representing the members' interests any more."

Teamster efforts to promote a boycott of Coors were hampered among Blacks and Chicanos by the union's racist reputation, stemming from the Teamster leadership's union-busting attacks on the United Farm Workers and Local 888's own practically all-white composition.

"As we went through the neighborhoods asking for support for the boycott, we realized the response we were hoping for wasn't there," Cirkelis said. To overcome the union's isolation, "we realized it would take more than just words. One of the basic concerns of the community is jobs. . . . So we

Coors, the distributors are threatening to bypass the union hiring hall if it persists with the plan.

In response to the struggle for affirmative action, a number of Black, Chicano, and Native American groups have joined in the boycott effort.

Actually, as Cirkelis acknowledges, a Coors boycott was called back in 1966 by the GI Forum, a Chicano group. "Even though the Denver area is highly Mexican-American, the percentage employed at Coors was about nil and those working were in the most menial and lowest-paid jobs," he explained.

"There was a moratorium on the boycott briefly when Coors agreed to open its employment records to scrutiny and to rectify the situation. However, it was not done. As a result the GI Forum has reopened its nationwide boycott against Coors and has filed additional charges."

The Teamster attack on the United Farm Workers, which Cirkelis referred to as a "jurisdictional dispute," is "one of our biggest problems. . . . We feel this dispute is very unfortunate," he said. "The question as to representation should essentially be left up to the workers themselves."

Another Local 888 official has been quoted as saying, "Whenever it's possible for us to join with the United Farm Workers in boycotting a market we do, and we will continue to do so. . . . We're both trying to stop the product."

Cirkelis appealed for people to spread the word about the boycott and to join in picketing the Coors distributor on Army Street in San Francisco.

# Civil libertarians & feminists demand end to torture in Chile

By MARCELA CARRILLO

Brutal sexual torture of women political prisoners in Chile was denounced by prominent feminists and civil libertarians at a news conference in New York Dec. 10.

The group included author Kate Millett; *Village Voice* columnist Vivian Gornick; Phyllis Chesler, psychologist and author of *Women and Madness*; Evelyn Mauss, board member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Arlie Scott, chairwoman of the International Committee of the National Organization for Women; Rose Styron, writer and board member of Amnesty International; Helen Rodriguez, of the Ad Hoc Committee for Chilean Health Workers; and Dolores Schaefer, representing the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). A statement by *Ms.* magazine editor Gloria Steinem, who was unable to attend, was read.

The news conference was originally called by USLA to announce the outcome of a meeting with James Holger, Minister Counselor of the Chilean Mission to the United Nations. But the day before the meeting, the Mission canceled the appointment, claiming that Holger was unable to attend.

Protesting the cancellation, USLA staff member Mirta Vidal, who chaired the news conference, said, "Their action has shown that they have nothing to say in defense of their brutal policies."

Steinem's statement summarized the sentiment of the delegation when she said, "We had asked for this hearing so that we could express our concern about the horrifying, inhuman plight of women political prisoners there—but now, even this slender chance for human contact has been denied."

Kate Millett urged "every possible



Militant/Don Gurewitz

USLA activists voted at recent conference to continue organizing for defense of Chilean political prisoners.

means" to secure the freedom of women political prisoners and to "stop the torture and insanity of the present regime. . . . Let the shame that is Chile today be known throughout the world and our outrage heard everywhere."

In light of the UN's declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year, the delegation made a special appeal to the UN Human Rights Commission to initiate a special investigation and take steps on behalf of Chilean women political prisoners.

The news conference was part of USLA's campaign since the Sept. 11, 1973, coup to mobilize support for the victims of the Chilean junta.

Further plans on behalf of Chilean political prisoners were discussed at a national conference of USLA ac-

tivists held Dec. 7-8 in New York.

The conference was attended by 90 activists from 10 Midwest and East Coast USLA chapters.

In addition to making Chile a priority, the conference approved the initiation of a campaign to defend the victims of right-wing terrorism and government repression in Argentina. It agreed to organize a national speaking tour for Juan Carlos Coral, general secretary of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) in March and April, on the subject of repression in Argentina.

As a first step in the campaign around Argentina, USLA has gathered 500 signatures from prominent

*Continued on page 26*

# Mark Alvarado: 'a fighter for social change'

BERKELEY, Calif. — Mark Alvarado, a member of the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance, was killed in an accident while vacationing during the Thanksgiving holidays.

Tom Tomasko, organizer of the Berkeley YSA, made the following remarks in announcing Alvarado's death at a Dec. 1 YSA meeting:

"We should take time today to think about this loss of a valuable fighter for social change.

"I did not know Mark very well. Others here had a chance to develop more of a relationship with him. But right away he struck me as someone who cared a lot about other people. He was quite a sensitive person and completely open.

"Socialists have no monopoly on these qualities, but he also cared a lot about the injustices, exploitation, and crimes against humanity that this present social system serves up. And he, like the rest of us here, saw a way to do something about it.

"Mark was new to the YSA. He joined last spring. A number of times he said that he was not as politically



Mark Alvarado

active as he wanted to be, due to having to maintain a job in Southern California in the summer and then due to a sickness that lasted many weeks this fall.

"Even though he was new to the movement, Mark showed he had the potential for being a leader. He played a major role in the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners on the University of California-Berkeley campus, helping to build a successful teach-in on the role of the CIA in Chile. He also ran as one of our leading Young Socialist candidates in the UC-Berkeley student government elections.

"Mark's death was a tragic and big loss for the Young Socialist Alliance. He died prematurely, just as he was deciding what he wanted out of life and how he was going to fight to create a new society.

"Mark was a fighter for socialism, and as such he would want us here to rededicate our lives to the struggle."

# Ben Markowitz, longtime socialist

By HARRY RING

Dr. Ben Markowitz, the Newark podiatrist who died last month at age 69, was a lifelong revolutionary socialist.

"Doc," as his friends knew him, came into the socialist movement in the mid-1930s. The route was somewhat unusual. Already a podiatrist when he became radical, he wanted to get active but was not ready to join any of the political parties.

So he joined the CIO Retail Clerks Union, which was then involved in a militant organizing drive in Newark.

Several of the leading activists in



Militant/Walter Lippmann

BEN MARKOWITZ: A supporter of the SWP until his death.

the union, including the then-vice-president of the local, were Trotskyists, and they recruited Doc to the Trotskyist movement around 1937.

During World War II, even though already in his 30s, Doc was drafted and served until the end of the war in a medical unit.

When released from the army he was faced with the problem of re-establishing his practice. He also married at that time and assumed family responsibilities.

With these responsibilities, it became increasingly difficult for him to remain active in the party. In the 1950s a combination of health problems, the demands of his practice, and family responsibilities made it necessary for him to withdraw from membership in the organization.

But until his death Doc remained a supporter of the SWP. When his practice was reestablished and his family responsibilities lessened, he became a regular financial contributor to the organization.

His loyalty to the movement was deepgoing. I recall receiving an agitated letter from him several years ago. Another former member had assailed the party for its opposition to the reactionary New York school shutdown in 1968 by the American Federation of Teachers bureaucracy in opposition to community control of Black and Puerto Rican school districts.

Doc had only the general knowledge of the issue he had gathered from *The Militant*, and felt he had not been

able to adequately defend our stand. He addressed specific questions to me that he wanted answers to so that he would be able to take our critic on.

Doc took his profession seriously. Throughout the years he continued to take special courses and attend conferences that would enable him to keep abreast of current developments in his field.

But he had nothing of the narrow, middle-class outlook that most often marks professionals. Even his general demeanor and vocabulary came closer to the popular image of a truck driver than that of a podiatrist.

Doc was an unusually warm and generous person. He had a seemingly belligerent manner and often barked at people. But he came closer than anyone I've known to the often-employed literary image of the person with a gruff exterior and a heart of gold.

Doc hated passionately the rotten system we live under and was constantly sputtering with rage at its inequities and injustices.

During his membership in the party he was a rank-and-file activist who took the floor only infrequently. But he had a serious interest in political theory that he maintained over the years. When I saw him during a recent visit, he was engaged in a study project of George Novack's philosophical writings.

Doc was a good example of what a party sympathizer should and can be.



# World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 27, 1974

## West German 'antiterrorist' campaign a cover for attacks on civil liberties

By Gerry Foley

A little more than two weeks after the assassination of West Berlin Judge Günter von Drenkmann, police staged predawn raids November 26 on ninety-six "suspected terrorist hide-outs" in a dozen German cities, arresting twenty-four persons and "detaining" four others. On the following day, the Bonn government introduced legislation to abolish the right of privacy between lawyer and client in "terrorist" cases.

"The police's suspicions were apparently especially aroused by collective living arrangements," the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* reported in its December 2 issue. "In Kiel, Hamburg, Würzburg, and in Otterndorf in Lower Saxony, commune dwellers were yanked out of bed. But almost everywhere the results were as meager as in Hamburg, where not less than fourteen apartments were searched and 'nothing concrete was found' (as the police spokesman put it)."

The other prime target was political defense lawyers. In West Berlin the police carted off all the documents and correspondence of the legal collective called Eschen, Ströbele, and Comrades. "Apparently nothing concrete was found [there] . . . either," *Der Spiegel* commented. ". . . three days later all the papers and letters were returned."

Among those arrested in the raids, called "Operation Winterreise" (Winter Journey, a song cycle by Schubert) by Federal Interior Minister Werner Maihofer, were the political defense lawyers Eberhard Becker and Wolf Dieter Reinhard. The latter was accused of membership in a terror-

ist group called "June 2" and involvement in the execution of an alleged informer.

It quickly became clear that the "antiterrorist campaign" launched by the government in the wake of the Drenkmann assassination was aimed essentially at the political defense lawyers, specifically the attorneys for the imprisoned members of the urban guerrilla group, the Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF—Red Army Faction), led by Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof. To justify the attack, the government tried to present the defense lawyers as accomplices of imprisoned terrorists.

In the week preceding the raids and the announcement that legislation would be sought for police supervision of communication between lawyer and client, the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA—Federal Criminal Bureau) released to the press the texts of confidential messages and writings of imprisoned RAF members. These were mixed up with other evidence obtained from interrogation of the prisoners and witnesses in order to produce the most "sensational" picture of the guerrillas' "plans."

For example, Baader was supposed to have listed a series of high officials for assassination. Gudrun Ensslin allegedly projected setting up "people's prisons" for kidnapped officials and establishing a group of pilots in Sweden to stage bombing attacks from the air. A three-stage program for guerrilla war leading up to "military assaults" was projected.

The BKA presented all this to the public with the following conclusions:

"The intelligence of this group's cadres, their political fanaticism, and their criminal energy even in prison repre-

sent a force that cannot be underestimated. Continued communication between the prisoners and the outside world carries with it the danger that we may have to face surprise strikes at any time."

So, the biggest danger was the prisoners' lawyers, who were their main link to the outside world.

Propaganda of this kind is intended to help railroad to prison individuals who may well be innocent of the accusations leveled against them by the police. The propaganda is also intended to whip up a witch-hunt atmosphere.

The authorities are even trying to present a normal increase in visits of lawyers to their clients as something sinister.

"As always, when a trial is pending, as is the case for the BM hard core . . . there is an increase in lawyers' visits," the November 18 *Der Spiegel* noted. From July to October, Baader's lawyer visited him 1,000 hours (a prison employee said)."

In the absence of habeas corpus in West Germany, persons can be held in prison for a prolonged period before trial. For example, Andreas Baader has been imprisoned since his arrest on June 1, 1972. The government promises to bring him to trial in early 1975.

Obviously, lawyers have to maintain regular contacts with their clients while the court case is being prepared. However, such visits are apt to inconvenience prison officials interested in keeping the outside world from knowing what is happening to a prisoner.

How much these officials have to hide was brought to light by the investigations that followed the death of RAF "hard core" member Holger Meins on November 9. He had been on a hunger strike since September.

"There is hardly any doubt that this anarchist knew he was near death, and insofar as possible sought it," *Der Spiegel* wrote in its November 18 issue. "However, in the conditions in which Holger Meins died, the authorities, the prison doctor, as well as the guards and medical personnel certainly bear a responsibility for his death."

The liberal magazine accused the Mainz city Ministry of Justice of deliberately lying when it said that Meins had not asked for a doctor of his own choice. The prison doctor, the weekly indicated, was guilty at least of a lack of concern for human life, and possibly deliberate torture. Meins was ignored in the final days of his life, when it was obvious he was in grave condition. For more than a month, he was force fed through a tube too large for his esophagus.



Holger Meins, RAF member who died from hunger strike and tortures inflicted by prison officials.

In Lingen prison in Hanover, Ronald Augustin was deprived of water when he went on a hunger strike, the same report noted. This was a standard response of prison officials to hunger strikes. Protesting prisoners were given only salt water for washing.

Dehydration can cause irreparable damage even in short periods, *Der Spiegel* pointed out. After four or five days the kidneys fail to function.

"Despite this, denial of water is used in prisons as a means of breaking hunger strikes, in the well-founded belief that unlike hunger, thirst becomes more and more unbearable as time goes on. This is what the guards said in Straubing, where RAF sympathizer Rolf Heissler is on a hunger strike; they call denial of water a 'home cure of ours.'"

It is hardly surprising that lawyers with a social and professional conscience, the kind who normally defend unpopular political prisoners, have felt compelled to go to the public to denounce this kind of treatment and explain why their clients have resorted to such a desperate form of protest.

For example, this is how RAF defense lawyer Otto Schily explained in the November 18 *Der Spiegel* why his clients were ready to starve themselves to death rather than accept permanent solitary confinement:

"Prolonged isolation is as barbaric a torture of human beings as it is a useless measure in the struggle against crime."

"That is no quote from a press release by a defense attorney in the RAF case, but an observation by a critic of the Prussian penal system. It appeared in a pamphlet called *The Misery of the Penal System* [Elend des Strafvollzuges] published by the Social Democratic publisher Vorwärts-Verlag in 1905."

