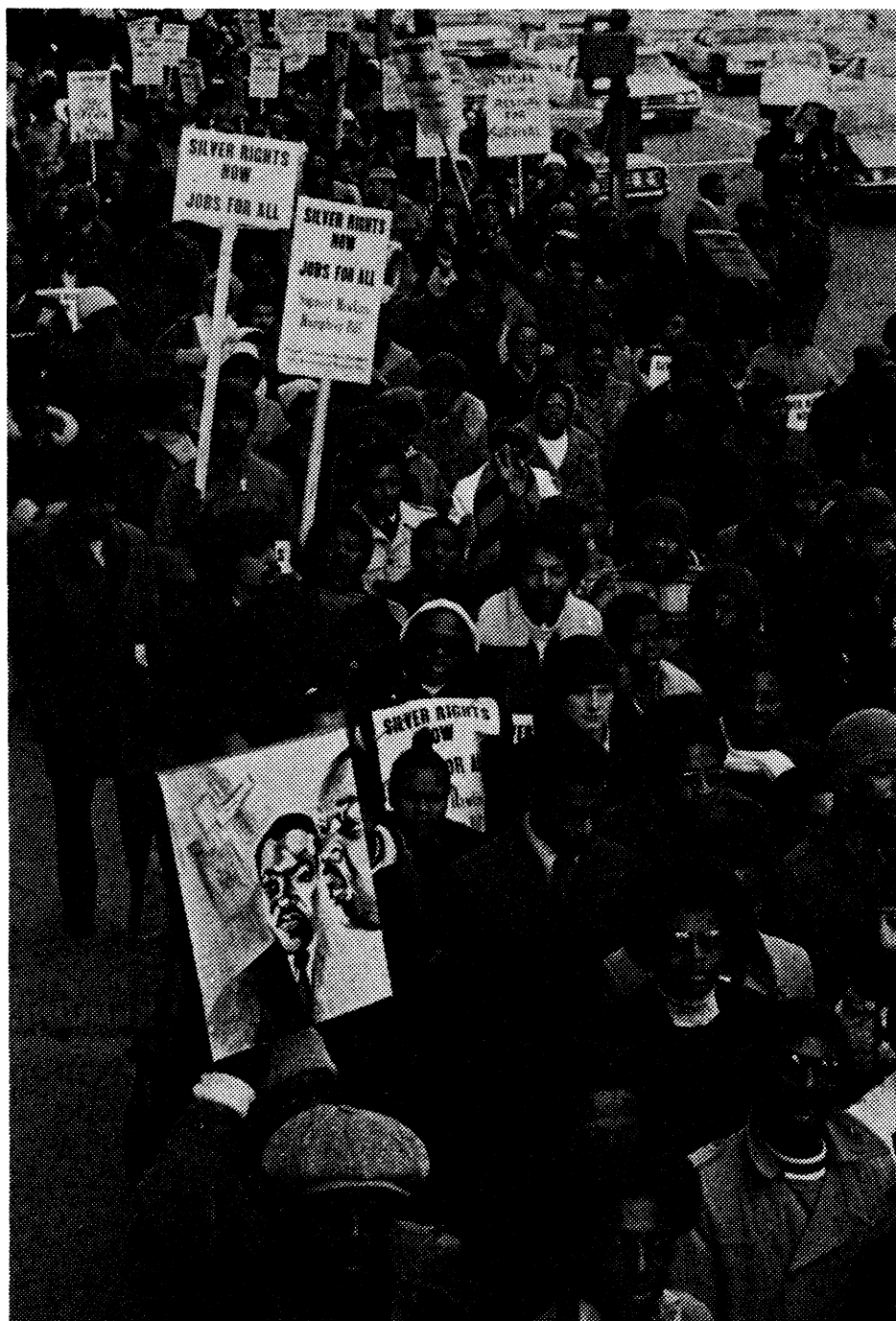


THE MILITANT

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

Rallies demand 'Jobs for All!'



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Washington, Jan. 15. Thousands march to protest soaring unemployment. For reports on actions across country, see pages 4-6.



Militant/Joseph Ryan

Students mobilize for nat'l antiracist meeting

—See page 14

Rightist bomb kills two at Puerto Rican rally

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 3
JANUARY 31, 1975
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JAN. 22, 1975

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: L1 for eight issues, L2.50 for six months, L5 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

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

BLACKS LOSE GROUND IN COLLEGES: The American Council on Education has released a report showing that the number of Black students entering college declined from 8.7 percent of the first-year class in 1972 to 7.4 percent in 1974.

"It would appear that the vigorous effort to recruit Black students which resulted in the increases observed during the late 1960s and early 1970s have simply not been sustained during the past few years," said the University of California professor who headed the survey.

JUST A FRIENDLY SUGGESTION: "A sober but unflattering book on the du Pont enterprises and the du Pont family has been withdrawn by the Fortune Book Club after a telephone call from a du Pont company executive," reports the Jan. 21 New York Times.

The book, *Du Pont: Behind the Nylon Curtain*, was reviewed by Dick Roberts in last week's Militant. The Fortune Book Club, a subsidiary of the Book-of-the-Month Club, had planned to make the book its November 1974 selection. However, after learning that the Du Ponts considered the book "scurrilous and unfair," the club dropped the selection.

Unemployment is soaring to its highest levels since the Great Depression. What's behind the economic crisis? How is it affecting working people across the country? What can we do?

These are a few of the questions to be taken up in next week's Militant—a special issue devoted to unemployment and the socialist program to win jobs for all.

We urge all our readers to join in a nationwide effort to get this special issue out to working people on the job, on unemployment lines, and in the communities. Order a bundle today, and we'll bill you for 17 cents a copy. Order from: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

PROTEST DISCRIMINATION BY TV STATIONS: Four New York television stations were visited Jan. 15 by women affiliated with the Coalition Against Racism and Sexism (CARS). The licenses of these stations come up for renewal this year, and CARS intends to challenge them because of the stations' discriminatory hiring policies and racist and sexist programming.

Legally, the stations are required to broadcast programs that are "in the interests of the public" and to consult with community groups and leaders in deciding their programming. "They are an absolute fraud," said Feminist Party head Irene DaVall.

The CARS women who visited WCBS found that "no relevant women's groups" were interviewed by the station, whose after-tax profits in 1973 were \$61-million. However, WCBS did consult with the Pussycat League of New York and the Girl Scouts.

National Educational Television, Black feminist Flo-rynce Kennedy maintained, was just as bad. She charged, "The increase in the budget for the program Wall Street Week in Review was more than was spent on all the Black programming last year."

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: Two recent issues of Los Barrios, a Chicano newspaper published monthly in Hondo, Tex., include several articles reprinted from The Militant. The issue dated Nov. 20 carried coverage from The Militant of the Oct. 27 New York rally for independence for Puerto Rico. Also reprinted are Harry Ring's article "Saxbe escalates the war on 'illegal aliens'" and Miguel Pendas's review of the TV show "Chico and the Man."

The Dec. 20 issue of Los Barrios features on the back page Jon Hillson's report on the narrow escape of Black students from a lynch mob at South Boston High School Dec. 11. Also included in this issue are Harry Ring's article on the election of Raza Unida Party leader Jose Angel Gutierrez as judge of Zavala County and a Militant report on an antideportation protest organized by Dallas students at the end of November.

El Renacimiento, from Lansing, Michigan, reprinted Tom Fiske's article on the witch-hunt against children without visas being conducted in the Houston Independent School District. The article originally appeared in the Dec. 6, 1974, edition of The Militant.

HAVE SOME WATER: Three major steel companies in Pittsburgh have filed an appeal against federal regulations that would force them to cut back the amount of poison they have been pumping into the city's water supply.

The Environmental Protection Agency had called on the companies to reduce the amount of cyanide dumped into

the Monongahela River from the present 2,503 pounds daily to 15.1 pounds by 1977.

It also asked for a decrease in the 869 pounds of phenol, a caustic acid by-product, that is dumped into the river every day. The phenol is being blamed for an epidemic of intestinal disorders among the population of the South Hills district of the city. Hundreds fell ill after drinking water became foul-tasting and smelly.

"Pittsburgh exemplifies the type of place where there is no barrier between what industry dumps in a river and what people drink in their morning cup of coffee," Dr. Robert Harris, a scientist with the Environmental Defense Fund, commented after studying the local water supply.

AFRAID OF THE TRUTH? Although court decisions have repeatedly upheld the right of prisoners to receive and read socialist periodicals such as The Militant, prison authorities continue to arbitrarily interfere with the constitutional rights of the people in their power.

The latest case occurred at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary when the Dec. 20 issue of The Militant, with an article by Miguel Pendas titled "Behind the Leavenworth prison rebellion," was banned. All of the copies mailed to Militant subscribers there were returned to The Militant business office without any excuse or explanation.

YSA WINS FLORIDA POLITICAL RIGHTS FIGHT: After a four-year civil liberties campaign, the Young Socialist Alliance has won the right to be officially recognized on Florida state campuses. The YSA was banned in 1970 by a decision of the state board of regents. The regents ruled that the YSA, as a revolutionary organization, presented a "clear and present danger" to the Florida educational system.

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus was formed in 1971 to win public support for the YSA's legal challenge to the ban. In the course of the defense effort, many campus organizations, professors, and student governments from all over the country endorsed the YSA's right to recognition.

In the first legal challenge to the ban, in July 1972, the board of regents was upheld. A May 1974 ruling by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals made it possible for the YSA to reapply for recognition, though the ruling fell short of reversing the lower court's decision to maintain the ban. The Florida State University administration approved the YSA's new application for recognition Dec. 9.

POSTSCRIPT TO WOUNDED KNEE: A major element in the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 was the corruption of the tribal government at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. After the occupation, American Indian Movement leader Russell Means ran for the post of tribal president against Richard Wilson, losing by a vote of 1,714 to 1,514. Now, a report by the Civil Rights Commission confirms charges of fraud made by Means. It says, "Almost one-third of all the votes cast appear to have been in some manner improper."

—DAVE FRANKEL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

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Revelations of CIA spying on the antiwar and civil rights movements have been met with the standard White House response: cover-up. But the truth is leaking out anyway. The Militant will bring you all the news—and the facts behind the news. Don't miss an issue—subscribe today.

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Won't abolish spy agency

Congress debates 'oversight' on CIA

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — "They call it termination with extreme prejudice," said Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), describing the CIA's practice of assassinating its own agents when they are no longer of use.

He was discussing the Jan. 20 decision of the Senate Democratic Caucus to launch a special Senate investigation of CIA spying, similar to the Watergate inquiry conducted by Sam Ervin. The proposed investigation would also take up illegal activities of other secret-police agencies.

The Democrats debated behind closed doors for a week before arriving at a decision on how to respond to the public outrage over CIA spying. The pressure continued to mount as CIA Director William Colby

attuned to the public mood wanted to dissociate themselves from these committees, which are precisely the bodies that were supposed to be watching CIA activities all along.

Those favoring a less-tarnished investigatory body made it clear, however, that they had no intention of putting an end to CIA spying. The proposed investigation, warned Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho), "doesn't mean that the Senate is about to shuck the CIA or any other intelligence operation." Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) added, for emphasis, that "neither a witch-hunt nor a whitewash will be here conducted. Nor will any dismantling of the intelligence community be here attempted."

Both Democrats and Republicans accept the basic premise that the CIA and other secret-police agencies have a "right" to spy on opponents of government policies. As Senator John Pastore (D-R. I.) put it, there is "no intention here to injure or destroy military intelligence or civilian intelligence."

'Intelligence'

But as the American people have learned recently, "intelligence" is a euphemism for a broad range of activities—from "destabilizing" the Allende regime in Chile to financing right-wing gangs of Cuban counterrevolutionaries in the U.S. to burglarizing the homes of political dissidents.

So long as such practices are carried out, the ruling class can tolerate no breaches in the wall of secrecy surrounding them. When CIA Director William Colby released his 45-page report in answer to the charges of illegal spying, he argued that "we cannot relax, and indeed must intensify efforts to preserve the secrecy of operational details" in the CIA.

Colby had the gall to demand more secrecy at the same time he admitted that the basic charges against his agency are all true. Among the illegal activities his report acknowledged were:

- In 1967, just three weeks after Lyndon Johnson set up a commission to investigate the causes of the ghetto rebellions that summer, the CIA launched a secret investigation to spy for this commission. The purpose, said Colby, was to see "whether foreign stimulation or support was being provided to this dissident activity."
- The CIA "recruited or inserted



Big Brother is still watching

about a dozen individuals into American dissident circles in order to establish their credentials for operations abroad."

- In 1967, the CIA infiltrated political organizations in Washington, D. C., "to gather information relating to plans for demonstrations, pickets, protests, or break-ins that might endanger CIA personnel, facilities, and information."

- The agency accumulated files on 10,000 U.S. citizens between 1967 and 1974.

- The CIA secretly wiretapped U.S. residents and conducted break-ins against past and present CIA employees.

- The CIA spied on government employees suspected of leaking secret

information and opened their mail.

Colby refused to reveal what groups or individuals were the victims of these attacks, and he only admitted to a fraction of the CIA's crimes.

For example, the Colby report admitted to only three cases of CIA break-ins against domestic dissidents. This was exposed as a cover-up in a Jan. 19 article by *New York Times* reporter Seymour Hersh.

Former "high-level members" of the CIA told Hersh that "there were a number of C.I.A.-directed wiretaps and break-ins in the United States in the last 10 years aimed at radicals and other dissident groups. Some of these activities, they said, were conducted by outside 'contract' operatives

Continued on page 22

SWP evidence

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo has applied to testify before the Rockefeller Commission and the congressional commissions that have been formed to investigate CIA and FBI actions against the American people.

In his letter to the Rockefeller commission, Camejo noted, "The Socialist Workers Party knew of the FBI's 'Counterintelligence Programs' two years before Attorney General Saxbe admitted their existence. As a victim of such programs, we are quite familiar with their features."

"In the case of the CIA," he continued, "we are prepared to present evidence of CIA complicity in an armed arson attack on our Los Angeles headquarters."

Camejo's letter concluded: "We believe that your commission should take whatever steps are necessary to open all of the CIA's files to the inspection of the American people, and we would like an opportunity to present this point of view."

issued a report admitting many of the CIA's illegal activities, and as indignation at President Ford's pro-CIA "blue ribbon" panel increased.

FBI spying

What really seemed to tip the scales in the view of the Senate Democrats, however, was the *Washington Post's* disclosure Jan. 19 that the FBI has been keeping files on the drinking habits and sexual lives of members of Congress.

The new information on FBI spying prodded two subcommittees of the House Judiciary Committee to schedule their own hearings on illegal FBI activities. FBI chief Clarence Kelley and Deputy Attorney General Laurence Silberman are scheduled to appear before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights Jan. 30. The Administration of Justice Subcommittee also plans to hold hearings.

The investigation called for by the Senate Democratic Caucus would take up, among other crimes, CIA spying inside the United States; FBI "counterintelligence" activities; the use of burglary, opening of mail, and wiretapping by government agencies; and the 1970 Huston spy plan. It is expected that the caucus proposal will pass easily in the full Senate.

A few Senate Democrats opposed the new investigation. Conservatives, led by John Stennis of Mississippi, argued for letting the existing CIA "oversight" committees, such as his own Armed Services Committee, control the inquiry.

But those politicians more closely

Militant opens Washington Bureau

For the first time in its history, *The Militant* has opened a news bureau in Washington, D. C. Staff writer Cindy Jaquith has moved to Washington to head the bureau.

Jaquith, 27, joined the *Militant* staff in 1972 after having served as national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. She has written on a wide range of subjects, including the women's liberation movement, Watergate, and the trade unions.

This past fall, Jaquith covered the United Mine Workers strike and traveled extensively through the mine fields.

The establishment of the Washington Bureau will make possible improved coverage of important congressional debates, hearings, and other national political developments. Already we are able to provide direct accounts of the unfolding story of illegal CIA spying.

This expansion coincides with the opening of the 1976 presidential race. Jaquith will be in a good position to report the activities and statements of the capitalist candidates, as well as those of Socialist Workers Party nominees Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.



Cindy Jaquith

Militant/Flax Hermes

In February Jaquith will accompany Camejo on the first leg of his opening national tour, providing *Militant* readers with a firsthand account of the campaign.

At a time of skyrocketing costs, the money to carry out this step is difficult for us to come by. Inflation—especially of postage and paper costs—has put the squeeze on our budget just at the time when the opportunities for increasing our readership are greater than ever.

We are confident, though, that readers will agree with us about the importance of the new Washington Bureau and will help by sending the contributions needed to set up, equip, and maintain it. Please send your contribution to the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

The Washington Bureau is located at 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D. C. 20004.

'This is the beginning'

Jan. 15 protesters circle White House

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A bitter wind whipped around the White House Jan. 15, but it failed to deter 4,500 demonstrators, the overwhelming majority of them Black, who were marching here to demand jobs.

The protest was part of a national day of actions against unemployment and in commemoration of the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr.

The marchers—high school and college students, church and community activists, and trade unionists—chanted "Jobs for All!" and sang civil rights songs as they wound their way around the White House. Clusters of Black government employees gathered at the street corners to cheer them on, some joining the demonstration.

Meanwhile, well-dressed business executives and government officials, sitting in their limousines at the White House curb, peered sullenly out at the crowd.

Initiated nationally by Operation PUSH, the action here was organized through the Black churches, particularly the Metropolitan A.M.E. church. At the conclusion of the march, Reverend Jesse Jackson, national president of PUSH, addressed the crowd.

'No special favor'

He blasted the economic proposals President Ford was presenting at that very moment to Congress in his State of the Union address. "President Ford says what we ought to do is get a tax rebate," said Jack-



JESSE JACKSON: 'Don't let anybody tell you that marches don't count.'

son. "How can a man with no income get a tax rebate? We don't want a rebate—we want a job! Don't do us any special favors—just give us a job!"

In addition to church groups, several trade-union organizations helped mobilize workers for the action, including the D.C. Central Labor Council and GUARD (Government Employees United Against Racial Discrimination.)

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) carried signs reading "Payrolls, not welfare rolls" and "Put a lid on prices, not wages."

Hundreds of people also waved signs in support of the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act

sponsored by Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.).

"I think this is the beginning of a number of marches until the situation changes in this country," said Geraldine Boykin, coordinator of the D.C. chapter of the CBTU. "As long as we have working people out of work, we're going to be marching and we're going to be protesting."

Among the other union groups represented were the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; American Postal Workers Union; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Hotel and Restaurant Employees; National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199; and United Farm Workers.

Several members of the Congressional Black Caucus and the D.C. city council also joined the march.

Supporters of the Feb. 14-16 National Student Conference Against Racism, to be held in Boston, carried a large banner reading "Stop the racist attacks—Jobs for all—Defend school desegregation in Boston."

'We want a J-O-B'

Many of the marchers were out of work. They quickly picked up the spontaneous chant of one group of high school students: "We want a J-O-B so we can E-A-T!"

A young Black mason told *The Militant* he had been laid off eight months ago. "In the summer, the government wasn't doing anything about unemployment," he said. "I saw it coming, but there was nothing I could do about it."

"The control's sitting in that White House back there. They got the whole power in their hands."

A high school student said she was afraid she would lose her part-time maintenance job soon. "Instead of sending people to the moon and stuff, they should fix what's down here first," she said.

"I believe the government has not really told the truth to the American people," said James Allen, a Black veteran. From his experience as a community worker, Allen said, "Unemployment's much higher than 7 or 8 percent. I would say it's anywhere from 10 to 15 percent."

At the conclusion of the rally, marchers raised clenched fists and chanted, "I want a job!", "Soul pow-

er!", and "Black power!"

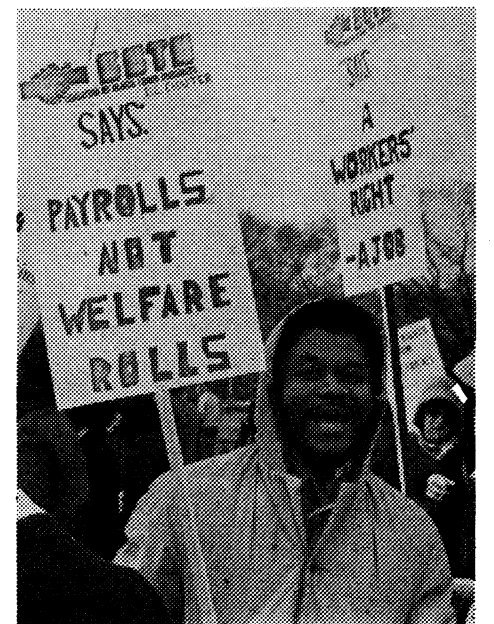
"We made America what it is," Jackson declared in his speech. "We're mistreated and we don't like it—we're tired. Last hired and first fired — we're tired. . . ."

"Today is not the end of something, it's the beginning of something," he said. "Don't let anybody tell you that marches don't count. Don't let anybody tell you that pressure does not count."

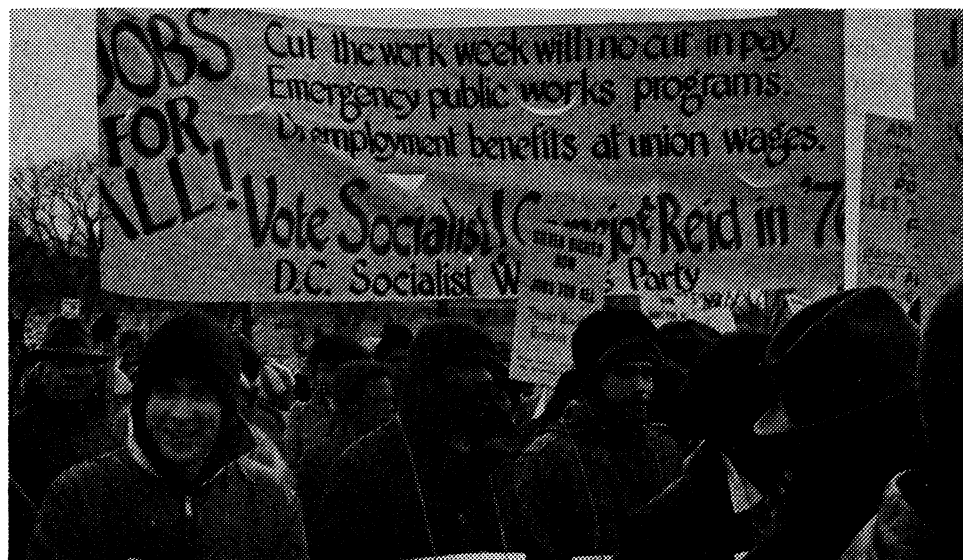
As the crowd roared its approval, Jackson pointed over to the White House: "They've got their eyes on us."

'Back to the streets'

Indeed, the White House, Congress, big business, and the press are all eyeing the growing protests



Militant/Dennis Scarla



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Supporters of SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid marched Jan. 15 and distributed copies of campaign platform, 'Bill of Rights for Working People.'

against unemployment. As Colman McCarthy commented in a Jan. 15 *Washington Post* column titled "Back to the Streets": "Many will be watching today's demonstrations to see how many turn out to march around the White House. Cameramen will gather there to catch sight of 'the movement's strength' . . ."

"It is as though after the hard work of the mid-1960s the country took a nap and only now is waking. Fittingly, it is to the same sounds that were heard in the 1960s when King, Jackson and others were pressuring for change."

"This time, the sounds of marching feet and chanting voices will come from more than the blacks."

Demonstrations across nation hit unemployment

Demonstrations against rising unemployment were held in many cities Jan. 15—more than 50, according to Jesse Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, which initiated the actions.

In addition, many memorial meetings were held to commemorate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. The need to continue King's struggle for civil rights and genuine social equality for Black people was a frequent theme.

In Atlanta, 1,500 people demonstrated to demand an end to hunger, unemployment, and inflation. The crowd, predominantly Black, marched from King's gravesite on Auburn Avenue through downtown Atlanta, stopping at the Chamber of Commerce offices, the Fulton County office building, and city hall.

At city hall statements were read demanding jobs, improvements in un-

employment and welfare benefits, and increased food stamp allotments.

Students from several state universities and colleges carried a banner against a proposed 30 percent tuition hike voted by the board of regents.

The march ended in a brief rally on the steps of the state capital. Speakers included Reverend Joe Boone of the Metro Atlanta Summit Leadership Congress; State Representative Hosea Williams, president of Atlanta SCLC; and Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia in 1974.

One thousand people in Philadelphia joined in a King memorial service and a march and rally for jobs.

Reverend Leon Sullivan, founder of the Opportunities Industrialization Center, was the main speaker at the Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church. "The battle is still on in the fight against racism," he said, urging people to "put

our fighting and marching shoes on again."

Speakers at the rally for jobs included Reverend Willie Barrow, national vice-president of Operation PUSH; Reverend Charles Walker, president of Philadelphia PUSH; state representatives Lucien Blackwell and Dave Richardson; Charles Bowser, director of the Urban Coalition; and a representative of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

Barrow and Walker demanded that funds already allocated under the federal government's unemployment programs be spent immediately for new jobs. Walker had led a march of 50 unemployed persons to the state employment agency Jan. 13 to demand that these jobs be made available.

In Los Angeles, 300 demonstrators marched to city hall in an action sponsored by the Coalition for Economic Survival, an umbrella organization

of some 40 groups.

Prominent on the line of march were banners of the Retail Clerks union, United Rubber Workers Local 44, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2070.

