

THE MILITANT

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

Socialists call for Bill of Rights for working people Launch '76 presidential drive

By WENDY LYONS

ST. LOUIS—American working people will have an alternative in the 1976 presidential campaign. On Dec. 27 here, the Socialist Workers Party announced its slate of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. The socialist candidates will campaign for the adoption of a Bill of Rights for working people.

Camejo has been a leader of the antiwar movement and of struggles against racism. During the mid-1960s, while he was leading mass student protests in Berkeley, Calif., Ronald Reagan denounced him as "... involved in every large-scale demonstration."

Reid, a Black community organizer, is also running against "Boss" Daley for mayor of

Chicago in the April elections there. Both Camejo and Reid are 35 years old.

The news conference announcing the campaign was held at the Jefferson Hotel, the site of the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. Appearing with the candidates were: Douglas Jenness, the national campaign manager; Nan Bailey, campaign youth director; and Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri in 1974.

"Nearly 200 years after winning independence, America faces a growing crisis," said Camejo. "There is mass unemployment and soaring prices. Pollution is destroying our environment. Lynch mobs roam the streets of South Boston. We continue to be threatened by the outbreak of new wars. The FBI and

CIA are fighting each other over who can best violate our constitutional rights.

"Working people must have guarantees for a decent life. They want protection *now* from the growing crisis. Our party proposes a Bill of Rights for working people. . . . We propose expanding the Bill of Rights in the Constitution to include protection from the new problems created by present-day capitalist society."

The proposed Bill of Rights includes the following:

- Right to a job
- Right to an adequate income
- Right to free education

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Militant/Mark Satinoff

1,000 young people at YSA convention in St. Louis adopt action program for 1975. See pages 3-7.

Young Socialist Alliance maps fight against Boston racists

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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INDIANS OCCUPY WISCONSIN SITE: On New Year's Day about 45 men, women, and children of the Menominee people, calling themselves the Menominee Warrior Society, occupied an abandoned Roman Catholic novitiate in Wisconsin. The Menominees demanded that the novitiate be turned over for use as a hospital to the nearby Menominee reservation.

In response, police blocked off the novitiate, refused to allow food into the area, turned off all heat and power, and closed off the site to reporters.

Shawano County, where the Menominee reservation is located, has the lowest average income and worst health record in Wisconsin. The nearest hospital to the Menominees is 10 miles away, and Indians seeking treatment there are frequently refused admission or given inadequate care.

On Jan. 6 Wisconsin Governor Patrick Lucey ordered a National Guard battalion to take over from the local police. Supporters of the Menominees have voiced their fear of another Attica, and demonstrations in solidarity with the Menominee people have taken place in Madison and Milwaukee.

As one Menominee activist told *The Militant*, "This action will bring the plight of the Menominee people to the attention of the entire country."

THE 'RING OF TRUTH': In 1967 Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis were convicted of killing three whites in a Paterson, N.J., bar. Their trial took place during an upsurge in the Black struggle and a period of ghetto rebellions, and Carter was known as an activist in the Black movement.

This fall *New York Times* reporter Selwyn Raab interviewed the two witnesses who claimed to have seen Artis and Carter at the scene of the killings. Both, independently of each other and without knowing the action of the other, recanted their testimony and charged that they had been pressured into lying on the witness stand by police. Further investigation by Raab disclosed that false testimony had also been used to "prove" that a .32-caliber bullet had been found in Carter's car shortly after the murders.

On Dec. 10, however, Judge Samuel Lerner, who presided over the original trial, ruled that the repudiation of their testimony by the prosecution witnesses lacked the "ring of truth." Carter and Artis are appealing once again for hearings that could lead to a new trial to be reopened. In the meantime, both men continue to serve life sentences.

DEATH AND TAXES: They used to say that the two things nobody could escape were death and taxes, but like many old saws you have to take this with a grain of salt. If you're part of a family of four with an annual income of \$12,000, then the chances are that you'll pay slightly more than 10 percent of that income in federal income tax alone. On the other hand, if you happen to have your money in Consolidated Edison of New York, you can watch \$203.3-million in profits come rolling in and pay nothing in taxes.

According to a study released last month by Representative Charles Vanik (D-Ohio), 10 U.S. corporations, with total earnings of almost \$1-billion in 1973, paid no federal income taxes. Another 20 corporations, with earnings totaling \$5.3-billion, paid less than 10 percent in income taxes. In fact, 12 of them paid 5 percent or less.

Eight of the 30 corporations on Vanik's list were oil companies. Others included Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, which had a tax rate of 2.5 percent; Kennecott Copper, whose 0.4 percent tax rate wasn't even sufficient to pay for the coup that gave it back its Chilean copper mines; and International Harvester, with a staggering tax burden of 0.05 percent.

'THE STATE WAS LOOKING FOR SCAPEGOATS': That was one juror's conclusion after hearing the evidence against Attica Brother Vernon LaFranque.

Other jurors agreed: they took less than half an hour to acquit LaFranque on charges of possessing a tear-gas gun during the early hours of the Attica prison rebellion in September 1971.

LaFranque's acquittal Dec. 19 came as the first verdict in the Attica frame-up cases. During the trial it became clear to the jury that a frame-up had indeed been concocted. A crucial document from the prosecutor's file had been "lost," police investigators had failed to keep notes of interviews with witnesses, and witnesses had repeatedly changed their stories before the trial.

Jurors described the state's case, which rested on the testimony of an informer and two prison employees, as "bankrupt," "trumped up," "a bunch of hashed up little stories," and "full of holes from the start."

'LACK OF SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE': Apparently the victory of Attica Brother Vernon LaFranque had a sobering effect on the prosecutor's office. On Dec. 23, only four

days after LaFranque's acquittal, charges against eight other Attica Brothers were dismissed at the request of the prosecution.

After more than two years the prosecution has decided that there was a "lack of sufficient evidence" for the charges. Of the eight who had charges dropped against them, six face no further charges in connection with the uprising.

In all, 62 Attica prisoners were indicted on charges in connection with the rebellion there. However, not one guard or policeman—let alone any of their superiors—has ever been charged for unleashing the murderous hail of shotgun and automatic weapons fire that left 43 men dead.

BLACKS PROTEST RACIST HIRING PRACTICES: After six years of "affirmative action" at the University of Washington (UW) in Seattle, Blacks make up less than one-half of 1 percent of the tenured faculty there. Of the nearly 2,000 UW faculty, only 67 are Black. And apparently the university intends to see that things stay that way.

Nationally known jazz musician Joe Brazil was informed by the university at the beginning of December that he would not be rehired after June 1976. Brazil has been with the university since 1965 and has taught jazz-related courses since 1969.

Don Seawell, a Black assistant professor of law at the University of Washington, was also denied tenure. In a Dec. 16 news conference, Brazil and Seawell appeared with Eddie Rye, the president of the Washington State Conference on Black Education and Economics, to protest the UW's racist policies. The UW Black Student Union has also condemned the firings.

DETENTE & DISSENT IN THE USSR: An article by dissident Soviet historian Roy Medvedev and a reply by George Novack are featured in the Dec. 9 and 16 issues of *Intercontinental Press*, a weekly Marxist review of world politics.

Medvedev, author of the only major study of Stalinism by a Soviet citizen since the 1930s, has been in the forefront of the fight for democratic rights in the USSR. His criticism of the right-wing views elaborated by prominent dissidents such as Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov is particularly important because of that.

Medvedev's article, "Problems of Democratization and Detente," explains his view of the diplomatic rapprochement between Washington and Moscow, its effects on Soviet domestic policies, and the road forward for the movement for democratic rights inside the USSR.

Novack takes issue with Medvedev's support for the policy of detente and his reliance on a section of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the struggle for democratization, while making clear his admiration for Medvedev's courage and his support for Medvedev's fight for socialist democracy.

To receive these articles send \$1 to *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

—DAVE FRANKEL

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Young Socialist Alliance outlines strategy for action in year ahead

By ANDY ROSE

ST. LOUIS—The fourteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, which met here Dec. 28-Jan. 1, signaled a major turning point for the YSA.

The delegates voted unanimously to throw the YSA's forces into a nationwide campaign against the racist attempts to block school desegregation in Boston.

A determined fight to defend the rights of Black youth to an equal education, YSA leaders asserted, has the potential to galvanize the student movement. It can initiate a dynamic new civil rights movement of the 1970s, whose logic will point toward challenging the very foundation of racism: the capitalist system itself.

Reports from the YSA national executive committee, presented by Malik Miah and Maceo Dixon, examined the political issues at stake in Boston and evaluated last month's student teach-in and Dec. 14 freedom march. (See story on page 6.)

A second major theme that characterized the convention was the launching of the 1976 Socialist Workers Party campaign of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president.

Reporting on the 1976 campaign, YSA National Secretary Rich Finkel said, "Audacity and innovation have to be our watchwords as we set out to campaign for the SWP ticket. We are in a position to reach tens of millions of working people with our socialist answers to the burning problems of the day."

Finkel said that the current political climate—dominated by economic crisis, the threat of war, distrust of the government, and disillusionment with the capitalist parties—is making the socialist alternative more attractive than ever to young people.

"We want to go on an aggressive drive," he said, "to get all the young people who are attracted to this campaign to join us in selling the *Young Socialist* newspaper, to help in cam-



Delegates voted all-out fight against Boston racists, ambitious campaign for 1976 SWP presidential ticket.

Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

paign activities, to work with the YSA around Boston and other issues, and to become members of the YSA."

YSA vs. FBI

Another element in the excitement and enthusiasm that pervaded the convention sessions was the YSA's confrontation with the FBI.

In the weeks before the convention, news media throughout the country and especially in St. Louis followed the YSA's court battle to bar FBI surveillance of the convention.

The FBI won an eleventh-hour delay in complying with a court order against its surveillance, pending a decision on the entire suit filed by the YSA and SWP against government harassment (see story on page 5).

Nevertheless, convention partici-

pants felt the fight had done a lot to expose the illegal repressive actions of the government, and laid the basis for winning even broader support for civil liberties in the future.

International perspective

Internationalism was a hallmark of the YSA convention. The first point on the agenda was a report on the world political situation, given by outgoing national chairperson Andrew Pulley.

"The perspective for world capitalism in the immediate future is extremely gloomy," Pulley stated. He pointed to the deepening economic crisis; instability of capitalist governments, notably the fall in 1974 of the dictatorships in Portugal and Greece; rising workers' struggles; and advan-

ces of the colonial revolution.

Beset by these problems, he said, especially by their inability to militarily crush the Vietnamese revolution, the imperialists turned toward the policy of détente with the privileged bureaucrats who rule in Moscow and Peking.

Both the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucrats lie when they claim the détente will guarantee peace, Pulley said, because "the fundamental purpose of détente is to block the only real way to achieve peace, which is through the world socialist revolution."

The main "accomplishment" of détente to date, Pulley pointed out, has been the preservation of the Thieu dictatorship in South Vietnam, ensur-

Continued on next page

1,000 revolutionaries attend gathering

ST. LOUIS—"Jefferson Hotel?" asked the driver of the bus in from the airport. "You must be going to the socialist meeting."

"There's been a lot of people coming in from all over for that," he added. "I saw in the paper where the FBI wants to have surveillance at their convention, and the socialists are trying to stop them."

And the bus driver proceeded to bring the *Militant* reporter up to date on the latest court developments.

People indeed came in from all over. The 1,031 people who registered for the convention came from 38 states and the District of Columbia: from Alaska to Alabama and from Vermont to Utah. The largest delegations came from Missouri, 155; New York, 144; California, 102; and Illinois, 95.

Young Socialist Alliance leaders believe it was the widest geographic rep-

resentation ever at a YSA convention.

Six hundred of those present were YSA members. Two hundred sixty belonged to neither the YSA nor the Socialist Workers Party—although 29 of them decided to join the YSA during the course of the convention.

About half of those attending were students, who came from 115 different colleges and universities and 12 high schools.

Members of 46 different unions were also present. The largest representations came from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Teamsters.

Not only the St. Louis airport bus driver but many others as well heard about the convention from the news media, and some of them decided at the last minute to attend.

Two people living on a farm near Lexington, Va., heard a radio news broadcast about the YSA convention

on Friday night, Dec. 27. They called St. Louis to find out where the convention was meeting, arranged for someone to feed their animals, hopped

in their car at midnight and drove all night to arrive at the convention on Saturday. Both have since decided to join the YSA.

—A.R.



Participants came from 38 states, 115 campuses

Militant/Mark Satinoff

...strategy discussed for action in 1975

Continued from preceding page

ing continued war there.

As Washington aggressively presses toward another war in the Middle East, Moscow in the name of détente is pressuring the Palestinian freedom fighters to make concessions to the Israeli settler-state.

The YSA, Pulley pledged, will continue to get out the truth about the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, to warn against the war threat, to protest Israeli aggression, and to demand a halt to all U.S. aid to Israel.

In the name of détente, Pulley added, the large pro-Moscow Communist parties in countries such as Portugal, France, and Italy are joining capitalist governments, breaking strikes, and supporting capitalist politicians.

"In opposition to this perspective, the YSA supports the building of mass revolutionary parties all over the world to lead the workers to power and abolish capitalism. It supports the building of a mass movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, China, and the East European states to kick out the privileged bureaucrats and institute genuine workers democracy," Pulley declared.

Throughout the convention, greetings were received and read from co-thinkers of the YSA in other countries—supporters of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. These included youth groups in Argentina, Australia, Canada, China, New Zealand, and Puerto Rico, and other revolutionary organizations in Austria, Belgium, Greece, Iran, Israel, Japan, Spain, and Sri Lanka.

Defend political prisoners

One of the biggest contributions the YSA can make to struggles in other parts of the world, Pulley explained, is to continue its active defense of political prisoners.

He singled out support to the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) as especially important to aid victims of the military junta in Chile and the growing rightist terror in Argentina.

In March and April USLA will sponsor a U.S. speaking tour by Juan Carlos Coral, a well-known socialist leader in Argentina and former presidential candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

The Coral tour and other international defense activities were highlighted at a special convention panel. Speakers included Maria Isabel Barreno, one of the "Three Marias" jailed in 1973 in Portugal (see "Women in Revolt" column on page 12); Adrian Karatnycky of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners; Mohammad Falsafi of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; and Mirta Vidal from USLA.

Sharpening class battles

The political situation the YSA will face in the year ahead was discussed in the political report by Malik Miah and the election campaign report by Rich Finkel.

The only answer the ruling class has to the mounting crisis of inflation and unemployment, Miah stressed, is to take it out on the backs of working people.

Stepped-up attacks on living standards will provoke sharp class battles in the period ahead. The attacks hit hardest at oppressed minorities, women, and youth, and they will be in the forefront of the struggles to come.

Heightened use of racism to divide the working class can already be seen in the hysterical efforts to blame unemployment on so-called "illegal



Militant/Andy Rose

Women's liberation workshop. Throughout convention YSAers exchanged experiences from wide variety of struggles.

aliens" from Mexico; in the attacks on busing and school desegregation; and in attempts to roll back the meager gains on the job won by women and Blacks.

The five days of reports, panels, workshops, and discussions revealed that YSA members throughout the country have been active in struggles around a broad spectrum of issues.

'Take the lead'

Confidence that to a greater extent than ever before the YSA can take the lead in actions to defend the rights of students, minorities, and other working people was often voiced.

● Cutbacks in education are meeting with growing resistance from students. Delegate Linda Loew from New York told of the YSA's involvement in a demonstration of 2,000 students in December to protest cutbacks at the city university system.

● In almost every area, YSA members have been organizing support for victims of racist and political repression, including the Attica Brothers, J.B. Johnson in St. Louis, Ray Mendoza in Milwaukee, the Wounded Knee defendants, and many others.

● Delegate Mack Warren from Atlanta described how YSAers there helped lead a series of demonstrations protesting police slayings of Blacks. Others reported on similar actions in Oakland, New York, and Austin.

● At a panel discussion on current women's liberation struggles, Mary Jo Vogel from Atlanta told how a broad coalition for passage of the Equal

Rights Amendment (ERA) has been organized in Georgia. The group plans a major demonstration Jan. 11 demanding that the state legislature ratify the ERA.

● At the same panel, activities protesting attacks on the right to abortion were discussed by Christina Adachi from Pittsburgh, and Pat Wright from New York spoke on the YSA's participation in the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

● A convention report on the Chicano struggle, presented by Olga Rodriguez, told how YSA members in California and Texas have been active in protests against the racist deportations and harassment of Chicanos and *mexicanos* by the Immigration Service. She also emphasized support for the grape and lettuce boycott called by the United Farm Workers union.

● José G. Pérez reported to the convention on the struggles of Puerto Ricans in the United States, and a workshop was held to discuss the YSA's growing involvement in these struggles.

● At a workshop on strike support, YSAers described how they organized backing among students for the coal miners' strike, for the Sears and city workers' strikes in San Francisco, for actions by minority construction workers in New York demanding jobs, and for strikes and organizing drives by campus employees.

Only a few of these struggles centered on what could be termed student issues, but in nearly all of them it was found that the YSA's strength on the campuses was crucial. Student

activists continued to provide the backbone of movements to defend the oppressed and exploited—from the struggle in Boston to the farm workers' boycott—and a strong base among students facilitates reaching out to and involving broader social forces.

Building the YSA

The tasks of the YSA in winning new adherents on the campuses and among other young people were summed up in the organization report, presented by Ginny Hildebrand. These range from student government election campaigns to setting up campus meetings for SWP campaign speakers, from classes on socialism to sales campaigns for *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

"We should look at our success in expanding *Militant* sales last fall alongside the fact that at the same time the YSA has made the *Young Socialist* the most widely read revolutionary youth newspaper in the country," she said. Over the fall YS sales averaged 11,000 each month.

Both in sales and election campaigning, Hildebrand said, the YSA will place special emphasis on reaching high school students.

Last fall the 15 traveling teams of young socialists made a big contribution to the geographic growth of the YSA. They visited 205 campuses, sold tens of thousands of *Militants* and YSs, recruited 97 new members to the YSA, and helped form seven new local chapters. Hildebrand said the YSA would again field 15 regional teams this spring.

Revolutionary team

Hildebrand concluded by discussing two key aspects of the YSA's functioning: the education of YSA members in Marxist theory and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and the organization of all areas of the YSA's work as a team effort.

"Together with our different ideas, talents, and skills," she said, "we make up for individual shortcomings. Altogether we make up a powerful revolutionary team fit to win the respect and allegiance of our generation. And that's exactly what we're going out to do."

"Get this straight on your tape recorders, FBI agents," she said. "Because this convention is serving notice to you that this is the team that is going to win."

YSA elects new national officers

ST. LOUIS — The newly elected Young Socialist Alliance national committee met here Jan. 1, immediately following the national convention, to select the incoming national executive committee and national officers.

Malik Miah, 22, was elected national chairperson of the YSA. Miah, of Afro-Bengali descent, joined the YSA in 1969 as a high school student in Detroit. He was active in the antiwar and Black liberation struggles, and in 1971 he was a founder of the Black Moratorium Committee Against the Vietnam War.

Miah is the author of "The U.S. Role in Southern Africa," a Young Socialist pamphlet, and coauthor of "Tragedy in Chile: Lessons of the Revolutionary Upsurge and Its Defeat."

Rich Finkel, 25, was reelected national secretary. Finkel joined the YSA in 1968 while a student at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. He served as Ohio regional organizer for the YSA in



Malik Miah



Rich Finkel



Ginny Hildebrand

1969, as a national field secretary in 1970, and as Houston YSA organizer in 1971.

In 1972 Finkel became the editor of the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Ginny Hildebrand, 26, was elected national organization secretary. She joined the YSA in 1971 while an activist in the Boston University

chapter of Female Liberation. In 1972 she became a national staff member of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

This past fall Hildebrand helped coordinate the YSA's participation in the National Student Teach-in Against Racism and the Dec. 14 Freedom March in Boston.

Injunction against spying reversed

YSA message to FBI: our fight continues

By CAROLINE LUND

Only four days before the opening of the Young Socialist Alliance national convention Dec. 28, a federal appeals court ruled against the YSA in its fight to bar the FBI from spying on the convention. The ruling was made in part on the basis of a secret affidavit submitted by the government concerning its network of undercover informants inside the YSA.

The appeals court decision was immediately appealed by the YSA to Justice Thurgood Marshall of the U. S. Supreme Court, who refused to overturn the appeals court, although he disagreed with much of its reasoning.

In opening the YSA convention in St. Louis, outgoing YSA National Chairperson Andrew Pulley called the FBI presence "a gross violation of our democratic rights," and said: "I just want to say one thing to all of you undercover agents from the FBI who are monitoring this convention, that we're not going to rest until we get a decision banning you from attending any conventions of the YSA. And when we do, we're going to find out who you are and send you to jail."

The secret affidavit submitted by the government to the appeals court purported to back up the FBI's fear that the cover of their undercover agents would be blown if they were barred from attending the convention.

In the opinion of Herbert Jordan, one of the YSA's attorneys, this highly unusual last-minute move was "key to the government's victory."

"It is outrageous," said Pulley, "that our democratic rights are being violated on the basis of so-called evidence that we are not even allowed to see or to answer."

The government's other main argument before the appeals court concerned "Foreign influence or ties" of

the YSA and Socialist Workers Party because of their fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International.

In his opening remarks to the YSA convention, Pulley directed himself to the implications of the government's admissions about FBI infiltrators inside the YSA. "We learned from the documents on the FBI's 'Counterintelligence Programs' that one of the things the FBI tries to do is to turn members of radical organizations against each other," he said. "They try to create an atmosphere of suspicion, or paranoia, and play on fears and intimidation."

"Well, I want to tell them right here and now that we will not be intimidated, nor will we be divided."

The YSA had asked for an injunction against FBI spying at the convention on the grounds that it would violate the right to free speech and assembly. The motion for this injunction was part of a broader suit by the YSA and the SWP demanding a stop to all surveillance and harassment by government agencies.

Federal District Court Judge Thomas Griesa had agreed in a Dec. 13 decision that FBI spying would indeed "put a substantial inhibition" on the YSA's ability to organize its convention. He granted an injunction prohibiting the FBI from "attending, surveilling, listening to, watching, or otherwise monitoring" the gathering.

In overturning Griesa's ruling, the appeals court did, however, agree to prohibit the FBI from turning over names of those attending the convention to the Civil Service Commission. The YSA had documented how the commission uses such information to threaten YSA supporters who are government employees with loss of their jobs.

Although Marshall upheld the appeals court order, there are several



Militant/Flax Hermes
Leonard Boudin argued YSA case before Supreme Court Justice Marshall.

ways in which his opinion is a substantial improvement over the appeals court ruling.

First, he specifically endorsed the appeals court bar against transmission of names of convention participants to the Civil Service Commission, and went even further to say:

"... the Government has stated that it has not authorized any disruptive activity at the convention. In addition, the Government has represented that it has no intention of transmitting any information obtained at the convention to nongovernmental entities such as schools or employers. I shall hold the Government to both representations as a condition of this order."

Jordan told *The Militant* he didn't know of any such restrictions that have ever been imposed on the FBI before.

Secondly, Marshall emphatically rejected the government's contention that

the YSA's claims of injury to its First Amendment rights were not serious enough even to be heard in court. He wrote that the case deserved a full hearing and that his denial of the YSA's appeal "in no way affects the outcome of the case on the merits [that is, the YSA and SWP suit as a whole]."

In the 45-minute hearing before Marshall, the YSA was represented by attorney Leonard Boudin. He challenged the government's claim that the FBI no longer carried out disruptive action against the YSA and SWP.

Boudin quoted from FBI documents obtained previously through the YSA and SWP suit that say the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program" was only terminated "as a program" in order "to eliminate paper work." "In the future," says the document, "the disruptive action directed against the SWP will be handled on an individual case basis. . . ."

The YSA and SWP claims that such disruption continues are substantiated, Boudin added, by the recent revelations about disruptive action by the CIA against domestic dissidents.

In his address to the YSA convention, Pulley saluted the work of the YSA's attorneys and of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the organization that has been publicizing and raising funds for the YSA and SWP suit. He thanked the thousands of people "who support our suit and have contributed in all kinds of ways to the partial victories we have made."

Legal costs for the fight against FBI spying at the convention were very costly, and the PRDF has made a special appeal for funds to carry forward the suit on an aggressive basis.

Contributions can be sent to the PRDF at P. O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

'Woman's Evolution' top seller in St. Louis

How long this has needed doing. And how important to women today that the myth of eternal and preordained patriarchy be exploded. And at last we have a good solid real woman anthropologist to do it. I look forward to a landmark book.

— Kate Millett

ST. LOUIS—The official publication date of *Woman's Evolution*, the major new work by Evelyn Reed hailed by feminist author Kate Millett, will be March 8, International Women's Day.

The first advance copies, though, were made available to participants in the Young Socialist Alliance national convention here.

In four days they snapped up 600 copies of the book—every one brought to the convention. It was by far the top seller from the literature table set up by Pathfinder Press (which sold in all more than \$5,400 worth of revolutionary socialist books and pamphlets).

Woman's Evolution was highlighted as part of a special presentation to the YSA convention on the expansion of the socialist movement, including its book and pamphlet publishing program. Evelyn Reed addressed the meeting, along with Jesse Smith from

Pathfinder Press, who narrated a slide presentation on the roughly 1,700 hours of work that went into the physical production of *Woman's Evolution*.