Schily continued: "When social communication is cut off in prison or reduced to an unbearable minimum, the prisoner is destroyed just the same as if he or she were denied food or  
**Continued on page WO/4**



Andreas Baader after his capture. Witch-hunt against RAF has been used to victimize and intimidate left-wing lawyers.

# situation in Chile today

their mass actions, that freed the guerrillas. In Brazil, we have seen guerrillas released thanks to kidnappings carried out by other guerrillas, but in this case the bourgeoisie rapidly regained the ground they had lost in freeing 10 guerrillas by arresting 200 more revolutionaries. In this arena we can't compete with the bourgeoisie. We're seeing the same thing in Argentina. The guerrillas kill a chief of police and the rightist forces kill 10 or 20 revolutionaries. Each one of these revolutionaries is worth more than 20 chiefs of police. The bourgeoisie can produce policemen by the hundreds. They just put a uniform on them, give them a gun and send them into the streets. But to train a revolutionary is very difficult.

On the other hand, when the Bolivian masses freed the political prisoners in 1970, the bourgeoisie couldn't do anything because they were confronted with a mass movement. They had to wait a few years to carry out the coup by Banzer. They were able to carry out this coup because there was no revolutionary leadership that could direct the struggle of the masses. And this very strong mass movement was once again captured by the reformists and channelled for their reformist goals and deals with the bourgeoisie. The result was another defeat for the masses in Latin America.

## Need Revolutionary Party

This is the dynamic we see throughout Latin America in one form or another and we could find many more examples. The conclusion that we reach is that it is necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership to direct the masses in their struggle, to lead them in the process by which the masses, prepared to defend themselves arms in hand, destroy the bourgeois power. But as revolutionists we cannot substitute for the actions of the masses. Our job is to provide leadership to the struggle, not substitute for the masses.

Another point which is essential to make is the importance of international solidarity with the struggle in Latin America. That I am speaking here today is precisely due to international solidarity. It's because of international solidarity that I was not killed and that finally I achieved my freedom.

Even the military junta of Pinochet, which is the most horrendous product of Latin America in this century, has had to back off because of international solidarity and international public opinion. That's why they have allowed hundreds of refugees to leave Chile. That's why they haven't been able to kill all the prisoners that they have in jail in Chile. And the economic crisis that the Chilean government is facing is not due totally to its policy of giving in to imperialism but also due to the power of the international solidarity with the Chilean masses. This solidarity has caused many imperialist enterprises to be fearful of investing in Chile in order not to create a negative image for their company internationally.

In addition, we have to understand that international solidarity is also in the interests of working masses throughout the world. Crimes like those committed in Argentina, Chile,

Bolivia and Brazil are crimes committed by the big international imperialist companies. These are the same companies that in the advanced countries are supporting "democratic" regimes. When the crisis of capitalism puts more pressure on these companies they will use the same methods in the developed countries. The way they acted with the Chilean masses is the way they will act with the masses in Europe, the United States, and Canada. We have already seen historical examples of Hitler and Mussolini, examples which prove that monsters like that are not produced in Latin America alone. So it is very important to have international solidarity in Canada with the people in Latin America.

## Solidarity With Argentina

One of the countries on which it is most important that we focus solidarity is Argentina. The actions of people in Canada and other parts of the world can play a big role in preventing Argentina from becoming another Chile and help it become another Cuba. The Argentine working class is now engaged in important struggles.

The bourgeois press depicts the struggle in Argentina as being between two gangs of gunfighters. We can choose between one gang or the other. But they never show the big struggles of the Argentine masses. For example, I have seen nothing in the headlines of the European papers about the big strike of the Argentine sugar workers—an event much more important to the class struggle than the assassination of a police chief. The bourgeois press knows very well why it does this—to hide the exploitation of the Argentine masses and their struggles against it. We have to make known the real class struggle in Argentina.

At the same time we must build the biggest possible solidarity campaign with the victims of the rightist, fascist terror in Argentina. A solidarity for



Repression has destroyed working-class organizations in Chile. 'It is adventurous to think of armed resistance in that country now.'

all the victims of this repression, all the different groups on the left whatever their ideologies.

[In the question period, Blanco reported on the work of the Liga Comunista, a Trotskyist organization in Chile.]

The Liga Comunista in Chile has the opinion that we cannot minimize the depth of the defeat in Chile. The LC holds that it is adventurous to think of any armed resistance in that country now. The LC believes that the task is to build a revolutionary party in Chile and not through armed resistance at this moment or even through strikes. The junta has answered strikes with killings, even shooting the Christian Democratic leaders of these strikes.

The families of those who have been imprisoned, kicked out of work, or killed are suffering from starvation right now. To defend themselves against this starvation they have developed soup kitchens. The military can't shoot people for having soup kitchens.

But this is an action which is of great importance because people are beginning to do something which they know to be an answer to the repression of the junta. They have to obtain food, they have to decide who's going to cook it, they have to decide how to distribute it. For this they need an organization. And this is how the Chilean working class is beginning to organize. Of course, those who are leading all of this are underground. But it doesn't require that all the people who are participating in this are underground.

The Liga Comunista is involved in this kind of action. Not the kind of action the MIR [Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria, a centrist organization in Chile] is involved in, supposedly doing armed resistance. The LC has offered fraternal criticism to the comrades of the MIR because armed resistance at this moment in Chile can only lead to the liquidation of the vanguard. We can't afford the luxury of losing comrades like Miguel Enriquez [MIR leader murdered by the Chilean junta].

Another very important action at this time in Chile is the action of the students. The military junta raised the entrance fees for students. According to Marxist methodology this would have to be met with a mass mobilization. But this mass mobilization can't take the form of a demonstration of students against the rising costs of entry fees because the demonstration would be answered by machine guns. The students went out into the streets to ask for money for their entrance fees. The junta couldn't shoot a student who was asking for money to pay his entrance fee.

The LC understands that the best way to promote the struggle of the masses is by applying the method of Trotsky's *Transitional Program*, starting off from the level of consciousness the masses have at this time and from the forms of mobilization that are possible for the masses at this time.

In La Convención valley we took over the land. We put in our own authorities. But we aren't going to be so mechanical as to accuse the comrades of the LC of being reformist for not using the same methods we used in La Convención. We understand that there are completely different conditions—the conditions in which we took up arms and the conditions in which the LC today is cooking lunches in the streets. We are both Trotskyists whether shooting bullets in La Convención or cooking meals in Santiago.



Militant/Ben Alwood

BLANCO: 'The only way to free ourselves from imperialism is to liquidate capitalism.'

[Blanco was asked whether he was counterposing armed struggle to the construction of a revolutionary party.]

In Chile today it's very clear why we counterpose the armed struggle to the construction of the party. Because you can't construct a party in a cemetery. I'm not talking in abstractions, I'm talking about reality. The military junta in Chile is massacring the MIR. In Uruguay, the military destroyed the Tupamaros. In Bolivia the guerrillas of Che Guevara were massacred. So were the guerrillas in Peru.

This does not mean that there is a contradiction between the construction of the party and the armed struggle. The contradiction is between the isolated actions of a small vanguard group and the construction of a party which is based on the actions of the masses themselves. The armed action in which I participated was not in contradiction to the construction of the party. Nor would have been the formation of workers' committees of self-defense in Chile under Allende. But a strike for higher wages today in Chile would be. You can't be schematic. You must look at reality.

Don't tell us to go out and fight the army in Chile. We don't want to commit suicide in a heroic action. We have very many martyrs and heroes in Latin America. Now we need revolutionists to build a mass revolutionary party of the working class that can turn opportunities like we had in Chile into victories, not defeats.

[Blanco was asked to draw comparisons between the situation in Chile before the coup and the situation today in Portugal.]

I think there are a lot of similarities. In Portugal, as was the case in Chile, we can't place any confidence in the bourgeois armed forces or in any bourgeois regimes. We must educate the masses that they can only have confidence in themselves. It is very dangerous to be conciliatory to the government. Another thing which is similar is the role of the Communist party. Both in Portugal and Chile the CP served as a vehicle to produce illusions among the masses in the bourgeois regime. They put a brake on the masses in the name of a common defense against fascism. But actually the best defense against fascism is to promote the independent mass actions of the working class. In general these are the similarities.



## ... 'antiterrorist' campaign

Continued from page WO/1  
put on inadequate rations.

"It is hard for us to understand this simple reality because very few have any experience of prolonged total or relative isolation.

"Long isolation limits the possibilities for human communication to such an extent that there is atrophy of the capacities of perception, thought, and emotion. . . . Progressive decay begins in the living body. Normally, prolonged isolation leads to complete physical collapse."

Such torture of prisoners is expressly forbidden by principles, codes, and conventions accepted by the West German government, Schily pointed out. Article 104, Paragraph 1, Provision No. 2 of the German constitution states, for example: "Persons imprisoned must not be either psychologically or physically mistreated."

Thus, Schily concluded: "The law draws an unmistakable line. Detention is to prevent the person under investigation from fleeing or destroying evidence; it is not intended to destroy the prisoner." He quoted a 1966 commentary on the Penal Code: "If association with other prisoners is necessary to safeguard the accused from illness (for example, depression), then granting this request is obligatory."

The RAF came to public attention in 1970-72, when it engineered a series of bank expropriations and bombings. The German government responded with a vast "counterinsurgency" operation. On June 1, 1972, Andreas Baader and Holger Meins were seized in a raid in Frankfurt that was televised. On June 3, then-Minister of the Interior Hans Dietrich Genscher released a report claiming a sharp rise in terrorism by both left- and right-wing groups. In the anti-Arab hysteria that followed a Palestinian commando attack at Munich airport, there were attempts to link the RAF to El Fateh.

To a large extent, sensational police operations against the RAF diverted attention from attacks on the right to freedom of thought. Fifteen members of the RAF were jailed in February 1974. In March, the federal cabinet approved a bill barring radicals from teaching.

As the government's brutal and vindictive treatment of the jailed urban guerrillas came to light, the "antiterrorist" propaganda campaign tended to boomerang somewhat, particularly after the death of Meins. But this was reversed again immediately by the as-

sassination of the judge von Drenkmann on November 10. Although no guerrilla group claimed responsibility for this action and although Drenkmann was not involved in the prosecution of the RAF, this act was attributed to the guerrillas in a pattern that has become almost classical.

Once a guerrilla group publicizes its intention to wage war against the state by a series of terrorist actions and tries to counter repression with retaliatory terrorist actions, it finds itself unable to avoid responsibility in the public eye for any actions by frustrated individuals or common criminals that appear to have a political character. Deliberate provocations are easily laid at its door. Furthermore, almost inevitably a vicious circle of repression and retaliation leads to actions that provoke a strong public reaction against the guerrillas.

There can also be a kind of tragic illusion created by well-publicized guerrilla cases. At the very same time the bourgeoisie uses such examples to portray the left in general as a "dangerous criminal element," the publicity that such groups get and the sympathy they arouse as the victims of the massive brute force of the repressive capitalist state can create the impression that their actions are politically effective.

Even if this does not lead to imitation of their actions, it can lead some left currents to accommodate politically to the terrorists' conceptions. This makes it easier for the bourgeoisie to both wreak its vengeance on the misguided individual terrorists and widen its repression to other groups and layers.

The logic of this process is illustrated by the way the German government utilized the failure by a few defense lawyers to distinguish clearly between defending the victims of injustice and espousing their ideas and methods. It was made into an excuse for attacking the fundamental rights of legal defense. The example also shows, conversely, that the only way to expose the capitalist system and its repression effectively is to patiently point out the realities of capitalist justice, the contradictions between its claims and its practice, and the need for a mass campaign. This is absolutely incompatible with any concessions to terrorist concepts and attitudes. It requires a struggle against terrorist ideas going hand in hand with defense of the victims of the capitalist system and its brutality.



Striking German post-office workers. Futility of terrorist tactics is shown by fact that RAF cut itself off from mass of working class just as new opportunities were beginning to appear.

## World news notes

### Iranian students protest in London

About 150 people marched to the Iranian Embassy in London on November 24 in a demonstration against the police regime of the shah. The demonstration, sponsored by the Iranian Students Society in Great Britain (member of the World Confederation of Iranian Students), culminated a month-long campaign to publicize the current struggle of the Iranian people, to express solidarity with Iranian political prisoners and their families, and to counter the shah's recent worldwide propaganda campaign picturing conditions in Iran under his rule as being very favorable.

The evening before the demonstration a public meeting was held in defense of the political prisoners in Iran. Seventy-five people attended. The main speaker described the terror and repression in Iran, the torture of political prisoners, and the conditions in Iranian prisons. An English translation of a chapter from a book by Ashraf Dehghani was read. Dehghani escaped from prison last year and wrote about her experiences as a political prisoner. The chapter describes how she was tortured by the prison authorities and members of SAVAK (Iranian secret police).

### OAS charges Chile junta with torture

The Chilean junta was charged with the extensive use of torture against political prisoners in a report submitted December 6 to the Organization of American States (OAS). The 175-page report by an investigating commission drawn from five countries documented numerous cases of political prisoners being beaten, tortured, and sexually abused. It represented the most forceful criticism ever made by the OAS against a member-state for political terrorism.

Although the OAS team was allowed to visit Chile for 12 days last summer, it was denied entry to several places notorious for their use as torture chambers. These were listed as the basement of the Santiago Investigations Bureau, called locally "The House of Terror," the Air Force War Academy, a section of the military hospital, and the naval vessel *Esmeralda*. The junta explained that these had just been declared "military zones."

As for the report as a whole, the junta explained that it contained "important and grave deficiencies."

### 200,000 Basques strike against Spanish regime

In the biggest political strike in Spain in 26 years, some 200,000 workers and students deserted factories and classrooms December 11. The strike, carried out in the three Basque provinces of northern Spain, demanded freedom for political prisoners and self-determination for the Basque provinces.

"Today's walkout in the provinces of Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya and Navarra was all the more impressive," reported Henry Giniger in the December 12 *New York Times*, "because political strikes are rare in Spain and this one took place just before the Christmas holidays when workers try to earn as much as possible."

### British returning refugees to China

Hong Kong's British colonial administration on November 30 reversed its policy of allowing illegal immigrants from China to remain. By December 4, thirty persons had been arrested and handed over to Chinese authorities across the border.