Marchers chanted, "We want jobs now" and "Ford is a jerk—We want work," and carried signs and banners that read, "We Need Jobs, Not Guns!", "Less Talk, Mr. Ford, and More Food!", and "Roll Back Prices—Roll Back Profits."

The crowd swelled to 500 as it assembled at the steps of city hall. Mayor Thomas Bradley addressed the rally. Pointing to the overall unemployment rate of 8.7 percent in Los Angeles County, he said that "there are pockets of unemployment in the county four or five times that high."

Bradley urged passage of the full-

Continued on page 22

1,500 rally in Chicago

Blacks, unionists demand: 'Jobs for All!'

By JUDY HAGANS

CHICAGO—Fifteen hundred demonstrators gathered at the civic center here Jan. 15 to rally and march to the federal building demanding "Jobs for All."

At the brief rally, one of the speakers told participants that they would march seven times around the federal building like the armies of Joshua at the walls of Jericho, because "we want to bring down the walls" of discrimination, unemployment, and inflation.

Called together by a coalition of Black, trade union, religious, community, and political organizations, the demonstrators were protesting soaring unemployment, which is spreading impoverishment throughout the city.

Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, a veteran leader of the civil rights movement, told the rally, "We're tired of crumbs. We want some of the loaf. We want jobs."

Among the trade-union organizations present at the march were United Auto Workers Locals 6 and 1307; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Locals 1006 and 2000; Chicago Teachers Union; Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; United Farm Workers; American Federation of Teachers Black Caucus; Service Employees International Union Local 329; Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Other organizations included the Socialist Workers Party, Association of Chicago Priests, Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, Women for Peace, Communist Party, October League, The Woodlawn Organization, Christopher House Day Care Center, and CASA.

CASA has been fighting the government-sponsored attempt to blame the recession on undocumented work-



'We want to bring down the walls' of discrimination, unemployment, and inflation

Militant/Tom O'Brien

ers. Their signs declared, "'Illegal Aliens' Do Not Cause Unemployment."

Several student and youth groups were present with banners and placards. One contingent marched to the rally site from the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois.

Others came from the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, and the Student Committee Against Racism in Boston, which is organizing for the national student conference Feb. 14-16 in Boston to map out a strategy for defending school desegregation.

Bill Dawson, a member of the committee and a leader of the Roosevelt University student government, said the struggle for jobs and the struggle against racism are related: "The basis of the whole struggle is economic injustice."

Slogans urged cutbacks in military spending, reduced food prices, no increase in utility bills, and full employment. Some read, "Let the bosses pay the losses," "Stop the layoffs," and "Jobs for all—Preferential hiring of Blacks, women, Chicanos, and Puer-

to Ricans."

The "Jobs for All" demonstration was preceded by a commemoration of the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr.

The Operation PUSH headquarters was packed with 1,500 people, mostly Blacks, who assembled to pay tribute to King.

This memorial meeting was not a mournful lament for a slain leader. It was charged with the electrifying feeling that Blacks and poor people are beginning to move again.

Reverend Wilfred Reid, president of Chicago PUSH, spoke of the freedom fighters of the 1950s and '60s who "risked the impromptu baptism of firehoses and served as tempting items on the menu of police dogs."

Declaring, "We can't adjourn the struggle for civil rights and human decency," Reid called on those present to join the demonstration to demand the right to a job.

Alan Barker, president of the Combined City Colleges student government, told how the imposition of tuition at the formerly free community colleges, attended by thousands

of Blacks and many Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, has caused declining student enrollment and layoffs of instructors.

Barbara Merrill, Illinois state convener of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), was also among the speakers. Hitting the myth that the income of women is incidental, she declared, "We need work because we have to work!" and announced that CLUW would be at the march.

Hilton Hanna, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, said working people have to "take matters into our own hands" by waging united struggles. Thunderous applause greeted Hanna's conclusion: "When governments go awry, it is the right, duty, and responsibility of us—we the people—to change the government and make it serve us."

The keynote address was given by Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, who received a standing ovation after urging the crowd: "Let's walk together, fight together, move together. Step by step we're going to get our freedom."

Why we march: protesters speak out on layoffs

By TOM O'BRIEN

CHICAGO—Mary Woods, a cashier at a clothing store on this city's northwest side, was one of the participants in the PUSH-sponsored meeting Jan. 15 commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr.

She was there because "I believe in what Dr. King stood for. I believe that everyone should have a job."

Although Woods herself is still working, many of her fellow workers have recently been laid off, even "people that have been there 30 years."

Nadine Roberts has been without work for six months. She was a calibrator at Stewart-Warner, a manufacturer of measuring devices. A member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1031 and a union steward, she was fired when she defended herself against a physical attack by a supervisor.

Since then, she said, she has had "a lot of prospects" but no job. The latest opening she heard of is in Northbrook, a suburb some 10 miles north of the city. Getting there will be hard, she said, but "I'll do anything to feed my child."

Her friend Mary Davis interjected that the moving of factories out into the suburbs "is part of the recession. It means a lot of Blacks will be without jobs."

Davis worked for Eastman Kodak until Jan. 13, when she was laid off along with eight other people on her shift. All nine are Black; all are women.



Militant/Tom O'Brien

Coalition of Labor Union Women was among many union groups marching Jan. 15

A large proportion of the marchers on Jan. 15 were women, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women was there with its own banner.

More trade unionists were involved in this action than had marched in similar protests here last fall. Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local P-500 brought three busloads of people. Five hundred of the local's 3,000 members have been laid off in the past few months, according to Felix Long, secretary-treasurer of Local P-500.

Although 80 out of 600 workers at the Bluebird packing plant on the South Side are now out of work, the meat plants themselves are not being hit as hard as related industries. One young Local P-500 member told *The*

Militant that 40 to 50 of the 95 people at the plant where he works have been laid off.

A contingent of 25 teachers from the Chicago Teachers Union marched in the demonstration. One teacher, a white man in his thirties, said teachers are facing layoffs today because of a decline in the number of children going to school. It is claimed there is less need for teachers. But, he said, "We do still need them." The "surplus" of teachers could be used to reduce class sizes and provide more special programs.

Several members of United Auto Workers Local 1307 were at the march. According to one of them, Norman Dalton, the 1,800 workers

at International Harvester's West Pullman works on the far South Side have not yet been hit by layoffs and expect to keep working as long as the supply of steel lasts.

They were marching, however, because of a feeling that unemployment is a problem that also involves those who still have jobs. About half of those interviewed on the march were still working, but as one teacher put it: "I can expect to be laid off at any time. There's no security. If you have a job today, it can be gone tomorrow."

Among the younger demonstrators were many students. One University of Chicago senior said she was there because the march wasn't only about unemployment but about the whole economic situation. Besides, she pointed out, students face unemployment once they leave school.

By demonstrating she hoped to pressure the government to do something about the recession. "The demonstrations in the peace movement certainly had an effect on Congress," she said.

Ford's latest economic program, especially the proposal to increase the price of oil, was angrily dismissed by those at the demonstration with terms like "a swindle."

Sylvester Dockens, who is studying carpentry at trade school but has been unable to find a job, said he didn't think there had to be a recession "if the rich would be willing to share what they have made off the poor with the poor."

Candidate joins protest

Reid offers program to win full employment

CHICAGO—Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, was the only mayoral candidate to participate in the Jan. 15 demonstration for jobs.

Reid had publicly urged the other candidates to join her in protesting the rapidly rising unemployment rate in Chicago, but none of the Democratic and Republican contenders deigned to march with the unemployed for jobs.

Reid's supporters carried a large banner that read "Willie Mae Reid says: Shorten the workweek—no cut in pay—to provide jobs for all."

Reid has deep roots in the struggles of the Black community for social and economic justice. A participant in the early civil rights movement in Memphis, Tenn., Reid has experienced first hand the problems of working people there and in Chicago.

Reid was involved in the successful fight to establish Black studies courses at city colleges in Chicago. She also participated in Together One Community, a West Side community group that sought construction of low-cost housing.

In addition, Reid helped build African Liberation Day demonstrations in support of the struggles of African freedom fighters against Portuguese colonialism. She helped organize the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition in Chicago.

She worked on the publicity committee for the September 1973 demonstration of 8,000 in Chicago for "Jobs and Economic Justice," organized by Operation PUSH, trade unions, and community groups.

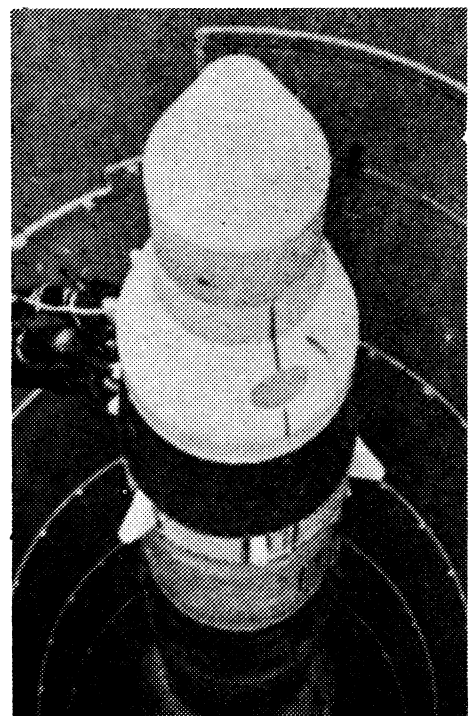
Reid also helped organize the Chicago-area contingent to the Dec. 14 Freedom March in Boston to defend school desegregation.

While challenging Richard "Boss" Daley for mayor in the April 1 municipal elections here, Reid has also been nominated by the Socialist Workers Party as its vice-presidential candidate for 1976.

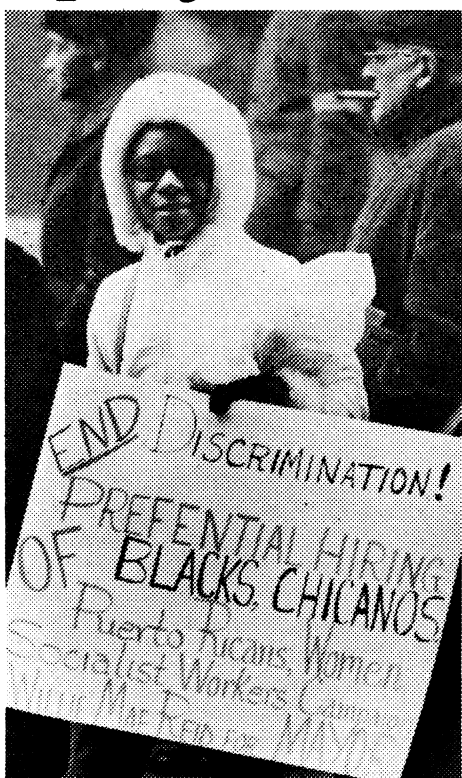
She and presidential candidate Peter Camejo are running on a platform that calls for a "Bill of Rights for Working People," including the right to a job and the right to an adequate income.

At the Jan. 15 rally here, campaign supporters distributed the following statement by Reid:

"The 'official' jobless rate in Chicago of 5.5 percent means that more than 168,000 people are out of work in



Money now wasted on weapons of war should be used to provide emergency program of useful public works jobs.



Militant/Terry Quilico

REID: 'I will use every opportunity as candidate for mayor of Chicago to help build demonstrations like Jan. 15.'

this city. But we know that real unemployment is much higher.

"Community organizations that have conducted investigations have revealed that in some West Side communities unemployment is as high as 45 percent. Thousands jam the corridors of city hall to apply for less than 1,000 'temporary' public service jobs.

"It is an elementary obligation of society to guarantee steady work for everyone. This can be done by the following measures:

"An emergency public works program should be launched to provide jobs through building homes, extending mass transportation, and constructing hospitals, parks, schools, and other social necessities—especially in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, where they are most needed.

"As a first step, the huge sums necessary to pay for this program should come from eliminating the tax dollars spent on military expenditures. Taxes on big industries should be raised and a 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$25,000 should be imposed.

"Working hours should be reduced with no reduction in pay in order to spread the available work and achieve full employment.

"We shouldn't allow one plant in Chicago to be closed down. If the bosses want to close them down they should be opened by the government and placed under the control of the workers.

"In order to assure economic independence for women, city-financed child-care centers should be established. Maternity leaves with full pay should be granted.

"Racism and sexism on the job must be fought by demanding preferential hiring for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and women. And workers who are not U. S. citizens—including those without papers—have the right to jobs and equal pay without fear of harassment and deportation.

"As working people we can achieve jobs for all only by relying on our own power and organization, by organizing demonstrations like Jan. 15, rallies, strikes, and boycotts. I will use every opportunity available to me as a candidate for mayor of Chicago to help build such actions."

Where SWP stands

Camejo: 'Put human needs above profits'

From time to time The Militant will feature the responses Socialist Workers Party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are giving to various important questions facing working people.

The following are excerpts from Camejo's answers to questions from reporters at the St. Louis news conference last month launching the SWP 1976 presidential campaign.

Question: You say you're for the right to a job and free medical care. But how can these be achieved?

Answer: If a corporation cannot make a profit and therefore decides to close down and lay off 20,000 workers, we would be in favor of immediately nationalizing that corporation under workers control.

The workers should be kept working. Their families depend on their pay and we all depend on the products these workers make for our well-being.

If the corporate millionaires in this country decide that it is not in their interest to keep producing—well, it is in our interest. We put the interest of working people above the interest of the millionaires.

In the depression of the 1930s almost one-third of the people were out of work. That depression could have been ended overnight by just reopening the factories. The factories didn't go away.

Who made the decision to shut the

to the millionaires while people can't get decent medical aid.

Q: Are you opposed to a person getting ahead and having money because they've worked hard all their life?

A: No. But it's just the opposite: the people who work the hardest in our society are the ones who are getting the least. That's the problem.

Rockefeller didn't get his billions by working. The day he was born he was richer than all of us in this room put together. And he didn't work to be born—it just happened.

You know, when he was growing up, his parents didn't say, "Nelson, when you grow up you are going to get ahead." He was already ahead the day he was born.

No, we're not opposed to those who work hard. In fact, we think those of us who work should begin to get our fair share.

Q: Why are you running against the Democrats and Republicans when the odds are that you will lose the election?

A: The Democrats and Republicans do not represent the interests of the majority of people. When the polls showed that a majority of us wanted to get out of Vietnam, they continued the war for five years against our will.

Right now the majority of the American people want to see an end



Militant/Pat Hayes

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidates for president and vice-president in 1976, answer reporters' questions at St. Louis news conference.

factories down? People like Rockefeller. Why? Only because they did not find it profitable enough to run them. But who decided that Rockefeller should have a billion dollars? We never voted on that.

We would keep the factories open. If a corporation says it's not profitable to run a factory, we'll run it instead. We would establish committees of workers in these factories to administer them, and they would be made part of a national economic plan.

We are for a society that puts human beings first and organizes its economy democratically.

You ask how we can make medical care free. Right now in the United States the government spends \$100-billion a year for the war budget. We would immediately abolish this war budget and allocate those funds for useful social purposes such as medical care.

Thirty billion dollars a year also goes into the pockets of the rich as interest payments on the federal government's debt. We would put an immediate moratorium on such payments. We say, not one more penny

to unemployment, but the Democrats and Republicans permit it to continue. It is in their power to end unemployment, but they don't do it.

Nothing does more to convince people that the Democrats and Republicans do not represent them than the spectacle of President Ford and the Democratic Congress twiddling their thumbs while millions of people lose their jobs or have their pay cut.

We would take the decisive steps that the Democrats and Republicans will not take because they represent a different class interest. But the proposals we are making cannot be implemented until we win the support of the majority of the American people. That is our goal.

We are like the abolitionists in the nineteenth century. They began with a profound feeling that there was a basic problem in the United States—slavery. The abolitionists campaigned to convince the American people to end the system of slavery, and eventually they succeeded.

We are running to convince the American people that socialism is necessary, and we know that we will succeed.

Rightist terrorists kill two in Puerto Rico; PSP hits government's repressive drive

By JOSE PEREZ

Two young workers were murdered in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, in a Jan. 11 bombing attack directed at participants in a Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) rally. The bomb was placed in a nearby restaurant frequented by proindependence activists. It went off 40 minutes before the rally was scheduled to start, killing the two and injuring 12 others.

The PSP-sponsored gathering is an annual event held to commemorate the birth in Mayagüez of Eugenio María de Hostos, a Puerto Rican revolutionary of the late 1800s. These rallies also celebrate the founding of the Pro-Independence Movement by 100 *independentistas* in the same city in 1959. Four years ago that group became the PSP.

According to the Jan. 13 *Claridad*, daily newspaper of the PSP, one of the two persons killed was Luis Angel Charbonier, a close sympathizer of

the party. He worked at a cement factory and played a leading role in his union as an officer of its credit cooperative.

The other person murdered in the bombing was Eddie Román Torres, an employee of the restaurant. Among the 12 persons injured was Julieta Muñoz, a *Claridad* reporter.

Bombs were also placed at a Burger King and a clothing store, but these were dismantled by police.

The "Cuban Anti-Communist Liberation Front" made several telephone calls to police on Jan. 11 announcing they would carry out actions against the socialists' meeting. A San Juan, Puerto Rico, daily received a similar message. Radio stations broadcast rumors that violence was expected in Mayagüez for several hours before the rally was scheduled to begin.

In spite of these threats and the intense police surveillance of the PSP in Mayagüez for days before and on the day of the rally, *Claridad* reports that at the time the bomb exploded the cops were not around.

Protest repression

In spite of the bombing, the PSP rally was held. The speakers blasted the escalating terrorist and police attacks on the PSP, on other proindependence groups, and on trade unions.

Juan Mari Brás, who has been the central leader of the PSP since its founding, was the main speaker at the rally. Much of his address, which was reprinted in the Jan. 13 and Jan. 14 issues of *Claridad*, focused on the stepped-up repressive campaign.

Mari Brás called the government's drive against the PSP a "McCarthyite witch-hunt" and pointed to several incidents to show that the U.S. and Puerto Rican governments are engaged in a concerted campaign to destroy the PSP:

● Beginning in December, PSP militants have been followed openly by police and party headquarters have been under surveillance.



Several thousand attend PSP-sponsored rally Jan. 11 despite murderous bomb attack

● In Ponce, the police searched the homes of several party leaders, and when they were unable to find anything, the FBI stepped in. FBI agents broke down the door to Delfin Ramos's home while no one was there and "found" explosives. Local police a few days before had been unable to "find" anything because witnesses were present. Ramos was charged with possession of the bombs and is being held in jail. Bail has been set at \$200,000.

● Drug and narcotics police harass PSP members when it is a widely known fact that PSP members do not use or deal in drugs.

● Proindependence legislator Carlos Gallisá announced that he was joining the PSP several days before the rally. Between the time of the announcement and the rally police charged him with driving without his seat belt fastened and with driving through a traffic light. Both traffic tickets were widely reported in the media, with notice taken that the legislator has just joined the PSP.

Mari Brás explained that this is intended to make working people think, "If that happens to Gallisá, what is going to happen to me if I join that party?"

● On Jan. 3 a dynamite blast ripped through the headquarters of the Boilermakers union at 9 p.m., a time when union staff are usually still working. Pedro Grant, one of the leaders of the Boilermakers, is a member of the central committee of the PSP. The "Cuban Anti-Communist Liberation Front" also assumed responsibility for this assassination attempt. Fortunately, no one was in the offices when the bomb went off.

Not intimidated

Mari Brás singled out the large attendance at the rally, which he estimated at more than 10,000, as a sign that the PSP and other *independentistas* would not be intimidated.

He blamed the terrorist bomb attacks not only on the right-wing Cuban exiles, but also on the "yanqui imperialists" and "the colonial puppets at their service, from [Puerto Rican Governor] Hernández Colón on down."

In spite of repeated verbal assurances by the cops that they are searching for the murderers, no one has been arrested. In the past two years there have been 160 terrorist attacks against *independentistas*. Not one person has ever been charged for any of these crimes.

SWP offers solidarity

The following is from a message sent Jan. 21 by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo to Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

I want to express my complete solidarity with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in light of the recent terrorist attacks against the PSP.

I take this occasion to reaffirm my commitment to utilize my presidential campaign to fight for Puerto Rican independence and to expose the terrorist, violent, and antidemocratic methods with which the ruling class of this country maintains its domination of Puerto Rico.

Viva Puerto Rico Libre!

In solidarity,
Peter Camejo

Interview falsified

Camejo denounces 'El Diario' fabrication

By JOSE PEREZ

NEW YORK—"Slandering falsifications"—that's what Peter Camejo called statements attributed to him by the widely read New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*. The paper quoted Camejo as attacking the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and comparing Fidel Castro to Stalin.

The statements attributed to Camejo, who is the Socialist Workers Party 1976 presidential candidate, appeared in a page 2 article in the paper's Jan. 15 edition.

The story, written by César Marín, claims Camejo "criticized the secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Juan Mari Brás, for his announced 'armed revolution' to achieve independence for Puerto Rico." The socialist candidate was quoted as saying, "The intention of fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico is very good, but without violence. I reject war."

Marín also claimed that "commenting on the regime in Cuba, he [Camejo] classified it as 'Stalinist' . . . He pointed out that Cuba is governed by 'a new caste . . . one to five people, no more, are in command.'"

In a letter sent to *El Diario-La*

Prensa the same day the article appeared, Camejo referred specifically to the quotes on these two topics as "totally false." He said, "I have known and admired Juan Mari Brás as a consistent fighter for Puerto Rican independence since 1960. I expressed



Newspaper charge that Camejo opposes Cuban revolution is refuted by public record. Above, Camejo speaks at 1961 rally against U.S. invasion.

that opinion to Marín. I have also been a longtime supporter of the Cuban revolution and consider Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban revolution as self-sacrificing and dedicated revolutionaries."

Copies of Camejo's strongly worded letter of protest were sent to the PSP, to the Cuban mission to the United Nations, and to a number of newspapers.

The letter pointed out that "one effect of this article is to create enmity and distrust between the Socialist Workers Party and other supporters of Puerto Rican independence and the Cuban revolution."

Camejo charged that "these falsifications also serve to boost the present campaign of harassment and slander against the Puerto Rican Socialist Party [which] seeks to depict the PSP as 'violent' when in fact the PSP has been the victim of many right-wing terrorist attacks."

The Sunday, Jan. 19, *El Diario-La Prensa* reported on Camejo's letter in a page 2 article headlined "Socialist Admirers Mari Brás; Says Castro is Different from Stalin."

Nevertheless, Marín told *The Militant* that he considers the letter a "retraction" and asserted categorically

that he had quoted Camejo correctly.

Moreover, Marín told the bilingual *Claridad*, the U.S. newspaper of the PSP, that Camejo "didn't tell me it was 'off the record.'" This gives the false impression that Camejo had actually made the statements but didn't want them printed. *Claridad* published Marín's comment in an article reporting on Camejo's protest.

Marín, a Cuban exile who left after the revolution, claims that in his many years of reporting he has always been "very objective."

But, as Camejo pointed out in his letter, "I spoke to Mr. Marín for 45 minutes and was surprised that he did not make a recording of the interview nor take a single note. He questioned me in such an odd manner that I thought I was being interrogated instead of interviewed." Marín attributed 19 different direct quotations to Camejo in the story.

The fact that the statements were falsely attributed to the socialist candidate can be easily confirmed by anyone. Camejo has been a prominent socialist writer and speaker for 15 years and his views have appeared in print many times. These are totally different from the views attributed to him by César Marín.

Israeli human rights leader condemns violations of liberties in occupied lands

Beginning in the last days of September and continuing through the present time, the Israeli press has carried out an unprecedented campaign against Dr. Israel Shahak, a professor of chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and chairperson of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

One of the small number of Israeli Jews who has spoken out against the dispossession of the Palestinian people, Shahak came to Palestine in 1945 as a refugee from the Nazi concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen. He has gained international repute as a defender of human rights.

The latest barrage against him was provoked by his appearance in Amsterdam as a speaker on the Palestinian issue.

"This case may be an occasion for Israeli authorities to reconsider if such a person, who provides propaganda hostile to the State, is entitled to hold an Israeli passport," editorialized Maariv, one of the main Israeli newspapers.

Amnon Rubinstein, a well-known liberal Zionist, wrote a column in Haaretz, Israel's leading daily. "I have no doubt that there is much evidence—at least *prima facie*—that justifies bringing Shahak to trial on a charge of treason," Rubinstein noted. He called on the government to rescind Shahak's citizenship and take away his passport, and demanded that he be fired from his job at the Hebrew University.

Israel's minister of justice, Haim Zadok, affirmed in December that his department was collecting material for a possible treason trial against Shahak. Although friends of Shahak consider it unlikely that the government will actually go that far, there is a serious danger that he will be fired from his job.

A public statement in support of Shahak's civil liberties has been made by eight professors at the Hebrew University, and the student newspaper there has come out with an editorial supporting Shahak's rights.

The following article is an abridgment of one offered by Shahak to Haaretz. Shahak explains that in the entire hysterical campaign against him, "nothing of my opinions was explained in detail. I was only accused in general terms of being a 'slanderer,' 'poisoner of the wells of peace,' etc."

After some delay, Shahak was informed that Haaretz would print nothing by him.

Although for reasons of space Shahak deals only with the question of the occupied territories, even this limited indictment reveals all too clearly what the Zionist press is really afraid of—the truth.

The translation is by SWASIA, a weekly digest of news and translations concerning the Middle East and North Africa.

Maybe we can start with a simple problem: The number of Palestinians living now in the occupied territories is slightly above a million. Before the Israeli conquest the number of Palestinians living there was one and one-half million, plus some three hundred thousand more relatives working temporarily in various countries.