Evelyn Reed is a longtime activist and leader in the Socialist Workers

Party. She has become known throughout the world as a foremost Marxist anthropologist and feminist. Her earlier book, *Problems of Women's Liberation*, has been translated into seven languages and has been

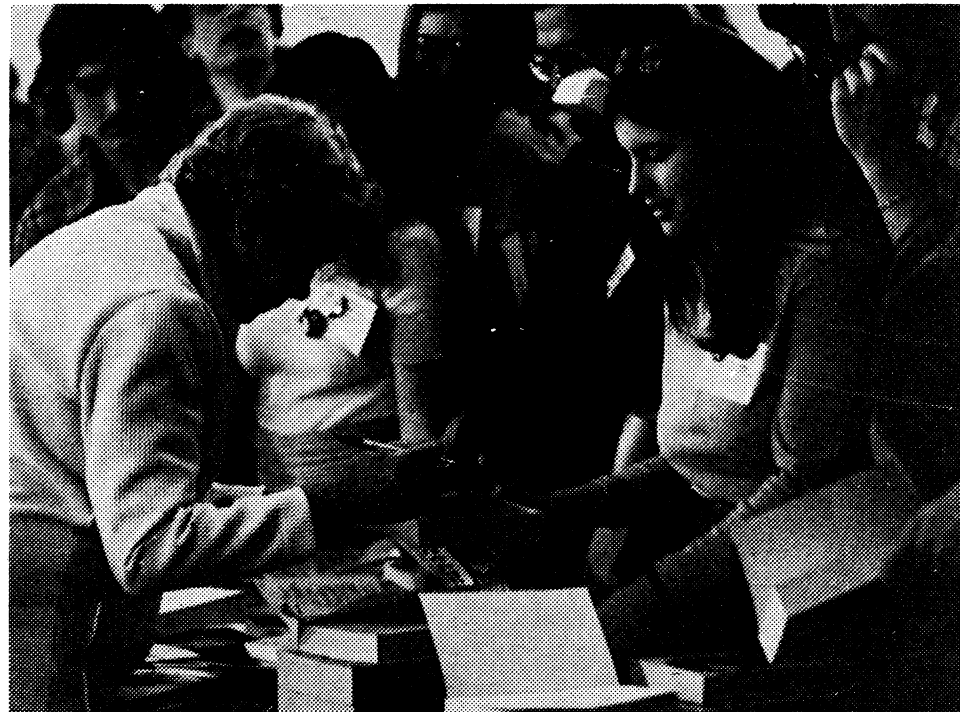
adopted for use in more than 200 women's studies courses.

"I did not plan to become an anthropologist or, at the outset of my studies, to write a book like this," she told the convention. "I merely wanted to investigate a question to which I could not find an answer. That became the starting point of a research project that stretched over almost a quarter of a century."

She described how in 1950 she and other women leaders of the SWP, discussing Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, were unable to arrive at a satisfactory explanation for the role and importance of the "incest taboo" in the earliest human societies.

Reed's studies convinced her that "the so-called incest taboo was really a taboo against cannibalism." But one question led to another and soon, she explained, "I discerned the dim outlines of the answers to some of the most basic unresolved questions in anthropology."

"Why was primitive society a communal, egalitarian system? Why was it a patriarchy with women playing the leadership role? How and why did the subsequent downfall of women



Militant/Jo Hendrickson

Convention participants line up to have Evelyn Reed autograph new book

Continued on page 22

'Throw all our forces into this fight'

Young Socialists map campaign to

By NORMAN OLIVER

ST. LOUIS— "What we are voting on is a turn by the YSA to throw ourselves into this movement—this new civil rights movement," declared Malik Miah, in summing up the discussion at the Young Socialist Alliance convention on the antiracist struggle in Boston.

"Racism is an integral part of the capitalist system," Miah said. "It's going to take an ongoing fight to end it. We're going to throw all our forces into this movement and become the best fighters against racism and the best builders of this new civil rights movement of the 1970s."

The discussion of Boston was one of the central features of the convention here. Miah's political report and the report by Maceo Dixon on "The Fight Against Racism in Boston" dealt with the issues involved in the battle over busing, and the tasks of the YSA in mobilizing support for desegregation.

YSA members from around the country took the floor during the discussion on the reports and at workshops to describe the experiences they had in organizing the Dec. 14 rallies in support of desegregation and to draw the lessons of the struggle.

'A test case'

"The central struggle today against ruling-class-inspired attacks on democratic rights and attacks on the radicalization is the fight for school desegregation in Boston," Miah said in his report. "The struggle is a test case. A victory for the racists would set in motion other racists across the country to try to do what Nixon's rhetoric about law and order couldn't—beat back gains won by Blacks over the last two decades."

"The struggle in Boston," Miah explained, "is around a simple, basic democratic right: the right to an equal education. A victory for the racist forces would be a setback for the fight



Dec. 14 freedom march in Boston can be starting point for new civil rights movement

for democracy in the country.

"It would not only deny Blacks equal rights, it would embolden reactionary forces across the country to attack other democratic rights like free speech and assembly and the right to organize trade unions."

The key question, he said, is "whether or not the buses keep rolling to South Boston schools. If the racist boycott is victorious and the court desegregation order rescinded—that is, the buses stop rolling—that would be a defeat for Black rights."

A national issue

While Boston is the focus of this struggle today, the busing issue extends far beyond that one city.

"In Pontiac, Mich., white racists have mobilized in the past to prevent busing," Miah pointed out. "In Queens, N. Y., racist thugs have done likewise. In Denver the racists have also demonstrated against busing. And in Pasadena, Calif., we see a drive

against busing, which has included an attack on the jobs of the bus drivers, most of whom are Black."

However, most radical organizations other than the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party have failed to understand what's involved in the Boston struggle, Miah explained. Most of them have tried to evade the issue by counterposing rhetoric about fighting racism in the abstract to the concrete fight, which centers on busing.

Some groups, such as the Maoist Revolutionary Union, have argued that the real question isn't busing, but "quality education."

"This position," Miah said, "is nothing but bending to the pressure of the racist offensive." He explained that "quality education" has become a code word the reactionaries use to cover their real anti-Black views.

"No one is against quality education. But the issue in Boston is equal education for Blacks. That's it—plain and simple. The racists say no. We

say yes! The racists say no buses. We say the buses must roll!

"The line is drawn: for or against busing. You have to be blind to say that busing is not the real issue."

Role of white workers

Paul Mailhot, a YSAer from Boston State College who has been active in organizing student support for busing there, pointed out in the discussion that "the pressure of the racist movement has been so strong that it has led groups like the Revolutionary Union to totally abandon the defense of Black students in favor of trying to link up with some mythical 'progressive' element in the antibusing movement."

"The walls in South Boston tell the real story about the antibusing movement," Mailhot said. "The slogans on those walls don't read 'Quality education for all' or 'Please let us walk to our neighborhood schools.' No, they read 'Kill niggers' and 'Boneheads beware—this is God's white country.' The YSA has to expose this racist movement for what it is."

"In our view," Miah explained in his report, "white workers who are racists today can be won to support the struggles of Blacks. It is in their long-term class interests to do so. But the way to win racist white workers to fight for their true class interests is not to bend to their racism, as the Revolutionary Union, the October League, and other groups do."

Hattie McCutcheon, a YSA leader from Detroit, emphasized the need for the YSA to launch an educational campaign to explain the issues in Boston. "So-called quality education is not the real question in Boston right now," she said. "The fight is for equal education for Black people."

In fact, she explained, the struggle of Blacks for the right to attend the white schools—which, bad as they may be, are still better than the Black

'Young Socialists really get involved'

By NORMAN OLIVER

ST. LOUIS— First impressions can be deceiving. When you first meet Robert Harper, you think you're being introduced to a burly running back for a college football team. His stout frame makes him seem older than his 19 years.

Well, Harper has played a little ball, but now the first-year student at Harvard is devoting his time and energy to the fight for school desegregation in Boston.

Harper is a leader of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association and one of the coordinators of the student committee that organized the Dec. 13 national teach-in against racism. The committee also built student participation in the Dec. 14 march in support of Black students being bused to schools in South Boston.

During the recent convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, Harper spoke with *The Militant* about why he traveled to St. Louis for the gathering.

"The people in the YSA and Socialist Workers Party—to a person—

agree that the situation in Boston calls for the implementation of the desegregation plan," Harper said. The Black student leader said that he shared this view and also agreed with the YSA that federal troops should be sent to Boston to enforce the desegregation order.

"As that is the case," Harper told



Militant/Howard Petrick

Robert Harper presents greetings to SWP campaign kickoff rally in St. Louis.

The Militant, "I think it's only natural that I form an alliance with them [the YSA]. Plus the fact that some of the people happen to be some of the most efficient and diligent people that I've ever worked with."

Harper believes that "it's not just the basic system that's exploiting you, but also individuals who think they can go so far in denying you your rights that they actually try to kill you—you know, throw rocks at you, bomb your churches, surround your schools. That type of thing has been happening for years, beginning with the Klan [and] to this very day with the racist mobilization of Hicks, Kerigan, Flynn, and the others in South Boston and the Boston area."

"So, when it comes to the physical assaults, you've really got to hit it right then and there. You've got to defend yourself."

The event during the convention that most impressed Harper was the highly spirited kickoff rally for the Socialist Workers Party 1976 presidential campaign. The major speakers were Peter Camejo, the party's presidential candidate, and Willie Mae Reid, the

party's nominee for vice-president.

"I've never seen anything like it in my life," was Harper's comment on the rally. "I was terribly impressed by it—to hear the fund-raising speech and see the money going up, to hear Camejo's speech. The whole thing was so exciting."

"I've noticed that in this organization it seems that everybody actually works. You know, in the other political parties—the Democrats and Republicans—people join those parties, but they don't do a damn bit for it. And more often than not the party is working against their interests. Yet, they fail to realize this."

"In the YSA every single person has some kind of assignment and pursues his or her assignment most diligently. They really get involved in the issues—whether it be Pasadena, unemployment in Detroit, the Boston struggle, or community control in New York City. Everybody's into doing what the group says it wants to do. That's really the important thing for any movement—to have people who are not only for the ideas, but willing to work for them."

defend desegregation in Boston



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

HATTIE MCCUTCHEON: 'The fight is for equal education for Black people.'

schools—is what will lead to challenging the most fundamental aspects of Black oppression.

"As Black people begin to go to these schools in the white communities," she said, "we'll begin to question why we can't live in those communities, why we can't get jobs in those communities, and why, if we do, we still don't get equal pay. We will begin to question every aspect of our oppression."

Mass-action perspective

"The key to an effective strategy to beat back the racist mobs is mass countermobilizations of supporters of Black rights," Miah said. "Mass actions like the Dec. 14 demonstration in Boston are the best way to tell the ruling class that the democratic rights of Blacks cannot be taken away that easily. . . . This is the strategy used in the earlier civil rights movement."

"In the context of this mass-action perspective, another issue is posed in Boston today; that is, how to implement the busing order and defend Black students from racist mob attacks. We say all the force necessary must be used by the government to implement their court order, including the use of federal troops."

"The call for troops is not an abstract question for Black students in Boston," Miah pointed out, recalling the lynch mobs that trapped Black students inside South Boston High School on Dec. 11.

Miah explained what was wrong with the positions taken by sectarian groups such as the Spartacists and the Workers League, who say it is

unprincipled to demand that the government send troops to enforce the court order.

Revolutionaries make all kinds of demands on the government, he said, such as calling for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and urging nationalization of the oil and food monopolies. "Then why not demand that the government enforce laws we call on them to pass—like their civil rights laws? Are you for or against the court order? If yes, do you say that force should be used to implement it when racists are using force to oppose it?"

Miah explained that many laws passed by the capitalist government are concessions wrung from the capitalist class by working peoples' struggles. "We support these and we want to implement them," he added.

The key question is how these demands are raised. "For example, the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League are for federal troops and busing, but they raise their demands in the context of supporting liberal Democratic Party politicians and attempting to hold the struggle within the confines of capitalist politics. Their main action campaign now is to get letters of protest sent to Mayor White and President Ford."

"We, on the other hand, raise the demand for federal troops in the context of calling for mass mobilizations to defeat the racist offensive."

In the course of trying to force the capitalist government to enforce its laws, he added, the Black community will learn that only its own actions will safeguard its rights.

Success of Dec. 14

In his report, Maceo Dixon reviewed the activities of the YSA in the fight against the campaign of racist violence in Boston.

The YSA in Boston and around the country mobilized its resources to build support for the protests on Dec. 14.

The YSA, Dixon said, also played an important role in educating people throughout the country about the situation in Boston. Through sales of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*, thousands found out the truth about the racist offensive and the fight against it.

The student committee that was formed to build support on campus for the Dec. 14 action also organized

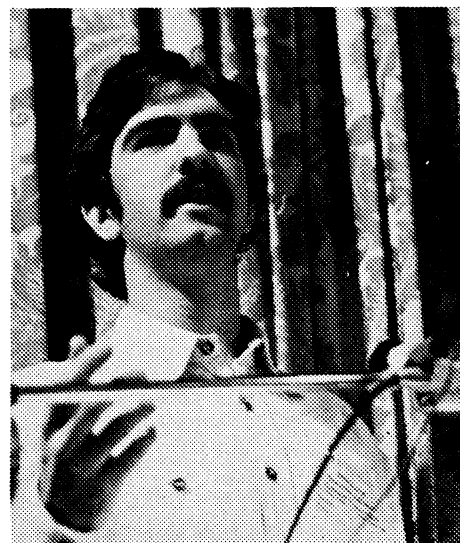
a successful teach-in the night before the march.

"The teach-in was seen as part of the build-up for the 14th," Dixon explained. "Through gaining support for the teach-in the student committee was able to broaden out the political support for the march, getting endorsers for both actions. The student committee brought the social weight of the students into the situation, and this proved to be key to making the action a success."

The YSA, Dixon pointed out, seeks to increase student support for the Black community in Boston and urges students to use their power to broaden support for the fight to defend Black civil rights.

The student committee has initiated a call for a National Student Conference Against Racism at Boston University Feb. 14-16. "When we leave this convention," Dixon said, "the YSA should be turned loose across the country to organize support for this conference."

Dixon stressed the importance of trying to involve all political groups, Black student organizations, unions,



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

PAUL MAILHOT: 'There is nothing progressive about antibusing movement.'

community groups, and others in supporting this conference.

"The most important thing is to make sure that this conference is as big and as authoritative as possible. This is our number one task between now and Feb. 14," he concluded.

Students call antiracist conference in Boston

ST. LOUIS— "The racist mob violence against Black students in Boston is part of a nationwide offensive against the rights of Black people. It could happen right here in St. Louis," Maceo Dixon told reporters at a news conference during the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Dixon, who is a national leader of the YSA, said that a massive response is needed to beat back this racist offensive and that students can be instrumental in mobilizing such a response. He said that the YSA is throwing all of its forces into building the "National Student Conference Against Racism" to be held at Boston University on the weekend of February 14-16.

"Students from across the country should attend this conference," Dixon urged. "Together we can organize masses in the streets to smash the racist forces in Boston."

Also addressing the news conference were Paul Mailhot, a Boston student leader and a member of the YSA, and Robert Harper, a leader of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association. All three are leaders of the student committee that originally called for the gathering.

This student committee previously organized the national teach-in against racism at Harvard University on Dec. 13, attended by 1,100 people. It also organized student participation in the Dec. 14 Boston freedom march.

The initial call for the national student conference was issued Dec. 14. In the short time since then, many student leaders and prominent figures have endorsed the call.

Among them are student government presidents or elected student representatives at: the University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Hunter College, New York; Temple University, Phila-

delphia; American and Georgetown universities, Washington, D.C.; University of Maryland; University of Georgia; and University of Pittsburgh.

Also, Wayne State University and Wayne County Community College, Detroit; Indiana University, Bloomington; Roosevelt University and Loop Junior College, Chicago; University of Colorado; San Diego City College; Merritt College, Oakland, Calif.; and University of California at Berkeley.

Some of the other student endorsers are: Gilberto DeJesus, chairperson, Federación de Universitarios Socialistas Puertorriqueños, Columbia University; William Morris, president, Association of Black Students, Florissant Community College, St. Louis; Nuris Bercey, Dominican Student Movement, Brooklyn College; Chip Berlet, editor, National Student Association Magazine; and Kathy Kelly, NSA president.

High school and junior high school endorsers include: Michael Anderson, Black Student Council, Blair High School, Pasadena, Calif.; Lennice Pier-son, Pasadena High School; and Pat Brooks, student body vice-president, Bret Harte Junior High School, Berkeley, Calif.

Endorsements have also come from many other prominent people including: Julian Bond; Robert Elder, Pasadena Bus Drivers United Community; Virginia Jackson, statewide coordinator, Georgia Coalition of Labor Union Women; Dr. Benjamin Mays, president, Atlanta school board; and Pat Knight, president, Social Service Employees Union Local 371, New York.

For more information on the national student meeting write National Student Conference Against Racism, c/o Boston University Student Union, 775 Commonwealth Ave., Room 435, Boston, Mass. 02215, or call (617) 353-3642.



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Pasadena, Calif., Dec. 14. YSA members were active in organizing probusing actions from coast to coast.

Kissinger escalates Mideast war threat

By DICK ROBERTS

New threats that the United States might go to war in the Middle East were voiced by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Washington last week.

Admitting that a U.S. attack on the Middle East would be "a very dangerous course," Kissinger nevertheless added, "I am not saying that there's no circumstance where we would not use force. . . .

"The use of force would be considered . . . in the gravest emergency."

Kissinger's remarks appeared in an interview in the Jan. 13 issue of *Business Week* magazine. A White House spokesperson said that President Ford had nothing to add to the Kissinger statement.

Asked if he didn't worry about Moscow's response to U.S. military action in the Middle East, Kissinger replied, "Any president who would resort to military action in the Middle East without worrying what the Soviets would do would have to be reckless. The question is to what extent he would let himself be deterred by it." (Emphasis added.)

Miscalculation on this score nearly detonated a nuclear holocaust during the October 1973 war in the Middle East.

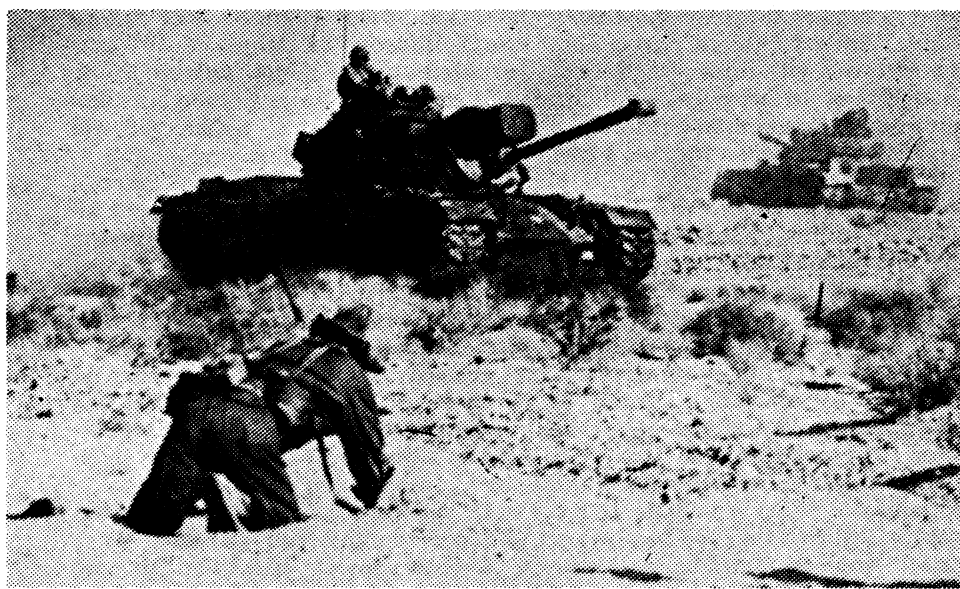
Short of warfare, Kissinger outlined a four-point U.S. program to put pressure on the oil-exporting nations in order to restore imperialist control of world oil prices:

"One, a degree of consumer solidarity that makes the consumers less vulnerable to the threat of embargo and to the dangers of financial collapse.

"Second, a systematic effort at energy conservation of sufficient magnitude to impose difficult choices on the producing countries.

"Third, institutions of financial solidarity so that individual countries are not so obsessed by their sense of impotence that they are prepared to negotiate on the producers' terms.

"Fourth, and most important, to bring in alternative sources of energy as rapidly as possible so that the combination of new discoveries of oil,



U.S. marines train in California for possible assault on Arab oil fields

new oil-producing countries, and new sources of energy create a supply situation in which it will be increasingly difficult for the cartel to operate. We think the beginning of this will occur within two to three years."

Stripped of diplomatic niceties, Kissinger's four-point program is aimed at putting the interests of U.S. imperialism before all else, to the detriment of Washington's allies in Europe, and especially to the detriment of the Middle East oil-producing nations.

Translated, the "consumer solidarity" Kissinger demands in his first point is the agreement of the West European and Japanese powers to form a front of the imperialist oil-consuming nations against the semicolonial oil-producing nations.

The West European powers, especially France, have opposed this, avowedly favoring agreements on world oil prices that include the oil-producing nations in the initial negotiating process. But France apparently backed down in December.

Following talks between French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and President Ford in Martinique, it was strongly hinted that France would accept prior agreement with the United

States before entering talks with the oil-producing nations. This is another way of stating the original U.S. position.

Kissinger's second point, euphemistically dubbed "energy conservation," amounts to establishing an imperialist boycott of OPEC (Organization of Oil Exporting Countries) oil. Rarely do the world powers undertake such operations with the brazenness Kissinger displayed in this interview.

Business Week asked Kissinger: if the imperialists do succeed in cutting down their exports from OPEC, wouldn't OPEC countries merely respond by cutting down OPEC oil production and consequently still maintaining high oil prices?

Kissinger responded that some OPEC countries could do this, but "countries that need oil revenues for their economic development, like Algeria, Iran, and Venezuela, do not have an unlimited capacity to cut their production. If the production of these countries is cut by any significant percentage, their whole economic development plan will be in severe jeopardy."

In the early 1960s the imperialists secretly drove down world cocoa

prices to strangle the Ghanaian economy under former president Kwame Nkrumah. They conspired to strangle the Chilean economy during the Allende regime.

This is surely one of the first times Washington has openly called for economic strangulation of a semicolonial nation in order to restore imperialist hegemony. But Kissinger's words mean no less than this: Initially to cut down on the consumption of imported energy in order to thwart OPEC prices, and then (Kissinger said "within two to three years") to develop alternative energy sources controlled by the imperialists.

That is why Kissinger said his fourth point—developing alternative energy supplies—is most important. And it is also why (Kissinger hedged on this question) the United States does not favor lowering world oil prices. To do so would make it unprofitable to develop the alternative energy sources.

When asked by *Business Week* whether the U.S. policy had indeed changed and whether the U.S. no longer looked to immediate reduction of world prices, Kissinger's hedge was: "I would disagree with the word 'immediate.'"

The third point in Kissinger's program refers to Washington's hope of forcing other imperialist powers, especially West Germany, to help bail out Britain and Italy if either or both of their economies deteriorate to the point of chain-reaction bankruptcies as happened during the 1929-32 depression.

Worth noting is that in Kissinger's discussion of this point his emphasis was not on *if* but *when*.

Business Week: "Is it possible that we may have to engage in an emergency financial bail-out of Italy or Britain before the financial facility is in place?"

Kissinger: "Very possibly, in this sense the proposed facility merely institutionalizes what will have to happen anyway, because if present trends continue, there will have to be a bail-out sooner or later."

Rhodesian regime seeks deal with guerrillas

By TONY THOMAS

On Dec. 11, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced that a ceasefire would take place between African freedom fighters and his white-minority regime. He also announced that more than 300 political prisoners from the liberation groups would be set free.

Smith's statement came as a result of accords agreed upon by his government and the liberation groups in talks held in Lusaka, Zambia, earlier that month.

While there are conflicting reports on the details of the agreements, the basic provisions appear to include a ceasefire and release of African political prisoners and the convocation of a constitutional conference between

Black and white leaders to plan a more complete settlement.

Rhodesia was a British colony until 1965. In that year white settlers seized control and declared independence from Britain. Their aim was to stop British plans to grant independence under Black majority rule.

The country's 270,000 whites are only 5 percent of the population, yet they have complete control of the country's political and economic life. Property and educational requirements limit the right to vote to 84,940 whites and only 7,390 Blacks. Land-holding laws reserve more than half of the land for whites. Urban Blacks are strictly segregated. Employment and educational opportunities have also been restricted for Blacks.

Since 1965 there has been massive opposition to the settler regime from the African masses of Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia). Three organizations, the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union (ZANU), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi) have carried on guerrilla war against the Smith regime. Another group, the African National Council (ANC), has emerged in recent years as a legal opposition.

In the past two years guerrilla activities in the northern part of Rhodesia near Mozambique greatly increased. This was aided by support given the Zimbabwean fighters by the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo).

Rhodesia's white settlers received another blow when Portugal decided to move toward independence for Mozambique and Angola, following the April 1974 coup.

The Smith regime had always seen these Portuguese colonies as buffer zones against Black-controlled Africa. Moreover, because of the economic boycott of Rhodesia by almost all neighboring African countries, most of Rhodesia's exports and imports pass through Mozambican ports.

Portugal's decision to bring Frelimo into the government in Mozambique last September and to grant Frelimo full control by June has placed Rhodesia in a precarious position. A

Black Mozambican government could step up aid to Zimbabwean fighters as well as strangle Rhodesia's economy.