The new policy apparently results from the changed economic circumstances. As long as a labor shortage existed in Hong Kong, the immigrants were welcome. But with a downturn in the economy, London persuaded Peking to return to the situation existing before 1968 and agree to accept the refugees back. Nearly 30,000 legal immigrants entered Hong Kong from China in 1974, while the illegal immigrants officially numbered about 6,500. It is estimated, however, that another 20,000 have entered undetected by the Hong Kong police.

### French general warns of revolt

The chief of staff of the French army has warned the minister of defense that the ranks may revolt unless there is an improvement in soldiers' morale and living conditions.

In a confidential report made public by *Le Monde*, General Alain de Boissieu, son-in-law of former French President Charles de Gaulle, said that any serious economic and social disturbances, as in 1968, might involve participation by soldiers. In the May 1968 upsurge, the army stood aside from the agitation. Of the 330,000 men in the French army, 215,000 are conscripts.

Dissatisfaction among recruits, as well as commissioned and non-commissioned officers, is widespread. About 4,000 soldiers have signed the Appeal of the One Hundred, calling for better conditions and recognition of basic civil rights, since the petition began to circulate in the ranks last May.

In September several hundred conscripts marched in the streets of Draguignan, a town in the south, to demand better conditions.

# situation in Chile today

their mass actions, that freed the guerrillas. In Brazil, we have seen guerrillas released thanks to kidnappings carried out by other guerrillas, but in this case the bourgeoisie rapidly regained the ground they had lost in freeing 10 guerrillas by arresting 200 more revolutionaries. In this arena we can't compete with the bourgeoisie. We're seeing the same thing in Argentina. The guerrillas kill a chief of police and the rightist forces kill 10 or 20 revolutionaries. Each one of these revolutionaries is worth more than 20 chiefs of police. The bourgeoisie can produce policemen by the hundreds. They just put a uniform on them, give them a gun and send them into the streets. But to train a revolutionary is very difficult.

On the other hand, when the Bolivian masses freed the political prisoners in 1970, the bourgeoisie couldn't do anything because they were confronted with a mass movement. They had to wait a few years to carry out the coup by Banzer. They were able to carry out this coup because there was no revolutionary leadership that could direct the struggle of the masses. And this very strong mass movement was once again captured by the reformists and channelled for their reformist goals and deals with the bourgeoisie. The result was another defeat for the masses in Latin America.

## Need Revolutionary Party

This is the dynamic we see throughout Latin America in one form or another and we could find many more examples. The conclusion that we reach is that it is necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership to direct the masses in their struggle, to lead them in the process by which the masses, prepared to defend themselves arms in hand, destroy the bourgeois power. But as revolutionists we cannot substitute for the actions of the masses. Our job is to provide leadership to the struggle, not substitute for the masses.

Another point which is essential to make is the importance of international solidarity with the struggle in Latin America. That I am speaking here today is precisely due to international solidarity. It's because of international solidarity that I was not killed and that finally I achieved my freedom.

Even the military junta of Pinochet, which is the most horrendous product of Latin America in this century, has had to back off because of international solidarity and international public opinion. That's why they have allowed hundreds of refugees to leave Chile. That's why they haven't been able to kill all the prisoners that they have in jail in Chile. And the economic crisis that the Chilean government is facing is not due totally to its policy of giving in to imperialism but also due to the power of the international solidarity with the Chilean masses. This solidarity has caused many imperialist enterprises to be fearful of investing in Chile in order not to create a negative image for their company internationally.

In addition, we have to understand that international solidarity is also in the interests of working masses throughout the world. Crimes like those committed in Argentina, Chile,

Bolivia and Brazil are crimes committed by the big international imperialist companies. These are the same companies that in the advanced countries are supporting "democratic" regimes. When the crisis of capitalism puts more pressure on these companies they will use the same methods in the developed countries. The way they acted with the Chilean masses is the way they will act with the masses in Europe, the United States, and Canada. We have already seen historical examples of Hitler and Mussolini, examples which prove that monsters like that are not produced in Latin America alone. So it is very important to have international solidarity in Canada with the people in Latin America.

## Solidarity With Argentina

One of the countries on which it is most important that we focus solidarity is Argentina. The actions of people in Canada and other parts of the world can play a big role in preventing Argentina from becoming another Cuba. The Argentine working class is now engaged in important struggles.

The bourgeois press depicts the struggle in Argentina as being between two gangs of gunfighters. We can choose between one gang or the other. But they never show the big struggles of the Argentine masses. For example, I have seen nothing in the headlines of the European papers about the big strike of the Argentine sugar workers—an event much more important to the class struggle than the assassination of a police chief. The bourgeois press knows very well why it does this—to hide the exploitation of the Argentine masses and their struggles against it. We have to make known the real class struggle in Argentina.

At the same time we must build the biggest possible solidarity campaign with the victims of the rightist, fascist terror in Argentina. A solidarity for



Repression has destroyed working-class organizations in Chile. 'It is adventurous to think of armed resistance in that country now.'

all the victims of this repression, all the different groups on the left whatever their ideologies.

[In the question period, Blanco reported on the work of the Liga Comunista, a Trotskyist organization in Chile.]

The Liga Comunista in Chile has the opinion that we cannot minimize the depth of the defeat in Chile. The LC holds that it is adventurous to think of any armed resistance in that country now. The LC believes that the task is to build a revolutionary party in Chile and not through armed resistance at this moment or even through strikes. The junta has answered strikes with killings, even shooting the Christian Democratic leaders of these strikes.

The families of those who have been imprisoned, kicked out of work, or killed are suffering from starvation right now. To defend themselves against this starvation they have developed soup kitchens. The military can't shoot people for having soup kitchens.

But this is an action which is of great importance because people are beginning to do something which they know to be an answer to the repression of the junta. They have to obtain food, they have to decide who's going to cook it, they have to decide how to distribute it. For this they need an organization. And this is how the Chilean working class is beginning to organize. Of course, those who are leading all of this are underground. But it doesn't require that all the people who are participating in this are underground.

The Liga Comunista is involved in this kind of action. Not the kind of action the MIR [Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria, a centrist organization in Chile] is involved in, supposedly doing armed resistance. The LC has offered fraternal criticism to the comrades of the MIR because armed resistance at this moment in Chile can only lead to the liquidation of the vanguard. We can't afford the luxury of losing comrades like Miguel Enriquez [MIR leader murdered by the Chilean junta].

Another very important action at this time in Chile is the action of the students. The military junta raised the entrance fees for students. According to Marxist methodology this would have to be met with a mass mobilization. But this mass mobilization can't take the form of a demonstration of students against the rising costs of entry fees because the demonstration would be answered by machine guns. The students went out into the streets to ask for money for their entrance fees. The junta couldn't shoot a student who was asking for money to pay his entrance fee.

The LC understands that the best way to promote the struggle of the masses is by applying the method of Trotsky's *Transitional Program*, starting off from the level of consciousness the masses have at this time and from the forms of mobilization that are possible for the masses at this time.

In La Convención valley we took over the land. We put in our own authorities. But we aren't going to be so mechanical as to accuse the comrades of the LC of being reformist for not using the same methods we used in La Convención. We understand that there are completely different conditions—the conditions in which we took up arms and the conditions in which the LC today is cooking lunches in the streets. We are both Trotskyists whether shooting bullets in La Convención or cooking meals in Santiago.



Militant/Ben Atwood

BLANCO: 'The only way to free ourselves from imperialism is to liquidate capitalism.'

[Blanco was asked whether he was counterposing armed struggle to the construction of a revolutionary party.]

In Chile today it's very clear why we counterpose the armed struggle to the construction of the party. Because you can't construct a party in a cemetery. I'm not talking in abstractions, I'm talking about reality. The military junta in Chile is massacring the MIR. In Uruguay, the military destroyed the Tupamaros. In Bolivia the guerrillas of Che Guevara were massacred. So were the guerrillas in Peru.

This does not mean that there is a contradiction between the construction of the party and the armed struggle. The contradiction is between the isolated actions of a small vanguard group and the construction of a party which is based on the actions of the masses themselves. The armed action in which I participated was not in contradiction to the construction of the party. Nor would have been the formation of workers' committees of self-defense in Chile under Allende. But a strike for higher wages today in Chile would be. You can't be schematic. You must look at reality.

Don't tell us to go out and fight the army in Chile. We don't want to commit suicide in a heroic action. We have very many martyrs and heroes in Latin America. Now we need revolutionists to build a mass revolutionary party of the working class that can turn opportunities like we had in Chile into victories, not defeats.

[Blanco was asked to draw comparisons between the situation in Chile before the coup and the situation today in Portugal.]

I think there are a lot of similarities. In Portugal, as was the case in Chile, we can't place any confidence in the bourgeois armed forces or in any bourgeois regimes. We must educate the masses that they can only have confidence in themselves. It is very dangerous to be conciliatory to the government. Another thing which is similar is the role of the Communist party. Both in Portugal and Chile the CP served as a vehicle to produce illusions among the masses in the bourgeois regime. They put a brake on the masses in the name of a common defense against fascism. But actually the best defense against fascism is to promote the independent mass actions of the working class. In general these are the similarities.



# Macmillan strike ends, but the struggle to organize publishing industry goes on

By CAROL LISKER

NEW YORK—The strike against the Macmillan Publishing Company officially ended Dec. 16, when the strike committee voted to stop picketing and return to work. All but a handful of those who walked out last October to protest mass firings had already returned to their jobs.

Despite this temporary setback, the fight to organize Macmillan and the entire publishing industry continues.

Office and editorial workers at Macmillan began

**Carol Lisker is a member of the organizing committee at Macmillan for OPEIU Local 153.**

organizing last spring with Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), AFL-CIO. The launching of this drive reflected a new union consciousness that is on the rise among white-collar employees.

## Publishing myths

Workers in the book publishing industry, approximately 80 percent of whom are women, are very low-paid for skilled workers. Many sought jobs in publishing because they believed the work would be interesting and fulfilling, and with the hope that from low-paying clerical or editorial jobs they could "work their way up."

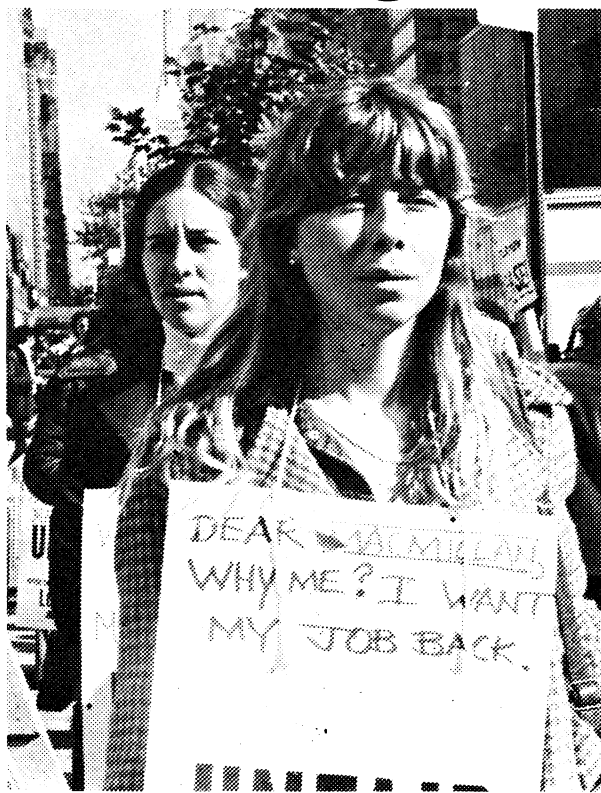
The reality is quite different. The publishing companies' overriding concern is not to provide quality books for the public, but to ensure the highest possible profits for their owners. Editorial, secretarial, and clerical workers alike find that their daily routine is one of alienating labor under heavy pressure of deadlines.

Promotions from within a company are rare. Instead, people who have already made names for themselves elsewhere are brought in to fill top editorial positions. At Macmillan, 94 percent of the lowest three levels of editorial positions are held by women, while men hold 76 percent of the highest-level positions.

Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Asians are virtually barred from the industry except for the lowest-paying positions, such as mail clerk or maintenance worker.

Many of the people who get jobs in publishing are former students who have taken stands on the Vietnam war, civil rights, women's liberation, and other social issues. Their radicalization around these political questions is now beginning to express itself in militancy on the job.

The impact of the women's liberation movement is especially noticeable. Many women go into pub-



Linda Harms  
Union was thrown into showdown battle before it had established strong base at Macmillan.

lishing because they've been told it is one of the few industries in which they will be treated equally with men. They are quickly disillusioned.

At Macmillan, a group of women began meeting in October 1973 to discuss the company's blatant discrimination in hiring, pay, and promotions. The group is currently involved in a lawsuit against the company for sexist and racist discrimination.

It was in the context of this new surge of consciousness among publishing workers that the Macmillan organizing drive was launched. The effort was spurred on by the success of the 17-day strike by Harper & Row workers in June, which many Macmillan employees actively supported.

Before the end of the summer there was an active, open organizing committee at Macmillan, which began issuing weekly leaflets and newsletters explaining the need for a union.

## Union-busting attack

On Oct. 11, Local 153 filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for a union recognition election.

The very same day, Macmillan management responded with the sort of frontal union-busting attack more common 40 or 50 years ago—it announced mass firings, which were executed in the course of the next three workdays. In all, nearly 200 of the company's 1,200 book publishing workers were sacked.

Local 153 responded by calling a strike to demand full reinstatement of those fired and union recognition. On Oct. 17 there was a massive walk-out of more than half the work force.

It was clear that the firings were prompted not by economic necessity, as the company claims, but by its desire to smash the union. Many of those fired had been actively sympathetic to the union or were members of the women's group, which had held a large open meeting just days before the firings.

According to an article by Marilyn Bender in the Dec. 1 *New York Times*, the Macmillan conglomerate has in fact suffered a decline in profits in the past year—because of gross mismanagement of funds. The article also reveals that board chairman Raymond Hagel has a habit of juggling the company's books to show profits and losses in various divisions as he sees fit.