The first thing done by the occupation authorities was to organize by all means, both by means of cruel coercion and in supposedly "humane" ways, a mass-expulsion of Palestinians from their



Israeli troops in West Bank

motherland. This mass-expulsion (unlike the expulsion of individuals, about which I'll speak later) was carried out until August, 1968, and was only interrupted because the government of King Hussein shut the bridges for further expulsion.

In almost all Palestinian families that "policy" has caused separation of parents from children, of brothers from brothers and sisters; in short human suffering that it is hard to describe. But for the government of Israel, for all the Zionist parties and for undercover servants of the government like Uri Avneri, this is not a human problem, this is not a gross and cynical trampling underfoot of the most elementary values of justice—this is only the well-known "demographic problem."

In the "united" Jerusalem of today, the very same situation also prevails. The Israeli government speaks of "reunion of families" when it comes to Russian Jews, but does not allow the "reunion of families" when it comes to Palestinians of Jerusalem.

People who were born, and lived most of their life in Jerusalem are not allowed to come back and settle in their own city, if they are not Jews; of course, if a Dutchman converts to Judaism tomorrow (by way of Orthodox Jewish conversion) he will not only be allowed to do so at once, he will also get an apartment in Ramat-Eshkol (all-Jewish suburb of Jerusalem, built on Arab land conquered in 1967).

All the arrangements known as "summer visits", so praised by all sorts of hypocrites, [are] essentially meant to aggravate the problem: Brother is allowed to see brother, children to see their father. Of course, nostalgia becomes overwhelming, and then they are told: You want to reunite? Please do so—but on the other side of the Jordan river! Thus does false liberalism serve the real aim of the Israeli government: the expulsion of the Palestinians from their country.

Democratic rights

More than seven years have elapsed since the conquest.

Not only are political parties—all political parties—totally forbidden; even unions, such as trade-unions, student-unions or cultural associations, are forbidden. It is not only forbidden for Palestinians to demonstrate; it is also forbidden to go on strike; it is even forbidden to close one's own shop in sign of protest, even though it is hard to imagine a more peaceful way of protesting.

Moreover, Israel shamelessly and cynically violates, in the conquered territories, all the Geneva conventions.

Let us take as an example the blowing up of houses and other collective punishments. The facts are well known: When the occupation authorities arrest a suspect, even before he is put on trial, sometimes even before he is "officially" indicted, an order is issued to destroy the house in which the suspect lived. Sometimes it is the house of his family, sometimes not.

I have spoken of the mass expulsion that was interrupted in 1968 after King Hussein refused to cooperate. But the expulsion of individuals is taking place all the time. Here again, the story is simple.

The authorities come to a man's house in the middle of the night. They give him a half-hour

or an hour to pack up a few things, while making sure that neither he nor his family get in touch with the outside.

A group of such people is taken to the Jordan Valley, and with the help of blows, shots (and even wounds provoked by the blows) they are simply forced to pass to Jordan.

The day after, the Israeli government announces that they had "incited" the population; the Israeli intellectuals, the judges, the lawyers, the writers and others, who shout, for instance, about the harassment of "immigration activists" in the USSR, do not pronounce a single word of condemnation against that barbaric act, in which a person is uprooted from his motherland, a father from his family, without a legal charge.

And, of course, to a family thus orphaned of its father, they say simply: Why don't you also go and reunite outside?

Jewish settlement

At the time of the sterile discussion about "legal" or "illegal" settlement, there is a tendency in Israel to forget that *any* settlement of civilians of a conquering power in the occupied territories is a violation of section IV of the Geneva conventions.

The Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, by their very nature, constitute a dispossession, a discrimination and a system of apartheid. The territories, so acquired by pressure and deceit for settlement, become territories where only Jews are allowed to live, and where only Jews shall be allowed to live in the future. They are taken out of their natural geographical context, and become typical imperialist bases, serving the strategic needs of the colonialist power—in this case Israel—that has erected them.

Thus the Gaza Strip constitutes a concentration



Soldiers take furniture of Arab restaurant as punishment for protest.

camp (and just like a concentration camp it is surrounded by barbed wire) "guarded" by the settlements of the Rafah area, and the "Jewish fingers."

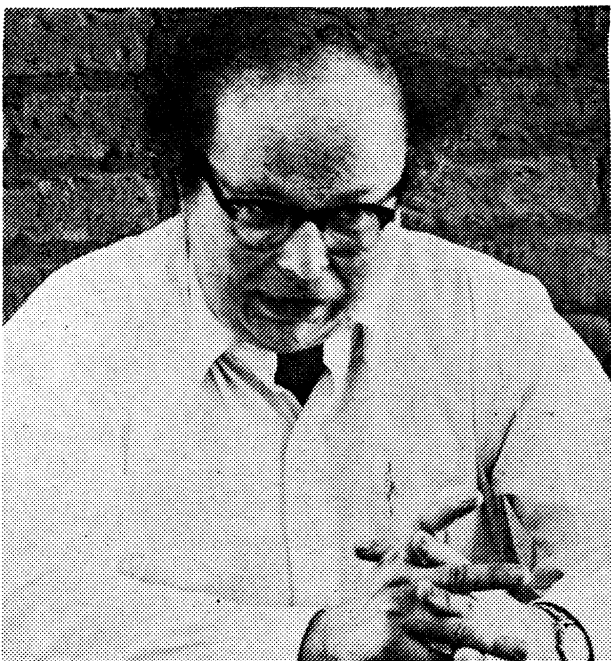
The function of those settlements, clear to anyone who consents to look at the map, is territorial expansion; it is the enslavement and proletarianization of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories.

I shall add a few words concerning the "principle of land acquisition." First of all, the Israeli occupation regime confiscated all the government lands and devoted them to Jewish settlement. This, from any point of view, is really a theft. In most cases those had always been communal lands of the Palestinian village.

In all cases, those lands were actually utilized by the local residents. Now the "Socialist" Israeli rule has come; it transfers land in a racist way to the use of exclusive members of one ethnic group: the Jews.

Another form of land acquisition is by way of confiscation of that which is called "lands of absentees." Once again it is a simple matter: More than one-third of the Palestinians in the territories were expelled, and among them many whose lands were registered in their own name.

For example, if a family father was expelled and if his wife and children remained in the village, then they are living on an "absentee's lands." Next comes the "Socialist" Israeli government and expels them from that land, which it consecrates to Jewish settlement. Thus is the land of Israel "redeemed!"



Militant/Flax Hermes

Dr. Israel Shahak, refugee from Hitler's concentration camps, defends rights of Palestinian refugees.

Orchestrated threats continue

New 'scenario' for invasion of Mideast

From Intercontinental Press

By DICK FIDLER

In a calculated series of moves over the course of the last few weeks, Washington has escalated its threats against the Arab oil-producing countries while stepping up preparations for military intervention.

At a January 14 news conference, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, echoing earlier statements by President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger, said that if high oil prices or a producers' embargo on oil exports threatened "strangulation" of the industrialized countries, the United States would "consider recourse to force." He then took the Ford administration's public stance a step further by declaring that "it is indeed feasible to conduct military operations" in the Arab-Persian Gulf, an area said to be a likely target for a U.S. invasion and occupation.

The same day Schlesinger spoke, the *Washington Post* reported without elaborating that "a Kuwait newspaper said the United Arab Emirates has ignored a request by President Ford asking permission for the U.S. Navy to use two coastal islands for military landing exercises." The Pentagon is already conducting such exercises in the Mediterranean.

"... U.S. policy-makers aren't seriously proposing military intervention as a viable solution to the oil and financial problems confronting the U.S., Western Europe and Japan," *Wall Street Journal* reporter Richard J. Levine wrote from Washington January 15. "Nevertheless, the increasing willingness of senior American officials to address the explosive subject in public forums is considered significant for several reasons.

'Calculated irrationality'

"For one thing, they hope the tough talk will worry the Mideast oil-producing states, which, with the exception of Iran, are considered militarily weak, and thus help forestall major oil-production cutbacks or price boosts. According to this reasoning, an element of calculated irrationality in American policy is useful for keeping other nations off balance."

In addition, Levine reported, "While senior U.S. officials are convinced that military action isn't a feasible option given public opinion today, some planners are convinced that if the economic situation in the industrialized nations seriously deteriorates the public mood could change radical-

ly. And then the use of force could be considered."

But the "use of force" is already under consideration—and it is being actively prepared. In the January 18 issue of *The New Republic*, a liberal weekly, a former Pentagon official reports that "army planners are cranking up a three-division Middle East expeditionary force (an armored, airborne and airborne division) as an add-on to the present 13 army divisions. This time," adds Earl C. Ravenal, "there may be reason to believe that the joint chiefs of staff are not just stuffing their files with the usual contingency plans."

Ravenal, currently a lecturer at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington,* outlines a possible "scenario" for a U.S. Mideast invasion that has more than a touch of authenticity. He writes: "... by spring or early summer, when the snows have left the Golan Heights and Egypt has replenished its arms with Soviet deliveries, it would have become clear (perhaps at a prolonged, snagged Geneva conference) that the Israelis will not budge from the Sinai oilfields at Abu Rudeis and the strategic Gidi and Mitla passes, or give any more ground, even token, to Syria, or ever accept an anti-Israeli Arab regime on the West Bank. There would be an escalation of Arab terror raids and border skirmishes. There would not even have to be Israeli preemption in the strict sense, though Israel would be ready to wage an extensive counter-offensive.

'Replay of nuclear alert'

"With the outbreak of war, Israeli troops, after stabilizing two or three fronts—smashing a Syrian army, deterring a Jordanian attack, and holding the Egyptians at the Sinai passes at little cost—would strike out in a stunning commando attack and seize Kuwait or some other rich and underpopulated gulf oil-producing state. At this point the United States would deploy its own force of 'interposition'—actually occupation—to replace the Israelis, under the perfunctory cover of some international agency or consortium, or merely after proposing such a cover in order to clear the field for unilateral action. Concurrently the United States would warn off the Soviets by a replay—or just a hint—of the worldwide nuclear alert of October 1973.

"From there the scenario shades off into the euphoric. The damage of in-

vasion or sabotage would be quickly repaired. Other nontarget oil states would be admonished to lower their prices and would be kept in line by our capacity and propensity to break prices by increased supply or by invasion, if necessary. The first oil might be diverted to oil-poor and cash-poor nations at below market prices, to legitimize the military exercise. Needy—and diplomatically complaisant—industrial states would have next priority claim on the oil. Our own needs would be assured, and financial structures stabilized indefinitely. It is not hard to see why this vision might excite enthusiasm."

A liberal, Ravenal apparently favors the general aims of Washington's campaign—as he puts it, "in the face of outrageous economic and political insults" from the oil-producing countries. But he balks at what he terms the "philosophical" implications of military intervention:

"... we should not lose our ability to distinguish between counterembargoes, diplomatic ruptures, action against foreign assets—and sending armed forces across international borders, taking over other sovereign states, and killing people in large numbers in deliberate and organized ways."

He is critical of fellow liberals who "were indignant about what Nixon did at Haiphong," and who now, under the pressure of the Kissinger-orchestrated campaign against the Arabs, "are turning to 'surgical,' 'decisive' intervention with eager interest and few compunctions."

In accordance with its policy of "peaceful coexistence" (détente is the current expression), the Kremlin and its agents in the Stalinist parties around the world hope to halt the U.S. war drive in the Middle East—and the risk of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union that it entails—by relying on the opposition to such plans expressed by Washington's allies.

This illusory strategy flies in the face of a basic fact that becomes more evident as the war threat increases. The U.S. ruling class is quite prepared to risk a nuclear confrontation with the Kremlin if it deems such confrontation necessary to defend its own imperialist interests.

Soviet response

U.S. military strategists consistently discount the likelihood of a major Soviet military response. But Ravenal warns that "no one can be sure that the Soviets would refrain from bringing their forces to bear. . . ."

The Pentagon has undoubtedly been emboldened by the Kremlin's muted response to the latest U.S. saber-rattling. A *Washington Post* analysis January 15 noted that while Soviet news organs are publicizing attacks on U.S. foreign policy published abroad, officials continue to sing the praises of "détente" and "none of the top-level Kremlin spokesmen has as yet directly attacked the United States."

On January 10 twenty West European Communist parties issued a joint declaration denouncing "the military adventure planned by the United States in the Middle East." But the statement was couched in nationalist language, urging Europeans to defend "their independence, their liberty, their security, and . . . peace."

The CPs' declaration was hardly an indication of new Kremlin militancy; many capitalist governments in Western Europe have issued stronger crit-



War secretary Schlesinger says U.S. intervention in Arab-Persian Gulf 'is indeed feasible.'

icisms of U.S. Mideast policy!

Apologists for Washington's campaign against the oil-producing countries have little alternative but to fall back on blunt statements of imperialist self-interest, since their other arguments have visibly fallen apart from their own internal contradictions. For example, Ford himself exposed the falsity of the claim that Washington seeks lower oil prices when he unveiled his new energy policy January 13.

Among its key provisions was a tariff on imports of overseas petroleum that will increase the price by \$3 a barrel in April, and an end to price controls on the 60 percent of domestic production still under a ceiling of \$5.25 a barrel.

"Even the White House conceded Mr. Ford's plans would add \$25-billion to the fuel bills Americans pay and, overall, a 'one-time' boost of 2 percent to the cost of living," the *New York Times* reported January 19.

"The average family would pay \$250 more a year in direct energy costs, at least 10 cents a gallon more for gasolines, 7 to 8 cents a gallon more for heating oil, up to 20 percent more for electricity. There would be other price increases resulting from higher transportation and manufacturing costs for industry, almost impossible to calculate."

It remains to be seen whether Ford can succeed in convincing the U.S. public that the Arabs are to blame for these draconian measures.



U.S. troops rehearse for airborne invasion of oil nations. U.S. 'tough talk' is getting tougher.

More nightmares

"My fellow Americans," Ford intoned when he took over as president last summer, "our long national nightmare is finished."

He was referring to the Watergate exposures about the lies, deception, and secret-police methods of the Nixon administration.

The Democratic and Republican politicians all insisted at the time that the only problem was the corruption of Nixon and his gang. "Our democratic system" got rid of Nixon, they said, and people could once again place their confidence in the capitalist government.

None of these politicians ever bothered to explain how—if "the system works" so well—its highest office could turn out to be a cesspool of corruption.

Nor can any of these politicians explain why, with Nixon disposed of, new exposures of government deception and violations of democratic rights continue to unravel day by day.

Just what has happened since Ford took over the White House?

● Nixon's "plumbers" unit—the gangs hired by the White House to carry out illegal attacks on antiwar activists and others—isn't around any more. But now it has been revealed that the *official* government agencies, the CIA and FBI, *have themselves been carrying out exactly the same types of illegal harassment of dissidents all along, and on a much bigger scale.*

● Nixon's secret-police attacks against the American people have been revealed to be not the exception but the rule. The crimes by the CIA and FBI have been traced back to the Johnson and Kennedy administrations and even earlier.

● The revelations about Nixon's secret wars in Cambodia and Laos have been paralleled by the revelations about the CIA's secret complicity in the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile—directed by Ford's secretary of state, Henry Kissinger.

● Nixon's frantic attempts to cover up the truth about Watergate were carried right on by Ford through his pardon of Nixon. Now the Ford administration is doing its best to cover up the crimes of the CIA, through the "blue ribbon" commission of Rockefeller and his cronies.

● Just as Nixon tried to hide behind the cloak of "national security," so Ford and his gang cite "national security" to justify the CIA's and FBI's so-called intelligence function—which translates into such things as the harassment of those who dare to criticize the U. S. government and the financing and organizing of right-wing coups.

Contrary to the wishful thinking of the ruling class in this country, their "nightmare" that began with Watergate is not over. Their cover-up problem is too huge: It is to cover up for the system of class rule, rule by the rich minority over the masses of working people.

Much more of the truth is still to come out. Open all the CIA and FBI files on political harassment! Abolish the CIA and FBI!

Sign of the times

The \$12-million award granted to victims of arbitrary government arrests by a District of Columbia jury Jan. 16 was a sign of the times. The civil jury of three men and three women—equally divided between Blacks and whites—reflected the growing disgust of ordinary people with the unending violations of democratic rights by the United States government.

"I think the verdict reflected the jury's appreciation of the personal rights involved in this matter," said American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Warren Kaplan. Commenting on the award to 1,200 antiwar demonstrators caught up in the mass arrests designed to break up the 1971 Mayday antiwar protests, Kaplan noted, "I was impressed that 75 percent of the award was for First Amendment rights."

More and more the American people are beginning to realize that it is not the government that defends democratic rights, but rather democratic rights that must be defended against the government. That is the key to the "revolt of the juries," the refusal of one jury after another to return guilty verdicts in major government frame-ups.

The verdict in the Mayday case, together with those in the Berrigan, Angela Davis, Ellsberg, Chicago Seven, Wounded Knee, and other trials indicates a deepgoing change in the thinking of the masses of people in this country. It is a change for the better, and one that bodes well for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment, which will come to trial later this year.

There in spirit

I am an inmate here and would like a subscription to *The Militant*. Only once in a great while does a copy reach my hands. And when they do I regret passing them on, although everyone should have the opportunity to read such an informative paper.

Also, although we cannot be with you physically during the Boston struggle, we are there with our hearts. Right will survive!

*A prisoner
Iowa*

Real subversives

Here's an idea for the Young Socialist Alliance in regard to FBI spying. Since the FBI maintains that the YSA conventions are "open to all interested in socialist ideas," perhaps the YSA should expand the invitation list and make its conventions "open to all who are concerned about and disturbed by FBI spying."

The courts will not disable their strongest right arm (the police and FBI). We must do it ourselves by making our support so broad as to make it clear that it is the small group of unprincipled, illegal, and violent "gang-busters" masquerading as spokesmen for the American people who are really subverting the American tradition of freedom.

This would make an excellent bi-centennial celebration.

*Virginia Kaye
Fremont, Calif.*

Bill of rights

Your Bill of Rights for working people [see *Militant*, Jan. 17] is really good. I would like to suggest adding to the list: "The right to decent and low-cost housing" and "The right to free, safe, and efficient mass transit."

Struggle on.
*Glenn Marciniak
Bronx, N. Y.*

Revolutionary Student Brigade

Although it is doubtful that you will print this letter, some things need to be explained, at least for the record. In your Dec. 6 *Militant* article "Which way will RU march on Dec. 14?" you made the statement "Even some members of the RU student group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, have had a hard time swallowing the arguments RU has used to defend its line."

Rather than "the RU student group," the RSB is a democratic, anti-imperialist organization within which members of the RU [Revolutionary Union] work and helped to build. Since it is a democratic organization, there is room for varying ideas, disagreement, and political struggle. We regard lively political struggle as a healthy sign.

But *The Militant* chooses to use the fact of our democratic nature to prop up its attack against the RU, stating that some RSB members are having difficulty "swallowing" RU line.

Revolutionary Student Brigade members can agree and disagree on any question in the movement. Of course, if the RSB happened to somehow unanimously agree with the RU on the question of education in Boston, *The Militant*, no doubt,

would insinuate that the RSB is a "cadre organization" of the RU.

So either way, it isn't likely that the RSB would get a fair shake no matter what we did. Frankly, being put in a "damned if we do, damned if we don't" position by an opportunist newspaper doesn't surprise us in the least.

If in the future the Revolutionary Student Brigade takes a line either for or against the Boston busing plan, however, it will be in the spirit of fighting back against the imperialist system, and not in the spirit of tailing behind liberal politicians or "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie.

*Greg Ford
Revolutionary Student Brigade
San Jose, Calif.*

Equal justice?

John F. Kennedy Jr. had his bike and tennis racket stolen last spring. Robert López, a 20-year-old heroin addict, was sentenced to a jail term of one to four years for robbery. He had pleaded guilty. The Kennedy family could have easily stopped the prosecution.

Upon sentencing López the judge observed that López "must learn that there are other ways to get money rather than committing violence upon others."

Even though no violence was committed, and without wishing to visit the sins of the uncle upon the nephew, the treatments of young López and Ted Kennedy don't compare equally. Kennedy didn't draw one to four when he was involved in the suspicious death of his woman friend. Or for that matter, John Jr.'s father wasn't punished for presiding over a war against the Vietnamese.

As H. Rap Brown said: "Justice in American means 'just us white folks.'" He could have added "just us rich white folks."

*Michael Smith
New York, N.Y.*

CP vote-counting

Last month you printed the Illinois vote returns for the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, along with an article from the CP's *Daily World* newspaper, under the headline "Real world vs. Daily World."

The *Daily World* article had grossly distorted the facts to make it sound as though the CP candidates made a far better showing at the polls than those of the SWP, when exactly the opposite was true.

Well, the Stalinist school of vote-counting was applied in Michigan too. Under the headline "CP makes strong showing in poverty-laden Michigan," the Nov. 26 *Daily World* reported: "Peggy Goldman, Michigan Communist candidate for the State Board of Education, drew 7,000 votes in the recent state elections, while her running mates, Thomas Dennis for Governor and William Allan for Lt. Governor, drew 2,000 votes apiece in incomplete returns."

The real figures, based on complete returns provided by the Michigan board of elections, were printed in the Dec. 20 *Militant*.

Goldman actually got 5,936 votes; Dennis and Allan got only 1,119. Moreover, in Michigan you cast only one vote for the governor/lieutenant governor slate, so the *Daily World's* "2,000 votes apiece" is a blatant falsification intended to make the CP vote sound four times greater

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Give me your tired, your poor...

than it really was.

In Michigan as in Illinois, the SWP vote totals were somewhat higher than those for the CP. But unlike the CP, the SWP doesn't try to blow its election returns out of proportion. And unlike the *Daily World*, *The Militant* doesn't lie.

G. A.

New York, N. Y.

Open the books!

For the last few years now the bosses have been blaming the workers for inflation, as if our few cents more an hour was the real cause. Some people have fallen for it though and blame big unions as well as big business.

To many workers who aren't organized, unions seem to be part of "the establishment." This can only be rectified when the unions become the best fighters for the unorganized, for women, oppressed nationalities, and small shopkeepers.

I feel that alongside the demands for an escalator clause and "30 for 40," the Socialist Workers Party should call on unions to demand that the bosses not pass the buck to the "public" in the form of higher prices. Since profits have gone up, *that's* where the money should come from.

And when they give us their standard answer, "We can't afford it," we can lay our reply on them: "Then open your books to public inspection and we'll see just what you can and cannot afford!"

J.W. Billingsley
Chicago, Ill.

Teachers on busing

I am a teacher in Charlotte, N.C., and a member of the American Federation of Teachers Local 3240. The following is a resolution passed at the December general membership meeting:

"It is unquestionably sad that sustained violence has accompanied the beginning of court-ordered busing in Boston. It is even more sad that most of this violence has been perpetrated not by the students, but by the adults of the community.

"The Charlotte American Federation of Teachers, Local 3240, supports the efforts of the Boston and Charlotte students to meet and to discuss the problems that go along with busing. We admire the wisdom of the Boston students that tells them that the best advice comes from those students who have already experienced integration.

"From President Ford, HEW Secretary Weinberger, Massachusetts Governor Sargent and Boston Mayor White, we demand that all possible action be taken to insure the safety of the students involved, and compliance with the court order."

Charlotte-Mecklenburg (County) schools have been under court-ordered busing for the past five or so years. Having lived with this, Charlotte teachers feel that we know what we are talking about.

Michael Pennock
Charlotte, N.C.

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.

It was an ironic coincidence. Two painters who were working on the project to shine up the Statue of Liberty for the celebration next year of 200 years of freedom in the United States were seized by Immigration Department agents. It turns out they were Greeks, and they lacked the proper papers.

It is not reported whether the two were lulled into a temporary sense of security under the statue's inscription: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free. . . ." But if they did, the immigration authorities rudely stripped them of that illusion. It must have occurred to them then that the sign on the statue ought to read "Get out." The two workers were members of the Painters union, but their union did nothing to protect them.

There was a time when the industrialists of this country scoured Europe for workers—a time when labor was scarce and industry was expanding. More recently, during the boom of U.S. industry following World War II, immigration barriers were lowered and millions of refugees from the war-torn world were brought here to work.

But it was never intended that immigration laws should benefit working people. Those laws, like most others, are drafted for the needs of the rich. One of their needs is to regulate and control their labor supply. The economic crisis has raised the immigration barriers again.

All who must work to live—and that is the vast majority—are picked over, sorted out, and made to show qualifications for their right to survive. Citizenship becomes a necessary qualification. Those who fail to qualify are sacrificed in the interest of others—like desperate shipwreck victims in an overloaded lifeboat.

Under these harsh circumstances the rulers of this society, who always seek to benefit from the misery of others, try to divert attention from their own greed, waste, and mismanagement. They invent other reasons for the general misery and offer fake cures.

The broad and intensive campaign against "illegal aliens" is one of the fake cures for unemployment that is being offered by some sections of the employing class and by unscrupulous capitalist politicians. This campaign is also supported by union

officials who hope to place "their" qualified workers in jobs now held by those who are disqualified by reason of citizenship.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is the sounding board for much of the misleading propaganda on this question of aliens and jobs. The claim is that 6 to 7 million "illegals" are in this country, at least one million of them working in industry.

In New York the "illegals" include refugees from dictatorships in Latin America and such Caribbean regimes as the Dominican Republic and Haiti—all client states of U.S. imperialism.

One of the high crimes charged against these people is that they "take advantage of" public schools, social security, unemployment insurance, medical aid, and welfare. The claim is made that last year they cost the state of California an estimated \$100-million in welfare payments. No mention is made of their contribution to the value of California's agricultural harvest.