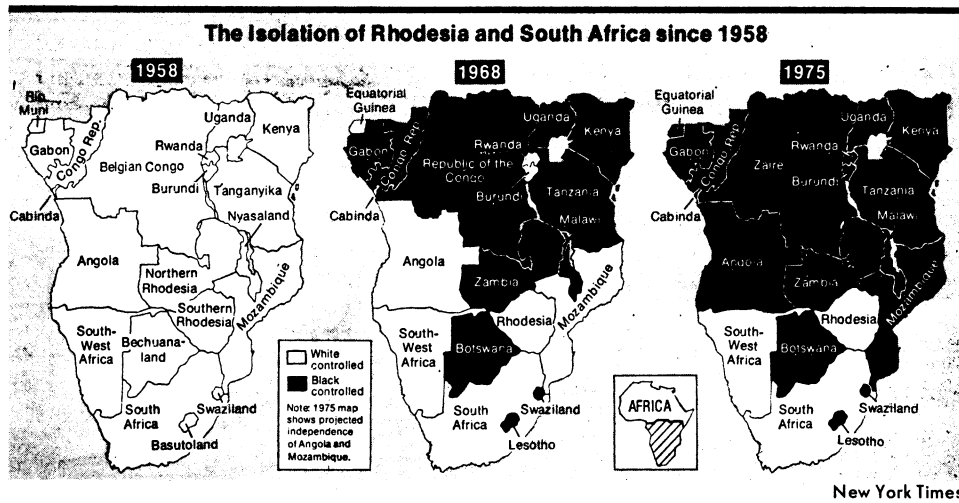
These developments left South Africa as the only support for the Rhodesian regime. South Africa's apartheid government has been supplying financial and military aid and troops to Rhodesia in its war against the liberation groups. A cutoff of this support by South Africa would doom the Rhodesian regime.

Since the Frelimo government was inaugurated in Mozambique in September, it has become apparent that the South African racists see the defense of the Smith regime as a hopeless task.

Instead, South African Prime Minister John Vorster has pushed the Rhodesian regime to make a settlement with the nationalist groups. This, Vorster believes, will lay the basis for deals between South Africa and independent Black African governments.

"Mr. Vorster's motives in pressing for a Rhodesian settlement," reported *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr from Salisbury, Rhodesia, "can be explained partly by a desire to restore South Africa's now negligible respectability in Africa, and to get, in return, a pledge from such black figures as President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia not to permit insurgent and subversive activities

Continued on page 22



Jan. 15 rallies will demand 'Jobs for All!'

By JOEL BRITTON

CHICAGO—"On Wednesday, Jan. 15, we will be marching for our 'silver rights,'" Reverend Ed Reddick told representatives of a broad array of trade unions and community and political activists here Jan. 4.

Reddick, research director for Operation PUSH, was addressing a meeting called to discuss mobilizing for a march and rally here demanding "Jobs For All!"

The urgency of this demand was underscored by new government figures pegging unemployment at 7.1 percent of the work force. The official figures indicate that there are 6.5 million people out of work.

Reddick said the actual rate of joblessness is much higher because the government doesn't count housewives and young people who would work if jobs were available and "involuntary part-time workers" who would prefer to work full-time.

The action will also hit the "146 percent increase in prices for the food poor people eat—beans, rice, et cetera," Reddick said.

Jesse Jackson, president of PUSH, told the meeting that what is needed is the broadest possible outpouring on Jan. 15. Jackson reported on plans for similar actions in other cities.

Among the prominent union officials present at the planning meeting were Charles Hayes, Addie Wyatt, and

Charles Barton, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; G. Ronald McCantz, of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Don Jones, of Local 1395, American Federation of Government Employees; and Mary Smith, of the independent service employees union. Locals of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers were also represented.

Others present came from Chicago churches, The Woodlawn Organization, the Urban League, Chicago Acts Against Inflation, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Chicago Peace Council, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Workers Liberation League, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Communist Party.

The Chicago action will include a 2 p.m. rally at the civic center at Randolph and Dearborn. Marchers will proceed on Randolph to State Street, south on State to Jackson Boulevard, then west on Jackson Boulevard to the federal building. The featured speaker at the rally will be long-time civil rights speaker Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth.

A southside assembly point will be PUSH headquarters at 50th Street and Drexel Boulevard at 11 a.m., where a meeting will commemorate the birth



Jesse Jackson leads earlier march for jobs in Chicago

of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Buses will transport marchers downtown at 1 p.m.

In Washington, D.C., a rally will be held at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church, at 1518 M St., N.W., beginning at 10 a.m. on Jan. 15. The rally, at which Jackson will speak, will be followed by a march to the White

House.

PUSH is demanding emergency legislation to provide for more than one million public service jobs. The group is also backing the passage of the Full Employment Act of 1976, sponsored in Congress by Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.).

Craft divisions defeat Cleve. news strike

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—Newspaper Guild members here reluctantly voted Dec. 21 to accept a three-year contract offer from the publishers of the *Plain Dealer*, thus ending their 50-day strike. The vote was 108 to 94.

Guild Executive Secretary Jack Weir said that the negotiators' bargaining power had diminished because of the narrowness of the most recent strike vote and because of problems with craft-union leaders who had been rattling their strikebreaking swords.

Guild members at the *Cleveland Press* accepted an identical contract the next day by a vote of 129 to 112. They had been locked out since Nov. 9, when the *Press* suspended publication in support of the struck *Plain Dealer*.

Except for minor changes, the contract finally ratified by Guild members at the two newspapers was essentially the same one rejected overwhelmingly Oct. 31, when the *Plain Dealer* unit had voted to strike.

Although the *Plain Dealer* had announced its intention of publishing in spite of the strike, as newspapers in other cities did in 1974, it was unable to do so.

The Guild leadership decided to throw up solid picket lines, close down production of the *Plain Dealer*, and

resist all attempts by the publishers to break the strike with scabs. The fact that the other crafts—printers, mailers, photoengravers, pressmen, drivers and others—respected the picket line, whether out of sympathy or fear, was the key to the effectiveness of the strike.

The publishers failed in their attempt to get a court injunction forcing the craft unions to scab. Nevertheless, the publishers were able to use the antiquated craft-union divisions to defeat the strike.

The so-called Unity Committee, a loosely structured body of officers of the unions negotiating with the two newspapers, was transformed from a means of strengthening the collective bargaining position of the newspaper unions into a tool of the employers for pressuring the Guild not to struggle to improve the economic package already accepted by the Teamsters, the first union to settle.

Playing on the ignorance, inexperience, fears, or ambitions of various craft-union leaders, and competition among them, the publishers negotiated first with one, then another. They succeeded in manipulating the Unity Committee into publicly calling on the Guild membership to believe the publishers' statements about negotiations

rather than the reports of their elected union negotiators.

On Dec. 14 the *Plain Dealer* unit of the Guild voted to reject the company's offer and continue the strike, but the vote had dwindled to 111 to 94.

Meanwhile concerned rank-and-file members of the Typographical Union saw the danger to their own union in what was happening to the Guild.

At the Dec. 15 meeting of the printers a resolution was passed noting that "the publishers are conducting coordinated bargaining and the unions are not." The resolution requested that International Typographical Union (ITU) President Sandy Bevis assign the recently appointed ITU-Guild joint task force to Cleveland on an emergency basis to seek coordinated bargaining and a common expiration date in the new contracts.

Following a report on actions of the Unity Committee Dec. 17, a special membership meeting was called by petition of 22 printers to discuss their union's position on the Unity Committee.

At that meeting, held Dec. 20, a resolution was introduced to repudiate the actions of the Unity Committee in intervening in the Guild strike on the side of the publishers, and to in-

struct the printers' representatives to withdraw from the Unity Committee "unless it restricts its functions to union support actions."

The resolution was defeated, with many abstentions, when it was learned that the Guild was then meeting to vote on the latest company offer.

The Cleveland Typographical Union's contract expired Dec. 31. Additional automated equipment was reportedly installed during the strike. The printers had instructed their negotiating committee to give top priority this year to winning shorter hours with no reduction in pay, and a cost-of-living clause.

Negotiations reached an impasse after the Guild strike ended, though, and the printers local has asked the ITU for assistance and authorization to take a strike vote. But after the unsatisfactory settlement forced on the Guild, rank-and-file printers see little hope of making significant gains through the weak and divided craft unions.

As one writer at the *Plain Dealer* noted, "Craft unionism is dead. If we don't bury it and organize an industrial union of all the men and women who produce the paper, the publishers will bury it and put us in the strait-jacket of a company union."

Blacks protest L.A. police 'Alpha file' on youth

By EVELYN SELL

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles police department has been keeping a secret "Alpha File" on young Blacks who have been labeled "dangerous" on the basis of unconfirmed reports from bus drivers, school personnel, housing authority employees, and recreational workers.

A call to a special police phone number is sufficient to tag any Black youth as a "hoodlum" or "gang offender" and to open the door to expulsion from school, probation, detention, police surveillance, denial of employment, and other harassment.

Although these young people have not been arrested or charged with any crime, Police Chief Edward Davis and

Alpha File project leader Sergeant Robert Michael have publicly called these Black youths "murderers," "hoodlums," and "hard-core youth offenders."

Disclosure of the files has led to protests in the Black community and the bringing of a class-action suit by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Southern California, the Greater Watts Criminal Justice Center, the Western Center on Law and Poverty, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers. The suit seeks a permanent injunction to stop the police department from gathering, maintaining, and giving out information in the Alpha File.

ACLU attorney Mark Rosenbaum explained, "The file is a self-fulfilling hate list because there is no way to challenge it, no standard or criteria used, no checks, no verification of facts."

The day after the suit was filed, the Los Angeles city council voted additional funds to maintain and expand the project in spite of objections that the secret files are outrageously unconstitutional and a racist attack against the Black community.

The council's action is subject to approval by Mayor Tom Bradley. Bradley has so far refused to condemn the activities of the police department in this matter.

Jobs for All!

The new year has begun with 6.5 million Americans—by the government's own figures—out of work. Administration officials admit that we can expect another million to lose their jobs in 1975. Other analysts who aren't on the government payroll are less optimistic.

As always, the most oppressed and exploited are hit the hardest. Among Blacks, the official unemployment rate has reached 12.8 percent, compared with the overall rate of 7.1 percent.

What is the government doing about this?

On Dec. 31, President Ford signed a bill providing money for 100,000 public service jobs. The measure, he declared, will provide "much-needed help to our unemployed fellow citizens."

But 100,000 jobs is only a token gesture compared to what is needed. *Five times that number were laid off in December alone.*

The Democratic and Republican politicians are also talking about a cut in income taxes to stimulate the economy. But what good is an income tax cut to those without any income?

For the 6.4 million who won't get any public works jobs, Ford has extended the period for which they can collect the totally inadequate unemployment benefits available.

This is the "solution" being offered to working people in the face of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. It is a "solution" in the interests of the Rockefellers, not of the working class.

We propose an alternative program.

- The government should institute a massive public works program to build quality housing, hospitals, schools, mass transportation systems, sewage plants, and similar projects. These things are desperately needed, and the labor and productive capacity to undertake them are available.

- Jobless workers should be paid unemployment benefits at union wage scales, for as long as they are out of work. Workers are not responsible for unemployment, and their lives should not be shattered because of it.

- Unemployment could be reduced immediately by reducing the workweek without any cut in pay in order to spread the available work to all those who want a job.

The anger of the millions who are the victims of the capitalist economic crisis is beginning to find its expression in action. Operation PUSH has called for demonstrations to demand "Jobs for All!" on Jan. 15.

These demonstrations can be a step toward organizing masses of people to defend their interests, through actions independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. They should be supported by the trade-union movement and its allies.

Indochina war

Two years after the signing of Nixon's Vietnam "peace pact," and 14 months after war criminal Henry Kissinger was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, an *Associated Press* dispatch reported:

"High U. S. officials in Washington were considering what steps could be taken to bolster support for South Vietnam in the face of the Communist offensive which they believe will intensify."

On Jan. 7, the U. S. aircraft carrier *Enterprise* left its base in the Philippines for an unannounced destination. Despite denials from Washington, reports persisted that the warship was headed for Vietnam.

A Pentagon official insisted that the congressional ban on military action in Indochina does not extend to U. S. ships operating in international waters. In fact, it was disclosed that U. S. aircraft carriers had been off the coast of Vietnam "from time to time" since the peace treaty was signed and U. S. involvement supposedly ended in 1973.

The truth is that Washington has never given up its goal of preserving the capitalist-landlord regimes in Saigon and Phnom Penh, and capitalist property relations on the Indochinese peninsula as a whole. This is why it continues to finance the hated military dictatorships there. And that is why every crisis for these regimes raises the threat of a new, direct U. S. intervention.

All the phony peace pacts in the world notwithstanding, there will be no peace in Indochina so long as the U. S. government is committed to upholding tyranny and exploitation there against the interests and desires of the Indochinese peoples.

The easy way

Enclosed is \$10 for 11 prepaid *Militant* subscription cards. Please send the cards as soon as possible.

I am glad you are doing this, and I suggest you continue to run frequent ads on the prepaid program. I'm certain many other working sisters and brothers who have been reading *The Militant* for a long time, and who now realize it is extremely important that others read too, will sell subscriptions this easy way.

H. B.

Salt Lake City, Utah

[Prepaid subscription cards are a good way to win new subscribers to *The Militant*. Readers can buy the cards from *The Militant* and collect a dollar back each time they sell an introductory sub.

Each card already has a stamp on it, so all you have to do is fill in the subscriber's name and address and drop it in the nearest mailbox. The new reader will begin to receive *The Militant* the next week.

The cards are sold for \$1 each and are good for a two-month introductory subscription. Order from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. Send \$5 for five cards or \$10 for 11.]

Not just Boston

The Militant's coverage of the Boston struggle for desegregation is excellent. Your contention that this issue will be an important one in many cities across the country is certainly accurate.

In Baltimore, United Parents (UP), a group that organized to fight a school-desegregation order, is still in business.

According to a recent interview in the *City Dweller* with Ruth Daiker, spokesperson for UP, there are 13 junior high students out of school because of parental objections to the busing plan. The 13 are from the overwhelmingly white Medfield-Hampden area of the city. UP arranged and financed tutoring for them.

Daiker insisted in the interview that UP is not a segregationist group. She said her only concern is for the children's safety. When asked about racism in her community, she admitted that "there is some prejudice in the Hampden area."

"We've got to live with the rest of the world and little by little the feelings must be chipped away. There's a million ways to accomplish this, through cultural exchange, any number of ways, but nothing as drastic and unpopular as forced busing."

Need I translate her remarks?

As you have pointed out, a setback in Boston would bolster UP and similar formations around the country even more.

Annemarie Hill

Baltimore, Md.

Keep it up

Your ongoing coverage of the fight against racism in Boston has made selling *The Militant* easy at the University of Winnipeg.

Many Black students from the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean are very interested in

the issue of busing in Boston, and *The Militant* is the only paper that has extensive reports.

Keep up the good coverage.

Ron Cameron

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Perceptive voter

The voter turnout, or rather lack of it, for the November elections indicates the depth of cynicism among Americans.

This disgust with the Democratic and Republican hacks was illustrated in the New Hampshire state senate race, where one voter got so upset that he wrote in big, bold letters across his ballot, "CROOKS."

It is none too surprising that both the Democrats and Republicans claimed the vote was theirs.

David Ellis

Indianapolis, Ind.

Correction

In my article published in the Nov. 22 issue of *The Militant* about the demonstration against Ford's visit to South Korea, there is an error. It says, "Those who attended the rally were primarily elderly, including a large number of women."

It should have read that those who attended were primarily *older*, a relative word by which I meant to indicate that they were mostly more than 30 years old.

And while it is true that there were a number of *harmoni* (grandmothers) and *haraboji* (grandfathers) present, they were all young in spirit. Many of them bought copies of *The Militant*.

George Johnson

Los Angeles, Calif.

Keeping in touch

I am in the remote town of Pullman trying to finish school, and *The Militant* is one of my only touches with what is really happening in the world.

Your articles help to keep my strength and determination up to fight for human rights and to feel compassion for our fellow brothers and sisters in the common struggle. Thank you.

R. W.

Pullman, Wash.

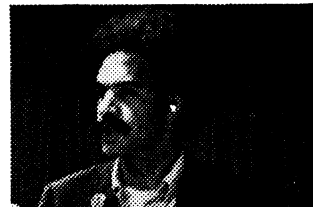
Lucio Cabanas

On Dec. 7, 35 people picketed the Mexican consulate in San Antonio, Tex., protesting the murder of Mexican guerrilla leader Lucio Cabanas. The demonstration was called by TU-CASA and was addressed by Antonio Cabral of TU-CASA.

The leaflet distributed at the picket said, in part:

"Lucio Cabanas, guerrilla leader of the Mexican people, fell in battle against the murderer Mexican army, Monday, December 2, 1974.

"We, Mexican citizens exiled in this country for economic reasons, regret his death deeply, but his disappearance does not mean the end of the struggle of the Mexican people to liberate themselves. . . . It cannot mean the end of the struggle because social conditions in Mexico are at such a low that we



A day in Garrity's court

BOSTON—Ever since his June 21 desegregation ruling, the courtroom decisions of Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity have been pivotal to much of the struggle here.

Although he ordered Black students bused into South Boston this fall, he has refused to send federal troops to protect their trip into that lion's den.

And though he originally ordered a final desegregation plan wherein the student body of each school would reflect the racial composition of the entire system, he has since said he may exclude the predominantly white schools in East Boston and Charlestown.

With this as his track record, all eyes were on Garrity Dec. 18 when he ordered three members of the school committee to appear on a contempt-of-court motion filed by the NAACP, plaintiffs in the original desegregation suit. The committee had refused to submit a final desegregation plan as Garrity had ordered.

An hour before court time, a mob of 100 "Southies" had blocked the corridor and were grumbling because there were only seats inside for the press.

They were every bit a roughneck crew—rowdy men, young toughs, and women who cried, "No! Where's he think he's going!" at me when I walked by. Marshals, using benches like pistons in an engine, finally pushed them back.

Arriving late and slinking in like rogues were the new lawyers for the school committee. John Kerrigan, the committee head, sashayed in looking like Bugs Moran himself.

Soon Garrity appeared and hammered the session to order. Usually described in the press as a painstaking and thorough legal mind, he instead appeared befuddled and overwhelmed.

After denying a motion that the board members

be found in criminal contempt of court, Garrity explained his decision with twisted and puzzling logic.

"There are many things that can be done to obstruct and to block the court's order. . . . There is overt, open opposition such as the organization or encouraging of boycotts by students." (The school committee is certainly guilty here.)

"There are subtle types of opposition . . . such as by promoting persons who oppose desegregation and favoring persons who oppose it in the manner of promotion or in the manner of assignments." (Guilty twice.)

"There are other types of pernicious or willful or persistent violations of the court's orders or some act serving to obstruct an order, which may be, and indeed often have been punished and prosecuted as criminal contempt." (Guilty thrice.)

But, Garrity concluded: "The basis of the refusal to approve this plan is the conviction of these three members . . . that any widespread desegregation of the schools would . . . endanger the safety of students. And an action taken by public officials on a ground such as that could not under any circumstances in my opinion reasonably be found to be criminal. What is to be expected of officials who believe they are being asked to do something which would endanger the safety of the young children over whom they have charge?"

Fortunately the court proceedings are only one part of the struggle here. Garrity on a later date found the three guilty of the lesser charge of civil contempt. But on Dec. 18 the mobsters were the victors. They didn't even need their mob outside, which never got in to see the symbol of U.S. justice that hangs there—that statue of the blindfolded woman holding the twin scales, which tells us that justice is blind and that in a court of law, lawlessness is outweighed.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Pollution of political waters

Those clean-looking Exxon Corporation advertisements on television showing brightly colored fish swimming in clear waters around offshore oil rigs will not erase the pollution of Santa Barbara's beaches. Nor will they restore the beauty of Bantry Bay or save the marine life destroyed by the wreck of the tanker *Metula* in the Strait of Magellan off the tip of South America.

Oil companies pollute the environment wherever they drill for oil and wherever they transport, store, and refine their products. There is no indication that they intend to protect the environment anywhere except on the TV screens.

More TV watchers are aware of the wanton waste and destruction of natural resources caused by the oil companies than the publicity departments of these companies realize. Fewer people believe the false advertising today than a year ago. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union is largely responsible for getting out some of the truth.

It is likewise becoming common knowledge since Watergate that these same oil companies also pollute the political environment. In this area they may not be the worst, but they have a high rating along with the milk trust.

In the Senate Watergate hearings, a Washington oil and gas lobbyist by the name of Carl Arnold was identified as a close friend of Wilbur Mills, demoted chairperson of the House Ways and Means Committee. Arnold passed contributions to Mills from the Gulf Oil Corporation.

This same Carl Arnold, it was revealed Dec. 30, also served Ashland Oil, Inc., a Kentucky-based outfit with plenty of money to help pollute the Washington political atmosphere. Arnold received from Ashland \$100,000 in cash from September 1971 to February 1972 for delivery to candidates for election to the House and Senate. At that time Arnold was a fund-raiser for Mills, who hoped to win the Democratic Party presidential nomination.

More than a year ago Ashland Oil pleaded guilty to an illegal contribution of \$100,000 to Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign. The company got off with a fine of \$5,000.

Now it turns out that Ashland is guilty of another \$170,000 in illegal "gifts" that it tried to hide in the earlier investigation and court action. Included in these transactions were \$50,000 in cash delivered to Robert Strauss from June 1970 to February 1972. Strauss is head of the Democratic national committee.

This company also used \$6,864 to pay back "private contributions" of certain trusted employees to the campaign committees of Hubert Humphrey when he tried to win the Democratic nomination for president in 1972.

In February 1972 Ashland paid back more "private contributions" in the amount of \$2,500 that went to the Friends of Tower committee to help reelect Senator John Tower, Texas Republican.

The former Republican governor of Kentucky, Louie Nunn, received \$10,000 from Ashland for his unsuccessful campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1972.

This corporation also gave \$50,000 to the Democratic presidential campaign in 1968 (Humphrey) and \$100,000 to the Republicans (Nixon). These contributions were also illegal but no action can be brought against the corporation or any of its officers because a five-year statute of limitations has expired.

The maximum fine of \$25,000 was imposed for the later contributions. Oren Atkins, chairman of Ashland, says he will pay the fine personally. If he runs true to form he will add the fine to his expense account and write it off as a tax deduction.

Humphrey, Strauss, Mills, Tower, Nunn, and all the others in both the Democratic and Republican parties who have their hands out for all the oil money that is passed around claim that they never had any idea where it came from and never knew that it was illegal.

This problem of political pollution in which the Republican and Democratic parties serve as pipelines is one that ought to be cleaned up by the union movement. A good way to begin is to expose and repudiate those fake "Friends of labor" whose hands are grimy with oil-money bribes, and stop swimming in the polluted waters of capitalist party politics.

literally have nothing to lose but the chains of our virtual enslavement.

"In Mexico there still is hunger in the countryside and in the cities. In Mexico 20 per cent of our children are still dying before they reach the age of five years. In Mexico almost half of the population is still illiterate.

"In Mexico for each dollar that is produced, 35 cents go directly to the United States of North America. . . .

"In Mexico the government continues to finance a para-military, fascist group called 'halcones' (falcon) and uses them to attack students, workers and peasants that protest against the inhuman system that exists in Mexico. . . ."

Marty Anderson
Houston, Tex.

Some boss

I am glad to see a paper that has open views. I especially appreciate *The Militant* because of my social isolation—as I am employed by the U. S. Army.

A GI
New Jersey

Capitalist 'justice'

In case you missed it, more "justice":

"Drug charges against Phyllis Bradley, 29-year-old daughter of Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, have been dismissed; but a codefendant was convicted of possessing LSD and cocaine."—*Houston Chronicle*, Dec. 12, 1974.

Joel Hollis
Houston, Tex.

Good answers

Every day in the Detroit *Free Press* a box on the front page is reserved for an opinion poll of certain issues or topics that are in the headlines. They pose a question and you call a number to respond yes or no.

Usually it is difficult to tell how accurate they are, but sometimes the comments given to the recording device are the most interesting. I think *Militant* readers would be interested in a recent one that showed that people are not going to continue taking the bosses' schemes to raise prices any more:

"Question: Henry Ford II suggested a 10-cent-a-gallon increase in the gasoline tax, which would be used as extended unemployment benefits for people hurt by the current economic slowdown. Would you favor such a plan?"

The results were 80.7 percent said no and 19.3 percent said yes. Among the responses in the no answer were: "Only a rich man could say that," "People wouldn't be unemployed if cars didn't cost so much," "Let's tax the rich more to help the poor," and, "Maybe socialism is the answer."

Steve Beumer
Detroit, Mich.

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.



To each according to their need—It may have seemed harsh when the Agriculture Department upped the cost of food stamps 30 percent. It does mean, for example, that a single person with an income of \$150 a month will pay \$45 for \$46 worth of stamps. However, extremely destitute people will continue getting stamps free. "Extremely destitute" means having an income of less than \$20 a month for a single person and less than \$30 for a household.



NO WIN BUTTON? Millionaire Elsie Pollock and butler serve guests chili. She's helping to fight inflation.

Balanced approach—As if to demonstrate that the hike in food-stamp costs isn't the result of being tightfisted, the Agriculture Department is currently spending \$185,000 to build a new pri-

vate dining room for Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz and his friends.

Eh?—Pupils in classes in 55 New York public schools that border clattering elevated trains are three to 13 months behind other students in reading capacity, according to a recent study. At one school a train goes by every four-and-a-half minutes, shooting up the decibel count for 30 seconds. This results in "screaming sessions," the study said, as pupils and teachers shout to be heard.

Sounds reasonable—While other automobile sales have slumped, Cadillac production remains at its peak. One customer interviewed on TV explained, somewhat frostily, "People who buy

Cadillacs generally aren't affected by recessions."

Victim of scarcity—Founded in 1971 with the declared aim of featuring "good news," the Pasadena Union is now deceased.

Celebrating the American Way—George McDonald stepped aside as chairperson of the Rhode Island Bicentennial Commission after being indicted on two charges of soliciting bribes in connection with commission business.

Thought for the week—"We've got the greatest system in the world. We've just got to find a way to make it work."—Nelson Rockefeller.