Because of Hagel's blunders and deceptions, several of his top editors have quit in the past year. Others have left to protest the firings.

But the majority of workers at Macmillan do not have the option of quitting. If they are to stop paying the price for the bosses' profit-gouging and financial shenanigans, the only road open to them is union organization. And one of the demands the union could fight for is the right to examine Macmillan's books to find out the truth about the company's finances.

During the first few weeks of the strike, participation was strong, with picketing every day from early in the morning until evening. Workers from other publishing houses and organizations showed their solidarity by joining the picket line before and after work and during lunch breaks.

The strikers raised funds to supplement the union's strike benefits by holding two successful benefit parties. Radio interviews and newspaper articles publicized the Macmillan strike.

The strike was successful in calling public attention to Macmillan's union-busting actions. It was also a further step in raising the union consciousness of the Macmillan workers, most of whom had never been involved in any kind of labor action before.

However, the strike effort clearly faced some major obstacles right from the start. Union consciousness was still new among the Macmillan employees, and the union had just begun to establish its base when the firings occurred. It was thrown into a showdown battle with the company prematurely by management's brutal action.

It is not surprising that many workers were intimidated by the firings, as management had intended, and that fear and a lack of confidence in their own collective strength prompted a gradual drift back to work.

## Renewed campaign needed

The decision to officially end the strike was based on a recognition that staying out after virtually everyone else had gone back to work was only isolating the key union organizers.

What is required now, the strike committee decided, is to reactivate the organizing drive inside the shop and wage an energetic campaign to win the upcoming NLRB election.

To overcome the demoralization fostered by the firings and the strike's inability to win its demands will take a determined, patient effort to convince Macmillan workers that they have the right to organize and that to get a union they all have to participate collectively. The anger that erupted in response to the firings must be turned into a renewed campaign involving many new forces.

The company remains equally determined to prevent this. When the members of the strike committee tried to return to work, they were informed that they no longer have jobs, although none had received notification before. The union will challenge this action by the company before the National Labor Relations Board.

The NLRB already has under consideration a complaint filed by Local 153 that the October firings were an unfair labor practice by Macmillan. At the same time, NLRB hearings are taking place to determine the size of the Macmillan bargaining unit and the date of the union recognition election.

Management contends that editorial workers should not be included in a unit with so-called menials. The union is fighting this dividing tactic.

## Organizing drives spread

Despite the vicious antiunion tactics of publishers like Macmillan, the tide of union organizing is spreading throughout New York publishing houses.

At G.P. Putnam's Sons and the Globe Book Company, where Local 153 is conducting organizing drives, workers are expecting to vote on union representation sometime in January. At Putnam's, too, the company fired six people active in the drive, and the NLRB has charged the company with unfair labor practices.

District 65 of the Distributive Workers has launched a publishing division and several organizing drives, including one at Simon & Schuster.

Another significant development among white-collar workers is a union recognition election slated at Dean Witter & Co., a major Wall Street brokerage house, which is being organized by Local 153. This is believed to be the first such election ever held among non-sales personnel at a major brokerage house.

Through these drives, a large group of workers—who previously were not only unorganized but did not even see themselves as workers—is now coming into motion. These workers are learning that to survive they must be organized. Despite the obstacles thrown in their path by companies like Macmillan, they are determined to fight for union recognition, and they will win.



Militant/John Gray

Women's liberation movement has had big impact on book-publishing workers, 80 percent of whom are women.

**Don't hold your breath**

# Is Meany leaving the Democratic Party?

By FRANK LOVELL

"Meany Is Reported Ready to Declare Labor's Formal Break With the National Democratic Party," read the headline in the Dec. 13 *New York Times*. The article began: "The nation's largest alliance of organized workers is on the verge of formal disengagement from the Democratic party, union officials said today."

Such claims are greatly exaggerated and deliberately misleading. The George Meany wing of the bureaucracy, based mainly on the craft structure of the old AFL building-trades unions, is piqued over the unceremonious treatment it received earlier this month at the Democratic Charter Conference in Kansas City and seeks to vent its displeasure.

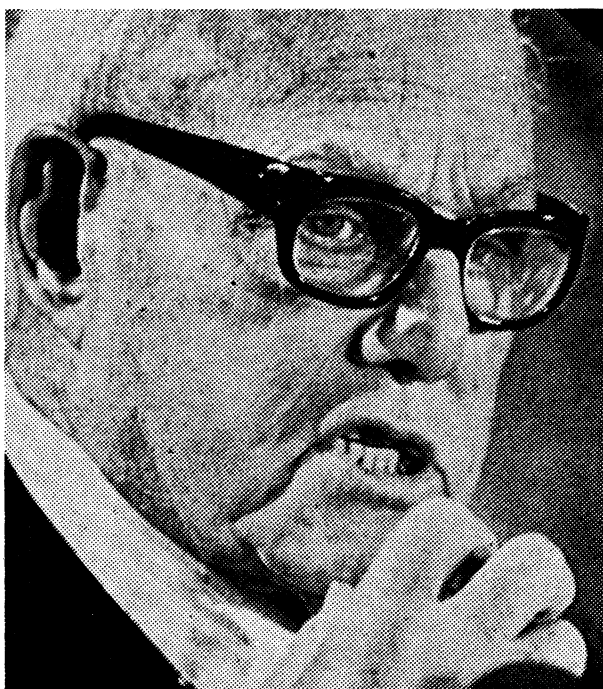
This, of course, is understandable. Considering the large sums of money laid out only last month by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) to elect Democrats, it must have seemed to COPE chairperson Alexander Barkan that the high command of the Democratic Party (which Barkan mistakenly thought he had picked) is an ungrateful bunch.

On this account the Meany-Barkan faction may make a show of withdrawing some compliant union officials from the national committee of the Democratic Party, as they refused in the 1972 presidential election to support the Democratic candidate and aided the reelection of Nixon. But that does not mean even a formal break of the union movement with the Democrats, certainly nothing definitive. The reasons are obvious.

Meany and his cohorts do not control the largest unions (including those in the AFL-CIO, not to mention independents like the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, and others), and cannot represent them politically.

The Meany crowd are not distinguished as first-rate vote-getters. They inspired no outpouring of working-class votes in the general election this year, which was one of the reasons for the less-than-40-percent turnout. Their presence in the councils of the Democratic Party is purely perfunctory, certainly no vote-catching asset to the Democrats.

The political program of the AFL-CIO strategists inside the Democratic Party is a liability at this critical time, when liberal capitalist politicians are trying to create the illusion that they offer a practical answer to the economic crisis. The only contributions from Barkan (aside from money) have been to obstruct the elaborate pretense of



GEORGE MEANY: Piqued

youth, Black, and female representation in the party and to urge a suicidal foreign trade policy of high protective tariffs.

There is no evidence that Meany and his associates are aware of the social forces that are bringing on great changes in this country and throughout the world. Meany has finally discovered that his support to the Vietnam war was not to his credit, but he remains a staunch advocate of huge military expenditures, acting as if this had nothing to do with inflation.

This most conservative wing of the union bureaucracy views itself as a pressure group within the established two-party system. That is why they are incapable of breaking with the Democratic Party. Every time they start waving their arms and looking for the nearest exit, they meet themselves coming back in at the front door. The truth is, they have nowhere else to go, trapped by their commitment to the political system of the employing class.

Some official union reaction to the acrid debate between Meany and the Democrats confirms all this. Floyd Smith, president of the Machinists

union, one of the largest AFL-CIO affiliates, has let it be known that he has no intention of resigning from the Democratic national committee. The same goes for Glenn Watts of the Communications Workers.

Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), says Barkan does not speak for his union. This position is shared by others in the AFL-CIO who are anxious to see the Democratic Party prosper in the hopes that some of the political good fortune will redound to their benefit.

It may be that in this respect Meany is more wily than his "progressive" opposition in the AFL-CIO hierarchy. He has been longer in this political game of make-believe, pretending to extract concessions from the political party in power. He knows that the unions are again in danger of being trapped by the Democrats in wage-price controls, and would prefer this time to appear as the victim instead of the perpetrator.

There are some in top union circles who occasionally make squeaks for a labor party as an alternative political course for the officialdom. An editorial in the December issue of *The Butcher Workman*, monthly magazine of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, deplors huge political contributions by such corporate interests as the drug trust. These thinly disguised bribes tempt "good candidates with not enough money of their own. . . .

"One day," says *Butcher Workman*, "a Labor Party in this country will not be laughed at!"

This is true. A labor party based on the union movement will give working men and women a voice in government, and it will not be laughed at. But such a party will not grow out of the sham battles of the Democratic Party.

The labor party will be nurtured in the struggles to win economic gains and political independence for the working class. These struggles will be for full employment, an improved standard of living, a massive public works program to rebuild this country, and nationalization of basic industries under workers' control. They will be organized by working-class leaders in opposition to the Democratic Party and all the other institutions of the employing class, not in collaboration with them.

It is ridiculous to think that a labor party can come about in any other way—or that the present heads of the union movement, buried in the Democratic Party, will organize it.

## NY construction workers march for jobs

By ANDY ROSE

NEW YORK—Foley Square in downtown Manhattan was flooded with a colorful sea of hard hats—white, silver, yellow, and blue—on Dec. 14 as several thousand building-trades workers rallied to protest the growing use of nonunion construction labor.

The demonstration, called by the New York City Building Trades Council, followed similar protests in Trenton, N.J., last July and in Westchester County, N.Y., last October.

Precisely marshaled contingents, lined up by craft and local, filled block after block in the area as they marched in a large square around the

U.S. District Court House, where more than \$3-million worth of renovation is being done by a nonunion contractor.

Although the marchers were spirited, their leaders seemed at a loss over how to channel the enthusiasm into demands or slogans. Those with bullhorns led chants of "Here come the carpenters" and "Hip, hip, hooray."

Most banners simply identified the different unions, and American flags predominated over picket signs.

A substantial minority of the crowd were young workers, many with beards or long hair. There was a sprinkling of Black faces, mainly

among the carpenters and laborers. Local union business agents stood out sharply in their dress overcoats amid the throng wearing rough work jackets.

Construction, the largest industry in the country, is one of the first to suffer in a business slump, and this recession has hit hard at construction workers. The Building Trades Council estimates that 20 percent of New York construction workers are unemployed.

Adding to the unions' plight is the aggressive spread in recent years of nonunion contractors into former union strongholds.

This particular protest was directed against the federal government's General Services Administration (GSA) for its contract-letting policies. According to the Davis-Bacon Act of 1931, all federally funded construction (which makes up a hefty proportion of the total) must pay the prevailing wage scale. This used to be interpreted in practice to mean hiring union labor, but no more.

The government has not been slow to jump on the union-busting bandwagon in construction, and today the Davis-Bacon Act is often cited as one of the "restrictive" government policies that "perpetuate inflation."

As the Building Trades Council's full-page advertisements for the demonstration put it, "GSA has turned Uncle Sam into Uncle Scab and the Bill of Rights into a Bill of Wrongs!" Union speakers at the rally stressed that the law was being violated by the awarding of contracts to what they termed "substandard" contractors.

The main fire of the demonstration, however, was directed against neither the government nor the employers, but against so-called "illegal aliens."

The featured speakers were New York Democratic Congressman Mario Biaggi and John Murphy. Biaggi was proudly introduced as "not only a friend of the worker but a former police officer who worked his way up through the ranks." Biaggi said the workers had problems and this



House Wreckers' contingent in Dec. 14 protest against nonunion construction

Militant/Andy Rose

Continued on page 26



## Cleve. strike: test of printing trades unity

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—What is at stake in the Cleveland newspaper strike was discussed at the Militant Forum here Dec. 6 by two union employees of the *Plain Dealer*, shut down since Nov. 1 by a Newspaper Guild strike.

John Nussbaum, labor writer for the paper and a member of the Guild, reported the facts about the issues in the negotiations and the progress of the strike.

Jean Tussey, a member of the Cleveland Typographical Union employed in the *Plain Dealer* composing room for the past 16 years, gave her views on the significance of the outcome of the Guild strike for the other newspaper unions.

Nussbaum criticized the biased coverage of the strike by local TV and radio stations.

Cleveland has been without a daily paper since the *Cleveland Press* locked out its employees nine days after the Guild struck the *Plain Dealer*.

Radio and TV reports on negotiations have consisted of unsubstantiated, false, or planted rumors predicting settlement of the strike or back-to-work movements. These rumors have been repeated so often that they have lost credibility.

"Phones at Guild strike headquarters are staffed 24 hours a day," Nussbaum pointed out. "Any competent, professional news reporter would reach for a phone and check the facts before going into print or on the air with a story."

### Vital issues

"The truth of the matter, Nussbaum said, is that there has been no progress in bargaining because the publishers have refused to discuss non-wage issues that are of vital concern to the Guild.

These include reinstatement of Steve Hatch, who was fired for union activity a year ago; reassignment of Robert Dolgan, a columnist transferred to a desk job in punishment for writing a story the Bar Association didn't like; protection against similar punitive transfers; correction of inequities in classifications; minor-



Jean Tussey of Cleveland Typographical Union tells Militant Forum that 'survival of newspaper unions is at stake.' John Nussbaum of Newspaper Guild is at far left.

ity hiring and promotions; and improvements in other working conditions.

The publishers have also refused to budge from the wage offer rejected by the Guild Oct. 31.

"At stake in the current newspaper strike," Jean Tussey said, "is the survival of the unions.

"What is new in the situation is not the solidarity of the employers, but the new economic conditions and technological changes that have made the old newspaper crafts and the union structures based on them obsolete.

"The growing economic crisis is the new context in which the newspaper strike and all other strikes and negotiations take place. There is a growing consciousness in the union movement of the need to forge a united front of labor in order to meet the united-front, union-busting campaign of the employers," she said.

### Report on merger

This was expressed in the report of the Committee on Graphic Arts Unions Merger adopted by the 1974 convention of the International Typo-

graphical Union (ITU).