Those who manage to get past the border patrols have always been at a double disadvantage here because they are deprived of the rights of citizenship and are subject to deportation if they protest or seek to change their conditions of work. Despite this handicap some of the most able working-class leaders and union organizers were "illegals." Many in the Industrial Workers of the World and the socialist movement before the First World War had no citizenship and were deported for defending their right to travel freely, to live unmolested, and to be paid a living wage for their work. They helped implant here a rich tradition of struggle.

Instead of joining the chase to hunt down and drive out victimized workers, the union movement today ought to revive the traditions upon which it was built and defend the needs of all workers everywhere.

When the unions demand and win a shorter workday and a constructive public works program, there can be more jobs than workers. The fight to win these demands will be a good example that will be followed by working men and women everywhere in the world.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Union women in Puerto Rico

Graciela Martínez is the president of the Unión de Empleados Públicos de Hospitales (Hospital Public Employees Union) in Puerto Rico. She, along with other women labor leaders in Puerto Rico, is planning a conference of women unionists to discuss the problems facing women in the union movement in Puerto Rico. In particular, the conference will aim at ending the exclusion of women from leadership positions.

Martínez was recently interviewed by *El Tacón de la Chancleta*, a new Puerto Rican feminist publication. She told *El Tacón de la Chancleta* that although the masses of workers accept the participation of women in the trade unions, male leaders consider their female counterparts "outsiders."

On Labor Day, for instance, a group of labor leaders met with the governor of Puerto Rico, but there were no women leaders among them. "We were not invited by the government or by the male labor leaders," Martínez said. "They [the male leaders] do not think that the women have the talent and the persistence to lead trade unions. . . ."

"They have given me leaflets," continued Martínez, "saying that women are chicken, that we can't be in leadership positions because when big problems arise, we run away."

Martínez described in the interview some of the difficulties in recruiting women to the union. "Women think, or have believed up to now, that without the consent of their husbands they cannot make decisions on their own."

"I had to bring the message to such women that they, as women and workers, had to defend their rights in the workplace. . . . So women began to realize that if they felt it necessary to consult their husbands about joining the women's labor organization, they could do it, but that when the boss

gave them a sharp reprimand or propositioned them, they had to defend themselves on the spot."

Martínez entered the work force in 1959 as an employee at an assembly plant of Sunbeam Electric Company in Hato Rey. She was 27 years old and a widow with four children.

"There I became aware how women were abused," she said. "The Americans [administrators of the factory] thought that they could abuse women. If they did not give in to their propositions, they threatened them. I was a victim of that and I rebelled. I saw that the only forum that I had was the union."

The organizing meeting for Puerto Rican women labor leaders is planned for March. Following that, Martínez expects the Puerto Rican organization to affiliate with similar groups in Latin America.

She points out that many of the problems faced by Puerto Rican working women are the same as those faced by women in other Latin American countries. "In Colombia, for example, work is essential for the single woman. But once she is married, the man forbids it. For him, it would be degrading for his wife to work outside."

The Puerto Rican women unionists also have much in common with women unionists in the United States who have begun to fight for equality within the union movement.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) was formed in the United States last March. One of CLUW's goals, as outlined in its Statement of Purpose, is "to inspire and educate union women to insure and strengthen their participation, through full and complete democratic procedures, to encourage their leadership and their movement into policy-making roles within their own unions and within the union movement in all areas."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Looking ahead—A New York millionaire who is shopping for a new yacht explained to *Time* magazine: "Today the wealthy are preparing for revolution or Communism or whatever, and want to use the cash while it will still buy something." Philosophizing about the yacht, he said: "Who knows? You might never have a chance to buy another one."

Post-Xmas note—For a stocking-stuffer, Governor Wallace received a \$4,000 boat from the members of his Alabama cabinet and his presidential

campaign staff. They were each assessed \$20 to \$100, depending on their pay.

Making do—When Edward Cole retired as president of General Motors, the family had to adjust to getting by without the use of company cars, not to speak of the \$833,000 he was bringing home. Cole has bought himself a new station wagon, plus a Pontiac, a Camaro, and a pickup for the kids. His wife selected a Cadillac El Dorado. "For the first time in 10 years I've written out a check for a car," she said.

Hard-core antiporn—Baptist ministers in Texas received copies of a religious handbook, "Pornography: The Sexual Mirage." But the church may ban it as pornographic. After careful perusal, officials said they were appalled by the illustrations, vivid descriptions, and frank language. The book is the product of a three-year study by two Baptists.

Inflation fighter—Alice Ingram of Dallas may be wealthy, but she's doing her bit. Making do on \$800 a week household money, she's using the gas-thrifty Mercedes for errands

instead of the Cadillac. When dog grooming went from \$3 to \$12, the family pooch was cut back from a weekly trim to every six weeks. When daughter's dresses went from \$20 to \$25, Ingram rebelled. "Now instead of buying 10 of everything, I only buy three or four."

Thought for the week—"The more businessmen are unselfish, hard-working, public-spirited and God-fearing men, the more they will shine in the public view."—David Francis, business-financial editor, *Christian Science Monitor*.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



A Chicana feminist speaks out

LOS ANGELES—In the Dec. 13, 1974, *Militant* I reported on a California MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) student conference in Fresno. The most significant aspect of that conference was the expression of feminist sentiment among Chicanas and the generally positive response to this by the male participants.

While traveling in the San Joaquin Valley recently, I spoke with Lupe Gomez, who chaired the Chicana workshop at the MECHA conference. Gomez described what led her to become a feminist and discussed some of the problems faced by Chicanas.

Her radicalization began at home. Now 29, she was born in Mexico into a large family. She began to see the family as a stifling institution. The dominant role of the father and the preferential treatment given to male children clashed with her sense of justice and equality. Stereotyped sex roles that restrict women to cooking and having babies while men do all the thinking and protect them struck her as irrational.

A woman with initiative and a mind of her own, Gomez often found herself ostracized in community organizations. For a woman, "independence was equated with promiscuity," she said.

Marriage for her was stifling too. She was expected to adapt her life to suit her husband. It

was not socially acceptable for her to have friends other than women.

When Gomez had the opportunity to attend the University of California at Davis, she was at first excited by the prospect of a freer atmosphere, but was soon disappointed. She found sex discrimination at the university too, where it was rare to see a woman professor.

She became active in MECHA, but found it difficult for a woman to participate on a par with men. Anyone who, like her, questioned traditional Chicano concepts of *la familia* and the secondary role of women was accused of thinking like a *gringa*.

She found that potential contributions by Chicanas were often ignored because of the concept that women are not the intellectual peers of men and should remain silent. "In a discussion, a woman's point was considered valid only if the men acknowledged it," Gomez added, rather than being accepted on its own merits.

With these experiences, "when women's liberation began, it made complete sense," she explained. She began to study the history of the women's movement and became active in NOW (the National Organization for Women).

Gomez helped found the Chicano Coalition to

fight racist discrimination in Merced, and she helped lead the fight to increase hiring of Chicanos at Merced College, where she works as a counselor and an instructor.

Gomez tries to raise the consciousness of the students in her Chicano literature class regarding the oppression of Chicanas. Sexism is reflected in literature itself, she explained, where the women characters are invariably just shadows compared to men.

She believes that attitudes are changing, especially among young people. "There is less guilt about sex, and young Chicanas are more knowledgeable about abortion and birth control," she said.

The recent MECHA conference in Fresno shows that attitudes in the *movimiento* are also changing. This is good for the Chicano movement in general and for Chicanas in particular. By Chicanos relating to women on a more equal basis, Chicanas' creative energies will be brought to the liberation struggle.

But there is more to it, as Gomez points out. It is not enough to rely on the good intentions of men. Chicanas must organize to press for their rights, in society and within the Chicano movement.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'The last major bastion of discrimination'

It was as if someone, as a gag, had planted a stink bomb at the last convention of the National Association of Realtors, the way the delegates fell out of the room. Who'd expect the remarks of a General Motors board member to produce that kind of reaction?

But then who'd expect a GM director to accuse the real estate industry of having "made fortunes off of segregation" and of maintaining "the last major bastion of discrimination in America," as Reverend Leon Sullivan did?

Sullivan, who is Black and who by no stretch of the definition is a militant, would normally have had kinder words. But he no doubt remembered the bad experience he had just a few months before—the threatening notes and the "Move back to Africa, nigger" phone calls—when he moved into a new home in a white suburb of Philadelphia. So he vented some of his anger on the realtors, who've had a hand in such situations in the past.

The realtors' convention took place last November. Then in December, somebody else planted a bomb. But it wasn't a stink bomb, and it wasn't a gag.

No, whoever set that bomb on Dec. 31, 1974, that wrecked a portion of the home of Ormistan

and Glenda Spencer in Rosedale, a section of Queens in New York City, did it with murder in his heart. The bomber left a note:

"Nigger, be warned. We have time, we will get you. Your first Born first." It was signed: "Viva Boston KKK."

The police, after they found an unexploded pipe bomb on the front porch of the Spencer home the next day, posted an around-the-clock guard outside the home. But four days later the bomber, or some other white thug, returned and even tried to bushwhack a cop.

The pipe-bombing was not the first time the Spencer home had been attacked. In July it was fire-bombed.

The Spencers, who are Trinidadian, used to live in London. "In England, you hear about this happening in the South," Ormistan Spencer told a reporter. "But you just don't think it happens in New York City."

The police have arrested two men. Although they have ironclad evidence against them, the cops are just charging the two with possession of an unregistered bomb instead of attempted murder.

The Spencers' experience is the most recent to illustrate that 11 years after the Civil Rights Act

supposedly burying legal segregation in housing, Blacks seeking housing outside the traditionally segregated areas today can still expect a host of racist obstacles not only from realtors, but from the government, and from violence-bent neighbors once they move in.

The McGhees, of Rose City in North Little Rock, Ark., could tell you their story. One night not too long ago, Mrs. McGhee went home to find "Move You Black S.O.B." painted on her new house. But even before that a white woman across the street had shouted to her, "It's a white neighborhood, no niggers allowed."

Then there is the case of the Smiths, of—none other than—Homestead, Fla. They struggled for 15 years to buy a one-acre plot on which to build their dream house. In March, before the house was completed, white vandals set it ablaze and burned a cross on the lawn. But the Smiths pushed on and finished it.

Now it's fixed up real neat and fancy-like, with a nice big picture window in front. But just before Christmas they went home one day to find their picture window perforated by bullet holes.

In a future column we'll look into government complicity with racist obstacles in housing.

'A bum deal'

Behind dispute on U.S.-Soviet trade pact

By DAVE FRANKEL

"The Soviet government has now informed us that it cannot accept a trading relationship based on the legislation recently enacted in this country," U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told reporters in Washington Jan. 14.

"The Soviet government," Kissinger continued, "states that it does not intend to accept a trade status that is discriminatory and subject to political conditions, and accordingly, that it will not put into force the 1972 Trade Agreement."

Thus, two and a half years after they carried out one of the greatest betrayals in the history of the world working class, the rulers of the Soviet Union canceled the agreement that had originally been intended as their reward for stabbing the Vietnamese revolution in the back.

The U.S.-Soviet trade agreement was initiated by Richard Nixon in the Moscow summit meeting of May 1972. The circumstances are worth recalling.

On March 23, 1972, Nixon suspended the Paris peace talks on Vietnam, accusing Hanoi of "bullying the United States." One week later the Vietnamese liberation fighters responded with a major offensive.

Nixon ordered the use of B-52 bombers against the cities and population of North Vietnam. By the beginning of May, 140 B-52s and 900 fighter-bombers were pounding Vietnam. On May 8 the entire world was stunned by Nixon's announcement that he had ordered the mining of Haiphong and Hanoi harbors.

Soviet response

Responding to this murderous onslaught, the Soviet bureaucrats issued a statement May 11 verbally disapproving of the slaughter and urging Nixon to restrain himself. In order to remove any sting from the reprimand, Soviet foreign-trade minister Nikolai Patolichev paid a "courtesy call" at the White House the same day, meeting with Nixon in what was termed a "cordial atmosphere." Eleven days later the then-commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces arrived in Moscow to talk about world peace and trade.

Writing in the May 26, 1972, *New York Times*, Hedrick Smith spelled out the considerations involved in the trade talks:

"The contents of the trade agreement are intimately bound up with the second level—the private level—of the Moscow meeting, for American officials have been hinting the last 24 hours that its contents depend in some measure on how helpful the Kremlin leaders want to be regarding Vietnam."

Helping out imperialism

How helpful the Kremlin leaders were—and went on being—was indicated by no less an authority than Henry Kissinger himself in an interview taped Jan. 15 of this year and reported in the *New York Times* two days later.

"In all parts of the world except the middle east," Kissinger said, "the United States and the Soviet Union have pursued substantially compatible and in some cases cooperative policies."

As for the Middle East, Kissinger noted that the Soviet Union "has not been exceptionally helpful, but it has also not been exceptionally obstructive."

However, in their eagerness to sell out the world revolution in return for tariff agreements and credits from the imperialists the Soviet bureau-



Brezhnev and Ford at Vladivostok summit. Both the Stalinists and the imperialists are eager to keep detente going, despite frictions and disagreements.

crats reckoned without the vagaries of Watergate and the presidential ambitions of Henry Jackson. The Senator from Boeing, seizing on the issue of free emigration for Soviet Jews and taking advantage of Nixon's growing domestic troubles, was able to capture nationwide headlines. "The time has come to place our highest human values ahead of the trade dollar," Jackson declared in September 1972.

This right-wing hypocrite, who backed the bloodbath in Vietnam down to the end, was able to pawn himself off as an opponent of oppression. When Jackson released an exchange of letters between himself and Kissinger detailing Soviet assurances of a more liberal emigration policy in October 1974, the *Washington Post* declared:

"At the American end, to be sure, Sen. Jackson emerges as the hero. He is quite right in saluting the new accord as 'historic.' Not only did he accomplish an objective which most others thought could not be achieved; he accomplished something of great personal meaning to the people involved and, in doing so, he added an extraordinary human dimension to American diplomacy."

Although less effusive, the *New York Times* was no less pleased. It editorialized Oct. 20: "Coming on top of the Turkish aid votes, the cut-offs of military involvement in Indochina and other measures of recent years, this new demonstration of Congressional influence shows again how much a determined Congressional majority can achieve."

Despite the charges of the Stalinists in Moscow and the U.S., Jackson's campaign was not aimed against the détente itself. This was made clear when he endorsed the emigration-trade compromise worked out by Kissinger with Moscow, and was denounced by cold-war diehard George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

The sections of the capitalist establishment backing Jackson simply wanted more for their money. "The experience... is a powerful argument for more steadfastness in negotiating with Moscow," wrote the *Wall Street Journal* in its Oct. 22 editorial.

Pushed too hard

As it turned out, however, the imperialists pushed the Kremlin too hard—an eventuality they didn't have to worry about when it was only the Vietnamese revolution that was involved.

The cancellation of the pact followed a series of Soviet warnings that the U.S. Congress was engaging in "unwarranted meddling in the Soviet Union's internal affairs" by pressing

for a public linkage between trade concessions and the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate freely. Nevertheless, the trade act passed by Congress and signed into law by President Ford Jan. 3 allowed Ford to grant nondiscriminatory tariffs to Soviet imports for 18 months—instead of the three years expected by Moscow—only if he received assurances that freer emigration would result. Any extension would have to be approved by Congress.

More important economically than the tariff issue to the Soviet chiefs was the availability of cheap credit from the U.S. government-financed Export-Import Bank. Another congressional restriction limited such credits to \$300-million over a four-year period, a figure that Kissinger told one reporter was "peanuts."

For Moscow, the main benefit of trade with the U.S. is the availability of advanced technology and American help in development projects—both financed by low-cost loans from the Export-Import Bank. A total of \$469-million in such loans had been granted before the congressional restrictions were enacted, and existing contracts between U.S. companies and the USSR are expected to run their course. Indeed, U.S.-Soviet trade had been increasing even without a formal agreement.

But the type of huge projects en-

visaged by Moscow will be cut back severely without a new agreement on U.S. credit. The Kama River truck-manufacturing complex now under construction alone costs in the neighborhood of \$5-billion. As for the 20-year projects for the development of Soviet natural gas and oil resources, their future is bleak without U.S. government backing. The oil companies have no wish to risk their own money in such ventures.

One Sovietologist, quoted in *Newsweek*, was able to figure out the Kremlin's motivation in reacting as it did. "When they added it all up," he said, "it was a bum deal."

Reaffirming detente

Miffed by the obstacles, the Kremlin bureaucrats hinted at a harder line. "For the first time in recent memory," reported Peter Osnos from Moscow in the Jan. 15 *Washington Post*, "the press is regularly employing terminology like 'gunboat diplomacy,' 'imperialism' and 'provocative acts' in describing U.S. actions."

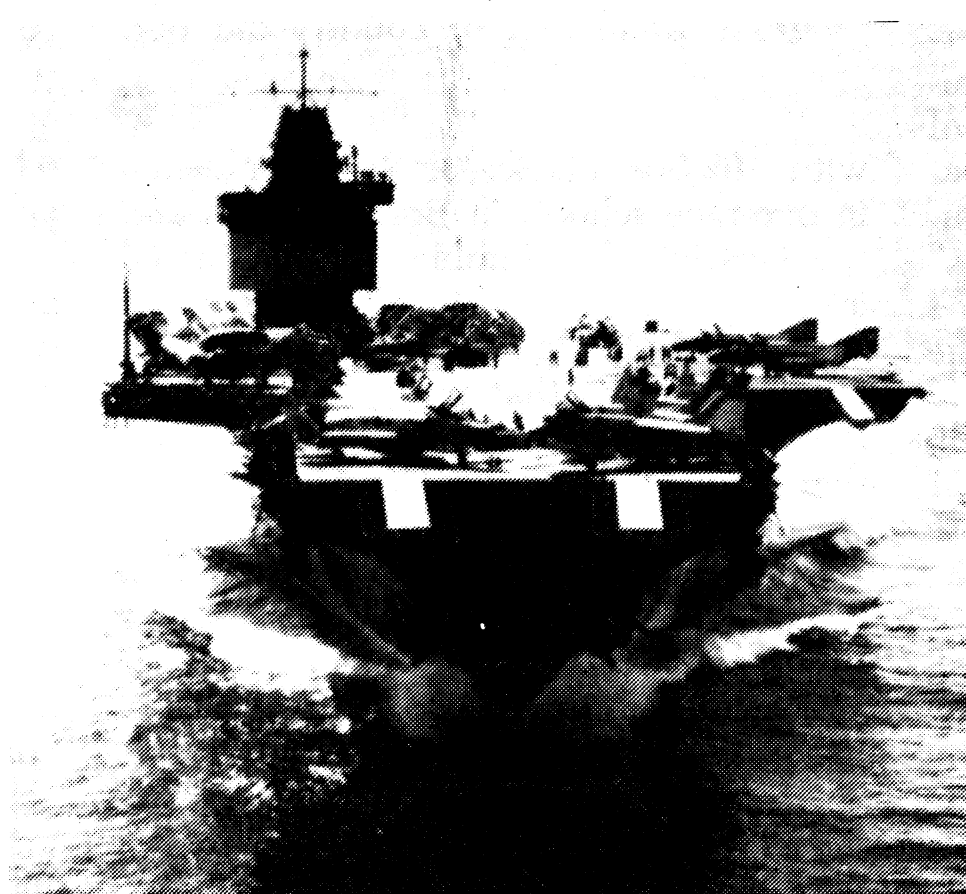
However, Moscow quickly made clear that it has no intention of abandoning the détente. Publicity was given to a Jan. 14 speech by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin calling for "making the process of détente irreversible."

A commentary in the Jan. 18 issue of *Izvestia*, the official government newspaper, asserted that "the Soviet Union intends in the future to continue the course of further deepening the relaxation of international tensions. Our country as before is interested in the positive development of Soviet-American relations in all spheres."

The U.S. rulers, for their part, have no desire to scuttle the détente while facing a growing international economic crisis, deepening radicalization in Europe, an explosive situation in the Middle East, and an upsurge in the Indochinese war. The *New York Times*, which three months earlier had been cheering Senator Jackson on, complained Jan. 17 that "Mr. Jackson overplayed his hand and, as President Ford has noted, helped to achieve results quite the opposite from those he intended."

"A dangerous period has opened," warned the *Times* editors. "Far more than trade and emigration are involved. . . . If the prospects for détente continue to dwindle, the chances

Continued on page 22



U.S. warship. Soviets have stepped up rhetoric about U.S. 'gunboat diplomacy,' but it's all part of jockeying for better terms from Washington.

Black minister urges action

'There is a dual school system in Boston'

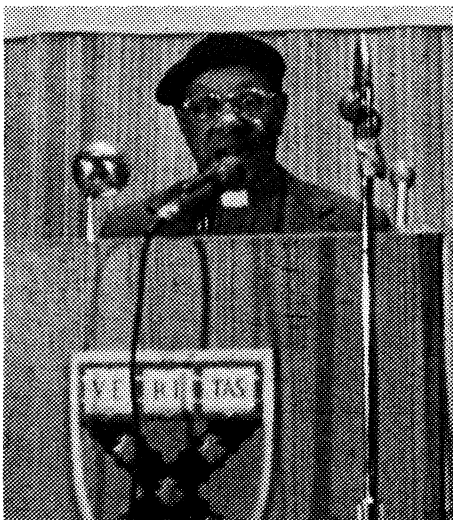
By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—Vernon Carter is the pastor of All Saints Lutheran Church, which serves Boston's Black community. Reverend Carter has not, however, limited his work to the pulpit.

Nearly a decade ago he played a pivotal role in one of the struggles to break down racist discrimination in Massachusetts. That struggle, which included mass demonstrations, resulted in the passage of the state Racial Imbalance Law in 1965.

The Racial Imbalance Law said that no school in the state could be more than 50 percent Black. The law, however, was never implemented, and it was finally stricken from the books last year.

Today Reverend Carter remains an activist in the struggle to win an equal education for Boston's Black students. He was a speaker at the Dec. 13 anti-racist teach-in, held at Harvard University, where he urged continuing protests against the segregationist forces. He is a firm supporter of the Feb. 14-16 National Student Confer-



Militant/Norman Oliver
Vernon Carter addressing Dec. 13 student teach-in.

ence Against Racism and is urging people to attend it.

"The educational system has been haunted year after year by the Racial Imbalance Law," he told *The Militant* in a recent interview. "When it really came to the showdown, the hidden racism came out."

The Boston school committee and other foes of desegregation "try to cover it up by talking about 'forced busing,'" Carter said.

"But you never hear them talking about 'forced income tax.' Compulsory education is 'forced education.' People are 'forced' to go to school," he said. "We refuse to allow them to use that term to cover up their racism."

Carter said that "voluntary busing will never solve the problem. There is a dual system of schools in Boston and the school committee is responsible for it."

Judge Garrity's recent acceptance of the school committee's proposal for "voluntary busing" alarms Carter. Garrity is, he said, "making a mockery of his court." Carter feels Garrity should "come right down the line and say the enforcement, the implementation of desegregating Boston public schools *must be*, this is my final say-so, this is the plan, and we'll go on without any further deliberations."

Garrity, Carter believes, is "teeter-tottering" between the pro- and anti-busing forces.

"We need alliances, legal actions. . . . demonstrations. I am a believer in the tradition of Martin Luther King. We should have nonviolent, peaceful demonstrations," he said.

Carter believes the scope of this undertaking is historic. "I would like to see Boston become the center for reviving the civil rights movement," he added.

A key part of this revival, he said, is the role of Blacks. "You know, Abraham Lincoln didn't free us. There were always insurrections breaking out during the slave period. We had to bring about our emancipation by our struggles against discrimination. . . .

"We weren't emancipated by white folk or by any great white leader, but by our own spirit, our refusal to die. This emancipation is developed by the Black experience," he added.

For Carter, the struggle for a "new emancipation" is tied to carrying forth the campaign for desegregated schools in this "cradle of liberty." The Feb. 14-16 student conference, Carter believes, will be part of that antiracist drive.

Student conference wins broad endorsement

BOSTON—As news of the National Student Conference Against Racism spreads, new endorsements are pouring into the Boston office. The conference will take place at Boston University over the Feb. 14 weekend.

In a letter to the conference office, U. S. Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) wrote, "The events of the past have proved that it is urgent for our generation to deal with our problems from a perspective that recognizes the inherent worth of each individual regardless of race. Your conference will undoubtedly point the way for us to do so."

Four other members of Congress—Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), and Andrew Young (D-Ga.)—have signed an appeal for political and financial support for the student conference. "We need your support to publicize and build this important conference," they wrote. "The momentum of the Dec. 13-14 student teach-in and freedom march must be carried forward because although the racists suffered a setback, they have not yet been defeated."

Other signers of the appeal for support are Julian Bond, Georgia state representative; George Cushingberry,

Michigan state representative; Robert Harper, political affairs chairperson, Harvard-Radcliffe African and Afro-American Student Association; Kathy Kelly, president, National Student Association (NSA); Jonathan Kozol, author; Willie McKinney, president, student government association, Roxbury Community College, Boston; and Jackie Vaughn III, Michigan state representative.

The national supervisory board of the National Student Association unanimously endorsed the conference at a meeting held in Houston, Tex., on Jan. 18. This commits the student governments of the 500 campuses affiliated to the NSA to support the conference. The next issue of the NSA magazine will devote eight pages to the conference call and the importance of the civil rights struggle in Boston.