Women In Revolt

'New Portuguese Letters'

ST. LOUIS—The convention of the Young Socialist Alliance held here Dec. 28-Jan. 1 was highlighted by many special events. One such event was the appearance of Maria Isabel Barreno to address the convention.

Maria Isabel Barreno is one of three Portuguese women whose courageous stand in speaking out against the oppression of women made them internationally famous. They became known as the "Three Marias."

The three—Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Velho da Costa, and Maria Teresa Horta—wrote a book titled *New Portuguese Letters*, published in Portugal in April 1972. The book was confiscated by the Portuguese dictatorship and the three feminists were arrested and put on trial. The book, the government charged, was an "outrage to public morals" and "an abuse of freedom of the press."

New Portuguese Letters, in reality, is a strong denunciation of the plight of women in Portugal. It portrays their isolation and loneliness, their economic and political oppression, and their sex-

ual repression. It speaks of madness, suicide, rape, back-street abortions, and imprisonment. The book is an outcry against suffering.

The case of the Three Marias gained support around the world. Feminists, writers, and civil libertarians banded together in an international protest movement. Shortly before the April 25, 1974, military coup, the government prosecutor recommended dismissal of the charges, and on May 7 the Three Marias were formally acquitted.

New Portuguese Letters is being translated into several languages and is now available in English, published by Doubleday.

Maria Isabel Barreno participated in the YSA convention as part of the international defense panel. She summarized her own case, emphasizing the importance of the international defense in winning her freedom.

"My story," she told the convention, "is a story with a happy ending. But we must go on."

Barreno told of the cases of other women imprisoned for their ideas. She asked the young so-

cialists to rally to the defense of Lydia Falcon and Genoveva Forest de Sastre, the Spanish feminists arrested and tortured last September by the Spanish government. They are still in prison.

She also spoke about Inez Etien Romeo. Romeo is a Brazilian condemned to life imprisonment by the Brazilian dictatorship for her political activity. She was brutally tortured for 100 days and desperately needs international support and defense. Petitions are being circulated in Europe and the United States urging the president of Brazil to review her case and set her free.

Barreno has been in the United States for several months writing a dramatic adaptation of *New Portuguese Letters*.

She will be on a national speaking tour for five weeks in January and February, covering seven major U.S. cities. Several organizations will be participating in the tour activities, including the YSA, the Socialist Workers Party, and the National Organization for Women.

Linda Jenness



iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás

Fifth anniversary of La Raza Unida

LOS ANGELES—Just five years ago, on Jan. 5, 1970, Chicanos ended a successful mass boycott of Crystal City, Tex., schools.

Since they are 85 percent of the population of 10,000 there, the Chicanos figured they should have some voice in running things. The walkout, which lasted nearly a month, involved hundreds of students and their parents. It was a turning point in the political life of the area. The school administrators were finally forced to meet the Chicano demands.

The local school board, composed of Mexican-American Democrats, did not side with the Chicanos. This led the boycott activists to two conclusions. First, they decided they had to fight for control of the school board. Secondly, they felt that even where it presented Brown faces, the Democratic Party could not serve as a vehicle for achieving this.

Therefore, shortly after the boycott victory it was announced that an independent Chicano political party was being formed in South Texas. Within three months, La Raza Unida Party swept the elections in *Cristal*, winning control of the school board and the two open seats on the five-member city council. By breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and winning offices, Chicanos in Crystal City thrust themselves into the national spotlight.

Now, in January 1975, the Chicano community

of *Cristal* is celebrating the fifth anniversary of the launching of the Raza Unida Party—a very important event indeed.

The concept of an independent Chicano party had been raised in the Plan of Aztlán, a manifesto of Chicano liberation drafted at the 1969 Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, hosted by the Crusade for Justice. Activists from the Texas Chicano student group MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) put it into practice for the first time, in Crystal City.

In March of 1970 the idea of La Raza Unida Party (RUP) was the subject of intense discussion at the second Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, attended by 4,000 people.

Members of the Crusade for Justice argued that such a party was needed to oppose the enemy at the polls as well as to organize the Chicano community to fight for total liberation. The day after the conference ended, the Crusade led other Chicanos in announcing that the Colorado RUP was being formed and would enter candidates in the state elections.

There was a minority at the conference that wanted Chicanos to follow the Black Panther Party model of combining "urban guerrilla warfare" actions with concentrating on such projects as serving free breakfasts for schoolchildren. They felt that participation in elections was a sellout.

Most participants rejected this perspective, citing

the inability of the Black Panthers with their ultra-revolutionary rhetoric, to sink roots in the Black community. The further decline of the Black Panther Party and its subsequent capitulation to the Democrats have shown how correct those Chicanos were in their assessment five years ago.

I think that in the five years since La Raza Unida Party was first put into practice, its viability has been as clearly demonstrated by experience as has the failure of the ultraleft perspective.

A study made by the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) prior to the 1972 presidential election showed that 75 percent of all Chicanos interviewed in Los Angeles had heard of La Raza Unida, and 50 percent approved of it. As confidence in the two capitalist parties declines, it is clear that La Raza Unida has tremendous potential for growth as an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

An effective, mass Raza Unida Party, unlike the twin parties of capitalism and racism, would be controlled by, and responsible only to, the Chicano people. Such a party could win the allegiance of millions and could lead the struggle for self-determination on all fronts. It could turn political life in this country upside down.

Such a development would confirm that Jan. 5, 1970, is a truly historic date for the Chicano people.



World Outlook

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

JANUARY 17, 1975

Inflation, recession & shortages

1974: The year of the big slump

By Dick Fidler

As 1974 drew to a close, the world capitalist economy was heading toward the first generalized recession since the second world war.

In mid-November, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) predicted that the world's seven major capitalist economies would show an average growth in production of about 1% during 1975. But many economists thought that the forecast was overly optimistic. In the last quarter of 1974, the industrial output of most of the major imperialist economies was declining. The growth in the volume of world trade was slackening noticeably. Unemployment was rising rapidly, reaching close to an official 7% of the work force in the United States and more than 3% in most West European countries. The forecast everywhere was for a deepening of the recession in 1975, with no prospect of an upturn before the second half of the year at the earliest.

Symptomatic of the developing crisis were the gloomy comments in the capitalist press. *New York Times* columnist C.L. Sulzberger wrote from Paris October 30 that "we appear to be on or over the brink" of a collapse like that of the 1930s.

Sulzberger added that "it is considered axiomatic by many so-called experts that no democracy can for long survive an inflation rate exceeding 20 per cent."

The Common Market ministers, at their December meeting in Paris, discussed the possibility of the recession in the United States starting a chain reaction of declining trade and increased protectionism that might drag down the whole West European economy.

End of Postwar 'Boom'

The simultaneous occurrence of recessions in the United States, Britain, and Japan marks the end of the long postwar "boom."

In previous recessionary phases, the impact of downturns in some countries was lessened by simultaneous upswings in others. But the cost of stabilizing these cyclical downturns was permanent and growing inflation, as governments strove to stimulate their economies by expanding credit and printing more money. Increasing dollar inflation led to the crisis and collapse of the international monetary system established at Bretton Woods in 1944, opening a new period in the late 1960s of increasing rivalry in international trade and finance and of slower growth in all the major imperialist economies.

A peculiar feature of this recession



Overproduction in automobile industry has resulted in huge inventories of unsold vehicles and massive layoffs.

is that it coincides with a high level of inflation, which in some countries continues to rise despite the recession. "Double-digit" inflation has now hit most capitalist economies. Inflation in the major West European countries ranges from a low of 7% in West Germany (by far the strongest economy) to 17% in Britain, and over 20% in Italy. In the United States, retail prices are rising by close to 12% a year, and in Japan by 25%.

The worldwide inflation and the concurrent downturn are exacerbated by the increasing interimperialist rivalry.

Competition among multinational trusts speeds concentration of capital; rapid technological innovations shorten the life cycle of fixed capital; the falling rate of profit (as a result of the increased organic composition of capital) requires companies to rely increasingly on "external" financing, borrowing more and more extensively to finance expansion of plants and equipment.

The U.S. magazine *Business Week* estimated in October that the total debt load of the world capitalist economy could be more than \$10 trillion. The United States accounts for a quarter of this debt.

Inflation of the currency increases the liquidity squeeze on businesses. And currency inflation is itself greatly

aggravated by arms spending, which, for example, accounts for about a third of the U.S. government budget.

The increased difficulties encountered by businesses in financing needed expansion have resulted in a growing chain of bankruptcies, decreases in capital spending, cutbacks in output, and widespread layoffs. These developments lead to a generalized downturn in economic activity.

The downturn began about a year ago in automobiles and construction, and spread rapidly to electrical and other household appliances, petrochemicals, textiles and clothing, and aviation. While steel was a holdout, particularly in the United States—thanks in part to unfilled orders for pipelines, derricks, and refineries as a result of the expansion in new oil exploitations—the recession has now reached this sector, too.

Depression in Automobile Industry

In the automobile industry, the situation is acute. Sales are currently down by about 40% from a year earlier in the United States, by 20% in West Germany, and by 27% in Britain. About 200,000 U.S. production workers—more than a quarter of the total—were laid off in December,

with the prospect of more layoffs in January. In Italy, Fiat has put more than 70,000 workers on a three-day workweek. A prolonged depression in the automobile industry would have a profound effect on investment and the rate of growth throughout the whole capitalist economy.

The crisis in the automobile industry is an expression of the classic tendency of every capitalist boom to produce more than can be sold on the market. The greater the overproduction, the more will current output and employment be curtailed.

But in addition to the recession in most sectors, marked shortages have appeared in some important sectors—in particular, energy (especially oil) and food. These shortages are the result of the deliberate policies of monopoly capital.

An example in 1974 was the "energy crisis." In retaliation against Western support to Israel in the October 1973 war, the Arab oil-producing countries cut production by 5% a month, imposed a total boycott on oil exports to the United States and the Netherlands, and carried out a series of increases in royalties and taxes that quadrupled the price of oil at the wellhead. These price increases were passed on directly to consumers by the major oil companies, which control the international market.

In raising oil prices, the Arab regimes belonging to OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) hoped to strengthen their hand in negotiations with the imperialist powers at the Geneva conference. They also sought to enhance their nationalist image among the Arab masses, who were mobilizing in response to the military victories scored against Israel in the initial phase of the war.

The rise in oil prices, however, fitted in very well with the policies of the giant oil trusts. Of the seven major oil companies, five are U.S.-owned.

Oil Trusts' Policies

The oil trusts want to lessen their dependence on sources in the semi-colonial world, where they face rising threats of nationalization and increased demands to reinvest their profits in the producing countries instead of exporting them. The companies are seeking sources in areas under direct imperialist control such as Alaska's North Slope, the North Sea, the Norwegian coastal waters, and the offshore wells in the Gulf of Mexico.

The oil trusts are also seeking profitable alternative sources of energy, such as coal, nuclear energy, and oil shale.

Long before the Arab oil boycott and price increases, the trusts moved to create shortages in U.S. supplies of oil by deliberately cutting back production and limiting construction of new refineries. This helped to drive up domestic prices and profits. It also helped to create an "energy crisis" psychosis that enabled the oil barons to defeat the ecology movement in such a key area as Alaska and to increase the pressure for lifting restrictions on

Continued on next page

...worldwide economic crisis results in threats of war

Continued from preceding page

offshore drilling and on the development and exploitation of "dirty" fuels like coal and nuclear energy.

The Arab boycott gave the companies an excuse to blame the Arabs for the very situation that the companies themselves had created.

The fourfold increase in oil prices had a devastating effect on the main capitalist competitors of the United States. While the United States imports only 15% of the oil it consumes, Western Europe and Japan are dependent on imports for 65% and 98% of their oil, most of it coming from the Arab East. The balance-of-payments deficits of West European countries, including Britain, Italy, and France, the hardest-hit countries, were expected to total at least \$20 billion in 1974.

As a result, the U.S. dollar rose relative to other currencies, reflecting its regained strength. On January 7, 1974, the yen was devalued by 6.7%, and on January 19, the Pompidou government announced that the franc would be set free of any fixed rates, as the Japanese and French governments sought to alleviate their expected payments deficits.

In October, the Japanese vice-minister of international trade and industry, Eimei Yamashita, predicted a depression in 1975. He attributed it in large part to the increased oil prices, which he called a "fatal blow to the Japanese economy."

Higher oil prices became one of the generators of the general increase in world prices, affecting the cost of



Rising prices prompted U.S. meat boycott in 1973. They continued to go up in 1974.

These price leaps paralleled a huge increase in the volume of U.S. food exports, beginning in 1972, so that recent profit increases are even greater. In other words, as famine-stricken countries were forced to purchase more, U.S. prices rose proportionately.

Limitations of 'Oil Weapon'

Ironically, the increased impoverishment of most of the semicolonial world resulting from the recession and inflation exposed the underlying weakness in the arguments of those who saw the OPEC countries' "oil weapon" as a viable means of redressing the unfavorable terms of trade imposed on them by the imperialist countries.

The leaders of many OPEC countries argued justifiably that they were only doing with raw materials what the imperialists have always done with their exports to the underdeveloped world—charge what the market would bear. Their case was put most clearly, perhaps, by the shah of Iran, who stated, "If the world prices go down, we will go down with oil prices. But if they go up, why should we pay the bill?" He proposed linking the price of oil to an index based on the prices of selected manufactured imports.

In fact, for most of the oil producers, the inflated prices of imported goods, including oil derivatives like fertilizer, and food imports, would in the long run undermine much of the advantage of their increased oil revenues. In any case, only a small part of the oil revenues, if any, was likely to benefit the masses of the population in these countries, some of which are ruled by particularly conservative regimes.

Nor are increases in the prices of specific raw materials a solution for the underdeveloped countries as a whole. As the fate of the semicolonial oil-importing countries has vividly demonstrated, whatever the benefits for the oil producers from the conjunctural demand for their product, they were gained at the expense of increased impoverishment for other semicolonial countries, as the oil trusts simply passed on the increased well-head price to consumers. And the limitations of the "oil weapon" as an instrument of Arab diplomacy were revealed when the oil companies used their control of the capitalist market to circumvent the boycott by rationing and otherwise shifting supplies from non-Arab sources so as to ensure deliveries to their customers in Japan,

Western Europe, and the United States.

Referring to the OPEC strategy of charging higher prices to the oil monopolies, Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez said in a September 25 "Open Letter to Ford" that "we see no other way to confront the economic totalitarianism that has been coming to the fore in business and world trade. . . ." This is an understandable reply, but it reveals the limitations of the national bourgeoisie. The only effective reply is to break out of the capitalist system itself by expropriating private industry and initiating planned economic development under the protection of a state monopoly of foreign trade.

Washington Threatens War

Imperialism's response to the "oil weapon" was not long in being formulated. Washington began testing public reaction on the use of troops should the oil-producing countries of the Arab-Persian Gulf go too far in "disrupting" the world capitalist economy through their oil policy.

These threats became more explicit as the danger of a world depression, aggravated by the inflationary effect of petrodollar investments and oil-induced balance-of-payments problems, became more apparent. In September, following an OPEC decision to maintain its oil price and possibly increase it within a few months, Ford and Kissinger escalated the offensive against the oil producers, hinting broadly at possible military intervention.

No one could doubt Washington's readiness to follow up its threats with action. The news media carried articles citing "informed sources" in Washington describing possible "covert operations" that involved such items as "selective assassinations" of Arab leaders. U.S. troops were photographed training in desert warfare. At a September 16 news conference, Ford defended CIA covert operations to subvert and overthrow regimes deemed hostile to U.S. interests.

A major aim of this propaganda was to portray the Arabs as the cause of the world inflation and recession, in much the same way as the great economic crisis in the 1930s was blamed by some on the Jews.

U.S. Persuades Allies to 'Cooperate'

Besides pressuring the oil-producing countries to lower their prices, Washington sought to restrain Tokyo and its West European competitors from

breaking ranks and trying to improve their own competitive position by unilateral deals with the OPEC states.

At the international energy conference in Washington in February 1974, Kissinger initiated the formation of a "counter-cartel" of oil-consuming states, involving common agreement to restrict consumption, build huge stockpiles, and share supplies in the event of a renewal of the Arab boycott or similar shortages.

The West Europeans were at first reluctant to go along with this plan. In a joint statement February 5, on the eve of the Washington conference, the Common Market council of ministers appealed to Washington to allow them more freedom of maneuver in their relations with the producer countries. But as the world economic crisis deepened, they gradually submitted. The alternative to "energy sharing" under U.S. leadership, Kissinger made clear, was an all-out trade war in which the United States would clearly hold the upper hand.

A sixteen-state International Energy Agency (ratified November 15) was set up for stockpiling and "sharing" through "majority decision." The largest number of weighted votes is held by the United States.

The energy crisis underscored the relative superiority of U.S. imperialism in relation to its leading competitors.

A major casualty of the increasing international rivalry was the attempt to structure closer pan-European capitalist integration through the European Economic Community. The Common Market's fragile unity was fractured when Italy and Denmark imposed limitations on imports originating from other EEC countries. The Wilson government decided to renegotiate the terms of Britain's membership. Efforts to achieve a "common float" of the currencies of the nine member countries failed.

West Germany was the only major country not to suffer balance-of-payments deficits resulting from oil imports. It was torn between demands from its European allies to adopt a "new push for the Common Market," and the option of refusing to underwrite the other EEC economies. The first course would mean absorbing



Puntito Critico

many essential commodities ranging from synthetic fabrics to fertilizer.

For the semicolonial countries that are dependent on imported oil, the increased prices had a particularly disastrous effect. The prices of essential imports soared, giving these countries some of the highest rates of inflation in the world. The enormous increases in the cost of fertilizer and food imports were a direct cause of the famine that ravaged large areas of Africa and the Indian subcontinent during the year.

Food exports are an additional example of the aggressive policies of U.S. corporations in the intensified struggle for markets. The United States is by far the world's largest food exporter, and its policies greatly affect world prices. In the July 29 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, Dick Roberts cited recent price increases in U.S. exports: corn (the U.S. accounts for 45% of world exports), up 220% since 1966; rice (U.S. share, 27%), up 361% since 1967; soybeans (U.S. share, 94%), up 233% since 1967; wheat (U.S. share, 32%, Canada, 21%, Australia, 12%), the price in Kansas City rose by 325% since 1966.



In Africa, inflation led to famine and hundreds of thousands starved.

& rising labor militancy

both the balance-of-payments deficits and the effects of accelerated inflation of three of its major partners, France, Italy, and Britain. The increased protectionism of other West European countries that the second course would necessarily entail could deal a decisive blow to West Germany's exports, the foundation of its prosperity.

Bonn's announcement December 12 that it was shifting to an expansionist, antirecessionary economic policy, designed to "reflate" its economy, signified that it had opted for the first course. But the announcement was accompanied by appeals from Chancellor Helmut Schmidt that Washington likewise give top priority to fighting the recession, rather than inflation. A strong "reflation" of the West German economy will tend to push up the prices of German exports, while encouraging investment and imports from its competitors.

The underlying concern of both Bonn and other West European capitals is that the deepening U.S. recession will drag their economies down in a worldwide depression. Thus they feel obliged to urge measures that would improve the economy of their worst capitalist rival.

Increased protectionism and aggressive efforts to break into each other's markets—these were the stock responses of all capitalist countries as each sought to shift part of the burden of the recession onto its competitors. In first line for attack were working-class rights and living standards. Among the early indications of the ugly measures in store were the moves by many countries to restrict immigration, and even deport foreign workers.

In Canada, the Trudeau government made a first test of its tightened immigration restrictions by moving to deport hundreds of Haitian immigrants, returning them to the bloody prisons of the Duvalier dictatorship. Ottawa's nationalist stance in response to the growing economic crisis includes plans to phase out oil exports to the United States (Canada is at present the source of almost 25% of U.S. oil imports) and to ban beef imports from the United States.

The Ford administration stepped up its efforts to deport "illegal" Mexican immigrants. The Wilson government used the Birmingham bombings to place restrictions on Irish immigration to Britain.

Women, immigrants, and national

minorities were among those most affected by the mounting layoffs. In the United States, unemployment among young Blacks reached 40%, leading some politicians to warn of a renewal of the ghetto revolts that swept major cities in the 1960s.

Under the impact of double-digit inflation in retail prices, workers' real wages were falling in most countries. The ruling class was confronted by a dilemma: Fear of the social consequences of a massive new rise in unemployment inhibited them from applying sharp deflationary policies; but continued high inflation rates, which could take a new surge forward as governments shifted to expansionist policies, raised a similar specter of mobilization by the working class in defense of its living standards.

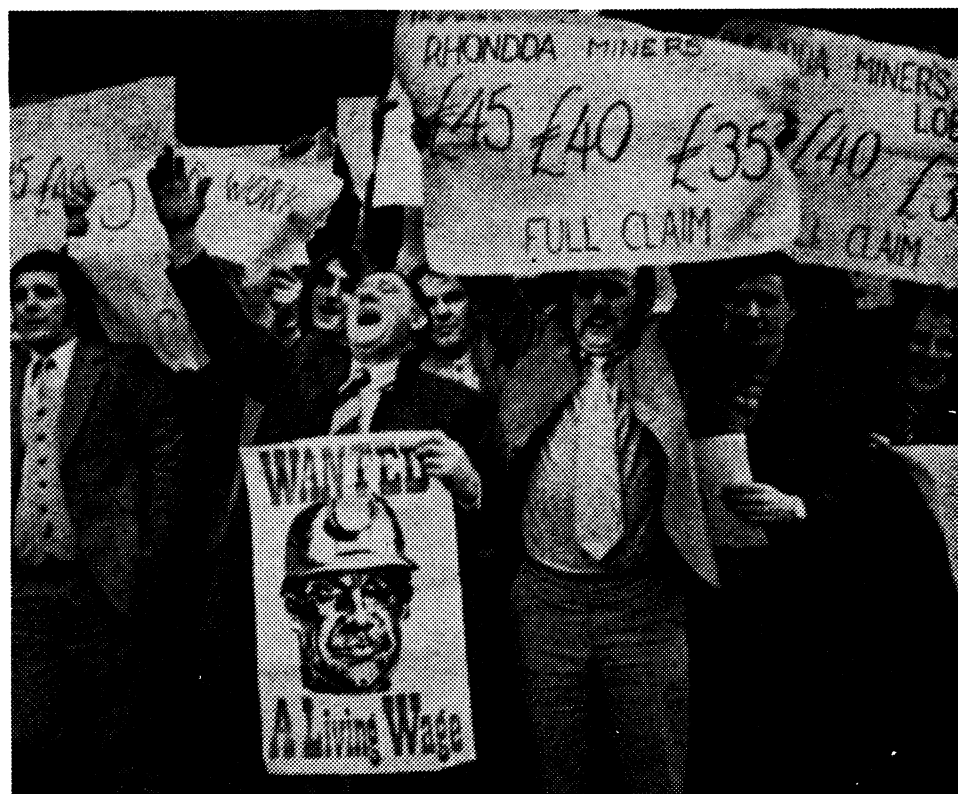
The dilemma was expressed by the editors of *Business Week*, in the U.S. magazine's November 9 issue: "Once it was possible to think in terms of a trade-off between inflation and unemployment. . . . In the 1950s and early 1960s, a little rise in one would be matched by a decline in the other. But if such a trade-off still exists, the numbers involved are so enormous that they are politically out of the question."

For one thing, even minor cutbacks in employment levels come as a shock to workers with high expectations conditioned by twenty-five years of general economic expansion. Moreover, the recession comes after a decade or more of radicalization throughout the capitalist world—a radicalization that has already extended deep into the working class.

Workers Respond to Crisis

At the outset of the current recession the working class was already making clear that it is not willing to pay the cost of a capitalist "solution" to the crisis. During 1974 workers' militancy continued to rise in Western Europe, and there were significant indications of similar combativity among the masses in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States.

In Canada, the trade unions demanded that contracts be reopened and renegotiated to provide catch-up cost-of-living clauses. Unions in Québec formed a Common Front to fight for "indexation"—an escalator clause in every union contract. On



British miners were victorious in most significant confrontation between labor and capital in 1974.

October 29, 40,000 workers marched in support of such demands in Montréal. The Trudeau government was defeated in parliament on a motion condemning its failure to stem inflation; it won the subsequent general election mainly on the strength of its claimed opposition to the wage-control proposals of the major opposition party.

In the United States, a series of militant strikes in the closing months of 1974—notably the miners' strike—indicated the mood of rising militancy among the workers.

The instability of bourgeois regimes in the face of the economic crisis was most evident in Italy, which experienced a succession of governmental crises spurred by the Christian Democratic-Social Democratic coalition's failure to counter one of the highest inflation rates in Europe, and a \$10 billion trade deficit.

The simultaneous occurrence of inflation and economic downturn was a major factor in the political instability that characterized southern Europe throughout 1974.

Perhaps the most significant test of forces between labor and capital took place in Britain. The Heath government, confronted by the miners' struggle to break through its wage-control policy, put most of British industry on a three-day workweek beginning in December 1973, and prepared an electoral confrontation with the labor

movement. But the February 1974 general election resulted in the Conservatives' defeat, and the new Labour government settled the strike by granting major concessions to the miners.

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Sri Lanka rebel leader sentenced to life in prison

Rebel youth leader Rohana Wijeweera was sentenced to life imprisonment December 20 for supposedly ordering the mass uprising in Sri Lanka in April 1971. The prosecution claimed that he planned the uprising from the prison where he was being held at the time.

Wijeweera is one of forty-one leaders of the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna

(JVP—People's Liberation Front) who were accused of leading the rebellion. Twenty-eight were sentenced along with Wijeweera to prison terms ranging from two to twelve years. The government has been conducting a show trial of the forty-one since June of 1972.