"Your committee is convinced that the pursuit of organic unity with other unions is the first priority and most critical issue facing our union. . ." the report began.

"The members of your committee are in unanimous agreement that the ITU must merge with other unions in order to survive in this day of conglomerates and multinational corporations, who use their combined resources in the struggle against labor. . . .

"It is time for us to forget our past differences and unite for the benefit of our members and their living conditions and look to the future and our share of the automated world.

"The time is long past for resolutions and well-meaning statements. The time for action is now."

Proposing various kinds of joint action with other unions on a local level, aimed at eventual merger or affiliation of such unions, the report stated further:

"Recognition should be given to the advantages of joint bargaining for greater economic gains and better

working conditions. Further, this will help bring home the necessity of merger for survival in this age of automation."

Newspaper Guild President Charles Perlik has acknowledged that the action of the ITU convention was more than the lip service to unity that has been routinely expressed in past resolutions, Tussey reported.

Officers of the two unions met in November and appointed a fact-finding task force. According to a joint statement issued by Perlik and ITU President Sandy Bevis, the task force is intended "to start isolating the areas of major concern, determining their priority, and looking for techniques for solving them.

"They will concentrate first in the area most meaningful to our respective memberships, shaping a common collective bargaining policy. . . ."

### Cleveland a test

Tussey said that the Cleveland strike poses a test of the capacity of the local and national leaderships of the Guild and the ITU to apply the mandate for unity from their memberships.

A strategy for victory in the local strike should be based on a perspective of merger of all the crafts into one big union for all the workers in the newspaper industry, she said.

Realistic steps in that direction should include:

- Strengthening the existing Unity Committee to include all the unions, including the Guild, without which its effectiveness is limited;
- Coordinated bargaining;
- Common expiration dates for the contracts now being negotiated;
- Prompt organization for production of a daily news publication of the strikers;
- Organization of a mammoth strike-support demonstration, a rally of all labor—AFL-CIO, Teamsters, United Auto Workers, and other independent unions—along with students, women's organizations, welfare, unemployed, civil rights, and minority organizations.

## Court rejects attack on 'green card' workers

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—The Supreme Court recently upheld an interpretation of the "green card" immigration law that enables Mexican residents to seek work on American farms.

In order to explain the interpretation, the court had to navigate some mighty complicated twists and turns. According to the law, green cards permit persons to reside in this country with many rights, including the right to seek work, without having to wait for a visa, which can take years to get. Green card holders are classified as being "lawfully admitted for permanent residence."

Yet a limited number of green cards are issued to farm workers who reside in Mexico and commute to work in the U.S., either on a daily basis or for a whole harvest or season at a time. They are classified as "returning resident immigrants" of this country, which they obviously are not.

Why did the Supreme Court go to all this trouble to interpret the law?

The Nov. 25 decision was clearly motivated by a desire to please agribusiness. The Farm Bureau and other grower associations were pressing for

it, for their own reasons, of course. The growers favor the green card system, not because they want Mexican *campesinos* to have more rights, but because it allows them to recruit some supplementary cheap labor quickly and conveniently.

Even though the court based its decision on the desires and interests of the growers, the upholding of the green card program will benefit workers as well. Had the court struck down this use of green cards, it would have meant that tens of thousands of workers would have been denied the right to seek work in the U.S.

The lawsuit to halt the use of green cards by Mexican *campesinos* was originally brought into court by the United Farm Workers in conjunction with other plaintiffs. In support of the suit, the union marshalled the reactionary arguments that green card holders were stealing jobs from U.S. citizens, depressing wages, and impeding union organizing efforts.

Fortunately, the Farm Workers came to see things a little differently and pulled out of the suit. As UFW attorney Sandy Nathan told reporters, "Some of our own members are

green-carders." But, he went on to say, the union "decided to spend its time fighting the entry of aliens who are clearly illegal."

Green card holders have proven to be a great asset to the union. The militant, spontaneous strikes against lettuce and asparagus growers in the Imperial Valley last January were carried out almost entirely by green card holders. If the union had persisted in its effort to revoke the green card program, it might have succeeded in having many of its own members kicked out of the country.

But "fighting the entry of aliens who are clearly illegal" isn't going to help the union any more than trying to kick out those with green cards.

Undocumented workers are difficult to organize because they have no rights. By being "illegal" they are vulnerable to all types of exploitation. The constant threat of deportation contributes to keeping them intimidated. But calling for *la migra* to deport the "aliens" only contributes to their isolation and vulnerability.

The only effective way to combat the *gringo* growers' game of pitting "legals" against "illegals" is to extend

the rights of green card holders and undocumented workers until all have full rights.



If Supreme Court had barred Mexican 'green card' holders from working in U.S., thousands of families would have been denied entry.

# Historic decision on First Amendment rights

## Full text of judge's order barring FBI from

Following is the text of the decision by Judge Thomas Griesa of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York granting an injunction against FBI surveillance of the upcoming national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The decision was made Dec. 13. For news story on the court victory, see page 28.

In several places Griesa gives his interpretations of various positions of the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party as well as of their relationship to each other and to the Fourth International (which he mistakenly refers to as "the SWP throughout the world").

Three factual corrections are in order. First, the SWP and YSA are not affiliated to the Fourth International because of the reactionary Voorhis Act in this country. Their relationship to the Fourth International is one of fraternal solidarity.

Second, the YSA is not the "youth arm" of the SWP, but an independent organization.

Third, the SWP never "repudiated" its Declaration of Principles of 1938, but simply withdrew it for two reasons: one, to end its affiliation to the Fourth International in order to comply with the Voorhis Act; and two, because the party had changed its position on advocacy of a labor party.

### SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

versus 73 Civil 3160

### THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

New York, N. Y.  
December 13, 1974

### OPINION OF THE COURT

THE COURT: (Griesa, D.J.) I am dictating a bench decision in this matter on this motion for preliminary injunction instead of a more formal opinion, because I believe the time requirements make this procedure necessary.

The relief sought relates to a convention to be held December 28, 1974, and I believe it is necessary to have the matter decided in this form now so that the relief I am granting can be effectuated and also so that there is time for seeking resort to the Court of Appeals, if that is desired.

This is a motion brought by plaintiffs for a preliminary injunction restraining one of the defendants, namely, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, from having his organization conduct any surveillance or monitoring of the 14th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, planned to be held at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri, from December 28, 1974, through January 1, 1975.

I will refer to the Young Socialist Alliance as the YSA, as we have done in the arguments.

The YSA is one of the plaintiffs in this action, which seeks broad relief against what the plaintiffs consider to be the illegal surveillance and harassment carried on by the various governmental officials and agencies against the plaintiffs.

The YSA is an unincorporated association, with headquarters in New York. Its basic function is that it is the youth arm of another one of the plaintiffs, namely, the Socialist Work-

ers Party, which I will refer to as the SWP.

Both the SWP and the YSA advocate the replacement of capitalism with socialism in the United States. Their specific doctrines will be discussed at greater length later in my opinion.

The motion for preliminary injunction is granted, for the following reasons.

Let me first summarize the salient facts.

The record indicates that the YSA convention will be open to delegates and also other young people under the age of twenty-nine, which is the cut-off age for the YSA. The convention will be open to other young people interested in learning about the YSA and the SWP. There will be workshops, panel discussions, and other meetings, at which both members and other interested young people will be permitted to attend. There will apparently be official delegates to this convention which will have certain voting rights, and there will be at least one meeting where only the delegates are permitted for the purposes of voting for the YSA National Committee.

One of the principal events of the convention will be the announcement by the SWP of its candidates for president and vice-president of the United States for the 1976 election. It is planned to have a rally at the Hotel Jefferson, at which this announcement is made. The public will be invited to this rally.

### Right to refuse admission

Although the meetings contemplated have various degrees of public or private characteristics, as I have described, basically the intention is to have only persons coming to participate in the meetings as interested observers or participants, and it would appear that if someone attempted to attend any of these meetings and was considered undesirable by the YSA or the SWP, those organizations would have the right to refuse admission to such unwanted persons.

It appears that the FBI has for

**'FBI surveillance  
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attract young persons  
to attend them'**

many years had an investigatory interest in the SWP and the YSA, because it has considered that these organizations are Marxist revolutionary organizations, whose purpose is the illegal overthrow of the United States Government.

The FBI apparently has for many years carried on surveillance at the National Conventions and other meetings of the YSA and also of the SWP. The FBI has stated plainly in this action and has otherwise indicated that it intends, unless barred by court order, to carry out surveillance of the

YSA convention coming up on December 28th. Indeed, in August or September of this year, the FBI paid a call to the offices of the Hotel Jefferson to inquire about what banquet rooms and guest rooms were being reserved for YSA convention attendance, and the FBI told the hotel management that it would carry out surveillance of the convention.

The FBI has filed affidavits stating that it intends to have confidential informants attending the convention meetings to find out the identity of persons attending and to find out the substance of the discussions held.

The FBI denies that it intends any electronic surveillance or searches or photographing.

The YSA claims that this proposed surveillance has placed or threatens to place a substantial inhibition on the ability of the YSA and its members and other persons who would be interested in attending to carry out the convention in a free and normal manner.

### FBI 'subversive' files

One of the principal reasons why it is plain that the FBI's proposed surveillance will place restrictions on the convention is related to what the FBI intends to do with the information obtained from the surveillance. The record demonstrates quite clearly that the FBI, despite the abolition of the well-known Attorney General's list, still considers that the SWP and the YSA are revolutionary organizations, dedicated to the overthrow of the constitutional form of government of the United States by force and violence.

It appears that when the FBI learns of a person's affiliation with the YSA or the SWP or learns of a person's attendance at the meetings of those organizations, the FBI records such information in its files. A principal use of such information is to inform United States Government departments and agencies of such facts in the event that an SWP or YSA member or someone attending its functions seeks employment with such government department or agency.

It appears that the FBI informs the government department or agency of the connection of the person with the YSA or the SWP and states to the government department or agency that these organizations are dedicated to violent revolution in the way that I have described. This results in obvious problems to the persons seeking the government employment, including being subjected to extremely searching questioning about political beliefs.

The record does not disclose in detail what does and does not happen in the case of such employment applications, but it appears clear to me that the procedure does place a very substantial onus and burden upon the persons involved.

Now, back to the problem about the upcoming convention.

The record shows quite clearly that the FBI surveillance of such meetings and the FBI procedures as far as use of information are concerned are quite well known among persons who consider attending the YSA conventions and that they operate as a substantial deterrent to such attendance. The record shows that persons who have been engaged in attempting to recruit attendance for the conventions have encountered instances of people who state that they would be interested in attending but are afraid to attend because of this FBI surveillance.

Beyond the specific instances which have been cited in the affidavits, it appears to me that a natural consequence under the circumstances is that the FBI surveillance would inevitably put a substantial inhibition and barrier upon the normal carrying out of these meetings and the normal ability to attract young persons to attend them.

### 'A reasonable fear'

It seems to me also clear that the fear of people with regard to attending the meetings is not a mere mirage but is a reasonable fear in light of what the FBI does with the information obtained by it at these meetings.

There are other facts to be discussed at a later point, but this is probably the appropriate juncture to discuss the first question of law.

The threshold question of law to be dealt with is whether there is a justiciable controversy. This is the Government's formulation of the question, and I think it is probably a satisfactory one.

**'The fear of people  
with regard to  
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information obtained'**

The plaintiffs are relying upon a contention that their First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and freedom of association are threatened with substantial impairment. The defendants deny this contention and rely on the line of authorities which hold that if there is no actual prohibition against the exercise of First Amendment freedoms but merely a subjective, self-induced chill on the exercise of those rights and freedoms, then there is no cognizable right upon which a court can grant relief.

The principal reliance of the Government is upon the Supreme Court decision in *Laird vs. Tatum*, 408 U.S. 1, a decision in 1972. The majority opinion in that case was written by Chief Justice Burger and joined in by Justices White, Blackmun, Powell, and Rehnquist. Justices Douglas, Marshall, Harlan, and Stewart dissented.

The case dealt with intelligence-gathering activities of the United States Army which were being carried out to help meet the instances of domestic violence and terrorism which were being carried out and threatened at that period.

The plaintiffs in that action filed suit, claiming that their political rights, their First Amendment rights were being inhibited and stifled by this intelligence-gathering activity of the United States Army.

The majority opinion held that there was no valid cause of action. At page 13 of the majority opinion, there is a statement of the holding that there was no indication that the plaintiffs had sustained or were immediately in danger of sustaining a direct injury as a result of the Army's ac-



# spying at Young Socialist convention

tions. There was merely the amorphous claim that the very existence of the Army's data-gathering system created somehow a chilling effect on First Amendment rights. In other words, the specific claim of a specific injury which is presented in this case was not presented in Laird vs. Tatum.

## Previous cases cited

I do not mean to oversimplify the application of the Laird vs. Tatum opinion. The questions I raised in oral argument are difficult ones. There is language at page 11 in the opinion which the Government with much force argues applies directly to our present case and prevents relief here. However, I believe that the Laird vs. Tatum opinion must be applied on its facts and that the language of the majority opinion must be read in the context of those facts, and on this basis I am holding that the Laird vs. Tatum opinion does not preclude relief in the present case.

Another case relied on by the Government is the Second Circuit decision in *Fifth Avenue Peace Parade vs. Gray*, 480 Fed. 2nd 326 (2nd Cir. 1973). To me, this case is clearly inapplicable. There, the FBI activity had an entirely different purpose from what is contemplated here. The FBI was seeking information about the numbers of demonstrators which would be converging on Washington for the Vietnam Moratorium in November 1969.

The Court of Appeals, in an opinion written by Judge Mulligan, relied specifically on that fact. He further noted that there was no attempt to make notations about identities of persons, no attempt to use or gain information for any other purpose than to insure the orderly handling of crowds in connection with this moratorium. Consequently, he held that there was no reasonable basis for finding any chill whatever upon the First Amendment rights of the plaintiffs.