Among other new endorsers of the conference are: Dennis Serrette, vice-president, Communications Workers of America Local 1101 (New York City), and president of the New York state chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; William Simons, president, Washington Teachers Union; Patrice Garcia, president, Washington, D. C., Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Jack Hart, vice-president, United

Electrical Workers District 1, Philadelphia.

Also Ramsey Clark; Nat Hentoff, writer; Kay Camp, international vice-president, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Women Strike for Peace, Philadelphia; James Reynolds, director, Colorado Civil Rights Commission; and Richard Peters, Denver American Indian Movement.

Other prominent leaders of the Black movement are supporting the conference, including Coretta Scott King, Ralph Abernathy, and Hosea Williams.

Many leaders and chapters of the NAACP are also supporting the conference. Among them are: James Couch, president, Atlanta NAACP; Danny Thomas, president, NAACP youth council, Georgia; Tim Stevens, executive director, Pittsburgh NAACP; Gene Howell, director, Colorado NAACP; and the Portland NAACP.

Other endorsers include: Marion Barry, Washington, D. C., city council; Popeye Jackson, United Prisoners Union, San Francisco; Yvonne Golden, San Francisco Black teachers caucus, AFT Local 61; and James Brooks, executive director, Portland Urban League.

The conference office is planning



Julian Bond (left), Coretta Scott King, and Andrew Young are backing student conference.

speaking tours and is putting out an eight-page newspaper aimed at mobilizing support for the conference. The newspaper will include excerpts from speeches given at the student teach-in Dec. 13.

To order copies of this and other literature, to arrange for speaking engagements for conference leaders in your area, or to volunteer help or contribute funds, contact: National Student Conference Against Racism, 720 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02215. Telephone: (617) 266-9665.

Detroit students plan teach-in

By RACHELE FRUIT

DETROIT—The Wayne State University Student Committee against Racism in Boston has called for a teach-in here Feb. 6 to help educate people about the desegregation struggle in Boston and to build support for the student antiracist conference Feb. 14-16 in Boston.

The student committee is contacting campus organizations at Wayne State and other schools in southeastern Michigan to seek student government endorsements and funding and to spread the word about the teach-in and conference.

Campus endorsements at Wayne State include: Maria Hernández, president of La Union Estudiantil; Associated Minority Pre-Law Students;

Herb Boyd of the Black studies department; Arthur Bowman, president of the student-faculty council; Monteith College Student Board; Bradley Watkins of the Wesley Methodist Center; Mike Einheuser, member of the board of governors; Ilaseo Lewis of the Association of Black Communicators; the WSU Staff Association (a campus union); and others.

Maria Hernández said in a letter sent to every Latino student organization in Michigan, "Latino students can be instrumental in mobilizing a response to the racists. . . I encourage you as Latinos to get involved in your local Student Committee and if there isn't one already organized in your area then to begin one."

The Monteith College Student Board,

in an effort to help the student committee financially, decided to contribute all the proceeds from one of their campus movie showings.

Jackie Vaughn III, a Black state representative and chairperson of the Michigan Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, has also endorsed the activities of the Michigan student committee. The Huron Valley AFL-CIO has pledged \$250 to the Ann Arbor, Mich., student committee.

On Jan. 15 members of the student committee distributed leaflets at the Martin Luther King Jr. memorial at Wayne State University and at an Operation PUSH-sponsored demonstration held in downtown Detroit to demand jobs for all.

'Halt attacks on busing plan!'

Socialist runs for Pasadena school board

By ANDREA BARON

PASADENA, Calif.—The Pasadena board of education has been the target of widespread protests in recent months because of its racist attacks on a federally ordered school desegregation plan.

Many community residents participated in a march Dec. 14 in support of the plan.

The opening of an election campaign for the five-member board has intensified discussion of the busing plan. The discussion has been almost totally one-sided, however, as only two candidates have spoken out against the present board's opposition to the plan and against the board's lawsuit seeking to overturn it.

Tim Mallory, Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of education seat number two, supports the immediate implementation of the Pasadena Plan for school desegregation.

Mallory, a 23-year-old computer programmer, has been active in the struggle for school desegregation. He is running for the seat now held by Henry Marcheschi, the head of the board.

The only other candidate who supports the plan is Democrat Sam Sheats, the only Black member of the present board. Sheats endorsed the Dec. 14 action.

Two of the seats on the five-member board are up for reelection in the regular election. However, the other three members are also up for a special recall election. Some 60,000 signatures were collected calling for their ouster for refusing to implement the desegregation plan. Both elections will be held Mar. 4. The election is officially "nonpartisan."

While Marcheschi is not running for reelection, Mallory is running against Marcheschi's handpicked successor, Jerome Meier. Meier is the attorney who is representing the board majority in its attempt to destroy the plan.

Supporters of Mallory's campaign have brought the ideas of the socialist alternative to the residents of Pasadena.

dena. On Jan. 16 they made them known to the racists who run Pasadena as well.

The Pasadena board of directors sponsored a meeting to discuss their plans for "law enforcement in Northwest Pasadena."

The meeting was called by the police department and Henry Wilfong, a member of the board of directors. The meeting was planned as a small "dialogue" between a few residents, police, and city officials. However, the city politicians' plans were spoiled when more than 100 people showed up to demand real answers to the problems facing the predominantly Black area.

Wilfong, a Black Republican, laid out the city's plan for "improving" Northwest Pasadena. But he didn't mention the city's attacks on the school desegregation plan. However, the residents focused much of the discussion on this issue.

Mallory demanded that the city officials stop the attacks on the busing plan. He said, "We want direct answers to direct questions. You're talking about law and order; let's talk about law and equal education in Pasadena. The residents of Pasadena support the enforcement of the law and the immediate implementation of the Pasadena Plan for desegregated schools."

"The board of education is trying to block the plan—cutting back the hours of bus drivers and using money from the school budget to try to destroy the plan in the courts. Desegregation is the law, and we want to know if you'll enforce the law or continue the racist policies of this city in violating it."

Mike Zinzun, chairperson of the Pasadena Community Information Center, emphasized the overwhelming support of the plan by residents of Northwest Pasadena. Zinzun was active in planning many of the activities organized by the community in opposition to the racist school board majority. Representatives of the National Welfare Rights Organization and of



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Central focus of socialist campaign is desegregation of Pasadena public schools

the Chicano Youth Council also voiced their opposition to the city's policies.

Later in the meeting, a representative of the police department reported on the latest terror tactic of the Pasadena police, "Operation Sweep." This is a daily roundup of youth who aren't in school. They are detained in the police station and then turned over to school officials.

Isaac Richard, a Black high school student, added some firsthand information on this operation. He described how he had been detained by the police when he missed his school bus and was waiting on a corner for the city bus to go to school. Richard, who is a supporter of Mallory's campaign, called for the abolition of "Operation Sweep."

The majority of the board of education faced a confrontation with the community the very next day. The Pasadena high schools have traditionally held joint graduation exercises in the Rose Bowl. In a move to reinforce

school segregation, Marcheschi ordered the joint graduation canceled and directed each school to hold a separate graduation.

After angry protests by the students, Marcheschi backed down and said that the graduations could be held at the Rose Bowl, but at a different time for each school. One Blair High School student blasted this attempted compromise as "separate but equal graduations." Supporters of Mallory's campaign attended a meeting demanding that the joint graduation be held.

Many students are already actively involved in the socialist campaign, and others have expressed interest in finding out more about it.

Mallory has met with students from Pasadena Community College and Blair High School, and has also been invited to speak at meetings of the Concerned Students and Parents Association, the Northwest Pasadena Black Caucus, and the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Feb. 22 antiracist conference set in Pasadena

By TIM MALLORY

PASADENA, Calif.—As part of the continuing struggle to halt racist attempts to block school desegregation in Pasadena and Los Angeles, a conference against racism in education has been scheduled for Feb. 22 in Pasadena.

The conference is being organized by the Committee Against Segregation in Education (CASE), an outgrowth of the Dec. 14 Freedom March Committee, which hosted the Dec. 14 march of 350 people in Pasadena.

CASE is publicizing the Feb. 14-16 student conference against racism in Boston and is obtaining transportation for students from Southern California to attend the Boston conference. In addition to hearing reports from participants in the Boston conference, the Feb. 22 conference will focus on the local desegregation struggle.

In Pasadena the racist school board has spent \$200,000 in court costs and legal fees to overturn the Pasadena Plan, which calls for desegregation of the schools. The board has also cut the school bus drivers' pay in half, claiming that there is not enough money for full pay. Some drivers have been laid off.

CASE is demanding the immediate reinstatement of all bus drivers at full pay. It also calls for support to the Boston Black community, the implementation of the Pasadena Plan, and desegregation of all Los Angeles schools.

Student committees of CASE are being set up on high school and college campuses throughout the greater Los Angeles area. A CASE chapter was set up at the University of California at Los Angeles following a speak-out against racism that drew 100 people.

Cosponsors of the speak-out included the student legislative committee, the Black Student Alliance, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Other activities in the desegregation struggle will be taking place in Los Angeles in the coming weeks. On Jan. 26 there will be a rally sponsored by the Coalition for Excellent Schools

through Integration (CESI). CASE plans to work with CESI and other groups in building the Feb. 14-16 and Feb. 22 conferences.

One of the speakers at the Jan. 26 rally, Los Angeles city council member Dave Cunningham, will put a motion before the city council that would prohibit allocating city funds for any program or organization in which there is racial discrimination. This would include the Los Angeles city schools that a federal judge found to be segregated.

In a decision affecting the desegregation struggle, on Jan. 15 the California state supreme court ruled unconstitutional a proposition passed in

1972 that prohibited busing to achieve school integration.

The proposition added a provision to the state education code stating that "no public school student shall, because of his race, creed or color, be assigned to or be required to attend a particular school."

In making their ruling the justices relied on a 1970 U. S. Supreme Court decision voiding a similar statute in North Carolina.

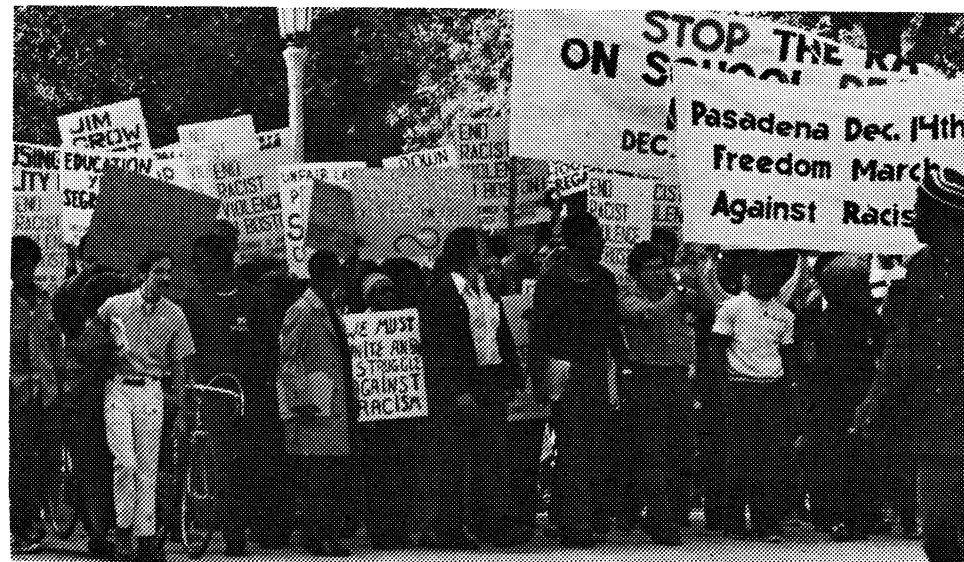
The California court quoted a key point in the federal decision:

"Just as the race of students must be considered in determining whether a constitutional violation has occurred, so also must race be considered in formulating a remedy."

The court further held that officials cannot evade ending school segregation with the specious argument that such segregation is the result of segregated housing.

The court, however, limited its decision by upholding another section of the proposition, which repealed a statute declaring that it was the policy of the California legislature to "prevent and eliminate racial imbalance in school enrollment."

This statute had required that school districts maintain statistics on ethnic makeup to be used in developing desegregation programs. The court ruled that this was a responsibility of the school districts, not the state.



Dec. 14 march in Pasadena

Militant/Walter Lippmann

1,500 in Atlanta say: 'Ratify ERA now!'

BY LINDA MILLWOOD

ATLANTA—Spirited chants of "ERA Now!" and "Equal Work, Equal Pay—Ratify the ERA" resounded in the streets here Jan. 11 as 1,500 people demonstrated support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

The demonstrators gathered at a downtown park and marched to the state capitol, where the Georgia legislature was scheduled to convene its 1975 session two days later.

Introduced every year since 1923, the Equal Rights Amendment was finally passed by the U.S. Congress in 1972. It reads, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The ERA will become the twenty-seventh amendment to the Constitution if it is ratified by 38 states before 1979. To date, 33 states have ratified the amendment.

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson issued a proclamation, read at the rally at the capitol by city council member Panke Bradley, declaring Jan. 11 "ERA Day in Atlanta."

Banners and signs identified the many contingents in the march. There was a Black contingent organized by the Black Women's Ad Hoc Committee for the ERA. College students came from around the state. High school



Militant/Harris Freeman

Contingents of Blacks, unionists, and students turned out for Jan. 11 march

students, hospital workers, and telephone operators were also well represented.

"There are working women here today who can't get a loan because they are women, who can't get a promotion because they are women, who are laid off because they are women. We are here today to begin to change that," Linda Tarr-Whelan, national secretary of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, told the rally.

Trade-union support for the march and rally included the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union; American

Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Chemical Workers Union; and the Office and Professional Employees International Union.

Also speaking at the rally was Reverend Willie Barrow, vice-president of Operation PUSH. "I came here today," she said, "suffering from dual oppression. I'm Black—that's racial oppression. I'm a woman—that's sexist oppression." She pointed out that the current layoffs especially affect Black women.

Other speakers included Mariam Richmond of WAOK Radio; Judith

Lightfoot of the National Organization for Women; Lee Negroni of the Emory Women's Alliance; Eva Chertov of the Socialist Workers Party; and Mary Jo Vogel and Vicki Griffith, coordinators of Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment (GERA).

Greetings from other labor, campus, and religious groups were read at the rally.

This was the second demonstration sponsored by GERA. Last year's march and rally drew 1,000 people. Over the past year support for the ERA has grown, and participation in this year's march was much broader. In addition to the Black, labor, and campus support already mentioned, endorsers included U.S. Representative Andrew Young (D-Ga.); J. Lowell Ware, editor of the *Atlanta Voice*; Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance; the Young Socialist Alliance; Young Women's Christian Association; Black Feminist Organization; and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Judith Lightfoot summed up the mood of the demonstrators when she said, "We are more determined, more militant, better organized, more representative, and in a position to demand what is due us—the legal equality that is overdue."

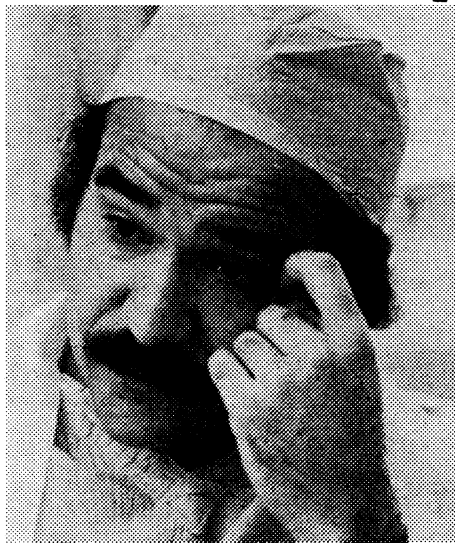
Black doctor tried for performing abortion

By RICHARD CAHALANE

BOSTON—On Jan. 10 Dr. Kenneth Edelin of Boston City Hospital went on trial for manslaughter as a result of an abortion he performed in October 1973. At the time, Edelin was chief resident in the obstetrics and gynecology department at Boston City Hospital.

The trial, which coincides with the second anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, represents an attempt by the reactionary "right to life" forces in Massachusetts to limit the right to abortion.

"The anti-abortion forces didn't just stumble onto this case," Edelin told the *Boston Globe*. "They had been watching me for about two years."



DR. KENNETH EDELIN: Victim of anti-abortion forces.

Edelin is well known as a supporter of the right to abortion. At Boston City Hospital, Edelin was one of only two doctors who volunteered to perform abortions. "I believe very strongly in a woman's right to determine what happens to her body," he told the *Boston Phoenix*. "During illegal abortions, many women died. And many women suffered. And the problem is, the women who died are poor women, and mainly black women."

Edelin, who is Black, is one of five doctors indicted by a grand jury in April 1974. Four of the doctors were charged under an 1814 "grave-robbing" statute for having performed medical research on dead fetuses. Their trial has not yet taken place.

The prosecution in the Edelin case claims that the fetus he aborted was

24 weeks old and "viable," and that Edelin did not do all in his power to preserve the fetus's life.

The jurors and alternate jurors selected for the trial number 13 men and three women. They are all white.

The prosecution's first witness was Dr. Mildred Jefferson. Jefferson was a founding member of both the Massachusetts Citizens for Life and the Value of Life Committee. She is currently the vice-chairperson of the board of directors of the National Right to Life Committee.

This trial is developing into a major court battle between the reactionary advocates of limiting women's right to choose abortion and supporters of the Supreme Court decision that made abortions legal in this country.

Boston racists and 'right to life': hand in hand

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—"I share your views and the views of all right thinking people," wrote Massachusetts State Representative Raymond Flynn, "that abortions should not be permitted under any circumstances despite the decision of the United States Supreme Court."

Raymond Flynn is no ordinary state representative venting a woman-hating spleen against the right to abortion. His constituency is South Boston, the all-white neighborhood that has become the center of the most determined racist resistance to court-ordered desegregation.

This Democratic Party politician is a leader of the racist antibusing drive and a figure highly touted by the bigots as their favorite candidate in the 1975 mayoral campaign in Boston.

The Flynn letter, quoted in the *Boston Real Paper*, set in motion the campaign to roll back abortion rights in Massachusetts that has culminated in the trial of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, who is on trial on manslaughter charges for having performed an abortion in Boston City Hospital. (See article on this page.)

After helping to organize an initial drive that,

last April, successfully threw up new legal restrictions on abortion rights, Flynn and his cronies marked time while they looked for new targets.

The new targets became Dr. Edelin and four other doctors who performed medical research on dead fetuses.

This connection between the reactionary anti-abortion forces and the racist antibusing drives is only the tip of the iceberg. The ranks of the antibusing group ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), as well as the "unaffiliated" bigots who have tossed rocks, bottles, and racist epithets at the school buses carrying Black students, are also the foot soldiers in the "right-to-life" movement.

Referring to the link between these two reactionary movements, the *Bay State Banner*, a Black newspaper published here, editorially commented, "It is ironic that many of those who anguish over the fate of a still born fetus would viciously deny black children access to all Boston schools."

State Representative Flynn and other racist, sexist Democrats are making an open challenge to the hard-won democratic rights of Blacks and women in Boston. And their ilk across the country is waiting for the outcome.



Bay State Banner

"Let's hurry up with this so we can get to the 'Right to Life' rally!"

Broad support for Berkeley meeting

800 rally to defend human rights in Iran

By MINA AZAD

BERKELEY, Calif. — A meeting of 800 people was held at the University of California here Jan. 9 to protest the severe repression in Iran.

Speaking were Daniel Ellsberg; Kay Boyle from Amnesty International; poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti; and Dr. Reza Baraheni, one of Iran's foremost writers. Baraheni was recently freed after being held and tortured in the shah's jails for 112 days. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which played a major role in publicizing Baraheni's case.

Baraheni's supposed crime was his advocacy of cultural rights for his people, the 10 million Azerbaijani Turks who, along with all other national minorities in Iran, are not allowed to use their own language. Baraheni was also charged with writings that have "radicalized the Iranian youth."

Throughout his hour-long presentation Baraheni made an eloquent case for the need to defend human rights in Iran. "Not a single prominent writer in Iran has not been in jail during the last ten years," he explained. "Dr. Saedi, who is as important to us as Shakespeare is to the English-speaking countries, is now in one of the worst dungeons in the country."

All books published in Iran must be cleared with the government, and if the Iranian secret police agency (SAVAK) disapproves, both the publisher and the author are thrown into prison. Baraheni noted that "my own publisher has hidden my book for four years because he does not want to go to jail."

One of Baraheni's most noted works is the *Masculine History of Iran*, in which he shows how the Iranian regime has eliminated women from the country's history. The attitude of the shah to such books is indicated by his statement that "women are nothing, nothing, nothing." The shah's ideology — and thus the regime's — Baraheni



Iranian writer Dr. Reza Baraheni addresses Berkeley meeting. He was imprisoned and tortured for supposedly having 'radicalized Iranian youth.'

explained, "is militaristic and anti-Semitic . . . a cult of national race prejudice is fostered."

Baraheni concluded his speech with a plea for support to those still in prison. He listed the most prominent of these as Dr. Ali Shariati, theologian; Dr. G. H. Saedi, playwright; H. Golshiri; F. Tavalloli; Atefe Golsorkhi; and S. Soltanpour.

Kay Boyle outlined the plight of Vida Hadjei Tabrizi, formerly a sociologist at the University of Tehran, who was imprisoned for her survey of poverty among the peasantry. She was sentenced to eight years by a military court and has been severely tortured, with the result that her health is in danger.

Daniel Ellsberg explained how the 1953 coup that brought the shah back to power was engineered by the CIA. "Iranian political prisoners," he stressed, "are really our [the U. S. government's] political prisoners."

Lawrence Ferlinghetti read a poem that dramatically portrayed the problem of tyranny.

In addition to the speakers, messages were read endorsing the meeting and the efforts of CAIFI from Representatives Ronald Dellums and Fortney Stark (D-Calif.); Eric Bentley;

Joan Baez; Berkeley city council member Ilona Hancock; Popeye Jackson of the United Prisoners Union; Committee for Non-Intervention in Chile; Charles Schwartz, Berkeley professor; Mark Allen and Angela Davis from the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; and Maxine

Jenkins from the Service Employees International Union.

Chapters of the Iranian Student Association at Portland State University, the University of Washington in Seattle, and the University of Texas in Austin also sent messages of endorsement.

Disruption attempt defeated

The Jan. 9 meeting in Berkeley, one of the most successful events in recent years in defense of political prisoners in Iran, was unfortunately marred by repeated attempts to shout down Dr. Reza Baraheni by some members of the Iranian Student Association (ISA).

Organizers of the meeting decided to give the platform to an ISA speaker for 10 minutes. This speaker tried to justify the disruptive and undemocratic tactics of the ISA by charging that Baraheni is an agent of the Iranian secret police. Not a single shred of proof was offered to substantiate this allegation, and Baraheni's speech itself showed how preposterous these slanders are.

Actually, most members of the ISA themselves don't believe this slander. The ISA members were

only trying to cover up the real reason for their disruption: they disagree with Baraheni's political views, and they are opposed to defending political prisoners with whom they disagree. For the same reason the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, which defends all victims of repression in Iran regardless of their political views, has also come under attack by the ISA.

The attempt of the ISA to prevent those they disagree with from speaking is not only a violation of elementary democratic rights; it is also self-defeating from the standpoint of defending the political prisoners whose very lives are at stake in the shah's jails. Such actions deserve to be roundly and universally condemned. — M. A.

Pact promises independence for Angola

By TONY THOMAS

On Jan. 15 the Portuguese government and the leaders of three pro-independence groups in Angola signed an agreement that could lead to independence for that Portuguese colony. The three liberation organizations are the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola — Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola — National Liberation Front of Angola), and UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola — National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The agreement in Angola followed similar accords in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Under the terms of the agreement Portugal would set up a "transitional" regime to rule Angola until independence, which is supposed to be granted Nov. 11, 1975. The transitional regime would be a joint administration including representatives of the Portuguese armed forces as well as representatives of the liberation groups.

A constituent assembly is to be elected before independence to write a constitution for an independent Angola. The assembly would elect a president to whom sovereignty would be turned over by the Portuguese.

The question of when to hold the elections had been a point of dispute between the Portuguese government and African representatives in the negotiations that preceded the agreement. According to the Jan. 12 *New York Times*, the Portuguese had wanted "to hold elections for a constituent assembly in Angola before the independence date and while Portuguese troops are still present. The Africans were said to prefer elections after the Portuguese left."

Angola, with a population of more than 6 million, is Portugal's largest



Portuguese are interested in retaining control of Angola's many riches, such as coffee, above.

and most important African colony. Oil reserves owned by Gulf in Cabinda province produce 400,000 barrels a day. Angola is also a major producer of coffee, sugar, cotton, sisal, iron ore, and diamonds. It is believed to be a potentially big producer of copper, phosphates, and manganese.

Liberation organizations have been carrying out an armed struggle for the independence of this colony since 1961.

The situation in Angola has been complicated by the fact that the three guerrilla organizations fighting the Portuguese, MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA, have maintained a factional attitude toward each other.

For example, for years the MPLA claimed that Holden Roberto, leader of the FNLA, was an agent of the American CIA. In recent months MPLA and FNLA leaders have claimed that Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA, is a Portuguese agent.

Differences between the liberation groups frequently spilled over into armed clashes between the African freedom fighters. The FNLA used its influence with the U.S.-backed Mobutu regime in Zaire to deny access to that country to UNITA and MPLA militants.