The armed resistance by rebel youth in April 1971 came in response to a

campaign of repression launched by the government the previous month, in which Wijeweera was arrested. The rebellion was crushed only after months of brutal military action by the coalition regime of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Thousands of young people were killed and more than 14,000 imprisoned during the state of emergency declared by the government following the April events.

At least 6,000 youth are still in prison. Only the forty-one JVP leaders on trial including Wijeweera are charged with violation of any laws.

Last May the International League for the Rights of Man submitted a report to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim charging that the holding of these 6,000 political prisoners without charge was a violation of human rights.

The League also called for repeal of the Criminal Justice Commissions

Act. This act established the special closed tribunals that are trying the rebels. The act permits the tribunals to function without the presence of the accused and to obtain confessions through torture. There is no right to appeal the commission's rulings.

Last August the commission barred one of the main defense attorneys, Bala Tampoe, from participating in the trials. Tampoe is general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist party, the Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International. These two organizations have consistently campaigned for the restoration of democratic rights in Sri Lanka and the release of all the political prisoners.

The order banning Tampoe for alleged "contemptuous conduct" toward the commission was issued while he was in the middle of an address to the tribunal.

Thirteen days in a concentration camp

An American teacher testifies on torture in Chile

[In his November 27 column, Jack Anderson printed extracts from a sworn affidavit by Amy Conger, an American art teacher tortured for thirteen days by the Chilean junta. We are reprinting below the full text of Conger's affidavit, which was inserted in the December 4 *Congressional Record* by Senator Edward Kennedy.]

I lived in Chile from April 19, 1972, until October 28, 1974. I was contracted by the University of Chile to teach History of Art in the Department of Fine Arts and Architecture in Santiago.¹ I taught in the University for more than a year before the coup of September 11, 1973, and for exactly 13 months afterwards. The History of Art and Art Education Department was purged after the coup and 64 of the 72 professors were dismissed. I was one of the 8 that remained.

From October 11th to October 24th I was imprisoned in the Academia de Guerra, a concentration camp run by the Air Force for political prisoners, for people who had already been condemned and others who were suspected of having at some time participated in subversive activities. The latter were considered guilty until they could prove their innocence. Everyone was incommunicado, in isolation. I was aware of about 60 prisoners but I knew there were more in other parts of the building.

I was brutally arrested October 11th about 7 p.m. by four men in street clothes with submachine guns. I was tightly handcuffed, repeatedly threatened and literally thrown in a car. I was never shown either identification or a detention order, contrary to the declarations which General Pinochet had made to the Chilean and international press. One of the men tried to pull off my sweater but it was impossible because I was handcuffed; needless to say I felt conspicuous passing through the city bare-breasted. They blindfolded me and drove me to an unknown place. Although I asked several times, they would never let me speak to the U. S. Consul. Later they categorically denied that I had asked. While I was blindfolded, they repeatedly interrogated and harassed me—frequently in English. Several of these Air Force officers had studied in the United States. Some of them were intensely anti-American: "I hate Americans—they are egotistical, stupid and selfish!" Two of them told me that, at the expense of the U. S. Air Force, they had toured the U. S. (Las Vegas, San Francisco, Disneyland, etc.) and had trained there (Florida, Colorado) for several months. I was impressed by the fact that two of the officers that were interrogating me were smoking U. S.

cigarettes, one of them Kools, a brand not available even in the black market in Chile.

They threatened me with rape² and the DINA (Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional: a military group specialized in brute physical torture, particularly electric shock, the rack, choking or drowning in excrement and pentothal). They "let me" fall down the stairs while I was blindfolded. They tortured people at my side while I was blindfolded. I heard horrible, prolonged screams in the night. I stood for hours and hours against a wall. They gave me two cups of water each day to drink, 900 calories of food, a perfect starvation diet. I underwent it for only 13 days. Others have been there for

against his mother, who had just been cleared and freed after 13 months of imprisonment. (In the actual moment when they went to arrest the two, the daughter had gone to the Women's Prison to finally accompany her mother home. Upon arriving and being told about their "visitors" by the neighbors, they beat it.) Juan also invented a story about a doctor, a neighbor, whom consequently they arrested. The MD was still jailed during my last week there. They couldn't find the weapons that he was supposed to have but they came across three bottles of tranquilizers and assumed that he had a clandestine clinic. They questioned me about the doctor twice.



Pinochet (in helmet) with accomplices. Leaders of rightist coup have organized systematic torture as a means of terrorizing Chilean population.

more than 8 months.

The bathroom had running water for only about 15 minutes a day to serve the needs of about 60 prisoners. The unflushable toilets were teeming with flies (it is Spring in Santiago) and brimming with great quantities of blood and excrement. The three stalls were calf high with newspaper which had served as toilet paper. There were no windows in the part occupied by the prisoners, 24 hours of artificial light, constant noise; 1 officer, 1 sub-officer and 6 guards nervously playing and experimenting with their submachine guns, cocking them, changing to automatic, etc. And a cassette player that repeated Joan Baez's "Happy Birthday."

I learned to peek around my blindfold. I saw two officers slugging and kicking Juan, an 18 year old, ex-seminary student whose only crime was to have been with me when they arrested me. I heard his sharp quick screams of No and afterwards, long cries of No, like a dying animal. Finally he confessed to anything they suggested. He invented charges against his sister, who is a very close friend of mine and who had never had anything to do with politics,

They left Juan standing up against the wall for entire days without food and water, handcuffed, blindfolded. Finally one day he fainted. They grabbed him by his handcuffs, dragged him along the floor, stood him up and leaned him against the wall. Since he had not regained consciousness, he fell again. So they repeated the same treatment three more times until they realized that it was hopeless and they threw him in a chair for two hours.

Finally they sent Juan to the DINA. When he returned his chest was covered with black and blue marks and with inflamed red points. His face was totally without color, as white as plaster—it seems, anemic because of blood loss. He had a deep cut about five inches long, open and unbandaged on the inside of his left arm. I never knew if this wound was the result of torture or if he had tried to commit suicide. At this point, it's the same thing.

Another young man returned from his trip to the DINA with disks broken in his spinal cord, and another in a wheelchair with a broken leg.

Frequently they would seat prisoners at a table next to me to write their "confessions." They would scream and plead for water; often they fell asleep. I remember one that cried "Give me water! I haven't had water in 7 days.

I haven't eaten. I haven't slept. Give me some water!" They answered him firmly "No. Later. We'll only give you water if you write a confession that we like." It seems that they have found this to be an effective technique for extracting confessions; however, it seems that they are almost always largely false.

As I witnessed all of this I remembered that only a week before General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte had repeated his declarations about torture in Chile: that in the first few days after the *coup* possibly there had been a few, isolated, accidental cases of torture, but now, it positively did not exist. And he promised adamantly to court-martial anyone involved in torture.

I was extremely fortunate. For them, I was a foreigner, a woman and a blond. I was offered two possibilities: signing a "confession" and being expelled from the country or being sent to the DINA and afterwards to a military court where I would receive a sentence of about 30 years. The officers knew perfectly well that my only transgression was to have known people whom they considered to be undesirable. For a Chilean this could have been worth a sentence of several years, or decades, but it is ticklish with a foreigner since it is commonly known that in March 1973, 44% of the country voted for the left, and consequently, today 44% of the country is undesirable.

On the 13th day I "confessed." I remember that the "confession" said something about extremist friends, a press for subversive literature and being a "front" for someone. The U. S. Consul arrived at the same time. He had been notified the day (30 hours) before that I was being held by the Air Force. On October 12th, the day after my arrest, my teaching assistant had gone to my house, had been arrested, humiliated, witnessed the wanton and sadistic mass destruction of my apartment and had been threatened with possible death, sure torture and imprisonment if he told anyone what he had seen. He told friends. He refused to call the U. S. Consulate because he knew that he was the only one that knew, and having heard about the connections between the U. S. Consulate and the CIA, he assumed that the Consul was working with the military. Finally friends in Buenos Aires found out, called my father in Chicago and he called the Consul in Santiago.

I was freed after 13 days, the most fortunate person in Chile. The nerve in my left thumb is still disabled (due to the tightness of the handcuffs on the first day and that they couldn't find a key for six hours), I had acquired an impressive vaginal discharge, I was somewhat black and blue, incredibly filthy and smelling not having changed my clothes or really washed in 13 days, badly dehydrated, 9 pounds lighter and with protein and cholesterol levels abnormally low. All totally insignificant. I cannot and do not want to forget the suffering of the Chilean political prisoners and the new-found misery of the Chilean people, all in the name of law, order and democracy.

1. I received a M.A. in History of Art from the University of Iowa in August 1966. In 1966-7 I taught at the University of Southern Illinois at Edwardsville and in February 1968 I passed my doctoral examinations at Washington University in St. Louis. Between 1968 and 1972 I studied and did research in Europe on 15th century fresco painting thanks to a Woodrow Wilson Pre-Doctoral Fellowship, a Fulbright Women Grant and an American Association of University Women Fellowship.

2. E.g., while they had me lying on a bed one said: "You know it's impossible to rape a woman if she doesn't want it."

...candidates propose new Bill of Rights

Continued from page 1

- Right to free medical care
- Right to secure retirement
- Right to know the truth about economic and political policies that affect our lives
- Right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs
- Right of workers to decide economic and political policy

The candidates plan to involve unionists, Blacks, women, and others who are fighting for social change in a discussion on the proposed Bill of Rights for working people.

"This is an initial draft," explained Reid. "We will be soliciting suggestions and reactions from others who are fighting against racism, sexism, and exploitation in this society."

Support to busing

Reid said a major theme of the campaign will be her party's support to the struggle for Black liberation.

"Peter Camejo and I were among the thousands who went to Boston on Dec. 14 to protest the racist drive against busing," she said. "We will continue to help focus national attention on the crisis facing Black people there."

"We call for a massive nationwide mobilization to protest this racist offensive. We demand that federal troops be sent to Boston to enforce the federal court order and keep the buses rolling. Our party stands 100 percent behind the struggles of Blacks, women, and other especially oppressed people," said Reid.

Nan Bailey, speaking for the Young Socialist Alliance, said, "Tens of thousands of young people are fed up with the present system and its two parties—the Democrats and Republicans. We are fed up with the lies, corruption, and oppression created by this system."

"We are fed up with a society that puts profits ahead of human needs. We want a society that we can believe in and commit ourselves to. We want a socialist society. That's what Camejo and Reid are campaigning for and that's why we support them."

Bailey is a national leader of the YSA, which voted at its national convention to support the Camejo-Reid ticket. "The SWP candidates support the YSA, and we expect that in winning support for them, we will win many people to the YSA," said Bailey.

She announced that the YSA will put 15 campaign teams on the road in different parts of the country, starting

in February. "They will fan out across the country, speaking at high schools and campuses and distributing campaign literature. We'll speak to thousands about the socialist alternative for 1976," Bailey said.

Working-class independence

"Working people need their own independent organizations to fight for their needs," said Camejo. He pointed to history to illustrate his point.

"The colonists who fought against British rule and the abolitionists who fought against slavery learned they could have no faith in colonial governors or slave-owner parties. They formed their own organizations, including continental congresses, Black conventions, and political parties."

"This lesson holds good for today. Working people must break with the Democratic and Republican parties, which were established to defend the profits of big business."

"We urge all working people who are fed up with the Democratic and Republican parties to support our campaign as an alternative to their corrupt rule."

"Working people need a mass party of their own. The labor officials support the self-defeating policy of relying on the two capitalist parties. We support the building of an independent labor party based on the trade unions."

"We also think Blacks and Chicanos would benefit from having mass parties of their own. Such parties could point the way for the working class as a whole."

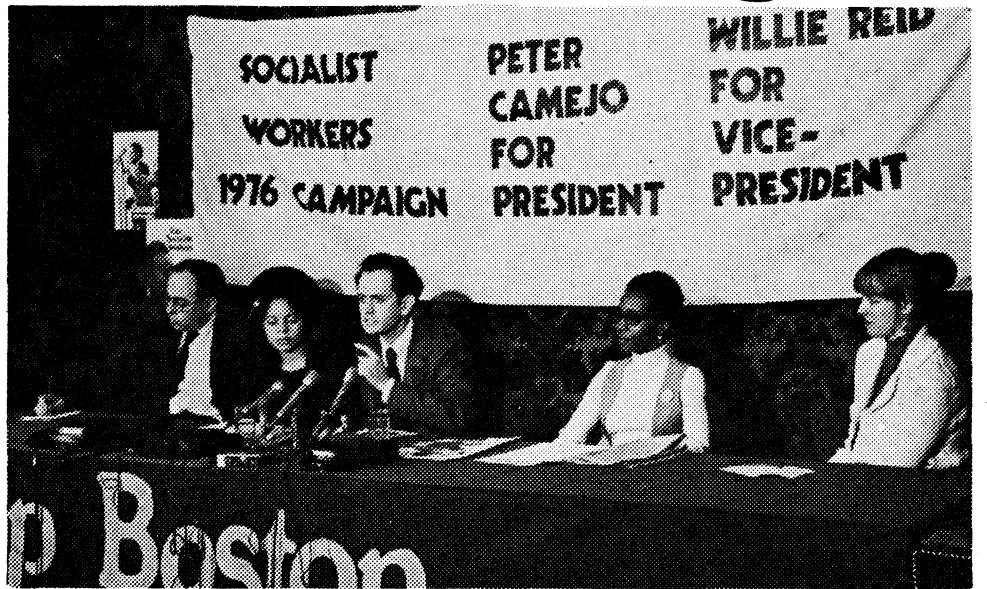
War threat

Camejo highlighted the increasing threat of war. "Even the question of whether the world will continue to exist is posed by this insane system," he said.

He called the recent arms agreement with the Soviet Union a hoax. "This so-called peace agreement says that both sides should only be able to kill each other six or seven times over! It is a hypocritical double-talking deal in which Washington and the bureaucrats in Moscow join hands in lying to the people of the world."

"There will be no peace in this world until the cause of imperialist wars comes to an end—until the system that bases itself on the competition for markets is abolished."

Douglas Jenness announced that the campaign committee is carrying out



Militant/Pat Hayes

News conference announcing Socialist Workers presidential campaign. Participants (left to right) are Douglas Jenness, Nan Bailey, Peter Camejo, Willie Mae Reid, and Barbara Mutnick.

a study of election requirements in all 50 states. "We are confident that the SWP will have ballot status in more states than we did in 1972," he said. The party was on the ballot in 23 states in the last presidential election. He also said that the SWP is looking into legal challenges to unconstitutional and restrictive election laws.

He announced that Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Fred Halstead, and Andrew Pulley will serve as cochairpersons of the national campaign committee.

Heisler, the party's candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois in 1974, is a railroad worker and a member of the United Transportation Union. Linda Jenness and Fred Halstead were the SWP presidential candidates in 1972 and 1968, respectively, and Andrew Pulley was the party's 1972 vice-presidential candidate.

Camejo, Heisler, and Linda Jenness will begin nationwide tours in February. Reid will concentrate her campaigning in the Chicago area, leading up to the mayoral election in April.

1,000 attend rally

On Dec. 29, a spirited campaign rally took place at the Jefferson Hotel. One thousand people heard speeches by Camejo and Reid, and by Linda Jenness, Ed Heisler, Nan Bailey, and Robert Harper. (See pages 14-15 for speeches of Camejo, Reid, and Jenness.) Barbara Mutnick chaired the rally. Bill Clayton, Milwaukee YSA organizer, entertained the crowd with songs he wrote while in prison.

Heisler denounced government attacks on civil liberties:

"The CIA compiled files on 10,000 antiwar activists, and organized illegal wiretaps and break-ins of radical organizations."

"FBI agents are monitoring the YSA convention and this rally to supposedly uncover illegal plots to make a revolution—as if a revolution can be plotted and carried out behind the backs and without the participation of the people!"

"No, we're not the ones who are plotting. The Democrats and Republicans plot and conspire every day against you, me, and the masses of people around the world. If the rulers are looking for a conspiracy, we'll give them the address of the conspirators—1600 Pennsylvania Ave."

"In our presidential campaign we're going to expose the real conspirators. We're going to fight to defend and extend our democratic rights and win

some new rights. We're going to demand that the CIA and FBI be abolished, and we're going to demand that all the secret files be opened."

Robert Harper, a leader of the Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association, spoke at the rally to urge support for the National Student Conference Against Racism, which will be held in Boston Feb. 14-16. Harper is a coordinator of the student committee that organized the Dec. 13 National Teach-In Against Racism and helped organize the Dec. 14 freedom march in Boston. The student conference will discuss the next steps in an ongoing campaign to defend the rights of Black students to desegregated schools in Boston.

Messages of support

Peace and civil rights figures sent messages to the rally supporting the SWP's right to run for office without government harassment.

Longtime southern civil rights fighter Carl Braden said in his letter, "... I certainly support the right of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid to run for the highest political offices in the country, although I may not vote for them. I think that Peter was among the first people to come to our defense when Anne [Braden] and I were charged with sedition the first time."

Messages were also read from Ruth Gage-Colby, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Georgina Hoggard, community school board member in New York City's District 1; attorney Vincent Hallinan; and Professor Noam Chomsky, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Linda Jenness appealed to the audience to contribute funds to enable the campaign to print hundreds of thousands of copies of the Bill of Rights for working people. The response from the predominantly young crowd was beyond anyone's expectations. \$21,000 was collected, the vast majority of which came in contributions of \$25 or less.

Both Camejo and Reid were greeted with standing ovations at the end of their speeches.

Reid expressed the spirit of the supporters of the SWP campaign when she said, "Our campaign will be audacious because we have a big job to do. Like the revolutionaries in the first American revolution and the Civil War, we will be challenging a corrupt social system and fighting for revolutionary change. And we are confident we can win."



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Willie Mae Reid at Dec. 14 March for Freedom in Boston.

'The rulers fear us because we are

The following are excerpts from three speeches given at the rally launching the 1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. The rally, held in St. Louis, was attended by 1,000 people. Peter Camejo is running for president; Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. Linda Jenness, who ran for president on the SWP ticket in 1972, is national cochairperson of the 1976 campaign committee.

Jenness

After the first American revolution, the masses of people in the colonies, who had just won their independence from the tyranny of the British king, demanded that certain amendments be made to the Constitution.

They were afraid that the new government would do the same thing the king and his colonial administrators had done. The king, remember, thought he had the prerogative to trample on the rights of the colonists. You know, when the revolutionaries and rebels would get together to discuss their goals and aspirations, the king would spy on them!

The revolutionaries would have conventions, and a lot of people would come and listen to Sam Adams, Marcy Otis Warren, and others. They would have literature tables where they would sell copies of Tom Paine's pamphlets. And do you know what that king would do? He would have his informers masquerade as part of the convention. They would sit and take notes and then report back to the king what went on.

Well, the people got so mad at that king, that they made a revolution—and all the king's spies couldn't stop it!

After the revolution, they demanded that the Bill of Rights be added to the Constitution. Included in the Bill of Rights were freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion. The right to bear arms and protection from unreasonable searches and seizures.

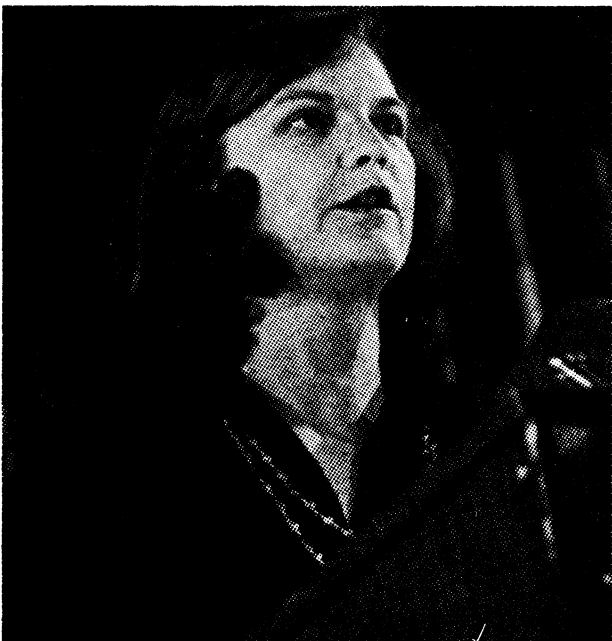
These elementary freedoms have had to be fought for and defended every inch of the way against witch-hunters, racists, and the United States government.

200 years of capitalism

If capitalism ever had a chance to prove that it could fulfill the promise it held out 200 years ago, of liberty and equality for all, and a decent standard of living for everyone, it was right here in this country. The capitalists had everything at their disposal: a country with rich farmlands, vast supplies of coal and iron, green forests, and rivers for power and navigation criss-crossing the country. It was able to import millions of workers for the necessary labor power.

Two hundred years, and what have the capitalists done? They have turned this land of promise into a monster, hated around the world. We can't breathe the air or drink the water without getting sick. We can't find jobs.

These new tyrants have transformed the land of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, into



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

LINDA JENNESS: 'We need a new Bill of Rights for working people.'



Militant/Howard Petrick

Enthusiastic crowd of 1,000 at rally to launch Socialist Workers 1976 presidential campaign

the land of death, repression, and the pursuit of profits.

To protect ourselves from this tyranny, not only do we need to defend the old Bill of Rights, but we must add a new Bill of Rights for working people. Our first piece of campaign literature is a draft of what such a Bill of Rights would look like.

We propose the following rights: the right to a job; the right to an adequate income; the right to free education and free medical care; the right to a secure retirement.

We propose: the right to know the truth about economic and political policies that affect our lives; the right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs; and the right of the American working class to decide economic and political policy.

In preparing for the first American revolution, the revolutionists distributed millions of leaflets and pamphlets explaining the justice of their cause and their confidence in their triumph. And in preparing for the socialist revolution, we are going to do exactly the same.

Reid

The Democrats and Republicans preach to us working people about God and country. They tell us that we must be loyal, proud, and committed to our present "superior" way of life.

Well, I don't think the American people are going to be overly enthusiastic about the bicentennial celebration of "American superiority." Their faith in the government and big business is at an all-time low. Patriotic hogwash will be hard to sell.

The American people are instead concerned about living in an economic crisis. We're concerned about rising unemployment and about the highest cost of living we've had in 27 years.

For hundreds of thousands of Americans, this Christmas was a time of layoffs instead of bonuses. These are the kinds of issues on our minds. These are the problems Americans want solutions to; solutions that Ford and Congress have not and will not provide.

The solutions they propose are one part government assistance and 99 parts cutbacks and repression. They say: if we're eating meat, we should stop; if we're eating twice a day, we should eat every other day; if we're not eating at all, swallow twice as fast. This activates the salivary glands so that the stomach thinks it's being filled.

Lessons of Boston

People are getting a real lesson on the role of racism in this society with the situation in Boston and the attacks on undocumented workers. Here we are 20 years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated education, and a federal court order to implement desegregation in Boston is met with the most reactionary response.

Even when the racists openly took to the streets,

violently attacking Blacks at will, government officials could not be moved to intervene on behalf of the Black community. Then around the massive demonstration, Dec. 14, the fires of concern began to be lit in the chambers of our national legislature, and they defeated the antibusing Holt amendment. This method of mass action is the very same method it has taken to win all of the gains we have ever made.

In periods of economic tightening, the government makes attacks on all nonwhite people. Mexican workers are allowed to come across the border in large numbers when the big farmers need lots of cheap labor for harvesting. But when economic hard times come, the undocumented worker becomes the "illegal alien." We are told that they undermine the American Way of Life.

The plight of the migrant worker here is living proof of the lie of what is known as the capitalist work ethic. These people work longer hours each day than any other workers in this country and make pennies.

Agribusiness makes billions off their labor. But what do they get in return? They are victims of the insecticides used on the crops they harvest. They're herded together in cramped, overcrowded, unclean living quarters. There are no schools or medical care or retirement benefits for migrants. They can't even get their own union recognized by the growers. Then, when it suits the interests of the employers, they are hounded out of the country.

The Statue of Liberty was placed off the shore of New York City many years ago to welcome people from around the world. Then she said, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free." Now the poor woman is out there screaming, "Go away, go back to where you came from. We can't even take care of our own."

Attacks on workers

When the economy tightens, the gains made by all sectors of the working class come under attack. The affirmative-action programs won through the struggle of women, Blacks, and other minorities are under attack.

Even when the majority of Americans wants to redefine the role of women in this society, the government is blocking us. Access to abortions is being blocked in many states. The Equal Rights Amendment still sits in the state legislatures.

Racist attacks extend to workers in other countries as well. Witness the anti-Arab hysteria over Mideast oil prices. Witness the organized demonstrations against products made by workers in other countries. By shamelessly championing the "buy American" campaign, the labor bureaucrats avoid finding real solutions to the problems of working people. They play right into the hands of the capitalists, who always seek to pit workers here against workers abroad.

The Socialist Workers Party 1976 campaign will be speaking for the vast majority of people in this country. Our campaign platform is based on *real* solutions to the problems of working people.

We will be voicing the demands of Blacks, Chi-

the opposite of all they stand for'

canos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Native Americans for the right to self-determination. Our program calls for an end to the national borders that create the so-called aliens. We say workers across the border have a right to a job in this country with full pay and benefits.

We demand that racism be answered by using all the force that's necessary. Federal troops must be sent to Boston to enforce the federal law; to keep those buses rolling and to turn back, demoralize, and dissipate the racist mobs there.

Our campaign will be speaking for the needs of women as we continue to organize and fight for equal rights. Our campaign will be helping to build the Coalition of Labor Union Women and other organized women's groups in cities across the country.

As a candidate, I'll be speaking for all working people in demanding an end to unemployment and inflation through massive public works programs, a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, and cost-of-living clauses to protect the income of all working people.