## First Amendment rights

It seems to me that the line of authority which is relevant is found in the cases which have held that First Amendment rights can be violated by disclosure of membership in controversial organizations. I refer to *Gibson vs. Florida Legislative Commission*, 372 U.S. 548, and other, similar cases. These authorities hold that there is a valid First Amendment

## 'We are dealing with the basic problem of inhibiting the right of association'

claim presented when a governmental authority seeks to obtain information about the identities of the members of organizations such as the NAACP or the Republican Party in Southern states, et cetera, and that the organizations have standing to protect their members from unwarranted invasions by the government of rights to association and privacy.

One of the ideas used in the reasoning of these cases is that when the objective of a group is unpopular at a given time, revelation of the identities of those who have joined together may provoke reprisals from those op-

posed to the group.

I believe that those cases apply here, in view of the fact that one of the principal activities, if not the principal activity of the FBI in the contemplated surveillance, would be to record the identities of the parties for use in the manner which I have described.

I realize that there are distinctions which can be drawn between the present case and the membership-list cases. For instance, it can be argued that

## 'I have reviewed a recent issue of The Militant . . . and it is filled with the discussion of all manner of public issues'

when people attend a public or semi-public meeting, they somehow waive the right to privacy which is protected in the membership list cases. However, on balance, I find that that distinction is not a compelling one. I do not believe that a person who attends a meeting such as the one we are talking about inevitably waives his right to have his attendance a more or less private matter and not subject to Government surveillance. If he goes beyond this and manages to get his picture and name published in the party paper or something like that, this would be a different matter, but we are not talking about that kind of people. We are talking about the rank and file of the young people who apparently wish to attend this type of meeting with something less than that much notoriety.

Finally, we are dealing with the basic problem of inhibiting the right of association, and the record before me indicates convincingly that the presence of FBI informants at the meeting will do this. In my view, this is sufficient ground for holding that there is a justiciable controversy about the invasion of First Amendment rights.

## Trade-union precedent

The case most directly on point is a case decided by the then District Judge Swygert, who is now Chief Judge of the Seventh Circuit, and I have reference to *Local 309 vs. Gates*, 75 Fed. Suppl. 620, a case decided in the Northern District of Indiana in 1948. Judge Swygert held that a union was entitled to injunctive relief against police surveillance at union meetings, that there was a strike in progress, and there had been violence in connection with the strike.

The police argued that they were entitled to monitor the meetings in order, among other reasons, to check on possible violence. Judge Swygert found as a fact that although there had been violence in the strike, there was no indication that the meetings had any relationship to violence. He further found that the inhibiting effect upon right of association was a natural result of the surveillance. He found factual indications of such inhibiting effect and granted the injunctive relief on the basis of First Amendment violations.

The second branch of our problem relates to the question of whether the Government has a valid reason for

invading the First Amendment rights, that is, whether there is a sufficiently compelling interest or a sufficient interest of any kind on the part of the FBI which would justify it to carry out the activity with the effects which I have just described.

This brings up the question which has occupied us at great length, that is, whether indeed there is any indication that the upcoming meeting of the YSA will have any relation to violence, illegal activity of any kind.

We have had extensive proof and discussion on this point, which I will not attempt to describe in full detail now. I think it can be summarized as follows:

The YSA and the SWP are loyal to the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. In 1938, the SWP subscribed or promulgated a declaration of principles which said, as quoted in the materials before me, that at all times the organizations would contend against the fatal illusion that the masses can accomplish their emancipation through the ballot box.

Although this does not specifically advocate violence and illegal activity, the Government urges with some reason that such is implicit in the statement. However, this is a declaration made some thirty-six years ago. The record is undisputed that the declaration was repudiated by the SWP in 1940. The Government contends that this was merely a subterfuge to avoid the application of certain legal strictures. The plaintiffs contend that the repudiation of violence or the amendment of the original declaration of principles was utterly sincere, as proven by some thirty-four years, at least, of a record of nonviolence.

## No gov't evidence

In my view, the plaintiffs are completely right. I have asked the Government to come forward with any indication whatever of violent revolutionary activity or any other illegal activity carried out by the YSA or the SWP, and the Government has come forward with absolutely nothing.

I have asked the Government to provide any indication of any discussion of violence or illegal activity or any incitement of such activity involving any prior national convention of the YSA, this being the fourteenth such convention. The Government has come forward with nothing.

The Government's main reliance as far as any current problem or risk is concerned relates to a matter discussed at length this afternoon, which, again, I will not attempt to describe in detail. Basically, I believe, it can be summarized thus:

There have developed in the SWP throughout the world certain factions, one of which adheres to what they consider the traditional and standard SWP doctrine of nonviolence. This is admitted to be the clear majority view, at least in the United States. There is another, minority view, which apparently managed to have passed at a meeting this year, an international meeting, a resolution approving the use of guerrilla warfare in Latin America. The meeting to which I refer is called the Tenth World Congress and was held in early 1974.

The representative of the majority of the United States party was opposed to the resolution backing the use of guerrilla force in Latin America and said that in his opinion it foreshadowed a more basic break, with more widespread geographical implications as far as the basic question

of nonviolence versus violence was concerned. However, the minority faction in the U.S. party, according to the representations made to me which I credit, which was in favor of the resolution about guerrilla warfare in Latin America, has been ousted from the SWP party in America as of July 1974.

There was never anything, in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States.

In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated.

It should be remembered that the SWP is a party with a membership of one thousand or two thousand and that in the last general election it obtained votes of about one hundred thousand.

## Views of SWP & YSA

The SWP and the YSA have come forward with materials which I find convincing regarding their current nonviolent beliefs and their current disavowal of violence.

At the time of the assassination of President Kennedy, the national secretary of the SWP issued a press release condemning the assassination, condemning political terrorism, and stating that political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard.

The constitution of the SWP has nothing advocating violent, illegal activity. There is in the record a pamphlet written by one George Novack, entitled "Marxism versus Neo-Anarchist Terrorism," which, despite what one may think of many of the beliefs stated therein, is nevertheless a most eloquent and intelligent statement of

## 'The healthy thing for our society to do is to permit this group to freely have their discussions'

reasons against what is called individual terrorist activity.

I have questioned, on the basis of that pamphlet, what ultimate form of activity is contemplated and advocated by the SWP and the YSA, and I think it can be summed up as follows:

There is, indeed, in the pamphlet I have referred to and in other pieces of literature much of the rhetoric of revolution, that is, use of the term "revolution". There is talk about action of the masses and so forth, and it is clear that the ultimate, long-range goal of the SWP would be and it is stated to be the expropriation of the financial resources of this country from their present owners and the placing of such resources in the hands of the working class.

Why is not this the advocacy of revolution which would justify FBI surveillance at the meetings of this group? I do not believe there is such justification, and I believe that the revolutionary rhetoric must be taken in context in order to avoid a departure from reality.

The talk about the expropriation of power is right now a discussion of theory. There is not the slightest

*Continued on next page*

## ...court decision

Continued from preceding page

indication of any mass action or any other action to now or in the near future expropriate property by this party. The party obviously realizes that its small size now would make such a program ridiculous. They have expressed this in their own words, and what they are doing right now is to have discussions of socialism. They are sponsoring and supporting causes which they believe in, such as the farm workers' activity in California, women's lib, and so forth. The discussion of ultimate action by the masses is a theoretical discussion.

I have reviewed a recent issue of their publication called *The Militant*, which is quite a lengthy newspaper, and it is filled with the discussion of all manner of public issues, and there is in my view not the slightest hint of any present violent threat or any such threat for the near future. The newspaper is filled with discussions of candidates supported by the SWP for various offices throughout the country, discussions of school-board problems in New York City, and so forth and so on.

As a matter of policy, it seems to me, finally, that the healthy thing for our society to do is to permit this group to freely have their discussions of the issues which concern them and of their theories. It seems to me inevitable that as a result of those discussions at such conventions as are coming up, the theories will evolve and that it would be absurd to place any restrictions upon their exercise of First Amendment rights because of some theoretical goal long in the future, if ever, of the consummation of their avowed socialist program.

### No compelling interest

For these reasons I find and conclude that the proposed FBI surveillance threatens a substantial impairment of the First Amendment rights of plaintiffs SWP and YSA and that the Government has shown no compelling interest and no other necessity of any other degree which would justify the impairment which I have described.

Since this is a preliminary injunction motion, the standard which I am to apply is an alternative standard, that is, a preliminary injunction is justified if the plaintiffs have shown a probability of success on the ultimate merits and a threat of irreparable injury; or a preliminary injunction is justified if there are serious and substantial questions regarding the merits of the action, and the hardships to the plaintiffs from not granting the injunction outweigh the hardships to the defendants in granting the injunction. I think the second of the alternative tests is the appropriate one.

It surely seems to me clear that the plaintiffs have raised serious questions and substantial questions about their right to First Amendment relief. Further, it seems to me that there is a showing of substantial harm to the upcoming convention and to the participants if the injunctive relief is not granted.

Finally, it seems to me clear that the Government has shown nothing in the way of a loss to its interests if the injunction is granted.

# Lawyers hail ruling as major victory for right of association

By CAROLINE LUND

"This is the first time in history that a judge has protected a political group from FBI surveillance at its convention," agreed civil liberties attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan in evaluating the Dec. 13 U.S. District Court decision prohibiting FBI spying on the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Jordan and Boudin are representing the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in a comprehensive suit against all forms of government harassment and illegal surveillance. The YSA's request for a preliminary injunction to stop the FBI from spying on its convention was a part of the broader suit. It was argued before the judge by Herbert Jordan.

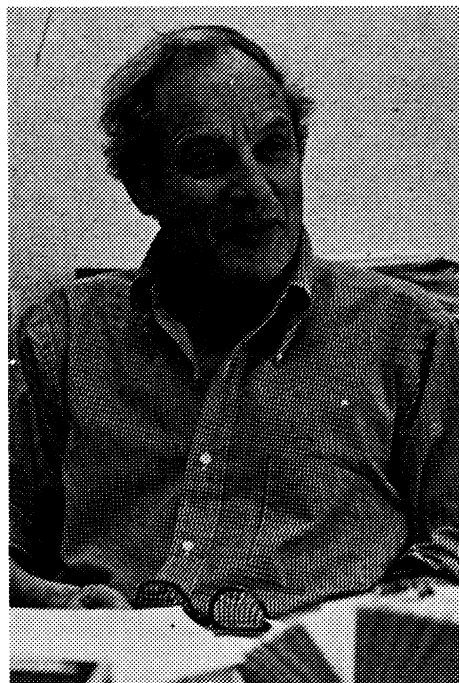
Boudin called the ruling "an extraordinarily important decision."

"It may ultimately be regarded as a landmark with respect to the right of association," he stated.

The decision will strengthen the efforts of other groups and individuals to obtain similar orders against FBI surveillance.

"We have, for example, already received telephone calls from lawyers—ACLU lawyers and others—from different parts of the country, who are seeking injunctions against governmental surveillance in other cases," said Boudin. "They have asked us for copies of Judge Griesa's decision, indicating that they want to use it for arguments expected in their own cases."

Griesa's ruling also has far-reaching implications with regard to the right



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

BOUDIN: 'The decision goes to the heart of our case.'

to advocate and discuss Marxism in this country.

"This was a very interesting evaluation by a judge of revolutionary socialist organizations," said Boudin, "in which he comes to the conclusion that they are lawful organizations, and in which he recognizes that the language used by these groups—which is always interpreted by the government and the FBI as indicating violent or illegal action—is lawful."

"For example, in the Dunne case [the 1941 conviction of 18 Socialist Workers Party and trade-union leaders under the Smith Act] the court took the general language in the constitution and Declaration of Principles of the SWP in a way that distorted it into a terrorist doctrine."

"And in the subsequent Smith Act trials, for example, the Dennis case against members of the Communist Party, the court took the revolutionary language of the classical Marxists—Marx, Engels, Lenin, and probably Stalin—and gave it a kind of literal, 'barricades' meaning that was not really properly attributed to the Communist Party."

Commenting on the meaning of the decision in terms of the right to advocate Marxism, Jordan added, "I would say this decision is in a sense a charter for the right to advocate Marxism."

He continued: "I don't know of any other decision where the court has recognized that plaintiffs were revolutionists and Marxists and still ruled that it is healthy for our society to allow them to come forward, and to apply the usual First Amendment

rhetoric of the 'market place of ideas' to this kind of group."

Another reason Judge Griesa's decision was important, said Boudin, is that "it goes to the heart of our case." He was referring to the omnibus \$27-million suit by the SWP and YSA against all forms of government harassment and surveillance.

"All of the arguments the government is making in the case itself," said Boudin, "they made in relation to this motion for preliminary injunction. And the court upheld us. Therefore the decision might well foreshadow the result in this case, because so much of the substance was involved here."

Boudin and Jordan went on to discuss why they felt the YSA and SWP had won this decision even though numerous other attempts by movement activists to challenge government surveillance through the courts in the past few years have failed. In arguing against the YSA's motion, the government tried to use the decisions in two of these cases—*Laird v. Tatum* and *Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee v. Gray*—to buttress their case.

In *Laird v. Tatum* the Supreme Court in 1972 dismissed a class-action suit seeking to stop the army from spying on civilians. And in the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee case, a federal appeals court threw out a suit demanding that the FBI return or destroy bank records and photographs of participants in a 1969 anti-war demonstration.

In evaluating the victory in the YSA's injunction motion, Jordan said he felt that one factor was the exposure of the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program."

"This program embodies an official policy of the FBI calling for disruption of the SWP and YSA and calling for discrediting them in the public eye and generally attempting to inhibit their growth."

"I think the judge wanted to steer clear of this issue," said Jordan, "because it is a touchy issue and one that has not as yet been thoroughly developed in our suit because our discovery requests [requests for information] from the government have not been answered."

"But I think that although the judge did not refer to the FBI's Disruption Program in his decision, the existence of those policies is part of the background against which the case was considered."