However, under pressure from African governments, and in the face of the opportunity for a settlement

with the Portuguese government, the leaders of the three groups met Jan. 4 and 5 in Mombasa, Kenya, to map out a united approach to the negotiations.

Under the "transition" regime each liberation organization would contribute 8,000 troops toward an armed security force. These 24,000 African troops would be matched by an equal number of Portuguese soldiers, who would stay in Angola until February, 1976.

Silva Cardoso, currently head of the Portuguese air force in Angola, will reportedly preside over the transitional regime as high commissioner.

The highest African authority will be a three-member presidential council under Cardoso. According to the Jan. 16 *Washington Post*, the council posts will be filled by Lucio Lara of MPLA, Johnny Eduardo of FNLA, and Fernando Wilson of UNITA.

Another provision of the accords is respect for the economic interests of the 350,000 white settlers in Angola. Under the agreement, the ministries of the economy, communications, transport, and public works are to be held by Portuguese.

Like the accords in Mozambique, the Angola agreement still leaves substantial power in the hands of the Portuguese.

Shankerites vs. community

Racist purge spreads in Dist. 1 schools

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—Two more school principals, one Black and one Puerto Rican, have been removed from their schools in District 1 on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

On Jan. 9 the racist majority of the community school board voted to dismiss Allen Boone Jr., principal of Junior High School 22, and Roberto Batista, principal of Public School 64. Both men were dismissed on phony charges of "incompetency."

Batista and Boone had been screened and recommended for their positions by parents from the two schools. Parents were not informed of their dismissals, nor of the appointment of the two new principals, both of whom are white.

Batista and Boone are only the latest victims of the vicious anticommunity purge being carried out in District 1.

Other parent-chosen staff removed in recent months by the board majority include Luis Fuentes, district superintendent; José Luis Rodríguez, principal of P.S. 34; Ted Fletcher and Charles Berger, coprinincipals of P.S. 188; and several assistant principals.

Dozens of paraprofessionals and bilingual teachers have also been fired, as well as the vast majority of District 1 program staff—Black, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and white—who support community control of the schools.

At the Jan. 9 school board meeting, which was closed to the public, 14 new principals and assistant prin-



Militant/Arthur Hughes

District 1 parents demonstrate for 'Por los Niños' slate in last year's school board election. Community activists plan vigorous campaign again this spring.

cipals were hired. All were white; none were screened or selected by the parents. Ninety-five percent of the children in District 1 schools are Puerto Rican, Black, or Chinese.

Parents from P.S. 64 and Junior High School 22 and supporters throughout the district are demanding the reinstatement of Boone and Batista.

When they questioned the school board majority at a public meeting on Jan. 16, parents were informed by

board chairperson Adolph Roher that the parent-chosen principals had been replaced by "more superior" men.

The five racists on the board have been dutifully carrying out the policies of Albert Shanker, head of New York's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), which poured thousands of dollars into the district to ensure their election.

Shanker, in his climb to national office in the AFL-CIO officialdom, has proven to be a rabid enemy of the op-

pressed Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities throughout New York.

With the central aim of protecting his power base among the more privileged, older white teachers in the UFT, Shanker has spared no effort to block any steps toward control of the schools by the oppressed communities or the hiring of more minority teachers and staff.

Like the segregationist foes of bus-ing in Boston, Shanker tries to hide his racism behind a mask of concern for "quality education." But the Shankerites' actions in District 1 are stripping that mask away.

Under the threat of continuing cut-backs in educational services and violations of parents' rights, District 1 parents, teachers, and community activists have been meeting to plan a campaign to win a procommunity majority in the new school board elections May 6.

A strong program for community control of the schools has been discussed in open meetings of up to 80 people. The program for the 1975 school board campaign will call for the immediate reinstatement of Luis Fuentes and all dismissed principals, paraprofessionals, bilingual teachers, and other school staff who have been fired or suspended against the wishes of the parents.

The 1975 Por Los Niños/For the Children campaign headquarters is at 90 Avenue B (at 6th Street) and can be contacted at (212) 982-0480.

Puerto Rican ousted on 'reverse bias' pretext

By CLAUDIO TAVAREZ

NEW YORK—The New York State Division of Human Rights has overturned the appointment of Elsa Lurie, a Black Puerto Rican woman, as principal of Public School 171 in East Harlem's school District 4.

The Dec. 30 ruling by Commissioner Jack Sable ordered Lurie replaced by Samuel Peyer, a white man who contended that he was better qualified.

Sable claimed that the District 4 community school board was guilty of "reverse discrimination" by failing to select Peyer. The ruling stated that Peyer is more "qualified" than Lurie and that the school board had voted for her on an ethnic basis.

District 4 has a student population of 15,000—98 percent of whom are Blacks and Puerto Ricans. P.S. 171 itself is 68 percent Puerto Rican and other latino and 29 percent Black.

Lurie came to the United States 23 years ago. She has been working in

the field of bilingual and bicultural education for these past 23 years, has the respect of her co-workers in the field, is fully certified for the post, and is the clear choice of the community. Yet the so-called human rights commissioner found her qualifications to be "tenuous."

Roberto Rodríguez, president of the community school board, called this charge "an insult to our minority community. Ms. Lurie is certified by the state system, which is hardly Puerto Rican."

The board has refused to dismiss Lurie as acting principal and has pledged to fight the decision to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary.

"If Commissioner Sable's decision is allowed to stand, it will be virtually impossible for any school board to appoint minority-group supervisors," the school board stated.

The *New York Times* noted that the ruling will "open the way for many

similar complaints by whites who believe they have been passed over for supervisory jobs by minority-dominated community school boards."

The decision in District 4 is part of a national attack on the minimal gains that have been won by Blacks and Puerto Ricans toward controlling or even having a say in the education of their children.

The rhetoric about opposing "reverse discrimination" is only a cover for blocking the hiring of more minority teachers and supervisors. Because of the racist discrimination against Blacks and Puerto Ricans throughout the educational system, and because of the proven bias of many testing, licensing, and certification methods, it can always be claimed that there is some white somewhere who has formally better credentials than those people the minority communities are trying to appoint.

In the front line of this racist campaign is Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers in New York and of the American Federation of Teachers nationally.

In his union-paid column in the Jan. 12 *New York Times*, Shanker applauded Lurie's removal as "another blow against ethnic hiring."

Parents in District 4 see things differently. I recently visited P.S. 171 and talked with parents about the situation there.

Maria García, who has three children attending the school, said, "I can't understand why they always go after us."

Rosie Pérez interjected in Spanish that Lurie "speaks Spanish, we can communicate with her. The majority in this school is Spanish and we need someone like her."

"Anyway," she added, "it is our right to get whoever we want."

CUNY students plan picket against cutbacks

By JACK LIEBERMAN

NEW YORK—Hundreds of students from the City University of New York (CUNY) are expected to attend the Board of Higher Education (BHE) meeting here Jan. 27 to protest massive cutbacks in the university budget.

The board will be voting on cuts totaling more than \$17-million. If these are implemented, hundreds of professors and other university employees will be fired, class sizes increased, and course offerings cut.

Response to the cutbacks has been widespread, with protest meetings and demonstrations occurring on many of the more than 20 CUNY campuses across the city.

The BHE demonstration is cosponsored by the University Student Sen-

ate (USS), a city-wide body of student government representatives, and the Professional Staff Congress, a city-wide faculty organization. In December they cosponsored a rally of 2,000 people at city hall to protest the cuts.

Both organizations see these cuts as a threat to the CUNY open-admissions policy, which was won through student protests in 1969. The state has been threatening for several years to eliminate open admissions, and if implemented, these cuts would seriously undermine the policy.

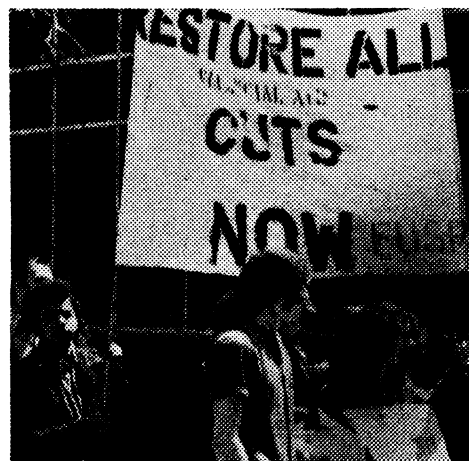
Most hard hit by the current cuts will be the financial aid and remedial programs that serve many Black and Puerto Rican students who are able to attend CUNY because of the open-

admissions policy. The cuts may force many of these students to leave school.

On Jan. 27 the students will hold a picket line at 4 p.m. at the BHE headquarters at 535 E. 80th St. They will then go into the BHE meeting to speak to the board and demand that it refuse to implement the cuts, which have been ordered by New York Mayor Abraham Beame.

Many campuses are also planning protest actions when school reopens after winter recess in early February. The USS will hold a city-wide CUNY conference at Hunter College on Feb. 17 to plan future city-wide actions.

For more information, contact the USS at 430 E. 80th St. or call (212) 794-5546.



Militant/Robb Wright

Brooklyn College students protest cutbacks. City-wide conference to map future actions is set for Feb. 17.

World Outlook

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

JANUARY 31, 1975

The feminist movement in Portugal: an interview

[Maria Isabel Barreno, one of the three authors of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* (New Portuguese Letters), gave the following interview to Gerry Foley in mid-June 1974 in Lisbon.

[Barreno and the other authors—Maria Velho da Costa and Maria Teresa Horta—became known as the "Three Marias" when the Portuguese dictatorship arrested them and confiscated their book after its publication in April 1972. The book, which the government banned as an "outrage to public morals," portrays the isolation and repression of women in Portugal.

[An international campaign in defense of the Three Marias won support from feminists, writers, and prominent public figures around the world. Shortly before the April 25, 1974, military coup, the government prosecutor recommended dismissal of the charges against them. On May 7, the Three Marias were formally acquitted.

[At present, Barreno is in the United States working on a theatrical adaptation of the book. She is scheduled to tour the country beginning January 19, speaking on the Portuguese feminist movement and cases of persecuted women political activists. In particular she is seeking to rally the support of American women for the cases of Inez Etien Romeo of Brazil, and Lydia Falcón and Genoveva Forest of Spain. At the end of December she participated in an international defense panel at the Young Socialist Alliance convention in St. Louis.

[Barreno's answers have been translated from Portuguese. She has not had the opportunity to check the translated and edited text.]

* * *

Question. What effect do you think the fall of the dictatorship will have on the development of the feminist movement in Portugal?

Answer. Two circumstances favor rapid development of the feminist movement in Portugal. On the one hand, the April 25 overturn suddenly opened the way for freedom of expression, assembly, association, and so forth, which were completely absent before. Then, because there had been a lot of publicity around the "Three Marias" book, we were able to give interviews, to talk about the need for a feminist movement in Portugal, and this immediately led many women to get in touch with us, women we didn't know. Therefore, instead of having to build up slowly as in many other countries, beginning from small groups of women who came together on a personal basis, the movement here was able to start out on a much broader footing. Women who didn't know about us read what we said in our interviews, found our telephone numbers, and got in touch with us.

We have gotten calls from women workers in factories asking us to start a campaign because the men would not agree to equal wages for women. We got a call from a woman who wanted an abortion and wanted us to start a campaign for her. We got a call from a friend of a woman who went to the hospital because her husband beat her. Every day we get calls. The last two cases I mentioned concerned individuals. But often the



Portuguese upsurge has brought many women into political activity for first time.

calls are made on behalf of groups of women. We got a call from a group of women workers at the Portuguese railway company who wanted to hold a meeting. Another appeal was from women in a poor neighborhood whom we met in a street demonstration.

This is very positive from one angle. But from another, we don't know if the Portuguese feminist movement will be able from this activity to form a clear idea of what it is and develop a program of action. For example, we had thought, considering the urgency of the problem, that our first campaign would be on the question of abortion. Since contraceptives are not widely available in Portugal and abortions are not permitted, women are driven to having abortions in

really terrible conditions. We were thinking of starting a publicity campaign on this. But we didn't have time to get started. We were swept away by events that haven't left us even a minute to think. And we are worried that in these circumstances our efforts may be fragmented.

Q. What precisely do you mean by "common actions"? Do you mean united demonstrations?

A. Yes. There are so many issues here in Portugal. There is a tremendous backwardness. The labor laws, the laws regarding the family, the constitution itself, discriminate against women. They are regarded as equals before the law but subordinated to the interests of the family. That is, the interests of the family take precedence over the interests of the individual woman. For example, the laws on adultery discriminate against women, as do the penalties a man is subject to if he murders his wife.

Working women are also discriminated against. A large proportion, not a majority, about 25 percent, of Portuguese women work. The percentage is probably larger than this. But the official statistics acknowledge that at least 25 percent work. And these women are condemned to work in the worst conditions.

So, there is a lot to be done. And I think we have a good start. Groups have been formed to take up all these problems. But this doesn't stand in the way of working together on certain questions, such as abortion and the need to make contraceptive devices available throughout Portugal. All groups could be called on to take part in such common work.

Q. Have any representatives of the women's movement approached the government to make demands on behalf of Portuguese women?

A. The only contact we had was with the Junta de Salvação Nacional before the Provisional Government was formed. After April 25 many movements occupied facilities and informed the junta that they were taking them over for a headquarters. Other movements did not occupy facilities but called on the junta to grant them a headquarters since they had a right to one. We discussed whether we should take a headquarters or ask the junta for one. There wasn't much support among the women for a measure like taking a building. So, we formed a committee to ask the junta for a headquarters. The answer we got was no. The explanations were that they couldn't give the feminist movement a headquarters because it was wrong to separate women from men, that it was a time when we should all be united in Portugal to guarantee democracy and prevent the



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Maria Isabel Barreno speaking at recent Young Socialist Alliance convention in St. Louis.

return of fascism; and that, in comparison with the problems of the nation, the problems of women were secondary.

We thought of making this request again to the Provisional Government. But we have not done so. I think the answer would be the same. And I do not think the attitude of the Communist and Socialist parties would be different.

Q. What do you think about the role of the international feminist movement? How has it helped the development of feminism here? What can the international feminist movement do to help the growth of the women's movement in Portugal?

A. I think that the international feminist movement is vital. We can see that it is less and less the capitalists and the big bourgeoisie of individual countries that dominate politics and economics. More and more it is international capital that determines world politics. For example, fascism lasted fifty years in Portugal because various forces in international capitalism had an interest in maintaining fascism here. There is also the case of Chile and many countries in Latin America where foreign capitalists have interfered in internal politics. What exists is an international capitalist class. The idea that today you can carry out revolutions or achieve changes within a national framework is more and more utopian. I think that any movement, of workers, of minorities, or of women can only be effective within an international framework.

The support of the international feminist movement was decisive in winning our case here, and thus, in getting the Portuguese feminist movement started. Its support will continue to be very important for us. And, I am sure that there are other cases like ours where international campaigns can achieve similar successes.

Africa in 1974: famine, rebellion & a new rise in the

By Ernest Harsch

The famine that has ravaged many countries in Africa in the past six years continued to worsen in 1974. An estimated one million persons have now died in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa—Mali, Niger, Chad, Senegal, Upper Volta, and Mauritania—because of this scourge. At least another 400,000 starved to death in Ethiopia since the famine spread to that country in 1973.

Entire sections of the population poured into the crowded relief camps and slums of the cities and towns. The social fabric of some of the stricken countries reached the breaking point.

The response of ruling circles was in general to search for scapegoats and to resort to repressive measures. The military in Upper Volta took over total control of the country in February. In Niger, following a series of labor strikes and several protests by students and teachers blaming the regime of Diori Hamani for the famine, a military coup in April ousted the discredited government.

The Fall of the 'Lion'

The social turmoil in Ethiopia was profound. The famine and drought in the northern provinces of Tigre and Wallo, which later spread to the south, revealed like nothing else could the utter bankruptcy of Ethiopia's backward, semifeudal agrarian system and the regime that represented it.

In a country of twenty-six million, a handful of rich landlords, aristocrats, church figures, and feudal barons owned a full 90 percent of all cultivated land, with the vast majority of the peasantry either working on subsistence plots, as sharecroppers, or as landless laborers. In many parts of the country, the peasants had to pay between 60 and 70 percent of their crops as rent. Some were even bound to the land by feudal ties. Over this archaic system sat Emperor Haile Selassie, who was hailed by his retainers as the "King of Kings," the "Elect of God," and the "Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah." He was also the biggest landowner of them all.

Although the drought was a contributing factor, it was Ethiopia's stagnant agriculture that in reality doomed hundreds of thousands to death. Selassie's regime denied the existence of the famine for months in order to justify its increase of grain exports.

It was against this background that the mass upsurges first erupted in February. The unrest began with strikes and demonstrations by workers and students in Addis Ababa. Within days there were mutinies by military units in Asmara, Massawa, and Addis Ababa, involving at least 10,000 troops and winning the support of most of the ranks and junior officers. These initial protests forced the resignation of Selassie's cabinet.

Over the next few months, the groundswell of discontent touched virtually every oppressed layer of Ethiopian society. Addis Ababa continued to be rocked by demonstrations and strikes. Tens of thousands of Muslims marched to protest religious discrimination. Women demanded equal pay and rights. Veterans called for pension increases. The Confederation



Victims of African famine. For many, emergency aid was too little and too late.

of Ethiopian Labor Unions held a three-day general strike to back their demand for a higher minimum wage. Students and teachers demanded the ouster of the new cabinet, education reform, and "land to the tillers." Even priests demanded pay raises. In April, mass protests and strikes spread to Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, which has been struggling for its independence from Addis Ababa for more than a decade.

Peasant revolts swept the countryside, especially in southern Ethiopia. Landlords, government officials, police chiefs, and unpopular military officers fled the rural areas and provincial towns. There were reports that in some areas new popular formations arose that tried to fill the political vacuums left by the fleeing officials. Mass meetings were held in schools and market places in the larger towns and villages. The April 16 *Le Monde* reported: "... in certain provinces, for example in Kefa... 'revolutionary committees' seem to be trying to substitute themselves for the local authorities."

The rebel troops emerged as the most significant, organized, and disciplined force in opposition to Selassie. The initial mutinies reflected a genuine dissatisfaction with Ethiopia's continued backwardness. The initiative for the military revolts came from the ranks and the junior officers and were directed against corrupt officials and administrators, unpopular military commanders, and finally against Selassie himself.

The demands raised by the troops in the first weeks of the upsurge included freedom of the press, release of political prisoners, the right to form political parties, liberalization of labor legislation, free and universal education, "land to the tillers," and trials for the ousted officials. Some leaflets even called for the legalization of the Eritrean Liberation Front, one of the two guerrilla groups fighting Addis Ababa's control over the area. It was such demands of the rebel troops that won initial support from the students and workers.

But there were sharp differences among the various currents within the military that occasionally led to armed clashes. The nature of those differences are still not clear. The formation of the armed forces coordinating committee (later called the

Dergue) helped contain the differences and direct the rebel troops in a more organized fashion.

Step by step, the Dergue isolated Selassie. The arrests began with a few generals, former cabinet ministers, and ousted provincial governors; they gradually struck closer and closer to the sacred personage himself. The turning point came on August 16 when the various military units marched through Addis Ababa in a show of strength, abolished Selassie's highest advisory body, the Crown Council, and placed the emperor under virtual house arrest.

The Dergue administered the final blow on September 12 when it deposed the "Lion of Judah," ending Selassie's fifty-eight year rule. He was taken from the palace in a police van and

surge. As early as May, military units broke strikes in Addis Ababa. After ousting Selassie and forming a new regime, the Dergue outlawed strikes and demonstrations, tried to disperse the students into the countryside, and sent more troops into Eritrea.

The continuation of differences within the Dergue was highlighted by the ouster of Lieutenant General Aman Michael Andom as its chairman and his subsequent death on November 23.

The economic and social conditions and the widespread unrest that led to the downfall of Selassie still remain. In addition, the famine and drought continue to affect parts of the country.

An Empire Totters

The April 25 coup in Lisbon, led by General António de Spínola, was a de facto admission by the Portuguese imperialists that they could no longer hang on to their centuries-old empire by direct colonial rule. It also provided a new impetus to the independence struggles in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique.

Lisbon's African wars, which had dragged on for almost a decade and a half, had become an increasingly expensive drain on the imperialist center. They tied up 150,000 troops and accounted for up to 50 percent of the government budget. Just as important, antiwar moods began to spread widely among the Portuguese population. To save Portuguese imperialism, it had become necessary to grant a few formal concessions and introduce subtler forms of rule.

Lisbon's immediate aim was to halt the fighting without having to give up any real ground. At first Spínola offered various vague assurances that



Ethiopian students demonstrate for democratic rights. New military regime has cracked down on mass upsurge, outlawing demonstrations and strikes and trying to disperse students into countryside.

reportedly confined to a mud hut. The Dergue dissolved the parliament and arrested scores of aristocrats, officials, landlords, and generals. During the night of November 23, almost sixty of these officials were executed.

At the same time that the Dergue moved against Selassie, however, it also sought to contain the mass up-

the colonies would be given a greater degree of "autonomy" within a Portuguese federation and stated that the guerrilla forces would be allowed to function legally if they laid down their arms. But the independence forces didn't swallow Spínola's bait.

Moreover, the coup had repercussions that quickly moved beyond Lis-

anticolonial struggle

bon's control. The anticolonial struggles took on new life, and the African masses began to gain greater confidence in their ability to oppose imperialist domination. A wave of strikes by African workers broke out in Mozambique and Angola. The guerrillas gained greater support and launched new offensives. Many of the Black troops that had fought with the Portuguese deserted to the liberation forces. Mass uprisings swept parts of northern Mozambique in August.

At the same time, demoralization spread among the Portuguese troops, and units often refused to go into combat against the guerrillas. The "third force" groupings that arose in Angola and Mozambique, and that favored continued Portuguese domination in some form, failed to gain enough support from the African masses to offset the influence of the independence forces.

Lisbon was forced to give even more ground to the liberation movements. It ended its direct colonial hold over Guinea-Bissau and promised to do the same for Mozambique. Despite the formal concessions, however, Lisbon's original plan remained: to hang onto as much as possible, even if that meant sacrificing some parts of the empire and maneuvering cautiously in the others. Spínola's ouster as head of the regime on September 30 changed nothing fundamental in Lisbon's long-term strategy.

Lisbon granted independence to mainland Guinea-Bissau, which was the least important of Portugal's African possessions, on September 10. It began withdrawing the Portuguese troops and turned the administration over to the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde—African party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands).

But the Portuguese junta still retained control of the strategic Cape Verde Islands, which the PAIGC had always insisted were an integral part of the country. Under threats of continued warfare and the pressure of the United Nations, the PAIGC dropped its demand that the Cape Verdes and mainland Guinea-Bissau be granted independence at the same time. Although Portuguese officials have said that a provisional government composed of the PAIGC and other, rival groups would be set up in the Cape Verdes to prepare for their "independence," the inclusion of parties opposed to the PAIGC would give the Portuguese imperialists much more room to maneuver and the opportunity to use some of the groups for its own purposes.

In Mozambique, Lisbon set up a coalition "government of transition" with Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front) which is to rule the country until June 1975, when the Portuguese regime has pledged to grant Mozambique its independence. While Frelimo received more cabinet posts than the Portuguese, the key areas of defense and foreign affairs were left in Lisbon's hands. During the "transition period," the police will continue to function under Portuguese control and the colonialist troops will remain.

This arrangement clearly leaves the Portuguese imperialists in a strong position. By drawing Frelimo into the regime and concluding a cease-fire, Lisbon gained valuable time. It can use the "transition period" to strength-



SELAASSIE: 'King of Kings' wound up in a mud hut.

en the numerous "third force" groups opposed to Frelimo and to pressure Frelimo itself into going along with Lisbon's neocolonialist schemes.

So far, Frelimo has cooperated with the Portuguese. During the Black rebellions in the shantytowns of Lourenço Marques following the collapse of the attempted rightist coup in September, and then again in October, Frelimo helped the Portuguese troops restore order by patrolling the African neighborhoods and calling on the African population to "calm down." Frelimo also used its influence to try to end the wave of strikes that had swept the country since the Lisbon coup. When the coalition regime was installed September 20, Frelimo President Samora Machel said, "In this situation and phase in the life of our country, strikes have no place."

But even if Frelimo does go beyond the neocolonialist limits set by the Portuguese, Lisbon's options are still open. If it can't use its own troops, the rightist settler groups, as well as some of the Black neocolonialist organizations, would be willing to cooperate. The possibility of direct military intervention by South Africa is also an ever present danger.

Lisbon's grip on Angola, the largest and richest of its African colonies, remains the firmest. The Portuguese settler population in Angola is much larger than in Mozambique and the rivalry of the three guerrilla groups gives Lisbon the chance to pit them against each other. The three groups are the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—National Front for the Liberation of Angola), and UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Front for the Total Independence of Angola).

Angola's vast natural wealth—oil, iron, diamonds, gold—makes it a prime target of the imperialists. Gulf Oil has petroleum concessions in Cabinda, an enclave just north of Angola proper. Other U.S., Portuguese, French, and Belgian oil companies are exploring along Angola's coast. A few political groups have already sprung up that favor the enclave's separation from the rest of Angola.

Among the others interested in the Angolan spoils is the regime in Zaire, which has received nearly \$50 mil-

lion in military aid from Washington since 1962. Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko supports the FNLA and has supplied the guerrilla group with significant military aid. In any neocolonialist setup in Angola, Lisbon and the U.S. oil interests will try to use Mobutu's influence on the nationalists to help maintain their economic interests.