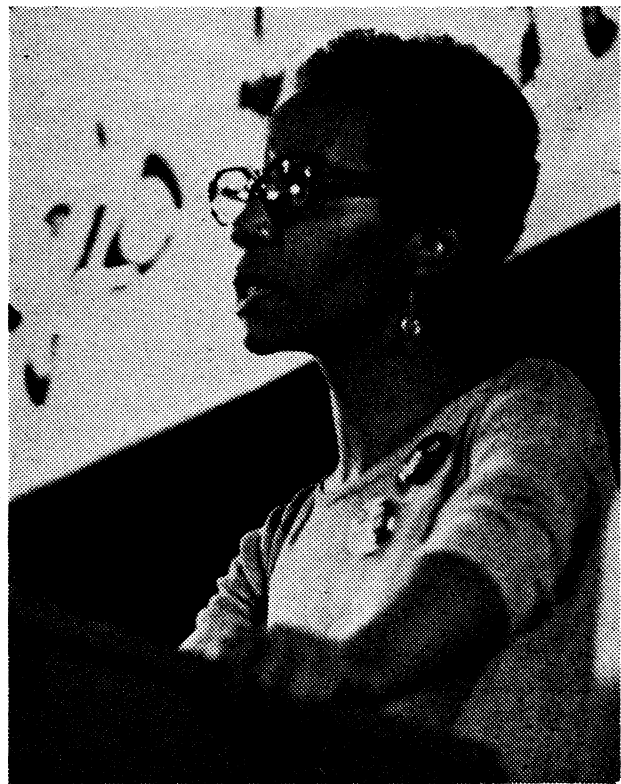
'Tyranny of the majority'

The U. S. representative to the United Nations, John Scali, recently lashed out at the colonial countries for voting to oust South Africa from the UN and inviting Yasir Arafat to speak there. Scali said that people who supported these things were exercising a "tyranny of the majority."

The United States has been the bulwark of racism and reaction on a worldwide scale. But each year this country becomes more and more isolated. There is more opposition to its policies here and abroad.

Our 1976 campaign will be speaking for that international majority that has no interest in maintaining this racist status quo. We will fight with all those who have the audacity to challenge the billionaires who dominate this country and try to dominate the world.

Our campaign will be audacious because we have a big job to do. Like the revolutionists in the first American revolution and the Civil War we will be challenging a corrupt social system and fighting for revolutionary change. We are confident that we will win.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

WILLIE MAE REID: 'Our campaign will be audacious because we have a big job to do.'

Camejo

The United States is the richest country in the world. The technology we have created means that we can produce more wealth with less labor and that we should be able to have higher pay and fewer hours of work each year. This added wealth should also mean better education, recreation, and a general improvement in the quality of life.

But what is the reality in capitalist America? We see spiraling prices and millions of people out

of work. Twenty-five million live in outright poverty. Farmers are being paid not to produce when there is hunger in the world. There are deliberately created shortages of energy and food. We see rising racism against Blacks and against Arabs, and discrimination against women.

Who is making these decisions? Who is deciding to cut production, to raise prices, and create scarcities?

We are told that we live in a country where the American people make the decisions. If this is true, we are an odd people. We could have better housing, and a shorter workweek, and better education. But no—we choose to cut our pay; we choose to suddenly quit work by the hundreds of thousands. This is what you would have to deduce if you listen to what we are taught in school and told by the politicians.

We are ruled by an aristocracy—an aristocracy that is decided by birth. We did not elect the Rockefellers, DuPonts, Morgans, Carnegies, and others who are running our lives. But they are the ones who are making the decisions. They are the ones who are raising prices and firing workers. And they do this because their system functions for one simple end—profits.

After we get through a year's work and produce all the wealth, they shoplift \$100-billion. It is called profit. Then they take out another \$100-billion for the war machine, which helps no one. You can't drive tanks to work. You can't eat bullets.

Human rights, not property rights

As socialists we would change this. We say: Not one penny to the rich as long as one worker is being fired from his or her job, as long as one person in this country or the world is going hungry.

We consider the right to a job, a living wage, decent medical care, education, retirement, and our civil and political rights—the rights that take first place. And when they come into conflict with the rights of profit or private property, human beings must be put first.

When the first centennial approached, the question that plagued this society was that chattel slavery existed. The whole society divided around this question. People had to choose sides.

As we approach the second centennial, the fundamental problem facing this society is the conflict between private property and profits on the one hand, and human needs on the other. Just as there was a class conflict, under slavery, between slaves and slave owners, today there is a class conflict between property owners and wage slaves. And people have to choose which side they are on.

Now, what do the Democrats and Republicans offer us?

The Democrats propose "wage and price controls." That's code language for a wage cut. Remember what happened during the "price freeze"? Prices rose while wages were held down.

The Republicans, on the other hand, say we need to "cut back." You see we are in a crisis. The crisis is that we're getting less. How do we overcome it? According to Ford, we should tighten our belts and get even less!

One hundred years from now the psychiatrists will study this carefully. How could it be that the leader of the nation could go before the people and tell them: "Because you have less we'll solve this by giving you even less."

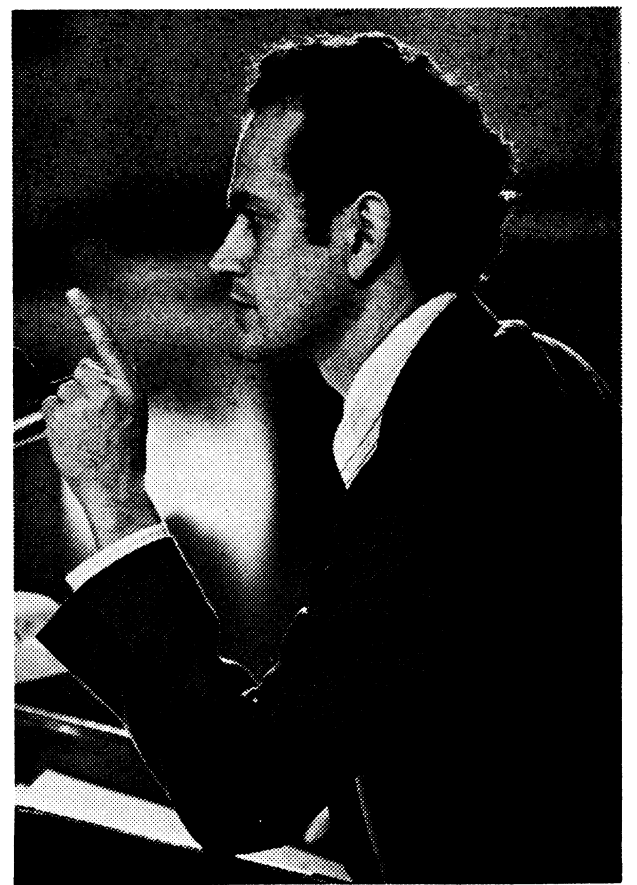
So you have a choice in 1976. If you want inflation, you can vote Democratic; if you want unemployment, you can vote Republican. And you can split your ticket if you want stagflation.

FBI harassment

It is interesting to examine the arguments the FBI gives for being here to spy on us tonight. They say that possibly our party is preparing to do something illegal, so they must be very alert and investigate.

Now we would like to point to some circumstantial evidence regarding a particular political party. This party's recent principal leader is now in California, instead of Washington, D.C., because of criminal activity. The second in command was taking cash under the table. And most of the staff they had running the White House is now in prison or possibly on its way.

This *could* be considered prima facie evidence



Militant/Mark Satinoff

PETER CAMEJO: 'We say not one more penny to the rich as long as one worker is being fired.'

that the Republicans *might* engage in illegal activities. But the FBI, after due consideration, has decided that they will not investigate this political party.

Instead, they pick on our political party—the Socialist Workers Party. This is after they have tried for 34 years to come up with something we do that is illegal, and produced nothing. They even tried having agents do it themselves!

What do they fear?

What is it that they fear? The threat is not our numbers. It is certainly not our wealth. The threat is the ideals we stand for. They instinctively feel this will lead to their destruction. They sense that we are incorruptible, that our entire movement is not in it for personal benefit.

They sense that we are the opposite of everything they stand for; that we are a movement that is against all the corruption, dishonesty, and degeneration that is a way of life for them.

We are a movement that rejects the idea that one person should live in a mansion while another lives in a slum. We are a movement that says that all people in this world are equal, and we can live as one enormous humankind without wars or conflicts. And we say that this is not utopian.

This is what the great majority of humanity is striving for—but it is running into a roadblock. That roadblock is the handful of wealthy individuals who believe that they are superior to you and me. Who believe they have the right by birth to rule over us. Who feel no sympathy in their hearts as millions of people starve. Who in cold-blooded calculation planned the genocide of the Vietnamese people because they dared to stand up against them.

The candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties will all represent this class. The SWP campaign will be its opposite.

We intend to fight in this campaign on all fronts. We will fight for the most immediate demands of working people, the oppressed nationalities, and women.

We'll fight for the escalator clause. We'll fight for busing. We are already in the middle of a movement to build a mass response in this country for the right of Black students to an equal education.

We will fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and equality on the job for women. We'll fight for the right of Chicanos, in the fields, to their own union, and against deportations.

But our campaign is more than this. Our campaign is a tool for building a mass movement and building the revolutionary party of the third American revolution. Our campaign is one more step toward ending the epoch of barbarism and opening the era of socialism and civilization.

Camejo: 'on front line of struggle'

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Peter Camejo has spent much of his life on the front line of struggles to advance the rights and well-being of working people.

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans running for president, Camejo is an activist in struggles against racist oppression and was a leader of the massive movement against the Vietnam war.

Camejo, 35, has been a member of the Socialist Workers Party since 1959. Active in the student movement of the early 1960s, he joined in the picketing and boycott of Woolworth stores for their segregationist policies in the South. Camejo also became a leading defender of the Cuban revolution, demanding an end to United States attempts to crush it militarily.

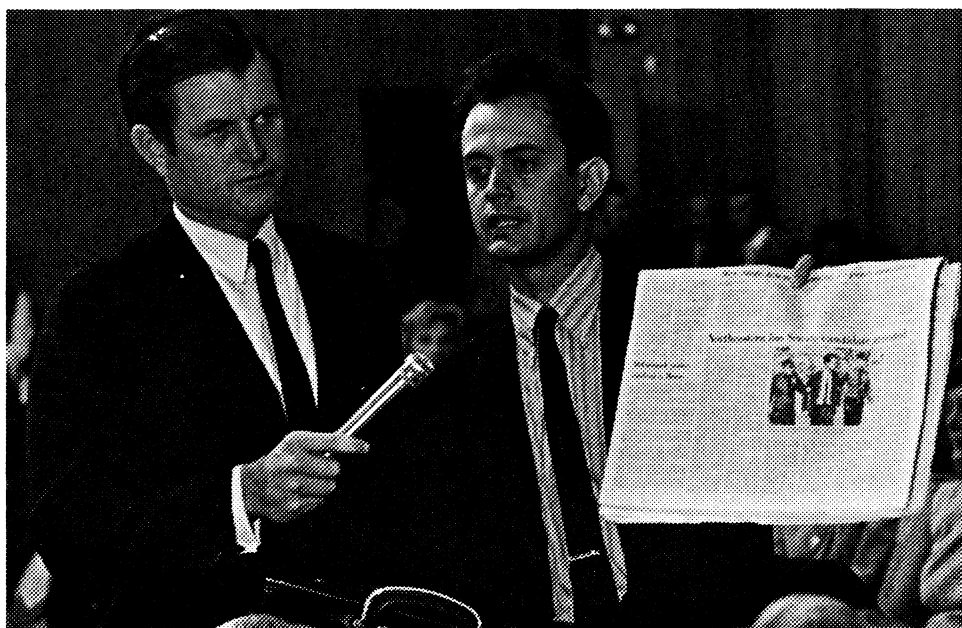
Camejo became the national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1962, and in the mid-1960s he was a leader of the student and antiwar movements in Berkeley, Calif.

Denounced by California Governor Ronald Reagan as "involved in every large-scale demonstration," Camejo ran for a seat on the University of California student senate. He won the election with the highest vote total of all those elected. The very same day, he was suspended by the university for speaking at an antiwar rally of 10,000 held in defiance of a ban on mass protests. Three thousand students occupied university buildings to protest Camejo's suspension.

In the student struggles during the next two years, Camejo became known as the central leader of the student movement at Berkeley and as one of its most outstanding speakers.

He was arrested several times for his leading role in antiwar demonstrations and struggles for the right to protest, including once on a conspiracy charge. Camejo was never convicted on any of the charges, and he was found innocent of the conspiracy charge after a jury trial.

In 1967, Camejo's brother Daniel



Militant/Bob Horn

Camejo confronts Edward Kennedy, his opponent in the 1970 Massachusetts senate race. Boston Globe reported Camejo got bigger response from students.

Camejo was arrested and tortured on false charges in Mexico City. When Peter Camejo went to Mexico to try to get his brother legal aid, he was taken into custody by the Mexican police and deported back to the United States.

In subsequent years, Camejo made a number of trips to Latin America and has helped to aid the victims of repressive regimes there.

After leaving Berkeley in 1968, he spent three months in Cuba as a guest of the Cuban government. Camejo then continued his socialist and antiwar activities in Boston and New York.

In 1969 Camejo spoke to 100,000 people at the Oct. 15 antiwar moratorium in Boston. In a book on the moratorium demonstration, *Marching Nowhere*, Ken Hurwitz points out that Camejo was better received than Senator George McGovern, who spoke from the same platform that day. For Camejo, Hurwitz said, "the crowd applauded until their arms were weary."

In 1970 Camejo was a candidate for U.S. Senate in Massachusetts, and one of his opponents was Senator Edward Kennedy. The pro-Kennedy *Boston Globe* admitted, "The young man Camejo draws a big response from students at greater Boston campuses who hear him, more than Senator Edward Kennedy on the same campus forum. . . ."

Although there are 10 to 15 million U.S. citizens of Latin American descent, Camejo is the first to be a candidate for president of the United States. He was born in New York City of Venezuelan parents and is fluent in Spanish. He has worked at unskilled jobs and as a computer operator. Camejo lives in New York City.

He is the author of: "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S."; "Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action"; "Why Guevara's Guerrilla Strategy Has No Future"; and several pamphlets on Chile and other Latin American countries.

Support the socialist presidential ticket

The following materials are available from the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee at 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

— "SWP Proposal for a Bill of Rights for Working People": 3 cents each; 2 cents each for 1,000 or more.

— Camejo photo button and Reid photo button: 35 cents each; 20 cents each for 50 or more; 15 cents each for 300 or more.

— "Vote Socialist Workers Party" button: 30 cents each; 20 cents each for 50 or more; 15 cents each for 300 or more.

— "Camejo for President" poster and "Reid for Vice-President" poster: 20 cents each; 10 cents each for 100 or more.

Enclosed is \$_____ for: () Bill of Rights booklets, () Camejo buttons, () Reid buttons, () Vote SWP buttons, () Camejo posters, () Reid posters. (Make check payable to Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee.)

Help support the socialist campaign. Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to support the Camejo-Reid ticket.

Name _____

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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

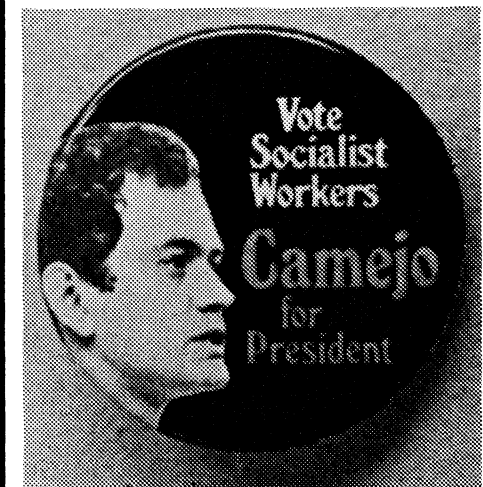
Phone _____

Occupation/School/Organization _____

Business address _____

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.



Reid: fighter for Black civil rights

Willie Mae Reid has worked all her life. She has firsthand experience with the problems facing Blacks and other working people in this country.

Reid, 35, is a resident of Chicago, Ill. She has worked there as a garment worker, an office worker, and a computer programmer. Before coming to Chicago, she worked in her hometown of Memphis, Tenn., as a kitchen worker. As a child, she spent three months a year picking cotton in the rural South.

Reid spent her entire youth in the officially segregated "Jim Crow" South. In 1958, when the civil rights movement came to Memphis, she joined the "ride-ins" and bus boycott, which ended the segregated seating for Black people on city buses.

After moving to Chicago and working for several years, Reid became a student at Loop Junior College, joined the Afro-American society there, and took part in a struggle to get Black studies courses included in the curriculum. During this time she was influenced by the ideas of Malcolm X, whose speeches she listened to on radio and TV.

Beginning in 1968, Reid devoted much of her time to working with a West Side Chicago community group, Together One Community (TOC), that

had been organized around tenants' grievances. In 1969, shaken by the police murder of Black Panther Fred Hampton, whom she had known, Reid left school and returned to work. She continued to devote all her spare time to TOC.

In 1970, Together One Community joined with other West Side groups to fight for the construction of low- and moderate-income housing. This struggle for decent housing, in which Reid played an active role, pitted Blacks on the West Side against Richard Daley's Democratic Party machine and against the bureaucratic and corrupt local, state, and federal housing agencies.

In the early 1970s, Willie Mae Reid continued to build struggles in the Black community, including African Liberation Day activities in support of the fight of the Portuguese colonies for independence. She was also active in support of the September 1973 demonstration for "Jobs and Economic Justice" organized by Operation PUSH and a number of trade unions.

A supporter of women's liberation, she helped to organize the Women's Abortion Action Coalition, a Chicago group favoring women's right to abortion.

In 1971 Reid began her involvement in socialist activities, and in 1974 she ran for public office on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. The *Chicago Sun-Times* described her as a "fiery black candidate for U.S. representative from the South Side's 1st Congressional District."

Reid's experience in struggles to better the conditions in Chicago's Black community convinced her that Black people must organize their political power independent of the Democratic and Republican parties if change is to occur.

In the fall of 1974, her convictions led her to challenge the entire Daley machine by announcing her candidacy for mayor of Chicago as a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Reid's supporters collected more than 65,000 signatures to qualify her for the ballot. If the fight to have these signatures certified is successful, Reid will be the first third-party challenger to Daley ever to win a place on the ballot.

After visiting Boston during the struggle to desegregate schools there, Reid played an active role in organizing Chicago support for the Dec. 14, 1974, Freedom March on Boston against school segregation.

Detente vs. world revolution

Vladivostok pact no brake on arms race

First of a series

By CAROLINE LUND

At the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Vladivostok last November, Kremlin leader Leonid Brezhnev turned to President Gerald Ford and said that if a strategic arms agreement is finally achieved, "you and I will be thanked by all the peoples of the world."

He continued, "I think we have done a good job in this respect, here in Vladivostok."

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger called the Vladivostok arms agreement "a breakthrough." Ford claimed, "We have averted an arms race of unbelievable cost."

But since then it has become abundantly clear that the "peoples of the world" have nothing at all for which to be thankful in the Vladivostok arms accord. It is merely one more in the series of so-called "arms limitation" accords that have accompanied each of the Washington-Moscow détente extravaganzas since 1972—accords that have done nothing to lessen the nuclear peril.

Rather, the past three years of détente have seen the continued growth of the U.S. military machine, the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, and a doubling of U.S. arms sales abroad in the past year alone. And the world has moved closer to nuclear showdown in the Middle East.

U.S. war secretary James Schlesinger, a super-"hawk," hailed the Vladivostok arms agreement, explaining that it would mean not a reduction of arms, but an "upward adjustment" of the military budget. Under the agreement, the United States will build more missile submarines, new strategic bombers, and larger intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Newsweek concluded that in the Vladivostok accord, Ford and Brezhnev "had not agreed to stop the arms race," but "had simply chalked in the boundaries within which both superpowers could comfortably sprint toward ever more sophisticated, devastating—and expensive—nuclear weapons."

The agreement allows each country to have 1,200 missiles with multiple nuclear warheads. According to former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, 400 nuclear warheads are enough to destroy three-fourths of Soviet industry and annihilate 74 million Soviet citizens. The U.S. already has more than 12 times that many warheads deployed on its 800 MIRV missiles—in addition to 900 more single-warhead missiles and hundreds of strategic nuclear bombers and short-range missiles.

'Strangelovian levels'

The Vladivostok accord, said *Newsweek*, thus creates "a distinct possibility—if not a certainty—that both countries would make a major increase in their total nuclear warheads, thereby keeping the balance of terror between the two superpowers at Strangelovian levels."

The pact will mean no reduction in the inflationary military budget—just the opposite. Pentagon spending will increase in coming years to keep up with the "ceilings" indicated in the pact. The Pentagon has projected a 25 percent increase in the military budget (currently at \$84-billion) over the next two or three years.

The Vladivostok pact was so clearly an arms race accord rather than an arms limitation accord that Democratic Party politicians saw an open-



Nuclear ceiling

Auth, Philadelphia Inquirer

ing for partisan advantage and opened up criticism of the pact.

The barrage of criticism apparently jogged Kissinger's memory, and he explained Dec. 22 that actually the Vladivostok accord provided that reductions in the arms ceilings could be negotiated prior to the expiration of the pact in 1985. This provision is contained, Kissinger said, in a still-secret "aide-mémoire," a diplomatic term for the written account of what was agreed to.

However, as the *New York Times* pointed out editorially Dec. 26, "the 'reductions' that are being held out for the future are not cutbacks from existing nuclear arms levels but merely reductions in the extremely high ceilings set by the Vladivostok accord."

Double-speak

The official double-speak surrounding the arms pact was too much to take, even for the capitalist newspapers. Commenting on the diplomacy of lies presided over by Kissinger, *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis noted: "The man who pronounced the Vladivostok agreement a great 'breakthrough' is the same man who told us just before the 1972 election that peace was 'at hand' in Vietnam. . . . Two years later there is no peace, and he insists that the United States continue to support the war in Vietnam and Cambodia."

It should be remembered that an arms accord was also the most highly publicized aspect of Nixon's original summit in Moscow in May of 1972. The real meaning of that accord for world peace could be judged from the fact that it was signed at the height of the U.S. war against Vietnam. Only five weeks before Nixon arrived in Moscow to "talk peace," U.S. bombers were dropping on Hanoi in one day three-quarters of the destructive power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945.

The Vladivostok accord has just as little meaning for real peace in the world. While Ford was signing it, administration officials were publicly threatening U.S. armed intervention to seize Mideast oil fields.

Ford's defenders

In this context of exposure of the hypocrisy of the Vladivostok arms pact, Ford and Kissinger do, however, have some staunch defenders: the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin and their slavish followers in the U.S., the Communist Party.

Echoing Kissinger, the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Stalinists, hailed the pact on Nov. 26 as "a

breakthrough towards stable world peace."

The *Daily World* approvingly quoted White House press secretary Ron Nessen as saying, "It is one of the most significant agreements since World War II." Equal credibility is given to Kissinger's statement that "the back of this thing [the arms race] is broken."

Covering up the admitted fact that the U.S. military budget will rise despite the pact, the *Daily World* baldly asserts:

"If anyone is likely to gain more than others from the agreement, it is the average U.S. taxpayer, from whose paycheck have come the hundreds of billions of dollars to finance the Pentagon's arms programs."

How did the Stalinists get themselves into the position of hailing a pact that gives the green light to the arms race and then having to make the fantastic claim that this will lower the arms budget?

It stems from their attitude toward the détente—the be-all and end-all of Stalinist policy. An editorial in the Nov. 26 *Daily World* explained: "While the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons was the major issue decided at Vladivostok, views expressed on other urgent matters reflected the détente principle of strengthening and making irreversible the peaceful cooperative relationship of the USA and USSR."

The editorial concludes: "The Ford-Brezhnev meeting gave ample proof that détente can become irreversible and, with it, guarantee security and peace for all."

Everlasting peace isn't the only benefit to be derived from détente, according to the *Daily World*. The "economic benefits" of the détente for the American people "would be of special value in the present critical times" for U.S. capitalism, say the Stalinists.

This concept is elaborated in a special article on détente in the Dec. 28 *Daily World*, where Conrad Komorowski says that U.S.-Soviet trade "will be very important at any time, but particularly in time of economic crisis, in providing additional job opportunities."

"There are examples," he says, "of entire one-industry or one-plant towns being rescued by Soviet contracts."

Is détente really the antidote for the crises of inflation, unemployment, and depression that have plagued capitalist countries for decades?

Is it possible to achieve a "cooperative relationship" that is "irreversible" between the imperialist United States and the Soviet Union, a workers state?

Is it possible for Brezhnev and Ford to "guarantee security and peace for all" with the world sitting atop a gargantuan stockpile of nuclear bombs?

This unreal world concocted by the Stalinists is contradictory both to the fundamental teachings of Marxism and to the test of history. Lenin described the epoch of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, as an epoch of wars, revolutions, counter-revolutions, and colonial uprisings. This has been the reality up through the present day, from the slaughter of two world wars to the Korean war, the Vietnam war, and the rightist coup in Chile.

Marxism and Leninism contend that the only way out of the barbarism produced by the contradictions of the capitalist system is the struggle for world socialist revolution—not for the impossible goal of an "irreversible cooperative relationship" with the capitalist rulers.

In future articles we will examine the origins of the Stalinist policy of détente and look at how it has led to terrible defeats for the working masses of the world.



May 1972 Moscow summit. Nixon and Brezhnev pretended to talk 'peace' while U.S. proceeded with terror bombing and blockade of North Vietnam.

OCAW girds for possible strike

Union exposes oil trust profiteering & lies

By FRANK LOVELL

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW) got ready for the opening days of 1975 differently than in previous years, and in the process it set a good example for the rest of the union movement in this year of economic crisis.