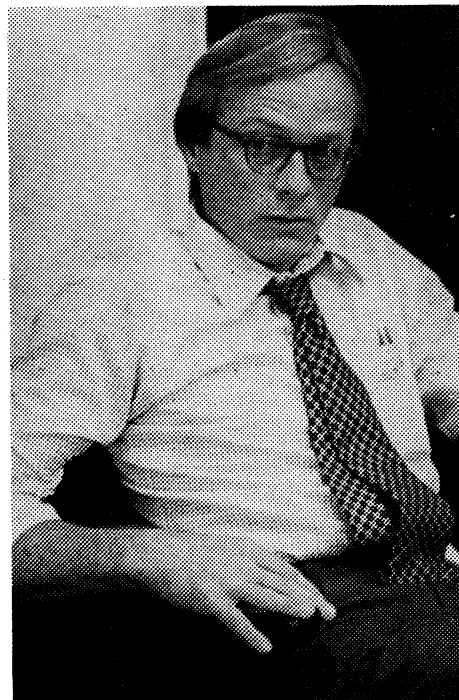
Another factor, added Boudin, was that "we were very fortunate in having the original evidence of the FBI's intention to infiltrate the YSA convention made available to us. That kind of handing over of a platter of evidence is not normally available."

"We also had the advantage here of groups, the SWP and YSA, which have a long and unimpeachable history of engaging in nothing but the most legitimate activities."

"And the last point I would make," said Boudin, "is on the extent and quality of the legal analysis made by Herbert Jordan, even though this was not a trial but a motion for a preliminary injunction."

"We try in all cases, obviously, to be very thorough, but I have not seen a case in this office in more than 30 years upon which such thorough legal work has been done."

Boudin said that the decision "is consistent with a few of the important opinions which we have had, like the Pentagon Papers case, in which the government sought to get an injunction against the publication of the Pentagon Papers and the Supreme Court ruled that such prior restraint was unconstitutional."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

JORDAN: 'It is a charter for the right to advocate Marxism'

## Help fight for civil liberties

The YSA's victory in winning an injunction against the FBI opens new opportunities for winning support for the suit by the YSA and Socialist Workers Party against government harassment. The Political Rights Defense Fund, a civil liberties group that is organizing support for the suit, has made a special appeal for funds and other aid to carry forward this fight.

"The government side has all kinds of resources at its command," said Catherine Perkus of PRDF, "but we can win this case if we are able to enlist the aid of all those who support democratic rights in this country. If we win, it will strengthen the rights of everyone."

To offer your help, please fill out the coupon below.

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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## Interview with George Novack

# Meaning of YSA victory for civil liberties

In the following interview, George Novack presents an evaluation of the Dec. 13 federal injunction prohibiting the FBI from spying on the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Novack, one of the foremost defenders of civil liberties in this country, has participated in many of the most famous defense cases in this century. His efforts on behalf of class-struggle victims began in the early 1930s with the Scottsboro case and the case of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

During the Moscow trials, Novack served as the national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. He then became national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which supported the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544 leaders tried in Minneapolis in 1941 under the Smith Act.

Novack was national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee during the McCarthyite witch-hunt. The committee successfully defended James Kutcher, a legless veteran, when the government tried to fire him for his membership in the SWP.

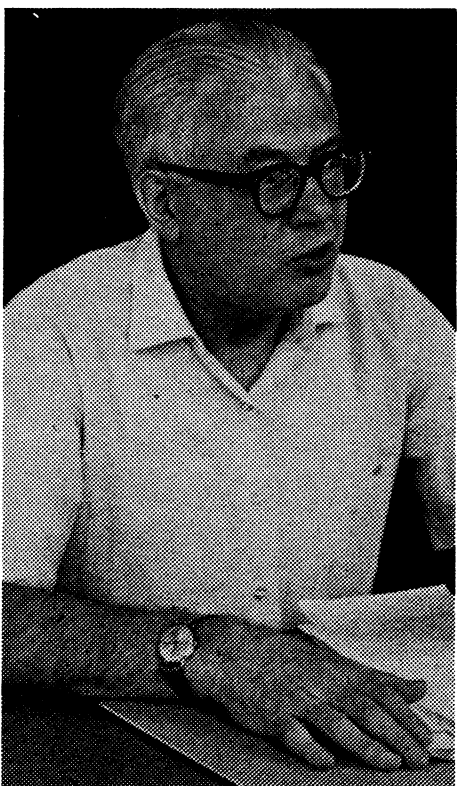
Novack is a leader of the SWP and the author of many books on history and philosophy.

**Militant:** What is the significance of this injunction for the rights of political groups and for civil liberties in general?

**Novack:** Judge Griesa's unprecedented decision enjoining the FBI from spying on the Young Socialist Alliance convention would make J. Edgar Hoover turn over in his grave—and with good reason.

For over 50 years the FBI has been the "Great Untouchable." This secret-police agency has been permitted to operate without restraint as it trampled constitutional rights and democratic liberties underfoot. Together with the Department of Justice, the FBI has illegally spied on, harassed, framed up, victimized, and helped railroad to federal prison hundreds of dissenters on fake charges and cooked-up evidence.

The FBI's word was considered sacrosanct. No one in authority, from presidents to judges and prosecutors,



Militant/Brian Shannon

NOVACK: 'J. Edgar Hoover would turn over in his grave.'

would challenge or controvert it. When the victims, with their lawyers and defenders, dared to do so, their objections went unheeded and almost unheard.

A mystique of infallibility was concocted to shield the activities of the FBI from critical inspection. This mythology of total trustworthiness was persistently built up over the decades. FBI agents were glorified as "G-men," when the so-called gangbusters were themselves largely engaged in ganging up on civil liberties.

The significance of the injunction granted by Judge Griesa has to be viewed against this background. It is the first time a federal judge has told the FBI that its agents and informers cannot spy on any organization they pick on, and has warned that they do not have a legal warrant to intervene in the activities of a political group, in this case, the national convention of a legal youth organization. That would violate the First Amendment right of free association, stated the judge.

As the judge pointed out, the FBI was unable to cite a single illegal

act by the YSA or Socialist Workers Party over the past third of a century. They were being persecuted solely for advocating revolutionary change, that is, for their ideas and program.

**Militant:** What does the injunction indicate about the public mood toward civil liberties?

**Novack:** This ruling is one sign of the sharp change in the political climate of this country that has been brought about by the antiwar movement, the widening radicalization, and the disclosures of Watergate and other horrors.

People are suspicious of the charges in government cases today. There have been four acting attorney generals since John Mitchell, who is now standing trial for his part in all this skulduggery. The law defenders have been found to be the most arrogant law breakers.

These developments have called forth a broad demand to end violations of democratic rights by the FBI, the CIA, the IRS, and other agencies. The injunction against spying on the YSA convention was in response to this growing sentiment.

Whatever happens on appeal of this injunction, this landmark ruling by itself vindicates the campaign that has been so vigorously conducted by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the group supporting the suit by the YSA and SWP against illegal gov-

ernment spying.

In preparing and pleading the case for the PRDF, attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan have demonstrated the exceptional legal capacities in the field of constitutional freedoms that have won their firm favorable verdicts in so many noteworthy cases since the early 1950s.

Some ultralefts scoff at legal suits in connection with civil liberties campaigns as ineffective, reformist actions, although they take care to provide themselves with lawyers and defense organizations when they themselves are in trouble with the legal authorities.

If it is necessary to secure proper legal defense upon indictment, it is 10 times more useful to forestall victimization if at all possible. That is the merit of suits like the PRDF case.

It would be best for the state of civil liberties if the FBI were disbanded. But imperialist America would no more agree to get along without a secret police than it would to scrap the armed forces it needs to patrol the world.

All the same, we are obliged to see that the FBI does not run wild, and to demand from the courts that it be restrained. So long as the FBI exists, it must be deterred as much as possible.

The PRDF suit is designed to achieve this objective. Its actions on behalf of the YSA and SWP therefore benefit all other groups that have been targets of FBI surveillance.



Militant/Derrick Morrison

Attica defense demonstration. Today people are suspicious of government frame-up cases—the law 'defenders' have been exposed as the most arrogant lawbreakers.

## ...Judge bars FBI from YSA convention

Continued from page 28

including James P. Cannon's *Socialism on Trial* and George Novack's *Democracy and Revolution*, as well as quotes from *The Militant*.

In answer to the Mallet affidavit, SWP organization secretary Barry Sheppard submitted a statement explaining that "the specific methods used by the SWP to educate and organize are electioneering, distribution of literature, public speaking and other legal activities. The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity."

Sheppard cited a statement made by SWP national secretary Farrell Dobbs in 1963 condemning the assassination of President John Kennedy and terrorism in general.

The Sheppard affidavit concludes: "The policies and facts outlined above are in no way altered or contravened by anything that may appear in the writings of such revolutionary figures as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and others."

Apparently Griesa did not find the FBI's quotations from books convincing evidence of anything illegal about

the YSA or SWP. At the second hearing he asked whether the FBI had "uncovered any actual violent acts committed by members of either of these organizations" and added, "I take it the answer is no, otherwise I would hear about it."

Unable to make any case whatsoever for charging the SWP or YSA with violent or illegal actions, Glassman then resorted to basing the government's entire case on a document relating to a discussion going on in the Fourth International.

The Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, is an international revolutionary socialist party. The SWP is prevented from affiliating with the Fourth International by the reactionary Voorhis Act adopted in 1940. But the party is in solidarity with the Fourth International on a fraternal, collaborative basis.

The document Glassman relied upon contained reports from two different groupings within the SWP evaluating the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International. Specifically, Glassman centered in on references to the resolution on armed struggle

in Latin America that was passed by the congress.

Glassman didn't submit the resolution itself; the implication was that it was some kind of secret, conspiratorial document. The fact is that this resolution has been published in the press of the Fourth International.

Glassman centered his case on references to the Internationalist Tendency, a small minority grouping in the SWP and the YSA that split away from both organizations. The IT members were removed from the membership rolls of the SWP and YSA on July 4 of this year.

The SWP had faced a similar attack last March by red-baiting syndicated columnist Victor Riesel, who claimed that the IT was a "terrorist" wing of the SWP.

SWP national secretary Jack Barnes responded at that time: "There are no tendencies, no 'deviations,' no 'dissidents,' and no members in the SWP that advocate terrorism. In view of the traditions of Leninism and Trotskyism and the program of the SWP, support to terrorism is incompatible with membership in the party."

After Glassman went to great pains to quote extensively from the SWP bulletin, Judge Griesa asked, "Is there anything at all indicating the desire or plan to have or to promote armed struggle in the United States?"

He added, "You know, it does seem to me that a socialist party in the United States could very well feel a sympathy with and even want to assist a civil war in Latin America or Spain because of the conditions there, but they might quite possibly be content with the democratic process in the United States, at least in the foreseeable future, because of the possibilities of using that process here."

The judge finally told Glassman, "You have been looking at this organization for 35 years or so, and you haven't been able to tell me of one single, solitary crime or illegal activity committed by anybody in this organization."

The YSA's victory in this decision opens new opportunities for pressing forward in winning broad public support for the SWP and YSA's comprehensive suit against government harassment.

# ...march

Continued from page 5

marshals hurled the banners they were carrying on cardboard poles at the police. Several arrests were made.

But the crowd didn't join in this confrontation.

The demonstrators were confused and angered. On seeing the array of cops, one Black man said, "God, it looks like an army. They shouldn't have brought us up here without a permit."

The injuries were minor compared to what they might have been. The crowd moved away from the scuffling and proceeded along the official route to the rally site, successfully completing the march in a highly-spirited manner. The YAWF marshals were forced to go down the agreed-upon route, despite their original intentions.

Owens, however, insisted on trying to get himself arrested. After the crowd began moving, he and a handful of others left the line of march and proceeded down Boylston, virtually begging the cops to arrest them.

The cops, however, easily outwitted Owens. They just let him walk down the street, explaining that since he was no longer part of the march, he couldn't be arrested for violating the march route.

Owens had no alternative but to rejoin the demonstration at the rally site.

Naturally, the cops and the newspaper and broadcast accounts have focused on this minor confrontation. As usual, they look for any handle they can find to discredit the demonstrators. It's too bad that some people insist on playing right into their hands.

# ...Kozol

Continued from page 7

[Long applause.]

Let poor white kids learn also why it is that for long years in their own hometown, not one of their own graduates from South Boston High ever made it on to college. [Yells, shouts, and strong applause.]

For 10 years Mrs. Hicks has told us, "You know where I stand." We know where she stands. She stands on that same plot of land of hate, fear, and racist crime where Hitler and Wallace stood before. She is in the wrong bus, on the wrong side, in the

wrong plane, in the wrong decade, of the wrong century, in the wrong city, the wrong state, and the wrong nation! And we want her out! [Sustained applause.]

Let me make one other point about the bus. A lot of people try to evade this issue. They say, "It's quality education that we want." We've got to speak the truth about this matter. Quality education has become a euphemism in this city for perpetuation of segregated schools.

There can be no quality education in a residentially divided city without riding a bus! There can't be quality education without equal use of funds. History proves there never has been equal use of funds so long as Boston has been racially divided.

There cannot be free, equal education without transportation. If the school board would waste less funds hiring lawyers to rewrite the constitution or hiring their friends to patronage jobs, we'd save enough money to equip the buses with terrific audiovisual equipment. [Applause.]

# ...UN

Continued from page 11

prevent the U. S. conquest of North Korea, both the U. S. House of Representatives and the Senate passed resolutions by overwhelming majorities demanding that the UN name China an aggressor and bar it from membership. This U. S. proposal was adopted, with even Washington's Western allies voting "under the lash," as the *Wall Street Journal* put it.

President Harry Truman threatened to repeat his Hiroshima and Nagasaki performances and drop the atomic bomb on the Chinese. Luckily, the imperialists did not feel that they were in a strong enough position to get away with that. As it was, this "peace-keeping" effort resulted in an estimated *four million* casualties.

That was "the tyranny of the majority" with a vengeance.

# ...Chile

Continued from page 18

figures, trade unionists, and civil libertarians protesting the state of siege in Argentina and demanding that the Peronist government take steps to halt the right-wing terror.

Among the signers of the telegram are singer Judy Collins; civil-liberties lawyer Leonard Boudin; cartoonist Jules Feiffer; and Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party.