Even if Lisbon ends direct colonial rule over all its African possessions, the former colonies will still face imperialist domination—unless capitalism itself is overthrown in those countries. Without a socialist revolution, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola will not differ essentially from all the other "independent" Black African states, which, despite the "socialist" rhetoric of some of the African leaders, have not solved their pressing social and economic problems.

But the events in Mozambique and Angola need not necessarily stay within neocolonial channels. The revolts in the Black shantytowns of Lourenço Marques and Luanda are only a small indication of the explosive situation in those countries, which may yet spill beyond the framework of the capitalist system.

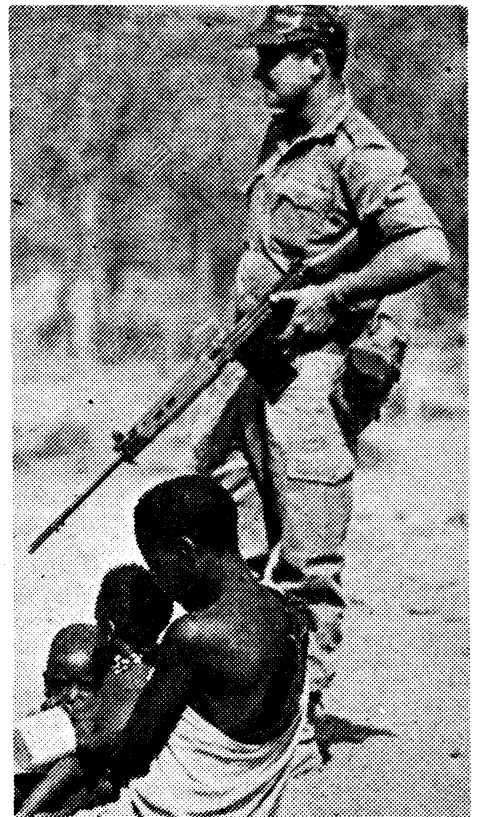
Moreover, many of the "independent" African countries have also been touched by unrest this year. There were student protests in Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana, Congo (Brazzaville), Niger, Zambia, and Tanzania. In Chad, the guerrilla war led by Frolinat (Front de Libération Nationale—National Liberation Front) continued. Students and workers staged a series of demonstrations and strikes in Kenya.

Shock Waves in Southern Africa

The pressure of events in the rest of Africa, particularly in the Portuguese colonies, has also been felt by the white minority regimes in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa. Any advances made by the liberation movements in the rest of Africa are sure to encourage the oppressed African majorities in the two white-ruled countries to press their struggles even harder.

The active opposition to the racist Rhodesian regime in Salisbury had already been on the rise before the Lisbon coup. The guerrilla actions in northern Zimbabwe intensified and began to spread southward toward Salisbury itself. There were cases of disaffection among the African troops under Salisbury's command and among the traditional tribal chiefs who have supported the regime in the past. The demoralization of the white population grew.

Prime Minister Ian Smith's regime responded with more repression. It doubled the draft and announced the formation of handpicked "militias" to patrol the tribal trust lands. Free-fire zones were set up in areas affected by



Guerrilla struggle in Zimbabwe was aided by events in Portuguese colonies.

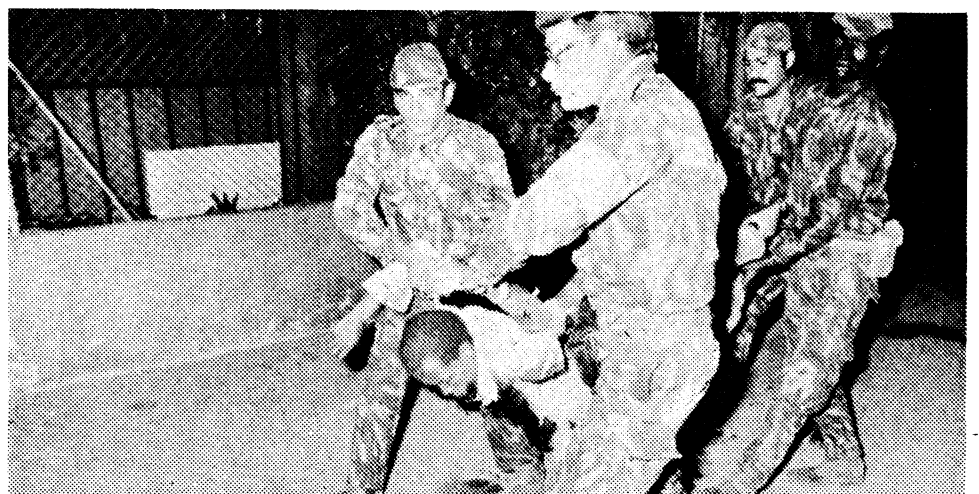
guerrilla activity. In July, Salisbury began the forced removal and resettlement into "protected villages" of tens of thousands of Africans.

In South Africa, 10,000 textile workers struck in Durban in January; and in March workers at British Leyland in Durban walked off their jobs. Hundreds of Blacks staged protests in support of Frelimo in Durban and northern Transvaal in September.

Under the impact of the colonialist defeat in Portuguese-ruled Africa, and the continued unrest within Zimbabwe and South Africa, the white racist regimes have begun to make diplomatic overtures to some of the Black states in an effort to help stabilize the area. In October, Zambia President Kenneth Kaunda responded to a speech by South African Prime Minister John Vorster calling for "peaceful cooperation" in southern Africa. Kaunda said that Vorster's speech was "the voice of reason for which Africa and the rest of the world have been waiting." The South African regime also announced that it would make a few token concessions in its apartheid policy.

Salisbury joined the drive to try to defuse the explosive atmosphere. On December 11 it announced that a cease-fire had been reached with the Zimbabwe guerrillas and that a constitutional conference would be held sometime in the future to discuss greater Black representation in parliament.

These sudden diplomatic moves, however, were only for show. The concessions announced so far do not fundamentally alter the oppression of the African masses by the white minorities. Their only purpose is to try to dampen the unrest and delay the inevitable confrontation.



Portuguese troops drag away demonstrator in Angola

Portuguese unions protest repression in Argentina

[The following article was published in the December 19, 1974, issue of a new Portuguese biweekly, *Combate Socialista*. (Copies of the paper can be obtained from Rua do Bom Jardim, no. 229; 3 Andar-Traseiras, Porto, Portugal.) The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In the face of escalating murderous attacks against working-class and socialist activists in Argentina by fascist groups, attacks in which the complicity of the Peronist government is clear, a number of trade-union and political organizations in our country have denounced the repression in this Latin American country.

We reprint below the message sent to the Argentine comrades who have been hit by the reactionary offensive, and in so doing add our support. This support is reinforced, moreover, by the fact that the state of siege is now being used against the left, as is indicated by several reports as well as by more murders, by the banning of a national rally planned by the Communist party, and by raids on a number of headquarters of the PST (a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), as well as by the recent arrest of Juan Carlos Co-



Peronist goons have carried out campaign of terror against socialist militants.

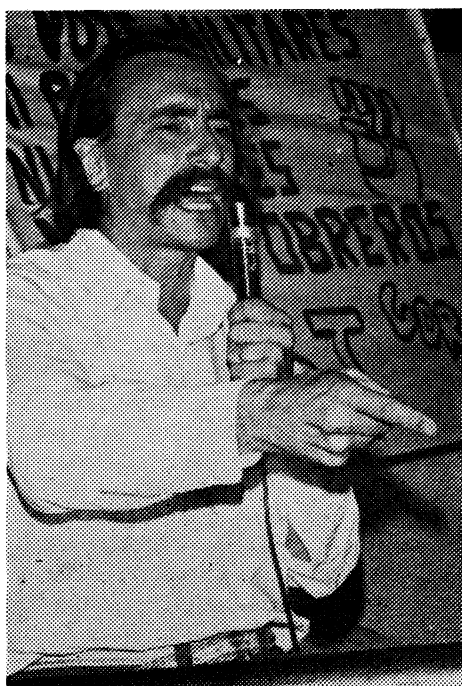
ral, a leader of this party.* Coral was also the only candidate who opposed the Peronists in the September 1973 elections who did not capitulate to the populist demagoguery that is now more clearly revealing its procapitalist and anti-working-class objectives:

"Portuguese workers, trade-union, revolutionary, and antifascist activists have learned with indignation about the crimes perpetrated in recent months against the Argentine workers.

"The recent murders by rightists of an Argentine Communist party activist (Tita Hidalgo, who died as a result of a beating she received at the hands of the police) and of three activists of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (César Robles, Rubén Bouzas, and Juan Nievas, killed by gangs of armed fascists) call for strong condemnation.

"We reaffirm our conviction that the

*Coral was released after being held a short time.



Argentine Trotskyist leader Juan Carlos Coral was arrested in November in an attempt to intimidate workers movement.

Argentine workers movement will defeat the reaction. And we demand that the state of siege that has now been proclaimed by Señora Isabel Perón not be used as a weapon for persecuting and attacking the workers organizations.

"We who fought against fascism, and who continue to struggle to defeat reaction in Portugal, consider that the Argentine fascists and reactionaries are also our enemies. Therefore, we extend our solidarity to the Argentine workers in their struggle and emphatically condemn the crimes that have been committed against them.

"Lisbon, November 26, 1974."

Signed: Sindicato Nacional dos Ferroviários do centro de Portugal [Central Portugal District of the National Union of Railway Workers], Sindicato Nacional dos Operários da construção civil do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Civil Construction Workers], Sindicato dos profissionais de escritório do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the Clerks Union], Sindicato dos Motoristas do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the Bus Drivers Union], Sindicato Nacional dos Empregados Bancários do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Bank Workers], Sindicato Nacional dos Técnicos e Operários Metalúrgicos-Metal-Mecânicos do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Metallurgical Technicians, Metalworkers, and Mechanics], Sindicato dos Trabalhadores dos Têxteis de Lisboa Lanifícios e Vestuários do Sul [Lisbon District of Textile Workers and the Southern District of Wool and Clothing Workers], Sindicato Nacional dos Profissionais das Artes Gráficas do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Graphic Arts Workers], Federação Nacional dos Sindicatos do Pessoal das Indústrias Químicas [National Federation of Chemical Workers], Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Electricistas do Sul [Southern District of Electrical Workers], Aliança Socialista da Juventude [Young Socialist Alliance], Grupo Marxista Revolucionário [Revolutionary Marxist Group], Partido Socialista Português [Portuguese Socialist party].

World news notes

South African miners strike

About 12,000 African miners went out on strike at the Vaal Reefs gold mine in South Africa January 6. The Vaal Reefs mine is the largest gold mine in the world and is run by the Anglo-American Corporation.

The strike was sparked by a regulation passed by the Lesotho government that required all Lesotho miners employed in South Africa to deposit 60 percent of their wages in Lesotho banks until they returned home. Lesotho is a formally "independent" enclave in South Africa that is totally dominated by the racist regime. About 100,000 Lesotho laborers work in South Africa, most of them as miners.

Officials of the Anglo-American Corporation claimed that eight miners killed in the first days of the strike were the victims of tribal clashes between Basothos (the predominant tribal group in Lesotho) and Xhosas. According to one report, however, one miner was killed January 6 when the police attacked the strikers.

In addition, miners struck at the Western Deep Level Gold Mine and the Saaiplaas Gold Mine on January 2. After the Vaal Reefs strike began, about 500 Basotho miners walked off their jobs at the Blesbok and New Largo coal mines.

Chile under the junta

More than one-third of the children under six years of age living in the Chilean shantytown of Barancas are suffering such severe malnutrition that they will be stunted or handicapped physically or mentally, according to the auxiliary bishop of Santiago, Monsignor Fernando Ariztia.

The bishop, who delivered a New Year's message on the suffering of Chilean workers under the military junta, pointed to the high unemployment, the increase in prostitution and alcoholism, the lack of respect for the rights of workers, and the increase in the number of children begging in the streets.

A recent survey by the Chilean Catholic magazine *Mensaje* reported that the buying power of a family whose income falls on the lower end of the wage scale has been cut almost in half during the last year.

Jabra Nicola

Jabra Nicola (also known as Abu Said), a former member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, died on December 27.

Born in Haifa on February 16, 1912, Nicola was forced to leave school at the age of eleven, like many other Arab youths in this period. He soon became active in opposing British colonial rule in Palestine, and joined the Palestinian Communist party before he was twenty years old. Although self-educated, he mastered not only Arabic, but also Hebrew and English, and was able to read French and German.

Nicola began to break away from Stalinism in the late 1930s, joining a short-lived Trotskyist group in 1942. Beginning in 1962 he was able to play a major role in the current that eventually gave rise to the Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist), the Israeli section of the Fourth International.

Arrested and jailed by the British in the 1930s and again in 1940-42, Nicola was also victimized by the Zionist state. Following the 1967 war his freedom of movement was restricted, and for a time he was placed under house arrest. In 1970 he took up residence in London, where he lived until his death.

New diplomatic gains for Cuba

The Venezuelan and Colombian governments reestablished relations with Havana at the end of December, striking two more blows against Washington's economic and diplomatic encirclement of Cuba.

On December 23, the López Michelsen regime in Colombia became the tenth in Latin America to resume ties with Cuba. Bogotá announced the initiation of limited trade with Havana and said it would decide in January whether to extend full commercial and diplomatic recognition.

After two weeks of negotiations between the Cuban and Venezuelan United Nations' delegates, Caracas announced December 29 the signing of an agreement to reopen diplomatic relations with Havana. Trade will also be resumed as part of the accord.

The moves by Colombia and Venezuela came in the wake of the split vote at the November 12 meeting of the OAS on whether to lift the blockade of Cuba.

Only three governments voted in favor of maintaining the sanctions—Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Twelve voted to end them: Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa Rica—sponsors of the motion—along with Honduras, Argentina, El Salvador, Ecuador, Trinidad-Tobago, Mexico, Peru, Panama, and the Dominican Republic.

However, because a two-thirds majority was required, the abstentions of six governments narrowly defeated the motion. They were cast by the United States, Bolivia, Brazil, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Haiti.

Israel: more leaving, fewer entering

Uncertainty about Israel's security led to a new record in the number of people leaving the country and a decline in immigration in 1974, the Israeli government reported January 8. An estimated 18,000 people—the greatest number since the establishment of Israel—emigrated to other countries, while the influx of new refugees declined from 55,000 in 1973 to about 33,000 in 1974.

Interview with three activists

San Jose CASA fights for rights of 'illegals'

By MIGUEL PENDAS

SAN JOSE, Calif.—In recent years there has been an increasing awareness among Chicanos of the need to defend their sisters and brothers from Mexico and Latin America working in this country without the proper documents—the so-called illegal aliens—against the abuses of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Forming local chapters of the anti-deportation organization CASA is one way that some Chicano activists have seen to combat *la migra*. CASA, initially organized in Los Angeles, provides social services and immigration advice as well as organizing political action in defense of undocumented workers.

The Militant spoke recently with three activists at the San Jose CASA—Jesús Lozano, Jacqueline Ortega, and Gerardo Herrera.

They estimated that there are more than 100,000 undocumented workers in the San Francisco Bay Area. The big majority are *mexicanos*, although there are many Filipinos, Chinese, and Koreans as well.

In the San Jose metropolitan area itself, many people without papers are employed in the canneries, where produce from California's fertile fields is processed and packaged.

Due to the large number of immigrant workers in the area, there have always been organizations purporting to give immigration advice. But since nearly all of these groups are either just out to make a buck or are government-funded, undocumented workers are hesitant to turn to them. "That's why we started CASA," said Lozano.

CASA refuses to accept government funding, he added. "That's how we

maintain our autonomy."

CASA in San Jose was initiated by priests at the Sacred Heart Church in the Chicano community. Shortly after attending a CASA-sponsored conference on immigration in Los Angeles last March, they called a meeting at the church. Twenty-five people attended, and the local chapter was on its way. The church donated the use of a nearby building as a headquarters.

March against deportations

It was the march to "Stop the Deportations" in Los Angeles last Aug. 31 that gave the group its greatest impetus. Ortega and Herrera first became active during the preparations for a solidarity march in San Jose a week before the Los Angeles event. They estimated that about 700-800 turned out in San Jose.

Law students from Stanford University and other Bay Area colleges and various Latin American cultural and social organizations were drawn into CASA's activities as a result of the march.

Migra raids on local dance halls about the time of the demonstration served to keep the march from being even larger.

La migra conducts periodic raids in the Chicano community of San Jose. Not long ago, for example, a Border Patrol van pulled up to a movie theater and the agents checked the documents of all the Latin-looking customers as they came out. When the van was full of those who could not prove citizenship, they were hauled away to be deported.

But the attacks of *la migra* have been stepped up beyond raids such as those at the movie theater. This was especially marked by the Oct. 31

speech of Attorney General William Saxbe in Brownsville, Texas, in which he blamed the economic crisis on "illegals" and demanded more government funds for the Immigration Service to carry out a million deportations in the coming year. Local newspapers, such as the reactionary *San Jose Mercury*, have helped to whip up the racist hysteria.

Lozano noted that there has been an increasing tendency of employers to demand proof of citizenship from prospective employees.

Saxbe's claim that "illegals" are collecting benefits without paying taxes is ridiculous, says Ortega. In fact, exactly the opposite is the case. She explained that CASA knows of numerous instances where people have had social security and other taxes deducted from their paychecks for years, but cannot collect any benefits because they have been deported. "They never claim their money," she said.

Raising consciousness

These activists see education as the prime aspect of fighting the injustices. "It's not just a matter of helping people to get a green card (work permit)," said Lozano, "but to educate, raise their consciousness."

Most people without papers have been living here several years and have established some roots. Yet, Lozano points out, some who have been here since as long ago as World War II are still afraid to go out on the street for fear they will be picked up.

Many have had little formal education and are uninformed of what rights they have under the law. They therefore live in constant fear. Educating people to the fact that they have rights—such as the right to re-

main silent, have a lawyer, and be released on bail—would be a way of overcoming isolation and increasing the self-confidence of undocumented workers.

It is also important to educate workers who are citizens or who have papers that it is the employers, not the "illegals," who are the enemy.

Solidarity with 'illegals'

The need for unity between citizen and noncitizen workers and the indispensability of a movement to defend undocumented workers were illustrated by a recent experience in San Jose.

"CASA has always supported and worked with the United Farm Workers," said Lozano. But when the union began circulating a petition asking the Immigration Service to deport undocumented workers in the fields, "we told them the undocumented workers are not to blame for broken strikes. The ones really to blame are the growers who send agents to Mexico to recruit strikebreakers. The people there don't know about the strike."

They were able to convince the UFW supporter group to stop circulating the petition.

When a spontaneous mushroom strike broke out near San Jose recently, the UFW supporters asked CASA for help in talking to people without papers, asking them not to let themselves be used as strikebreakers. CASA activists participated in the strike, working with those on the picket lines and talking to those who had not as yet come out. Through their efforts, a number of undocumented workers were won to *la causa*.

"We are always disposed to help," explained Lozano, "but the union should be doing this too."

Suit challenges short hoe, crippler of workers

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—In a unanimous decision, the California state supreme court has ordered the state Division of Industrial Safety to determine whether the short-handled hoe is unsafe because of the way it is used. If so, the court ruled, it must be banned under a state regulation barring the use of unsafe tools.

The United Farm Workers union has long campaigned for elimination of this brutally destructive "efficiency" farm tool.

The blatantly pro-employer industrial safety board had ruled in 1973 that the safety regulation applies only to hazards resulting from manufacturing defects or improper maintenance.

Rejecting this contention as "unduly narrow," the court declared:

"We hold that any hand tool which causes injury, immediate or cumulative, when used in the manner in which it was intended to be used, may constitute an 'unsafe hand tool' within the meaning of the regulation."

"If the short-handled hoe is so designed that it can be used by the worker only in a bent-over posture that is dangerous to his health, it could be found to be an unsafe hand tool."

The short-handled hoe is used in California, part of Arizona, and western New Mexico. It is estimated to be used by more than 40,000 field hands in California alone.

Called *el cortito* by Mexican and

Chicano field hands, the hoe, with its 12-inch handle, is used in weeding and thinning such crops as lettuce, peppers, beets, and cauliflowers. It is favored by growers because it provides for greater accuracy than the standard long-handled hoe.

The issue was brought to the court by the California Rural Legal Assistance after unsuccessful efforts by farm workers to get a favorable ruling from the state industrial safety board.

In reversing the board, the state court noted that 11 doctors had testified at the board hearings, including back specialists and physicians with extensive experience treating farm workers. All of them, the court noted, "agreed that the use of the short-handled hoe over a substantial period of time would cause abnormal degeneration of the spine, resulting in irreparable back injury and permanent disability."

In a newspaper interview Sept. 15, 1974, United Farm Workers leader César Chávez described *el cortito* as "probably the most crucifying work of all . . . degrading, the most vicious exploitation of the human body."

In its July 1973 decision, the industrial safety board explained that if it outlawed the short-handled hoe, this would lead to moves for eliminating other work methods, such as standing at workbenches for long periods of time, on the ground that it develops varicose veins.

Sounds like a good idea.



Greater accuracy of short-handle hoe is more important to bosses than health hazard caused by long hours of backbreaking labor.

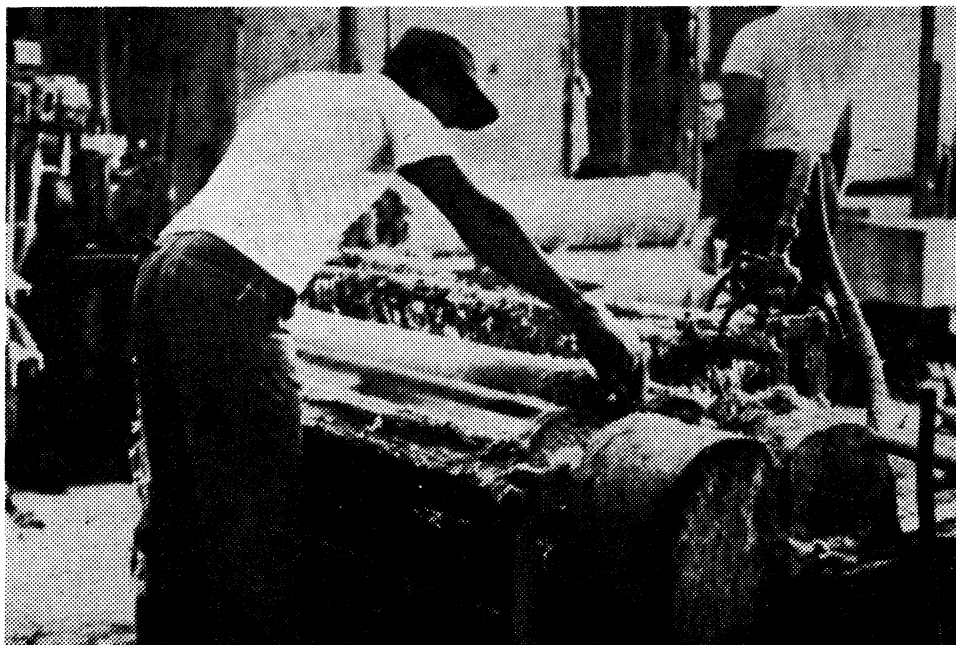
The hidden agony of industrial slaughter

Muscle and Blood by Rachel Scott. E.P. Dutton and Company, New York. 306 pages. \$8.95.

Here is a book it is a real pleasure to review. Written by 30-year-old Rachel Scott, now a labor journalist for the *Baltimore Sun*, the book is filled with facts that tell the story of "the massive hidden agony of industrial slaughter in America."

Rachel Scott is no lily-livered liberal. She lets her anger show through in every line. She is not one of those writers who see "both sides" and spoil their own angry factual findings by summing up every chapter with that all-revealing "but then on the other hand. . ."

Scott spent three years gathering her material. She visited steel and auto plants, rubber and rayon plants, mines, mills, and smelters. When she could not get official permission to make an in-depth study of a plant



Asbestos-covered machinery in Texas factory. Asbestos dust causes lung disease and incurable forms of cancer.

This vicious chemical compound not only attacks workers physically—damaging the intestinal tract, kidneys, heart, blood, and blood vessels—but it attacks the whole nervous system.

Workers become irrational, suffer nervous breakdowns, are subject to unmotivated rages. Sometimes, Scott writes, the disease takes an opposite form—"periods of amnesia, sleeplessness, simple forgetfulness, horrible dreams, and anxiety states which may precede the onset of definite psychosis. The psychosis may be characterized by definite manic-depressive pictures. . . . Visual and auditory hallucination and delusions of persecution may color the picture."

Many homes have been broken. Many workers have and still do spend months, years, in mental institutions.

Scott tells the stories of several workers who suffered from this occupational disease. Would there were time and space to relate them!

This is a book that must be read to be appreciated. It is so filled with unknown facts, about working conditions unfit for humans, that a reviewer can only do a disservice by attempting a digest of the book rather than simply whetting the appetite of the reader.

Scott shows that she knows which side she is on with this simple statement:

"The truth has been hidden so successfully for so long perhaps because if the truth were fully known, the American profit system would be shaken to the roots."

Read the book and find out that not all the murderers use guns and knives. Some of them use only their greed for profit and more profit, sitting behind executive desks in cooled and purified air.

— MARVEL SCHOLL

Books

(to see those parts not shown to regular tourist tours) she "sneaked in."

She fully reports and documents all the facts about dangerous working conditions, managements' cute tricks to keep lost-time accident rates as low as possible (such as sending an injured worker to first aid and then straight back onto the line), outright violations of all health and safety legislation, and so forth. But these facts are fairly well known to the working public.