OCAW contracts with major oil companies, covering 60,000 workers, expired Jan. 7. The union prepared by holding a series of regional conferences last year, alerting the membership to the long-range antiunion and antisocial policies of the oil monopoly, exposing the price-gouging practices of this industry, and appealing for support from the working poor and others hurt by rising fuel prices.

Full-page advertisements by OCAW in several daily newspapers on Dec. 16 told the story of wages, prices, and profits in the oil industry.

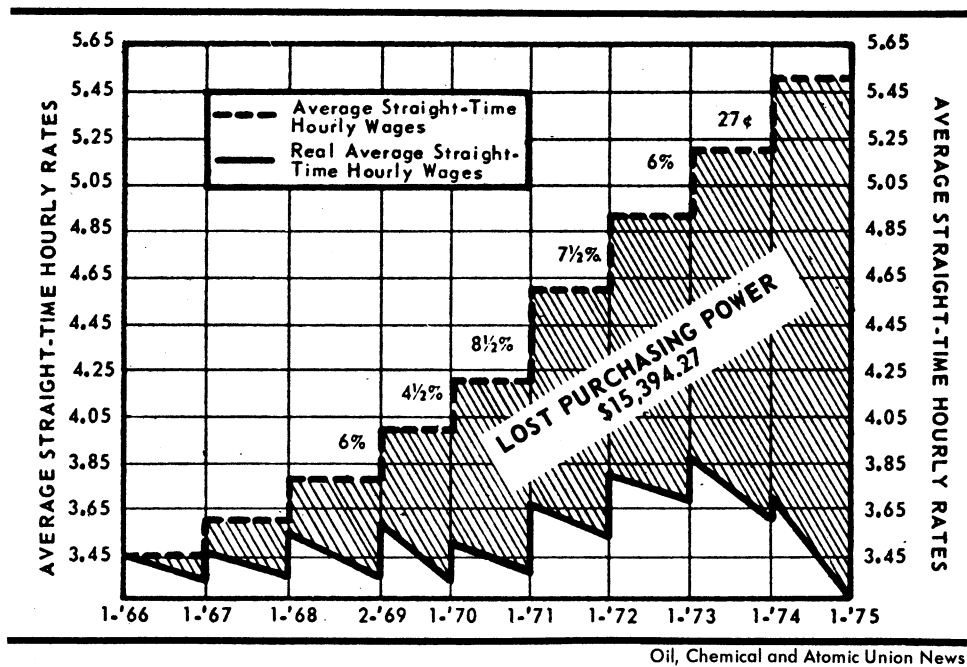
Headlined, "The Oil Companies and Inflation: They can't rob us blind if we open our eyes," these ads promised "to open up one of the most secretive industries in America to public scrutiny. We're going to tell you why oil prices are so high. How the oil industry causes the inflation that robs our paychecks. And . . . what we can do about it." That's a big order.

The OCAW statement contained none of the anti-Arab demagoguery the employers are using to explain away inflation. It had plenty of hard facts:

● **On profits.** "Oil industry profits are up 146% since 1972, 360% since 1961. We may be paying more for



"We can't let the oil industry get away with blaming workers and consumers for our nation's ills," say oil workers in appeal for support in case of strike.



OCAW chart shows purchasing power oil workers have lost because of inflation since 1966. Union demands unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause to keep wages abreast of price increases.

foreign crude, but we're also paying a lot more for industry profits. The oil companies would like [us] to believe they need all the money they're making—\$17 billion in 1974 alone—to find more oil. But we know different."

● **On investments.** "... oil companies are using tremendous amounts of money to buy up other companies. . . . Oil companies control most of America's natural gas, 50% of its nuclear fuels, seven of the fifteen largest coal companies, most of the oil shale leases and most of the geothermal energy leases.

"They're also investing heavily in chemicals and other petroleum derivatives. . . . They're even investing in companies that have nothing to do with oil. One company spent a sum just about equal to its entire 1973 profits to buy a department store chain.

"Other companies are putting their money into real estate, entertainment, commodities and other areas that will never give the public one drop of oil."

● **On political corruption.** "... the oil industry spent huge sums on illegal campaign contributions in 1972, to influence government supervision of their activities."

● **On executive salaries.** "We found that oil executives got average salary raises of more than 21% last year. They got an average increase of more

than \$22 per hour. Their raise was almost four times our total wages."

● **On taxes.** "Despite their huge profits, the seven largest oil companies have been paying federal taxes at a rate of about five cents on the dollar. . . ."

● **On wages.** "In 1966, our average wage was \$3.45 an hour. Today, we get \$3.27 an hour in 1966 dollars."

● **On productivity.** "Our productivity has increased 71% in the past fifteen years. But all the benefits of our increased productivity are going to the industry. They should be going to lower prices and fairer wages."

● **What to do.** "The money we pay for oil shouldn't go for anything except finding, refining and delivering oil.

"The industry can and should lower its prices. . . ."

"If the oil companies paid their fair share in taxes, it would help balance the federal budget and would help ease inflation.

"We can't let the oil industry get away with blaming workers and consumers for our nation's ills. When we recognize what's really behind our inflation and energy problems, we can begin to do something about them."

What OCAW intends to do was forecast in a series of district council meetings at the end of last year. OCAW President A.F. Grospiron listed the demands of the union, including a \$1.50-an-hour increase in wages for

each year of a three-year contract, longer vacations, improved health-care insurance, on-the-job health and safety regulations, and an adequate retirement plan.

The central economic demand is for an unlimited cost-of-living escalator. The union is demanding bimonthly wage adjustments equivalent to the percentage increase in the Consumer Price Index.

The complete package, according to Grospiron, "would cost the industry only about 0.8 of one cent for each gallon of gasoline sold." Moreover, the union emphasizes that all the demands could be met by the companies out of their bloated profits without raising prices whatsoever.

Grospiron warned, however, that the industry gave no indication of accepting OCAW's terms. "I caution all our oil industry members to tighten their belts and get set for a long strike."

Grospiron told union delegates that vast reserves of gasoline, heating oil, and other petroleum products are stored in this country, on Caribbean islands, and other offshore installations.

"If we have to strike the oil industry on Jan. 7, the oil companies will manipulate those reserves in an effort to beat us," Grospiron said. "The companies probably will contrive a few spot shortages to worry the public and perhaps to jack up prices."

OCAW prides itself as a leader in the fight for job safety and environmental protection and works closely with others in this field. At a union conference last November, Nancy Buder, staff member of the national Sierra Club, a leading environmentalist group, told the delegates, "our aims are nearly identical and support of each other can gain more for both of us."

The support that OCAW has won through its exposure of some of the profit secrets of the oil companies, its championing of a clean, safe environment, and its demands that point toward union control of oil production, has put the union in a strong bargaining position.

The demands advanced by OCAW in these negotiations, if supported by the rest of the union movement, could lead to a real solution to the energy crisis: the opening of the oil trust's books and the nationalization of all energy resources under workers control.

Mich. board fires 200 teachers to break strike

By PAULA REIMERS

CRESTWOOD, Mich., Jan. 7—A strike by some 200 teachers in this Detroit suburb has escalated into a life-and-death battle for the survival of their union, the Crestwood Education Association (CEA).

In late December the Crestwood school board fired every one of the strikers and hired a completely new teaching staff of scabs.

Now the board has broken off negotiations with the CEA on the grounds that the union does not represent the current teachers—that is, the scabs.

This same tactic of mass firings was used last year by school boards in Hortonville, Wis., and Timberlane, N.H., to break strikes and destroy the local affiliates of the National Education Association.

More than 200 teachers and supporters were on hand to picket Crestwood High School Jan. 6. Fifteen pickets were arrested for trying to

stop scabs from entering the school.

Pickets were also posted at six other Crestwood district schools.

The picket line attracted teachers from at least 20 Michigan Education Association (MEA) locals.

In addition, pickets came from several locals of the Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT), including the 11,000-member Detroit Federation of Teachers. The East Detroit Federation of Teachers, hit with arrests and jailings during its strike last fall, sent 20 to 30 teachers to the Crestwood picket line.

At a Jan. 6 news conference, Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council, pledged "full support to the striking Crestwood teachers." Also present were leaders of both the MEA and MFT.

The Wayne County Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has announced its backing for the teachers, and on Jan. 3 Olga Madar, na-

tional president of CLUW, and Mabel Holleran, cochairperson of Wayne County CLUW, joined the picket line.

A key test of labor solidarity with the strike will come Jan. 8. The CEA is part of a coordinated bargaining agreement with 16 other MEA locals in Wayne County. Nearly all 16 have announced they will walk out Jan. 8 to protest the mass firings and to demand that the school board negotiate in good faith.

Among those pledged to strike is the Garden City Education Association, even though the GCEA itself concluded a bitterly fought strike just last month.

The issue in Crestwood is no longer salary or cost-of-living allowance, which led to the original walkout, but the very existence of the union.

Crestwood teachers have been without a contract for more than a year. They struck in September 1973 and were forced back by a court injunction. No progress was made in nego-

tiations during the year, so the teachers struck again in September 1974 for five weeks, but again were forced back by the courts.

Following the example of the neighboring Garden City teachers, the CEA struck again Dec. 2 in defiance of the court injunction.

A defeat in Crestwood would be a severe blow to all teachers' organizations and would embolden attacks on all public employee unions. The MEA has underscored this with its two central slogans on picket signs: "Support teachers' right to bargain" and "Today Crestwood—tomorrow us."

Crestwood teachers deserve the wholehearted support of the entire union movement. If the Jan. 8 walkout proves insufficient to force the board to fire the scabs and negotiate with the CEA, the sympathy strike should be extended to other MEA and MFT locals.

Profits before patients

How the nursing-home racket works

By MARVEL SCHOLL

One of the fastest-growing, most profitable sections of the medical industry is the nursing-home racket.

I say "racket" advisedly. Since Medicare and Medicaid funds became available in 1966, the number of private, profit-motivated nursing homes has nearly doubled.

Today, there are about 23,000 nursing homes in the country, 90 percent of which are run for profit. Many are owned by doctors, still more by such chains as National Health Enterprises, Inc.

There are also many smaller chains owning 10 or fewer homes. These smaller chains are often gobbled up by the larger ones.

The remaining 10 percent of nursing homes are operated by religious or fraternal organizations such as the Masons or the Elks. These non-profits provide better care but they all have long waiting lists—and old people seeking entry do not have the life span left to wait.

Susan Jacoby wrote an in-depth article for the March 31, 1974, *New York Times Magazine* in which she painted a chilling picture of the conditions found in 50 nursing homes she visited in the East, Midwest, and South.

To obtain material for her article, Jacoby found it necessary to hide the fact that she was a journalist. She shopped as a "consumer" looking for a suitable home in which to place her aged mother.

Too many questions

Even as a consumer, Jacoby found that if she asked too many questions she got a hostile response, such as when she inquired about the ratio between patient load and staff, the number of times a doctor saw each patient, or what kind of physical therapy was offered.

She was told by the administrator of the Peter Cooper Nursing Home in Manhattan:

"When you ask a whole lot of questions—questions from some so-called consumer checklist—it just gets people's backs up."

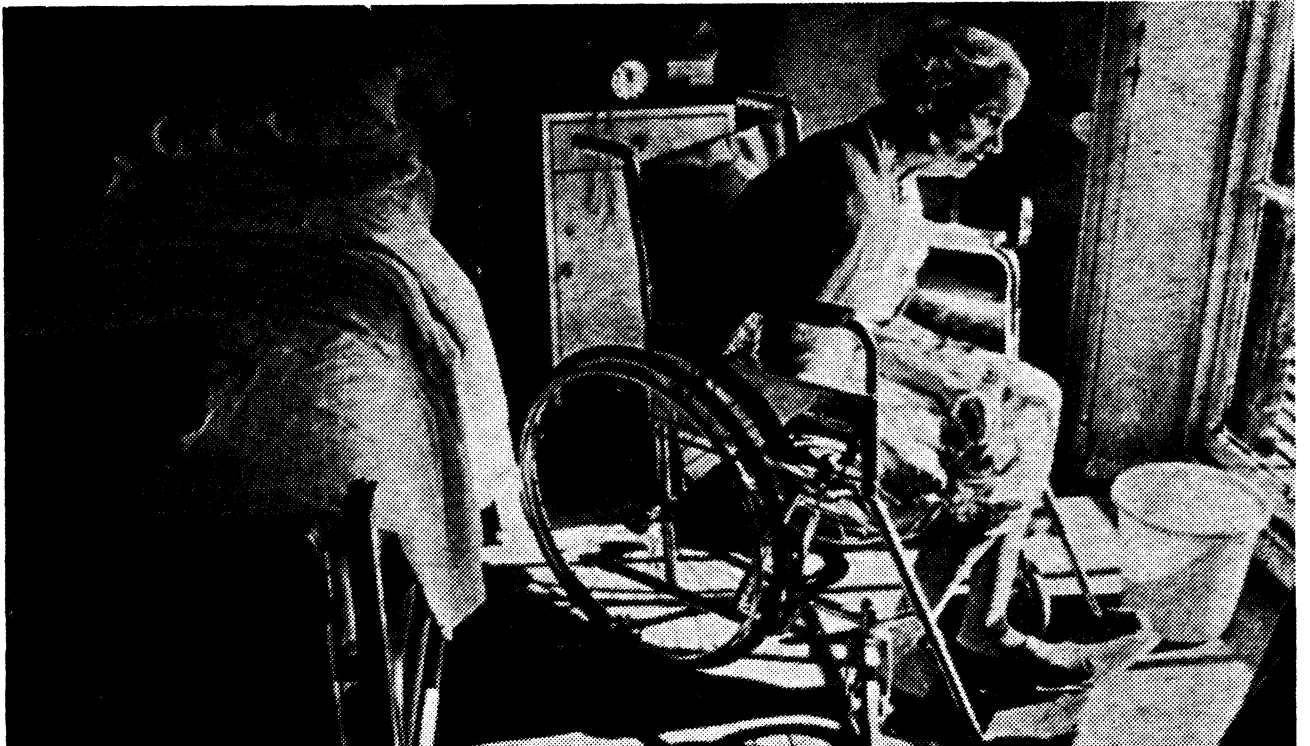
And well such questions might "get people's backs up"—if they are nursing-home administrators. When profit, not the welfare of patients, is the motive, then everything goes by the boards. The staffs are inadequate and poorly trained. The food is insufficient and poor in quality.

There may be a "physical therapy room," but in at least one case, the room was being used as a morgue for dead patients until the funeral parlor picked them up.

Entertainment to pass the long days in these homes is either nonexistent or limited to TV rooms where ambulatory patients can fight with one another over which channel to watch.

Jacoby insisted (as should everyone who contemplates putting an aged relative in a private home) on seeing not only the brightly decorated lobbies and second floors, but in going over the entire building. She found patients lying in dark rooms, many of them in their own body wastes (one home charged \$11 a month extra for linen), and old people sitting in chilly corridors, staring off into space.

Theoretically, all homes supported by government money through either Medicare or Medicaid must meet certain standards. But inspection is



Old people, who deserve best health care available, get little or no care in most private nursing homes

spotty, and even when violations are found, fines are small, so the same violations continue.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers the program, is like all other governmental departments in charge of social programs—understaffed, hence unable to enforce its own regulations, and now, stymied by new standards that replace former specific rules and regulations.

Standards lowered

In January 1974, the old specific regulations were replaced by new, more general requirements, which actually downgrade the standards. The new regulations will save the government some money, make higher profits for the industry, and result in poorer care for the patients.

Those industry profits will continue to swell as the number of old people increases. There are now more than 20 million Americans over 65. More than a third of these are 75 or over and are the most frequent patients in nursing homes. The industry and the government estimate that by the year 2000, at least two million of the elderly will be institutionalized.

What constitutes good nursing care? An equitable ratio between patients and nurses and aides; daily nursing care of at least several hours per patient; adequate diets; physical therapy to rebuild muscles lost through strokes or lack of use; entertainment programs designed to keep patients interested in life and living; regular visits from qualified doctors; tender, loving care to replace the contempt now generally shown aged patients by both staff and administration.

These are but a few of the necessities that old, sick people need at the end of their lives. And this is what they do not get.

There is a rapid turnover in registered nurses

who accept positions as administrators or head nurses in these homes. The lack of sufficient well-trained aides, the skimpy nursing-care budgets, the lack of clean linen, the refusal of most homes to diaper incontinent patients with the resultant filth and infected bedsores—all of these conditions are impossible for a good nurse to stand.

There are a few privately owned nursing homes that do surpass minimum standards. One of them is the American Nursing Home on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Moses Unger, the owner, told Jacoby, "This is very hard physical work, and few people want to do it because our society doesn't like to think about, or look at, old age. . . . You can't provide decent care if you make a profit by paying low salaries."

Contrast that attitude toward patients and staff with one expressed by a Georgia legislator fighting against larger Medicaid payments to nonprofit homes in Atlanta. He coined the phrase "malicious indigence" to describe old people who cannot pay their own medical bills.

'Untrained dogs'

A nursing-home administrator expressed similar contempt for patients, calling them "untrained dogs."

Another example of this contempt was the testimony of Don Barry, president of the American Nursing Home Association, before a Senate subcommittee headed by Frank Moss (D-Utah). Barry told the subcommittee that Medicaid patients are "individuals [who] have had a life-style characterized by a pattern of social and economic failure."

But it is ever-rising medical costs, not individual "failure," that forces millions of older people to rely on Medicaid, including middle-class and even comparatively wealthy people.

The burden of health care falls most heavily on working people. They face an awful choice when aging parents suffer strokes, heart attacks, long-term illnesses, or just plain senility. The old people's pensions, if they have any, pay only a fraction of the monthly nursing-home costs. In some states Medicaid takes up most of the slack. In others it pays as little as 30 percent. What then is the answer to this ever-mounting problem?

Socialized medicine

There is only one answer, and that is to provide free, quality health care for all through socialized medicine. The old people who today are the victims of the profit-mad medical industry are the very people who built this country—and they deserve the best there is to make their last years meaningful. But that is not what they are getting.

Nor will they, so long as profit is put before humanity. Good health is the right of everyone—good health in producing years, the best kind of care when illness strikes or when the years become too many for the fragile frames in which they are housed.

But that right will only be realized when all profit is taken out of medical care and care is put back in.

Top Democrats linked to scandal

As the investigations into the nursing-home racket widen, the industry is being referred to more and more as "the syndicate." One of the kingpins of this syndicate is Bernard Bergman of New York City, whose share of the nursing-home empire is estimated at \$200-million.

In addition to overcharging for inadequate care, the *New York Daily News* discovered that Bergman realizes a heavy profit from sales and resales of his nursing homes—to himself, naturally. . . . Bergman has sold and leased back the Park Crescent [one of his homes] and repurchased it 10 times since 1966," the *News* reports, "increasing its value from an original purchase price of \$593,500 to its present mortgaged value of \$8 million."

Another of Bergman's tricks is to bill Medicaid for nonexistent patients. His Towers Nursing Home, for example, was caught in 1970 charging Medicaid for a patient who had been dead for 265 days.

Why isn't this crook in jail? He has many friends—in high places. His insurance agency, for example, is owned by Brooklyn Democratic boss Meade Esposito and Democrat Stanley Steingut, expected to be the next speaker of the New York State Assembly. Both have been subpoenaed by the Senate Special Committee on the Aging, which is investigating Bergman's empire.

Another behind-the-scenes pal of Bergman—one who probably won't be subpoenaed—is Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller. When Bergman tried to get permission to acquire two new nursing homes to increase his Medicaid revenue, Rockefeller, and his successor as governor, Malcolm Wilson, both intervened to put in a good word for Bergman.

According to the *New York Times*, "A spokesman for Governor Wilson said the calls were routine courtesies that would be granted any citizen. . . ."

The CIA: secret arm of capitalist rule

The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence by Victor Marchetti and John Marks. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1974. 398 pp. \$8.95.

The American people have responded with disgust and outrage upon learning of yet more CIA attacks on democratic rights. Once again the spotlight of public opinion has been turned on this secret-police agency, whose activities are notorious throughout the world.

In a recent series of articles in the *New York Times*, reporter Seymour Hersh revealed a massive CIA campaign of illegal spying against U.S. dissenters, dating back at least 20 years. The surveillance campaign reached a peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s. (For story on CIA domestic spying, see page 24).

These latest revelations follow by barely two months the exposé of the CIA's role in overthrowing the Allende regime in Chile, and the complicity of top government officials such as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in that bloody coup.

With each new scandal involving the CIA, the American people have gotten a sharper picture of the real purpose of this secret arm of U.S. capitalist rule—to sabotage and destroy struggles of working people all over the globe.

Origins of CIA

The CIA grew out of the needs of U.S. imperialism after World War II. The United States had emerged from the war as the most powerful country in the world. However, workers states had been established throughout eastern Europe, and there were already rumblings of national liberation in the colonial world.

"The real impetus" for creating the CIA, explained the Dec. 26, 1974, *New York Times*, "came from the decision of President Truman in 1946 that the United States must shoulder new responsibility as a major world power and should counter what was seen to be a menacing expansionist challenge by the Soviet Union."

The capitalist rulers, concerned with protecting

Books

their investment opportunities and control of markets abroad, wanted to contain the advance of socialism and roll back the workers states wherever possible. To do this, they had to expand the undercover "anti-Communist" operations that had existed before, so the CIA was set up.

According to the CIA's formal charter, contained in the 1947 National Security Act, the agency is supposed to "evaluate intelligence" outside the U.S. The charter is only a cover, however, for the actual activities of the CIA—which range from financing ultraright groups, to organizing coups and assassinating political dissidents.

This is explained in the book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, by former CIA official Victor Marchetti and John Marks. The CIA's "basic mission," writes Marchetti, "was that of clandestine operations, particularly covert action—the secret intervention in the internal affairs of other nations."

Marchetti's book—which the CIA succeeded in partially censoring—describes country after country where the CIA worked actively to subvert or destroy movements for social change. In the late 1940s and 1950s, for example, CIA agents tried unsuccessfully to launch counterrevolutionary guerrilla groups in Albania, the Ukraine, and China. In western Europe, the CIA set up dummy corporations, radio stations, and newspapers, and infiltrated student and trade-union groups.

Organized coups

In 1953, after consultation with President Dwight Eisenhower, the CIA organized the overthrow of the Mossadegh government in Iran, which had nationalized British oil holdings.

The next year, the CIA carried out the overthrow of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala.

Marchetti emphasizes in his book that top U.S. officials have always directed the CIA's work. The agency's activities are closely followed by the presi-

(
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) Henry Kissinger made that statement not in public, but at a secret White House meeting on June 27, 1970. The country he was referring to was Chile.

In his capacity as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Kissinger was chairman of a meeting of the so-called 40 Committee, an interdepartmental panel responsible for overseeing the CIA's high-risk covert-action operations. The 40 Committee's members are the Director of Central Intelligence, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. (At the time of the Chilean meeting, Attorney General John Mitchell was also a member.) It is this small group of bureaucrats and politicians—in close consultation with the President and the governmental departments the men represent—that directs America's secret foreign policy.

On that Saturday in June 1970, the main topic before the 40 Committee was: (

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) The Chilean election was scheduled for the following September, and Allende, a declared Marxist, was one of the principal candidates. Although Allende had pledged to maintain the democratic system if he was elected, the U.S. ambassador to Chile (

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)
Most of the American companies with large investments in Chile were also fearful of a possible Allende triumph, and at least two of those companies, the International Telephone and Telegraph

A page from Marchetti's book, showing sections deleted by CIA. Government also tried to censor passages in bold, but lost fight in courts.

dent, and a high-level, secret policy board reviews all proposals for action. Today, that board goes by the name of the "40 Committee," which is headed by Kissinger.

"... the CIA is not an independent agency in the broad sense of the term," Marchetti explains, "nor is it a governmental agency out of control. Despite occasional dreams of grandeur on the part of some of its clandestine operators, the CIA does not on its own choose to overthrow distasteful governments or determine which dictatorial regimes to support. ... The CIA act[s] primarily when called upon by the Executive."

Whenever one of the CIA's exploits is exposed, however, the rulers of this country are quick to cover up. In a passage the CIA tried to delete from his book, Marchetti describes the cover-up of an abortive 1958 coup against the Sukarno regime in Indonesia:

"Contrary to denials by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, the CIA gave direct assistance to rebel groups located on the island of Sumatra. Agency B-26s even carried out bombing missions in support of the insurgents."

"On May 18, 1958, the Indonesians shot down one of these B-26s and captured the pilot, an American named Allen Pope. Although U.S. government officials claimed Pope was a 'soldier of fortune,' he was in fact an employee of a CIA-owned proprietary company, Civil Air Transport."

Kennedy cover-up

In 1961, after the failure of the CIA-led Bay of Pigs invasion, Democratic President John Kennedy launched another cover-up of the agency. He even appointed a "blue-ribbon" panel to "investigate" whether U.S. intelligence operations had "gotten out of hand."

The investigation was a fraud, designed to convince the American people that what the CIA did in Cuba would never happen again. Marchetti points this out in his book, noting that the "investigation" didn't make a dent in the CIA's activities: "CIA never shut down its two anti-Castro operations bases located in southern Florida, and agency-sponsored raids against Cuba by exile groups continued into the mid-1960s. ..."

Meanwhile, Kennedy was also deploying CIA agents in Laos, where the U.S. was conducting a secret war against national liberation forces. Kennedy wanted the war to be carried out by the CIA to keep it hidden from the American people.

Under the Johnson administration, the CIA continued its campaign of violence, torture, and counterrevolution. It ran the notorious "Operation Phoenix" program in Vietnam, which assassinated thou-

sands of Vietnamese. This program was directed by William Colby, the man who now heads the CIA.