A thorough discussion took place at the conference on USLA's character and aims, and a decision was made to reaffirm the nonpartisan, civil-liberties nature of the defense committee. Specifically rejected was adoption of the slogan "Support to the resistance" in Chile.

It was pointed out that "supporting the resistance" is a vague and abstract slogan, subject to many interpretations. To many it means endorsing the political program of the United Chilean Left—the exiled remnants of the Popular Unity government, based in Rome. To others, it means endorsement of one or another strategy in Chile.

To adopt this slogan, it was explained, would transform USLA from a broad committee defending political prisoners with many political viewpoints into a narrow committee championing a particular political program.

The conference reaffirmed USLA's character as a defense committee, rejected taking a position on political questions like the Chilean resistance, and agreed that coalitions with other organizations should be made whenever possible on the basis of agreement around specific actions defending the victims of political persecution.

# ...jobs

Continued from page 20

disturbed his "sense of decency and concern for the workingman."

"But something can be done," Biaggi declared. "There is a wave of illegal aliens in this country, and they're taking away better than one million American jobs." Biaggi said he had introduced stiff new legislation to make it a crime to hire "illegal aliens."

Murphy spoke next, and promised to have the books of federally funded contractors audited to make sure they were complying with the law.

There was dead silence when Murphy said, "The problem is the economic policies of this administration." But cheers and applause broke out when he said he had just voted for a measure to "hire 2,500 additional inspectors for the Immigration Service so we can make sure Americans are

employed and not aliens."

The regional director of the AFL-CIO brought a personal message to the rally from AFL-CIO President George Meany. The message was brief: "America is the greatest country in the world, and we're not going to let these illegal aliens come in here and take our American jobs away."

The attacks on the building-trades unions will not be stopped or even slowed down by making scapegoats out of superexploited foreign-born workers. This chauvinist demagoguery is mainly an excuse for the failure of the union officials—hamstrung by their white job-trust mentality and outmoded craft divisions—to do anything to defend the unions.

But there is a growing anger among construction workers, and a fighting spirit that can win if it is directed against the real enemy. The biggest cheers at the demonstration went to the more militant-sounding threats made from the speakers' platform.

"We built this city," one union speaker declared, "and if we don't get the work away from these nonunion contractors we'll tear this city down again!" The crowd roared its approval.

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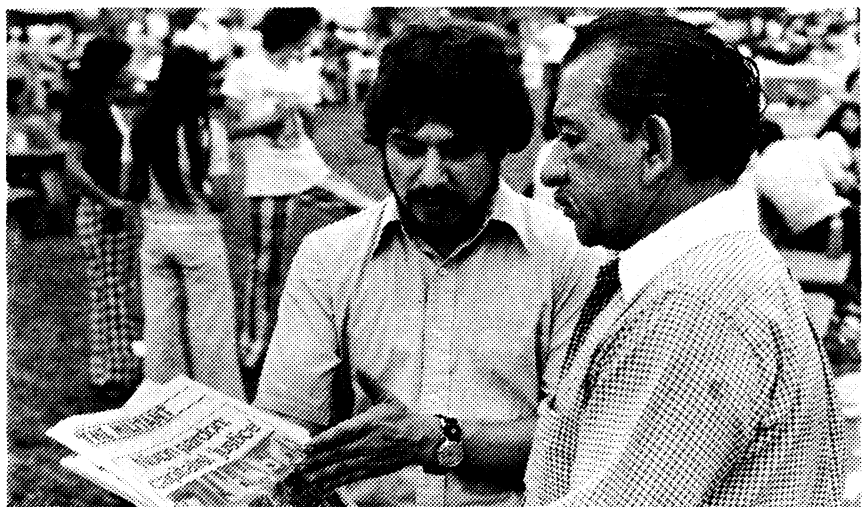
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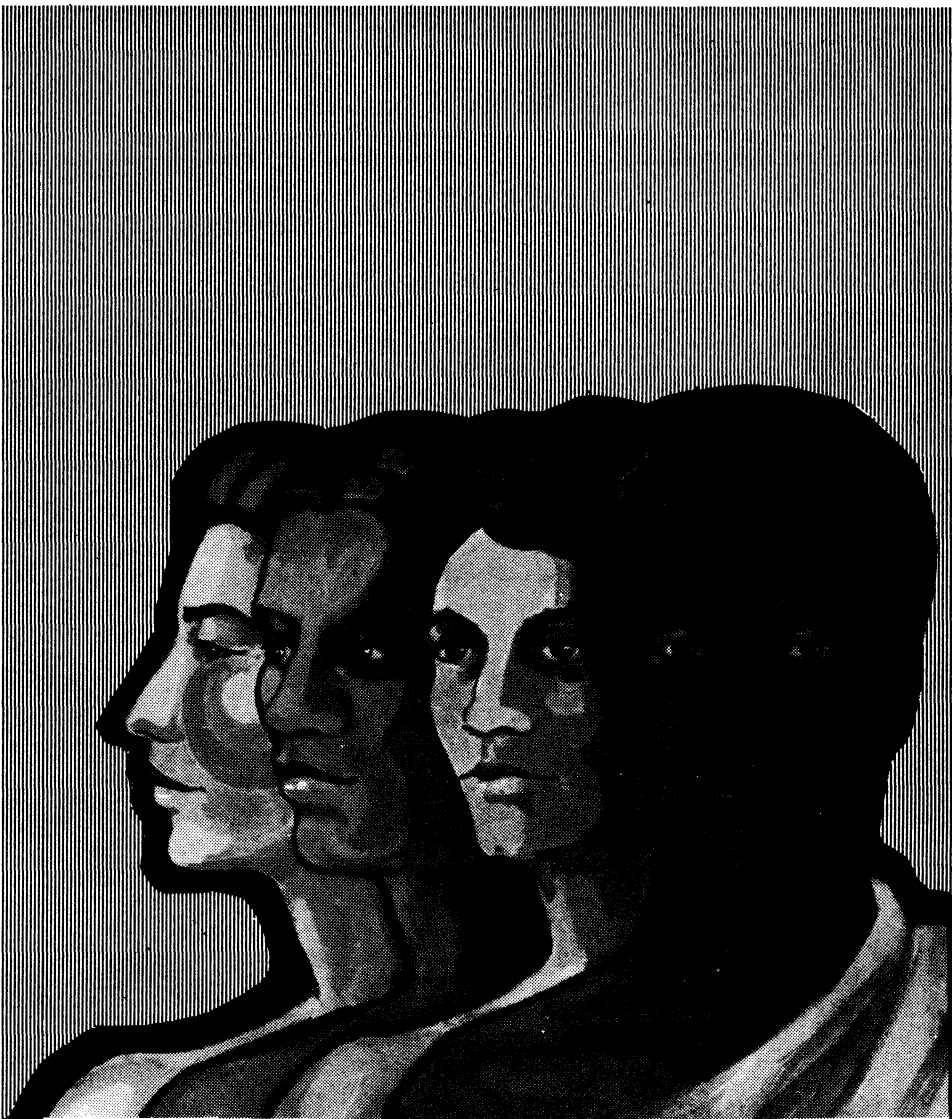
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# Judge bars FBI from spying on YSA convention

By CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK—In a far-reaching decision Dec. 13, a federal judge here granted a motion of the Young Socialist Alliance for an injunction against FBI plans to spy on the five-

For full text of court decision see page 22.

day YSA national convention scheduled to begin in St. Louis Dec. 28.

According to the YSA's attorneys, Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, this was the first time a court has ever prohibited the FBI from spying on any political organization.

The request for the injunction is part of a broader suit by the SWP and YSA against all forms of government surveillance and harassment. The suit asks \$27-million in damages.

Andrew Pulley, national chairperson of the YSA, said in a statement following the decision, "The ruling by Judge Griesa stands as a powerful precedent curbing the FBI's blank check to spy on unions, Black organizations, and other groups fighting for basic social change."

Catherine Perkus of the Political Rights Defense Fund hailed the YSA's victory as a big step forward for the socialists' ongoing suit against the government. The PRDF is organizing publicity and financial support for the suit.

The court injunction prohibits FBI agents or confidential informers from "attending, surveilling, listening to, watching, or otherwise monitoring" the convention.

U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa refused a request by the government for a stay of the injunction pending an appeal. The government

has filed an appeal of the decision.

In a last-minute attempt to get the ruling changed, the government attorney, Steven Glassman, appealed to Griesa just as the decision was about to be released. Glassman said that if the FBI's undercover informers were not allowed to attend the convention, "their absence would be conspicuous," since they would include persons who are "actively involved in SWP or YSA activities."

Painting a dire picture of what would happen to such informants if they were exposed, Glassman claimed they could face anything from "ostracism to economic hardship," or even death!

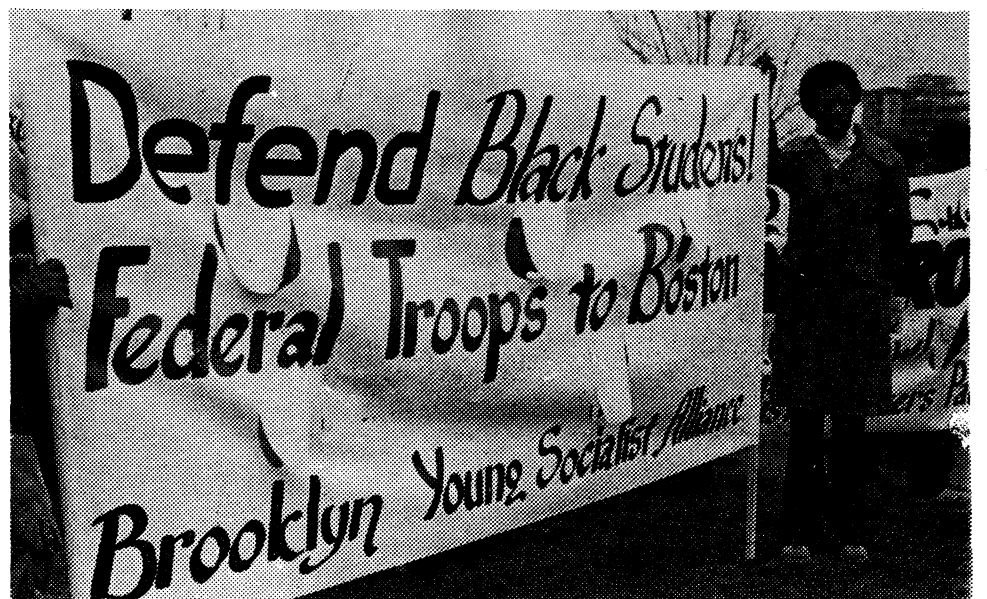
The judge replied that he felt the question was "of at most embarrassment" for the informers.

Herbert Jordan responded that the new information concerning informers who have infiltrated the YSA "now heightens the risk of injury" to the YSA because the informers would not be "mere observers on the sidelines," but would be masquerading as active members of the YSA and SWP.

Griesa refused the government's request for a change in the injunction. He stated: "If they are informants of the FBI, they are playing a role which is just the role which I said they should not be able to play at this conference, and I don't think they should be there." He said the FBI could "figure out ways of making as graceful excuses as possible."

The YSA found out about the FBI's spying plans accidentally. An employee at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis, where the convention is to be held, told YSA leaders that an FBI agent had inquired at the hotel about what rooms the YSA would be using.

In motivating their request for an



Militant/Jo Hendrickson

YSA threw all its forces into organizing for the Dec. 14 march against racism in Boston. St. Louis convention will discuss how to continue this struggle.

injunction, the YSA said that FBI presence would inhibit young people from attending the convention as well as inhibiting discussion at the gathering itself, thus violating the First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly of convention participants.

## Fear of FBI reprisals

The YSA submitted affidavits from several persons who said they would have come to a YSA convention except that they feared they would face reprisals of some sort if the FBI got their names. Also submitted were copies of Civil Service Commission letters to several government employees. The letters threatened the individuals with loss of their jobs on the grounds of FBI information that they had attended a YSA convention or other YSA function.

The government admitted that one of its main aims at the YSA convention would be to obtain lists of those who attend, and that this information would be made available to government employers.

On the second hearing day, Dec. 13, Griesa asked Glassman exactly what the FBI tells other government agencies in regard to an individual who attends a YSA convention. Glassman referred him to the letters from the Civil Service Commission submitted by the YSA, which generally characterize the SWP and YSA as having illegal aims, including overthrow of the government "by force and violence."

However, Griesa noted that the FBI had come forth with no evidence that violence or other illegal activity is ever advocated at YSA or SWP meetings.

Jordan pointed out to the judge that it is unconstitutional "for a Government agency to make a secret . . . determination that a group is involved in illegal activities and then stigmatize them by conveying that conclusion to a potential or actual employer."

At the first hearing on the YSA's motion, Dec. 9, Griesa had told the government attorneys to go back to the FBI and come up with some better "evidence" than it had presented so far of the alleged illegal activity by the YSA or SWP.

## Government 'evidence'

In response, the government submitted an affidavit from FBI agent Hugh Mallet, who said that the SWP and YSA were suspected of violating a list of federal statutes, including those covering "rebellion and insurrection," "seditious conspiracy," and "advocating overthrow of the government;" the Voorhis Act; and the Internal Security Act of 1950.

The affidavit quoted from Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* and from the *Communist Manifesto* to the effect that socialists favor the overthrow of the capitalist system. Other evidence of "illegality" cited in the FBI's affidavit were quotes from several other books that can be found on library shelves across the country,

Continued on page 25

## Come to YSA convention!

Hundreds of young people will be gathering in St. Louis Dec. 28 to Jan. 1 for the fourteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Convention participants will discuss how to move forward from the recent YSA victory against FBI spying to continue the fight against all infringements on the democratic rights of socialists.

Another major topic of discussion will be how to build up a nation-

wide struggle against the racist offensive spearheaded by the anti-busing mobilizations in Boston.

The convention is open to all young people interested in the ideas of socialism. To find out more details about attending, contact the YSA at 4660 Maryland, Suite 2, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel. (314) 367-2520. Or come to the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis on Dec. 28 (415 N. 12th at Locust).