The most interesting sections of the book deal with the 150,000 new chem-

icals now used in many manufacturing processes—chemicals and their compounds that have never been tested, but which take their toll in death and permanent injury every year.

In the Nov. 22, 1974, issue of *The Militant*, I reported on the deadly polyvinyl chloride used in the manufacture of plastics. Scott goes into that subject but says essentially what has already been reported in *The Militant*.

There are too many lethal chemicals to even list in this short space. But two of them indicate the callous disregard for the health of workers who must handle them.

One of these is beryllium—an ore not found in free form but nursed by "hand-cobbing" from other mineral deposits. The dust from the beryllium

ore, when it is refined for use in the fluorescent-lamp industry and for the Atomic Energy Commission, causes changes in lung tissue, blocking off the lung's ability to feed oxygen to the heart, thus causing a strain on the heart itself, hence heart attacks that kill. The chemical is also carried by the blood stream to other vital organs—the liver, heart, spleen, muscle tissue.

Beryllium dust is one of the few chemicals whose levels in factories have been set (but not enforced) by the 1971 Occupational Health and Safety Act.

Carbon disulfide is one of the most vicious of all industrial chemicals. It is the catalyst by which rayon is formed.

'Godfather II': more than pasta & cannoli

The Godfather, Part II. Directed and produced by Francis Ford Coppola. Script by Francis Ford Coppola and Mario Puzo. Starring Al Pacino.

If you were expecting another big round of pasta and meat, Bardolino wine, some cannoli for dessert, and an outing of *la famiglia*, along with bursts of machine-gun fire as the Corleones wend their way through the underworld, forget it. *Godfather II*, unlike its predecessor, is not a shoot-'em-up about the Mafia.

Perhaps the original was popular

In their place is the brooding, venal son Michael and his methodical drive to consolidate power and purge even the most meager of contenders.

Godfather II is a more conscious statement against the often romanticized criminality of the Mafia, because the inner workings of the machine are laid bare.

The individual folk heroes created by the first film are stripped of their "old world" joviality. Michael is a violent woman-hater, whose wife—now conscious of her husband's occupation—aborts rather than give birth to more soldiers and soldiers' wives.

The best moments in the film are those which, with documentary aloofness, record the decline and decay of the Corleone family. In the first *Godfather*, Al Pacino's Michael wins the audience; now, his Senate testimony reeks with repellent cynicism as he denies all ties with organized crime.

In the first film, the crimes for family arouse the cheers of the audience. In *Godfather II* the frame-up slaying of a prostitute in the company of a seedy U.S. Senator from Nevada, in order to snare Don Michael a gambling license, evokes silence and contempt.

The superb acting and visual quality of the first epic remain. But *Godfather II* is not the half-laudatory ode to the family that stays together. It is an acid indictment of the cor-

ruption of a special kind of family that reflects the amorality of the corporations and politicians that use its services and at whose table it is invited to feed.

The underworld, through Michael Corleone and a close parallel of Jewish crime czar Meyer Lansky, is portrayed as part of a vast syndicate in cahoots with pre-Castro Cuba. Along with other, "legal," barons of U.S. corporate crime, they meet with the dictator Batista hours before the revolution comes to power. Director Coppola counterposes the criminal face of U.S. investment, the decadence of prerevolutionary Cuba, and Mafia influence, to the unstoppable tide of the revolution.

In American-ruled Havana, Michael Corleone senses the inherent weakness in the social makeup not only of his syndicate, but of the other corporate bosses with whom he is concluding a deal at the dictator's invitation. He witnesses a guerrilla being captured. The revolutionary, rather than allow himself to be taken alive, explodes a grenade and kills himself and his captor.

Corleone is told that the guerrilla receives no pay. He looks at his corrupt cohorts. "That means," he says matter-of-factly, "they have a chance to win."

The scenes of Cuba's upheaval loom large, in spite of their short span, because it is against that social force

alone that the Corleones cannot contend.

Godfather II is more the epic than the original. This time the prism through which one views the dying vitality of the Corleone family—and through the Corleone family, the America they love best—includes the hint of an alternative to the system that breeds their ilk. — JON HILLSON



Michael, played by Al Pacino, shields his wife as gunmen try to kill him.

Film

because it was a great American film about a great American theme: the family. The first *Godfather* combined the most sentimental features of that most racked of contemporary institutions with a larger-than-life sense of combat and competition. It was spectacle and awe and fascination with the manipulation of raw, criminal power for the budding Corleone brood.

Godfather II is the ice-cold portrayal of the family's physical and moral destruction. The feasts, the sibling rivalries, the guiding hand of Marlon Brando's Solomon-like Don Vito, are gone.

Suit filed by ACLU

D.C. socialists challenge disclosure law

By ANNE SPRINGER

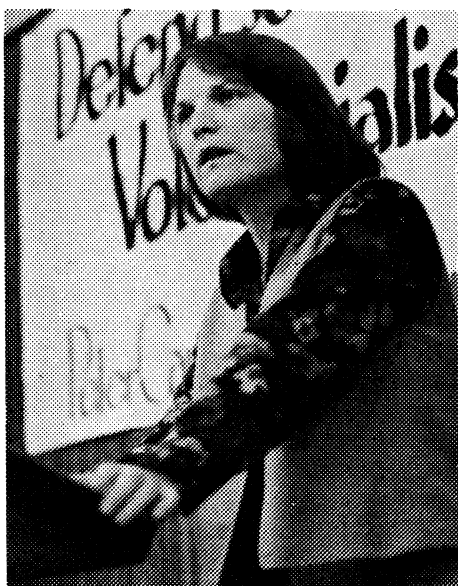
WASHINGTON, D. C. — "If the government really wanted to have 'public financing,' the first thing they would have to do is make public the real finances in this country," said Linda Jenness at a public meeting here Jan. 17.

The meeting, sponsored by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), was called to announce the filing of a suit against the campaign "reform" law here by the 1974 Socialist Workers municipal campaign committee.

Jenness, a national cochairperson of the 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, was the featured speaker at the meeting. She explained that the socialists are challenging campaign "reform" laws nationally and locally, demanding an exemption from the required disclosure of campaign contributors.

"We have proof that the government takes those names and victimizes those individuals," Jenness stated, citing the campaign of harassment admitted by the FBI as a result of the SWP's suit against illegal government attacks.

Here in Washington, the Campaign Finance Reform and Conflict of Interest Act, passed in August 1974, requires that campaign committees disclose the name, address, and employer of all contributors of more than \$50.



Militant/Dennis Scarlo

LINDA JENNESS: 'Real disclosure of campaign finances would mean opening books of big corporations and banks.'

Since October 1974, the socialists have refused to turn over this information because it would subject contributors to illegal government harassment.

The suit to exempt the socialist campaign committee from the D. C. law was filed here Jan. 17 by Jack Murphy of the Georgetown Law Center. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is handling the case. CoDEL is organizing support for the suit.

At the meeting, participants heard a firsthand account of how the government tries to intimidate supporters of socialist campaigns. Sue Carroll, a former employee of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), described how she was fired because of her work in support of the SWP campaign for D. C. school board in 1971.

Linda Jenness attacked the fraudulent nature of the disclosure laws. "These laws don't hurt capitalist parties," she said, "They hurt working-class parties like the Socialist Workers Party, which is not financed either publicly or secretly by big business."

Jenness called for a real disclosure of campaign finances. "That would mean opening the books of the big corporations and banks so the public could see all their deals and manipulations," she explained.

"Let's see how the oil companies and sugar monopolies are jacking up prices to increase their profits," she said. "That's where all the controlling money is and that's where all the secrets are."

She noted that Common Cause has sided with the government on this issue and is campaigning to force the socialists to reveal their contributors. She quoted from the January *Report from Washington*, the Common Cause newsletter, which ran a full-page arti-

cle titled "Socialist Workers Question Common Cause." The article tries to justify the antidemocratic stand the group is taking on this case.

"Common Cause in no way condones any harassment of private citizens for their political views," the article says. "We believe the proper approach for the SWP is to take direct legal action against government harassment. They should diligently pursue the case they have already filed against the FBI to stop that agency's acts. . . ."

"But here's the rub," responded Jenness. "We are diligently pursuing our case, and have been for a year and a half. In the meantime, our supporters are being victimized. In the meantime, can Common Cause seriously tell us to turn over more names so that more people will be victimized?"

Other speakers at the meeting were Sara Smith, 1974 SWP candidate for city council at large, and Abe Bloom, a former national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Messages of support were read from attorney David Rein; Thelma Du Vinage, Women Strike for Peace; Reverend David Eaton; and Sanford Gottlieb of SANE.

Earlier in the day, Jenness appeared at a news conference with Florence Isbell of the ACLU to announce the filing of the suit.

Union solidarity key to Mich. teachers victory

By PAULA REIMERS

DEARBORN HEIGHTS, Mich. — Teacher unionism won another victory Jan. 17 when a three-judge state court of appeals panel unanimously ruled that the 184 striking teachers of the Crestwood Education Association (CEA) had been illegally fired by the Crestwood board of education.

Upholding a lower court decision appealed by the school board, the judges ordered the teachers immediately reinstated.

The court also ordered the teachers and the board to enter binding arbitration within 10 days to settle the 18-month-old contract dispute. The teachers reluctantly agreed to this stipulation as the best they thought they could win at this time.

The Crestwood board of education has announced plans to appeal the decision to the Michigan supreme court.

Teachers view the decision as a victory. The central issue at stake in Crestwood had become the very existence of the union and its right to bargain for its members' contract.

The board's actions in firing the teachers, hiring scab replacements, and refusing to bargain with the union on the grounds that it did not

represent the "new"—that is, scab—teaching staff posed a direct threat to the survival of the union.

If the Crestwood board had been successful in its union-busting plan, other school boards would unquestionably have followed suit.

It was the consciousness of this broader threat to teacher unionism that accounts for the unprecedented rank-and-file enthusiasm for the proposed sympathy strikes pledged by more than a dozen other Michigan Education Association (MEA) locals if the Crestwood teachers were not reinstated.

There are indications that a sympathy strike would have spread beyond those locals that had already voted to walk out.

Also unprecedented was the material support—pickets and money—for the Crestwood strikers. MEA locals all over the state were asked to pass a \$10-per-member assessment for striking teachers in the Crestwood and Garden City districts. The Trenton local even voted to send \$50 per member. Teachers from every part of the state joined the Crestwood picket line.

The determination on the part of MEA locals to defend their collective

bargaining rights, if necessary by strike action, was a major factor influencing the court decision.

The Michigan Federation of Teachers also asked locals to collect money and send pickets to Crestwood. The Roseville Federation of Teachers contributed \$5,000, and the Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers voted to join the sympathy strike if requested.

The AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, and Teamsters joined in support of the embattled teachers, and the Greater Detroit AFL-CIO Building Trades Council sent 200 "hard hats" to picket duty.

The support of these unions was a clear warning that continuing the drive to destroy the CEA would lead to a direct confrontation with the power of organized labor in Michigan.



Militant/Paula Reimers

AFL-CIO Building Trades Council sent 200 pickets to Crestwood

Jury tells gov't: pay damages to Mayday protesters

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — In an unprecedented victory for civil liberties, a U. S. district court jury here has awarded \$12-million in damages to antiwar protesters whose rights were violated by false arrest and imprisonment.

The jury's decision came in response to a civil damages suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) on behalf of some 1,200 demonstrators arrested on May 5, 1971.

The "Mayday" protests—which were organized as civil-disobedience actions following the massive April 24, 1971, antiwar marches in Washington and San Francisco—were broken up by

D. C. police through the arrest of more than 10,000 people.

Several thousand demonstrators had assembled on the steps of the capitol May 5 and were listening to a speech by Representative Ronald Delums (D-Calif.) when the cops moved in.

The jury awarded each of the plaintiffs \$7,500 for violation of their First Amendment rights and varying amounts for false arrest, illegal search and seizure, false imprisonment, cruel and unusual punishment, and malicious prosecution—all the way down to a refund of the \$10 each person was forced to post as collateral at the time of arrest.

The District of Columbia has announced plans to appeal the decision.

Florence Isbell, director of the National Capitol ACLU, told *The Militant* the decision represents a "vindication of the ACLU's position that violations of First Amendment rights and Fourth Amendment rights are a serious injury and merit substantial damages."

"Most important of all," Isbell said, "it serves as a message to police departments that they can't conduct totalitarian roundups and use concentration-camp tactics, because the public won't stand for it."

Isbell urged people who were arrested during the Mayday protest to contact the National Capitol ACLU at 3000 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Suite 437, Washington, D. C. 20008.

Calendar

CLEVELAND

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: PARTNERS IN POLICING THE COLONIAL WORLD. Speaker: Mark Friedman, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

STRUGGLE AGAINST BROKEN TREATIES. Speakers: Frank Dillon, American Indian Movement; Skip Ball, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

BEHIND CHINA'S NEW CONSTITUTION: WHAT'S HAPPENING THERE TODAY. Speaker: Les Evans, editor, International Socialist Review. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

ERITREA: ITS STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM ETHIOPIA. Speakers: Representative of Eritreans for Liberation; others. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

VIETNAM TWO YEARS AFTER THE PEACE ACCORDS. Speaker: George Johnson, contributor to International Socialist Review. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

FORD'S ECONOMIC POLICY: ROAD TO DEPRESSION? Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

MAOISM AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. Speakers: Judy MacLean, New American Movement; Ed Pettley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SAN FRANCISCO

INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT: THEIR CAUSES AND SOLUTION. Speakers: Jack Rasmus, organizer for Communications Workers of America Local 9455; Sue Smith, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

...CIA

Continued from page 3

who were paid in cash and provided with no records or papers to indicate that they were working on behalf of the C. I. A."

Colby, however, is trying to keep the work of such hired gangsters se-

cret from the American people. Thus, the CIA director asserted that any illegalities have been "few and far between."

"Certainly at this time it is my firm belief that no activity of the agency exceeds the limits of its authority," he said.

Exposures of these activities, he complained, simply "damage the credibility of the CIA at home and its effectiveness abroad."

Ex-CIA director Richard Helms, who released a statement Jan. 16, disclosed that the spying went back much further, to the late 1950s. The surveillance was initiated with presidential authority, he said, because of "the sudden and quite dramatic upsurge of extreme radicalism in this country and abroad. . . ."

"By and in itself," his statement continued, "this violence, this dissent, this radicalism were of no direct concern to the Central Intelligence Agency. It became so only in the degree that the trouble was inspired by, or coordinated with, or funded by, anti-American subversion mechanisms abroad."

Protecting America from "foreign subversion" has been the excuse used by the CIA from the beginning to justify its antidemocratic activities both here and abroad, just as the FBI claims "national security" as its charter for illegal harassment of dissidents.

The capitalist class would like the American people to think it is "legal" for the CIA to sabotage struggles against oppression around the world, but "subversive" for U.S. citizens to express solidarity with movements for social change in other countries. Any movement that challenges the U.S. government's "right" to interfere in the affairs of other countries, or its "right" to uphold racist and sexist practices at home, is immediately a target for an investigation of foreign influences.

The problem for the U.S. rulers now is that the American people are no longer buying this lie. Instead, each new scandal, like the revelations now engulfing the CIA, is driving an even bigger wedge between the majority in this country and the tiny, wealthy minority in power.

...jobs

Continued from page 4

employment legislation introduced by U.S. Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.).

In Detroit, 150 people rallied downtown in a PUSH-sponsored demonstration for jobs, and 300 attended a King memorial at Wayne State University.

Several community meetings were organized in New York City, including one of 100 people at Howard Houses community center in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Speakers stressed the need to organize struggles against high food prices, unemployment, and police terror.

...trade

Continued from page 13

for a moderate Soviet policy in the Mideast may dwindle with it.

". . . in other fields, such as mutual force reductions in Europe and efforts to resume peace negotiations in Vietnam, as well as the Middle East, hope for a more peaceful world will ride on the Administration's new efforts to revise Congressional trade and credit restrictions."

Much as they dislike it, the imperialists need the Kremlin's help in holding back the world revolution. And Moscow has served notice that if Washington forks over an extra billion in credits and lowers its tariffs, the cooperation will be forthcoming.

...Vietnam

Continued from back page

dochina. This reflected the strength of the struggle of the Vietnamese masses and the power of the antiwar movement inside the U.S. and internationally.

But the U.S. only agreed to this within the context of winning its main objective through other means. Its objective was—and remains—the preservation of a proimperialist regime in South Vietnam. The accords legitimized the Thieu regime and the continuing U.S. aid to Saigon.

The test of real events over the past two years has exposed as false the positions of both the Moscow and Peking Stalinists.

How ridiculous is Brezhnev's statement of Jan. 30, 1973, that "a road for peaceful democratic development, for upholding true independence and for conducting the policy of national concord and unification opens before South Vietnam" as a result of the accords! This pearl of wisdom was

quoted at the time by the *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party.

The pro-Peking *Guardian* newspaper took a similar line. Its front-page headline on its Jan. 31, 1973, issue was "Cease-fire a great victory for Vietnam."

Two years later the Stalinists of both pro-Peking and pro-Moscow variety are repeating the very same absurdities, as if they were blind to the experience of two years of continued slaughter in Vietnam.

A *Daily World* editorial on Jan. 14 of this year contends that "the real issue" is to "demand adherence to the Paris agreement. That will bring peace to Vietnam and also serve the U.S. people."

Wilfred Burchett, in the Jan. 15 issue of the *Guardian*, advises the Ford administration that "the way out" in Indochina is "application of the Paris agreements."

In contrast to these stands, the position taken by *The Militant* has stood up prophetically true:

"Whatever happens next in Vietnam," wrote Barry Sheppard in the Feb. 9, 1973, *Militant*, "these accords will not bring peace any more than the 1954 Geneva accords did. In the aftermath of Geneva the Vietnamese masses once again, slowly at first, resisted the attempt to impose on them a proimperialist landlord-capitalist regime. They will do so again."

The task before working people in the U.S. is not to demand implementation of the Paris accords, which were wrung out of the Vietnamese by the combined pressure of the U.S. terror bombing and the backstabbing betrayals of Moscow and Peking.

Our task is to demand total withdrawal of all U.S. aid, advisers, and military bases from all of Southeast Asia, freedom for the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners held by Saigon, and support to the continuing struggles of the Vietnamese against the Thieu regime.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

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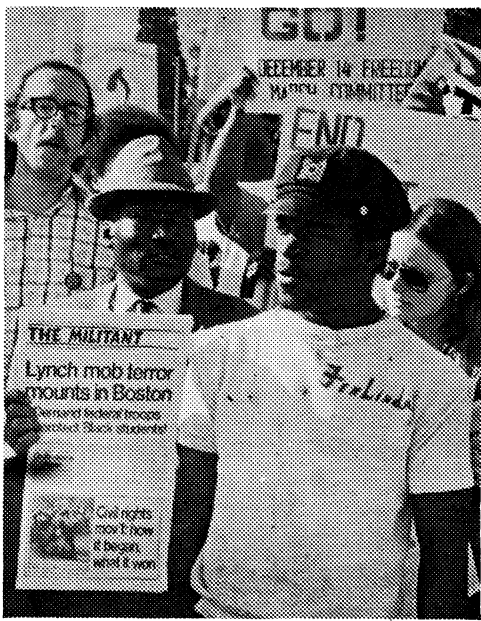
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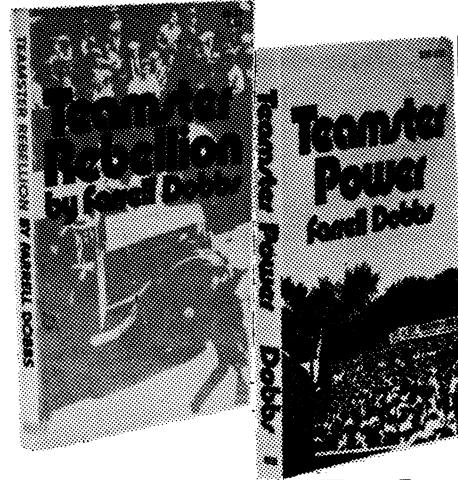
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In the Feb. International Socialist Review



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Two years after accords

Will U.S. threats lead to new Vietnam war?

By CAROLINE LUND

Two years ago this month the U.S. government signed a pact titled "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam." Today it is clearer than ever that the accords have not brought Vietnam one step closer to peace.

● The Ford administration is pressing Congress for millions more in military hardware for Saigon to forestall "the loss of Indochina" to the liberation fighters. The *Washington Post* ran a story on the debate over aid to Thieu under the headline "Nightmare Revived."

● The United States announced Jan. 14 that it felt free to openly violate the Vietnam cease-fire accords since, it alleged, Hanoi had also violated the pact. Threatening that Hanoi "must accept the full consequences of its actions," Washington sent U.S. warships sailing toward Vietnamese waters twice this month.

● In Cambodia, American Embassy officials on Jan. 16 announced contingency plans for a massive U.S. airlift of supplies to Phnom Penh if that becomes necessary to save the puppet regime there.

● Today the war danger in Vietnam is coupled with U.S. threats of armed intervention in the Middle East as well. A Jan. 20 *New York Times* "news analysis," headlined "U.S. Avoiding Retraction of Threat of Force," noted that Washington's threats against both Vietnam and the Arab East have been carefully calculated.

The article quoted the following motivation by war secretary James Schlesinger for the U.S. threats against Hanoi: "I think that the North Vietnamese continue to have an abiding respect for American power, that they do not discount American power, and that they are reluctant to take those steps that they fear might con-



War refugees. Fighting never stopped after signing of 'peace' accords.

Indochina Resource Center

ceivably lead to a reintroduction of American power."

That is, "peace" accords or no accords, the U.S. rulers are again ready to take direct military action in Indochina if they feel the liberation forces are making too many gains.

It seems almost as if the scene were being set for a new Tonkin Gulf incident that could be used as a pretext for sending U.S. bombers and GIs back for a replay of the 1960s war—including the saturation bombing, the defoliation campaigns, and the napalm.

What has changed

But much has changed inside this country since the Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964. It would not be so easy for Washington to resume direct military intervention.

The war years saw a deepening mass alienation and distrust of the government by the American people. This radicalization process was not reversed after the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. In fact, it has been deepened by such developments as Watergate and the growing U.S. economic crisis.

Despite these problems, however, the U.S. rulers are pressing ahead with new threats of intervention in response to the continuing resistance of the Vietnamese people to the U.S.-imposed Thieu dictatorship.

The course of events in Vietnam over the past two years has strongly confirmed the position taken by *The Militant* two years ago on the meaning of the Vietnam accords. When Kissinger, Nixon, Brezhnev, and Mao were all saying "peace is at hand," *The Militant* front-page headlines were saying: "There will be no peace 'til U.S. gets out of S.E. Asia" and "Why Viet accords won't bring peace."

A *Militant* editorial on Feb. 2, 1973, argued that the accords, far from ending the war, "signal a new stage of

the civil war, and of Washington's intervention."

In the midst of the euphoria surrounding the "peace" negotiations, *The Militant* pointed out that Washington's real diplomacy "has been the diplomacy of terror bombing and genocidal air raids on the people of Vietnam." The editorial concluded that U.S. imperialism "has relied, and continues to rely, on the force of arms to impose its will on Vietnam."

The Militant's position at the time could be summarized as follows: 1) peace in Vietnam is impossible until the social conflicts causing the war are resolved; 2) the U.S. has no right to negotiate anything about the future of Vietnam; and 3) the accords taken as a whole meant a setback for the Vietnamese struggle to overthrow the proimperialist Saigon regime. The liberation fighters were forced to accept the continued existence of the Thieu regime.

What the accords meant

The accords registered the temporary relationship of forces in the Vietnam war. As Barry Sheppard wrote in *The Militant* of Feb. 9, 1973, "The accords reflect the fact that the liberation forces have been unable to achieve national liberation and reunification, and also that they have not been crushed. Two powers continue to exist in South Vietnam—the Saigon regime of the landlords and capitalists, and the liberation forces based upon the peasants and workers."

Thus the accords solved none of the fundamental problems that had led to the civil war and U.S. intervention in the first place—problems such as the need for land reform, democratic liberties, and national independence. These problems could only be solved through mass struggle by the Vietnamese workers and peasants

against Thieu's landlord-capitalist regime.

They could not conceivably be solved through the various commissions of "national reconciliation and concord" set up by the Paris accords. No negotiations could produce "reconciliation and concord" between the Vietnamese peasants and the rich, parasitic landlords, or between the Vietnamese masses and the Thieu police state with its U.S. backers.

Even immediately after the accords were signed, the fighting never stopped. The struggle between the opposing camps continued, although it was temporarily muted. But even the relatively "peaceful" veneer of the accords was soon shattered. The Saigon dictatorship, armed to the teeth with U.S. hardware, continued its land-grabbing operations in the countryside and its brutal repression in the cities.

The negotiations between the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Thieu regime broke down last October. This rupture once again highlighted the impossibility of papering over social conflicts that stem from the injustices of the capitalist system itself.

'Language nobody speaks'

The International Commission of Control and Supervision, which was supposed to enforce the "cease-fire" in Vietnam, has long been completely paralyzed. One member of the commission was quoted in a Jan. 17 story in the *New York Times* as saying, "When I first got here I was reading the Paris agreement like my Bible every night. But now I don't need it any more. Nobody is looking at it any more. It's like a dictionary for a language that nobody speaks."

The 1973 accords did contain an important gain for the Vietnamese in the U.S. agreement to stop its bombing and withdraw its troops from In-

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Ford wants millions of dollars more to prop up Thieu police state and war machine.