In 1964, the CIA sent its private fleet of bombers to the Congo, piloted by veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion, to help crush the Congolese rebels,

Domestic spying

The first bits of information about CIA spying within the U.S. came out in 1967, when *Ramparts* magazine published an exposé of CIA infiltration of the National Student Association (NSA). The agency had been funding the NSA since 1952.

The CIA made use of NSA representatives who traveled abroad, but it also sought to influence NSA policy in this country, particularly as students began organizing against the Vietnam war.

Michael Wood, a former NSA fund raiser, described to *Ramparts* the role of CIA agents at one NSA congress in 1965: "Vietnam was debated very bitterly for nine hours. The agents were very anxious, first of all, that no absolute position be taken, and concerned that no permanent cessation of bombing position be taken."

The CIA also infiltrated the U.S. trade-union movement, with the cooperation of labor bureaucrats like George Meany. The AFL-CIO set up a CIA front, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which to this day works to sabotage union militants around the world.

Some of Meany's staunchest student supporters got funds too, such as the International Union of Socialist Youth, a right-wing social-democratic organization to which the Young People's Socialist League belongs. But liberal trade-union leaders were not left out either. According to Marchetti's book, UAW officials Victor and Walter Reuther also received CIA money to promote "democracy" abroad.

Thus it is hardly surprising that the CIA played a prominent part in the stepped-up spying on U.S. dissenters in the late 1960s. The CIA's attacks against antiwar, Black, and socialist activists are perfectly in keeping with its 30-year history of subversion.

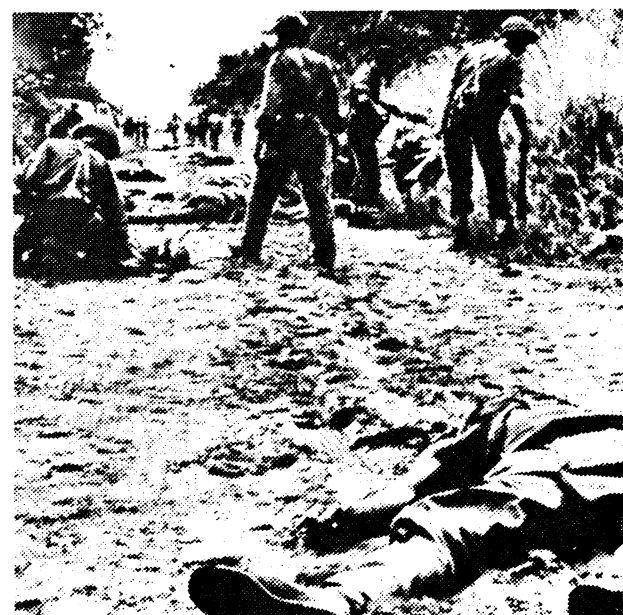
Violations of charter?

Some Democratic and Republican politicians are complaining that the CIA's domestic spying is a "violation" of its charter—as if whatever the CIA does overseas is legitimate! But the CIA has never violated its *real* charter, which is to suppress all struggles against exploitation, whether they be in the U.S., Chile, Vietnam, or Iran.

This secret agency is one more example of how ruthlessly the capitalist class defends its interests against the will of the majority. Violence, intimidation, and lies are the only ways this class can maintain its power.

The American people have the right to learn the full truth about the CIA operations and the attacks on democratic rights by other government outfits. Now is the time to press for opening all the files in Washington and to demand that the CIA, FBI, and other secret-police bodies be abolished completely.

—CINDY JAQUITH



CIA sent Cuban exiles to Congo in 1964 to help crush rebels.

Plight of the elderly

They just want us to crawl away and die'

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—When the tenants of the Golden State Mobile Lodge received notices that their rent was going to be raised by \$20 a month as of Dec. 1, many felt that it was the last straw.

All the tenants here are elderly retired people living on low, fixed incomes. Many are disabled. With the cost of food and social services skyrocketing, some just don't know where they are going to find the money to pay the increased rent.

Many of the tenants have complained, and more than 30 signed a petition of protest. There are 53 units in the park, and about two-thirds are occupied by widows living alone.

Ruby Clouser is one of the leaders of the effort to beat back the rent hike. She told *The Militant* that her rent has gone from \$50 to \$90 since May 1973. With the electricity bill the landlord adds on, her latest rent bill came to \$103. This is what most pay at the park, give or take a few dollars. Yet most live on Social Security or disability payments averaging \$250 a month. For some it is less than

\$200.

Like Clouser, most residents are working people who saved up enough money to buy a modest mobile home and expected to be able to retire on Social Security. But the way inflation is going, their way of life is in jeopardy.

Ruby Clouser has worked all her life, mostly at factory jobs, the most recent one being at a nearby aerospace plant. Her lungs, skin, and heart have been severely damaged as a result of breathing dangerous fumes on the job. There was no union there, she said, and therefore no retirement benefits. So now she is forced to subsist on meager disability checks.

The tenants aren't getting any bargain for their money, either. Each plot is barely big enough for the trailer to fit. And the tenants have to do all the upkeep on the park, including sweeping the streets!

The landlord tried to justify the rent raise by claiming that taxes had gone up and that improvements had been made. Everyone knows this is phony. The \$20-a-month hike means an extra \$12,620 a year for the landlord, who

receives income from several other properties. This is nowhere near the amount that taxes have gone up. "It's gouging," said one tenant. "There's no other word for it."

Improvements? There haven't been any, residents say. In fact facilities are being cut back. "When I moved in here," Clouser said, "they advertised a year-round heated pool." The pool is still there, but it is rarely heated. And the recreation and laundry facilities are available less and less of the time.

Clouser and other residents have written dozens of letters to local, state, and federal officials in an effort to get some action on the rent hike, but to no avail.

Clouser showed me letters she had written to the administration of California Governor Ronald Reagan and to Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.).

"Some of the answers would be really hilarious if the situation wasn't so tragic," she says. The state government wrote back saying it was a federal matter, and Cranston wrote back saying it was a state matter.

They have tried calling government

Continued on page 22



Economic crisis is turning 'golden years' into misery for many older people on fixed incomes.

California Chicanos fight 'illegal alien' scare

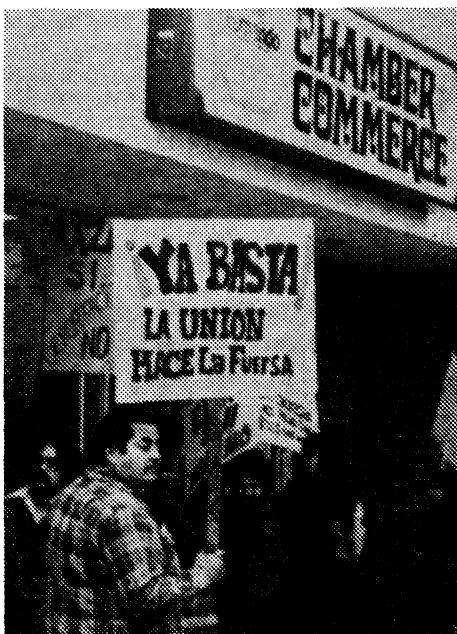
By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Chicanos in the suburb of San Fernando are combating a campaign against "illegal aliens" being whipped up by local businessmen in collusion with city officials and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

In a recent mailing sent to all industrial firms in the San Fernando area, the local chamber of commerce urged the use of a questionnaire to "weed out" undocumented workers. The mailing proposed that business firms use a job application form in which the applicants must indicate whether or not they were born in this country. If they were not, then they must go to the INS to have their immigration status confirmed before they can complete their job application.

The Oct. 27 *Los Angeles Times* revealed that the questionnaire proposal was the product of meetings that had been taking place between the chamber of commerce, San Fernando police, and INS officials since August.

Chamber of commerce head Bruce Ackerman said that local businessmen pushed for the "weeding-out" campaign because immigration raids were disrupting their businesses. Ackerman



Pickets at San Fernando Chamber of Commerce protest employment questionnaire designed to 'weed out' undocumented workers.

claims that 50 percent of the workers in the northeast San Fernando Valley are "illegals." About half of the 16,000 residents of San Fernando itself are Chicanos.

San Fernando Police Chief David Ross claims to have statistics proving that increases in the rates of crime and unemployment in the area are due to an influx of undocumented workers.

La Raza Unida Party, the Mexican-American Political Association, the Chicano Coalition, CASA, the Community Improvement Council, and other groups have denounced the drive and held protests at the chamber of commerce and the police station.

Chicanos also mobilized to attend a San Fernando city council meeting to demand that the city government take steps to squelch the unconstitutional drive.

"It's a discriminatory employment form given to dark-skinned persons simply on the basis of their being suspected 'illegal aliens,'" said Eugene Hernández, a Raza Unida Party leader and spokesperson for the Chicano groups opposing the drive. "We demand that the chamber of commerce be repudiated by the city council."

San Fernando Mayor Philip Johnson refused to deal with the Chicanos' demands, saying that the city council has no jurisdiction in the affair.

The Chicano protests received such wide publicity that the chamber of

commerce was forced to tone down the racist language of the original proposal.

A statement by the Raza Unida Party exposed the sham of the authorities' attempt to cover their tracks: "We are not in the least satisfied with Mr. Ackerman's response," it reads. "Nor do we accept the city council's position that it is incapable of any role in the matter. . . . The chief of police is an employee of the city council, and he has participated in the plan. Furthermore, members of the council are also members of the chamber of commerce."

"We believe that the San Fernando plan is part of a national program of racist motivations designed to whip up hatred and mass hysteria in order to [distract attention] from the real causes of economic and political deterioration in both the United States and Mexico."

"It is not coincidental that on Oct. 30 U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe asked for \$50-million to deal with a 'severe national crisis,' namely the 'illegal alien.' Saxbe's justification for the exportation of one million people, mainly Mexicans, is essentially the same as that coming from the chief of police and the chamber's proposal."

Mich. SWP wins round in disclosure battle

By TIM CRAINE

DETROIT—The Michigan Socialist Workers campaign committee has won the first round in legal proceedings to halt the application of state campaign disclosure requirements.

Circuit Court Judge Peter Spivak has granted a request for a temporary restraining order preventing the state of Michigan from forcing the committee to turn over names and addresses of campaign contributors.

Attorney Ron Reosti, representing the Michigan Civil Liberties Union (which is sponsoring the suit) requested that Spivak enjoin the state from enforcing the campaign disclosure law as applied to the Socialist Workers

Party. Reosti pointed to evidence that the SWP and its campaign supporters have been subjected to harassment by the FBI and other government agencies.

The reply to Reosti's motion by Charles Hackney, assistant attorney general for the state of Michigan, indicated the extent to which the government finds itself on the defensive in this case. "I am not here to defend the FBI," Hackney stated. He agreed that the civil liberties of the SWP are at stake, asserting that "harassment of a political party is absolutely unconscionable."

Referring to the Watergate cover-up trial, Hackney admitted that "cer-

tain tapes that have been played in the last week or so show a problem we can understand." Alluding to the political mood of the country, he said, "We cannot return to World War II and put everyone we disagree with on lists."

However, the state's "legitimate interest," Hackney asserted, is to see that no illegal campaign contributions have been made. He opposed the request for the temporary restraining order on the grounds that the legal proceedings may prolong the case beyond the time when violations of the election law can be prosecuted, because of the statute of limitations.

In making his ruling, Judge Spivak

indicated that he could "understand why the Socialist Workers Party is apprehensive."

"I think the allegations of the SWP are correct," he added, "not simply because of the allegations but because of the climate that exists in the United States."

Spivak, however, supported Hackney's insistence that someone representing the attorney general be allowed to examine the campaign committee's list of contributors for possible violations of the election law. The examination will be done in the presence of attorneys for the SWP, but no copy of the list may be made.

Calendar

ATLANTA

HOW WE CAN WIN THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Sandra Flowers, National Black Feminist Organization; Martha Gaines, National Organization for Women; Mary Jo Vogel, coordinator, Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BROOKLYN

IMPERIALISM & THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS—A MARXIST EXPLANATION. A weekend seminar, Jan. 17-18. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer, *The Militant*. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m.: The present crisis compared to those which led to World Wars I & II. Sat., Jan. 18, 12 noon: How finance capital leads to depression and war; 2 p.m.: lunch; 3 p.m.: The myth of Keynesianism and other attempts to reform capitalism. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$3.50 for entire series and lunch, \$1 per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-3849.

DETROIT

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE AUTO LAYOFFS. Speakers: Jordan Simms, president, United Auto Workers Local 961; John Anderson, past president, UAW Local 7; Don Bechler, member, UAW Local 174. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

SUPERSPY ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS: AN ANSWER TO THE FBI & CIA. Speakers: Catherine Perkus, Political Rights Defense Fund, Steven Wattenmaker, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

ST. LOUIS

THE URBAN CRISIS: ST. LOUIS & THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE. Speaker: Barbara Bowman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, board of aldermen. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland Ave., Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

TWIN CITIES

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF DOWNFALL OF THE GREEK DICTATORSHIP. Speaker: Eleftherios Papageorgiou, Minnesota Greek-American Solidarity. Fri., Jan. 17, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave., S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...top seller

Continued from page 5

come about and men win the power along with patriarchal class society?"

These are the questions that Reed, after 23 years of research, answers in *Woman's Evolution*. "I knew," she said, "that I was catapulted right smack into the middle of the biggest and bitterest dispute in anthropology: the issue of the matriarchy."

The high place occupied by women in the earliest societies was discovered by the founders of anthropology, only to be repudiated and ridiculed by later academics. As far as the established anthropological circles were concerned, Reed explained, "Everyone knew that women were the biologically handicapped sex, and that's why, from time immemorial, they came under the domination of the superior male sex."

This is just one of the cherished myths and prejudices Reed debunks in her critical reexamination of anthropology. Spanning a million years of prehistory from cannibalism to culture, she discloses the hidden history of women and the real social—not biological—reasons for the rise of the patriarchal family system.

The stubborn resistance of the anthropological establishment to an evolutionary—that is, a genuinely scientific—study of these questions is not hard to explain.

If biological inferiority is not the root cause of women's oppression, then virtually all the justifications and rationalizations for that oppression go out the window. If women were not always the "second sex," they need not always be so.

Thus, far from being an obscure academic exercise, a scientific examination of women's history provides inspiration and theoretical ammunition for today's insurgent movement for the liberation of women.

Conversely, Reed explained, it was the rise of the women's movement in the 1960s—provoking an upsurge of study, discussion, and debate over women's history—that made publication of *Woman's Evolution* a realizable project.

If the enthusiastic reaction of the thousand young socialists at this convention is any indication, *Woman's Evolution* will soon be right in the center of those discussions and debates.

Woman's Evolution will soon be available in the bookstores listed on page 22, or can be ordered directly from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

...Rhodesia

Continued from page 8

against Mr. Vorster's country to be carried out from bases in black Africa."

According to Mohr, the negotiations between the Smith regime and the Zimbabwean liberation groups were pre-

pared by secret talks between representatives of the Zambian and South African governments. Mohr reported that the Zambian government favors such a deal in order to expand economic and financial relations with South Africa and Rhodesia.

The talks were kept secret until the beginning of December, when it became known that ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo and ZANU leader Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole had been freed to participate in them.

It was also announced that ZANU, ZAPU, and Frolizi had agreed to merge with the African National Council (ANC). The merged group is to be led by the ANC's president, Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

At first it seemed that the negotiations would break down when Smith refused to accept the possibility of Black majority rule. In a radio broadcast Dec. 15, Smith said that thoughts of Black majority rule "have never entered my mind and I don't think they ever will."

Immediately following Smith's outburst and its rejection by Zimbabwean leaders, South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster circulated another plan, which he and Zambia's President Kaunda had approved. This plan would grant immediate suffrage to all those with one year of high school and would grant suffrage for all in five years.

Meanwhile, many difficulties stand in the way of implementation of the initial settlement. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, only 20 political prisoners were released per day after the accords. The *Monitor* reported that the racists were holding back on prisoner release until a complete guerrilla cease-fire had taken place.

Mohr reports that the Zimbabwean "nationalists agreed on an informal cease-fire now, and that a formal cease-fire would obtain when a firm date for new constitutional talks was set." As yet, however, Smith has not set a date for the conference.

The strategy of the white-settler regimes in southern Africa is to hold back the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe as long as possible. The direction the current accords take is to guarantee some form of white rule for as long as possible, in a situation in which both South Africa and Rhodesia see no way to hold on against the threat of economic strangulation by the African states and political revolt by the Zimbabwean masses.

Under a proposal like the Vorster-Kaunda plan for a five-year delay be-

fore Black majority rule, the settlers and their imperialist backers would be able to reinforce their position and make an attempt to break the accords. As the *Monitor* pointed out, "Two or three times in the past, British officials . . . have felt they had such a settlement nailed down only to have the Rhodesian leader slide away from it."

...elderly

Continued from page 21

agencies that are supposed to help out with these things, but the "flack-catchers," as Clouser calls them, just give them a runaround.

There has been some talk of withholding rent in protest, but most tenants are fearful that they will be evicted.

One tenant, Mildred Craig, has been threatened with eviction if she does not get her trailer painted to suit the landlord. "I can't even afford to wash it down," she told *The Militant*. Craig suffers from arthritis and cannot paint it herself.

Craig is angry about the economic crisis in general. "In a country as great as the United States, to think that we have starvation and groveling to get a bite of food and a roof over our heads. It is criminal. There's only one word for it."

Another resident, asked what she thought of President Ford's anti-inflation program, answered: "I think it stinks. Ford wants to cut welfare and everything down."

"Something's got to be done," she added. Some people in the park, she observed, are 80 to 85 years old. "They can't just pick up and go. They've worked all their lives for what they've got."

She was skeptical about the government's explanations for its economic priorities. "You can't tell me it costs more to ship food to hungry people than to send napalm to Vietnam."

"It isn't just us," added another widow. She said that the economic squeeze is affecting elderly people and others everywhere.

She'd like to get back to work to earn some extra money, but illness prevents it. She is afraid that she will be forced to sell the trailer and move in with relatives. "I just don't know what to do."

As Ruby Clouser put it, "I guess they just want us to crawl away and die."

Socialist Directory

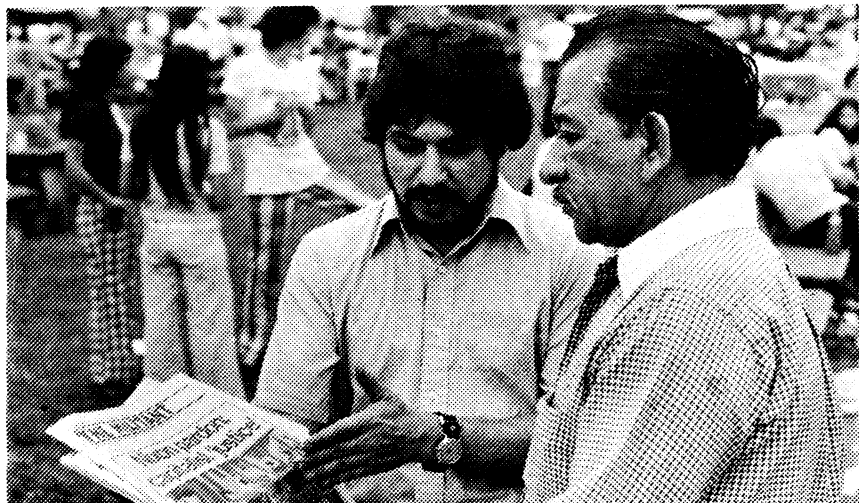
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Ford's CIA panel plans new cover-up

By CINDY JAQUITH

"It's not exactly like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop, but it comes close," was the comment of one government official when he learned of President Ford's "blue ribbon" panel to investigate the CIA.

The remark reflects the public anger that is greeting Ford's appointment of a commission headed by Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller to look into domestic spying by the CIA.

In a Dec. 22, 1974, article in the *New York Times*, reporter Seymour Hersh revealed that the CIA has been conducting a massive surveillance campaign against U.S. antiwar, Black, and radical activists.

The CIA spying was reported to have intensified at the height of the radicalization in the late 1960s and early 1970s. At one point, Hersh said, the agency had files on 10,000 dissenters.

Confronted by a public that is outraged at learning of still more secret CIA activities, Ford has appointed a panel to "investigate" the charges. A more appropriate gallery of cover-up artists could hardly be assembled.

Heading the panel is Nelson Rockefeller, who is already sitting on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the group that has been supposedly watching the CIA all along. Moreover, the vice-president is directly linked to Secretary of State Kissinger, who as head of the "40 Committee" regularly receives reports of covert CIA activities.

Several other panel members have previous ties to the CIA, such as C. Douglas Dillon, the cold warrior who was acting secretary of state in 1960 when the Soviet Union shot down the CIA's U-2 plane. Dillon authorized the famous lie that the U-2 was just out on "weather reconnaissance."

General Lyman Lemnitzer was also named by Ford. He presided over the secret meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1961, where plans for the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion were discussed.



Auth, Philadelphia Inquirer

The panel also includes arch-CIA booster Ronald Reagan; John Connor, chairman of the board of Allied Chemical; AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, who along with George Meany has collaborated with the CIA for years; and former University of Virginia president Edgar Shannon.

Even the appointee being played up as the "liberal"—Erwin Griswold—is an enemy of democratic rights. While serving as solicitor general for the Justice Department, Griswold defended the Army when it was taken to court for illegal spying in 1972.

"Having the C.I.A. investigated by such a group is like having the Mafia audited by its own accountants," wrote *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker.

Indeed, as one White House aide frankly admitted to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the "blue ribbon" panel is "directed at avoiding anything close to a Watergate."

The White House has plenty to worry about, for the revelations have thus far linked the secret spying on dissenters to at least four presidents, and

could soon engulf the Ford administration as well.

According to Hersh, CIA burglaries, mail tampering, electronic surveillance, and use of informants against U.S. dissidents date back at least 20 years.

"Every one of these acts was blatantly illegal," one source told Hersh.

Both Democratic and Republican presidents were actively involved in supervising CIA operations. In an interview in the French weekly *Le Point*, former CIA official Victor Marchetti said: "I saw very well how the agency, pushed by the White House and especially Lyndon Johnson, began to mount its operations in the United States, even spying on such organizations as the civil rights movement."

One of Johnson's targets was Black entertainer Eartha Kitt, who enraged him in 1968 by publicly attacking the Vietnam war at a White House luncheon. Johnson demanded a CIA investigation of Kitt and received a detailed report on the entertainer.

A former undercover CIA agent in New York revealed to Hersh that he was part of an agency team that spied

on protesters during the 1968 strike at Columbia University and on Black students at Cornell University during a 1969 struggle there.

One of the most damaging revelations is the link between the CIA and the Huston spy plan. One intelligence official told Hersh "that the requirement to maintain files on American citizens emanated, in part, from the so-called Huston plan."

This plan was the 1970 proposal by former White House aide Tom Huston to step up attacks on U.S. radicals. Nixon claimed the plan never went into effect, but several intelligence officials told Hersh that the CIA operations "obviously got a push at that time."

Victor Marchetti corroborated this in an interview in the January *Penthouse*. Marchetti spoke of Richard Helms, ambassador to Iran, who was director of the CIA at the height of its illegal activities.

"Helms was very cooperative with the White House Plumbers, with the Huston domestic-espionage plan, and with breaking into embassies and other things that he thought were legitimate functions of the CIA and that he thought J. Edgar Hoover was going too slow on," said Marchetti. (For a review of Marchetti's book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, see page 20).

Rockefeller, as chairman of the new commission on the CIA, has announced that in his view the commission's task is to "restore public confidence without damaging a very important organ of national security."

In other words, Rockefeller wants to give the impression of "investigating" without actually bringing to light any of the still-secret conspiracies the CIA has carried out, at home and abroad, in the name of national security.

But the negative reaction to the whitewash panel is a sign that—as Ford's predecessor learned only too well—in today's political atmosphere, plots to cover up government crimes have a tendency to unravel.

CIA linked to Cuban exile terror raids

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, counterrevolutionary Cuban groups have carried out a series of terrorist attacks in the United States against supporters of the Cuban revolution, antiwar activists, and socialists. Frequently the Cuban exiles—known as *gusanos* (worms)—have openly boasted of their responsibility for bombings, physical attacks, and threats against leftist groups, yet they are rarely prosecuted for their crimes.

Now the revelations about CIA spying in this country have uncovered a direct link between the *gusano* thugs and the government, through a secret Cuban exile counterintelligence unit in

the CIA.

An article in the Jan. 4 *New York Times* disclosed that this *gusano* wing of the CIA operated from 1960 to at least 1970, employing 150 people. The Cuban exiles carried out CIA operations in Miami, New York, San Juan, and Los Angeles, and even had their own private aircraft to shuttle agents across the U.S. and to Latin America. "It was like a small secret army," one Cuban told the *Times*.

This information confirms the suspicion of CIA involvement in one of the most serious waves of *gusano* violence, during the spring of 1970 in Los Angeles. Cuban exiles carried out

three armed arson attacks, totally destroying the Haymarket, a radical meeting place; gutting the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party; and burning the Ashgrove, a coffeehouse.

In the attack on the SWP, four socialist campaign workers were forced to lie face down on the floor while a dozen masked gunmen set the building on fire. The four were lucky to escape alive.

Three *gusanos* were eventually brought to trial for these attacks and given light sentences. But it was only after Watergate that the prosecution

in the case revealed that the Cubans had been approached prior to the terrorist attacks by a man claiming to be with the CIA.

In its suit against illegal government assaults, the SWP cites the CIA involvement in the Los Angeles raid and names the CIA as a defendant.

The suit is being supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Catherine Perkus, PRDF spokesperson, said, "We will press for the release of all the secret CIA files on the SWP and the disclosure of all the illegal activities carried out by Cuban exiles in the pay of the CIA."