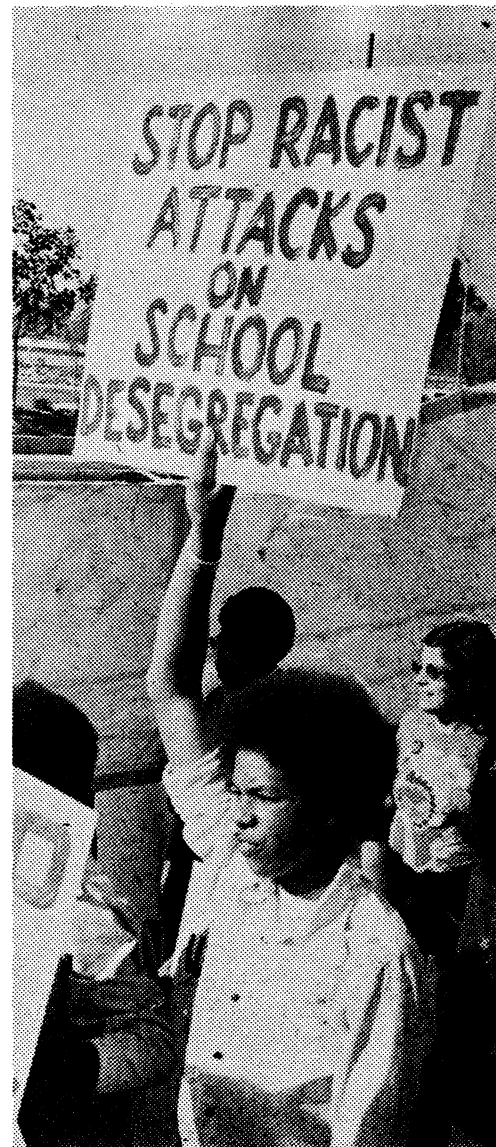


THE MILITANT

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

Students mobilize for civil rights conference

— See page 3



Militant/Miguel Pendas

SWP program for '76: a new Bill of Rights
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Rightist terror bomb hits L.A. socialist offices

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 5— Right-wing terrorists exploded a lethal pipe bomb at the Central-East Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance at about 8:30 p.m. last night.

The intent of the attack, carried out with a high-explosive bomb at a time when the building was filled with people, was obviously to kill.

Damage was extensive, but by a fortunate circumstance there were no injuries or deaths.

About the same time, a bomb exploded at an East Los Angeles bookstore initiated by the October League, a Maoist-oriented radical organization.

The murderous attacks came two days after an audience was routed by tear gas at a Santa Monica rally demanding a reopening of the Rosenberg case.

The Militant Forum, which is housed at the SWP hall at 710 S. Westlake Ave., had scheduled a Feb. 7 meeting on the Rosenberg case, with a representative of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case as the principal speaker. A leaflet announcing that meeting was posted on the street entrance door.

At the time of the attack, there were 25 people in the hall attending various meetings and engaged in Socialist Workers campaign activities.

Lew Jones, SWP city organizer, was about to leave the headquarters. As he came out on the second-floor landing, he saw a person

halfway up the stairs lighting a fuse. He shouted at the person and began running down the stairs toward him. The man hurled the pipe bomb at Jones, and it went past him, falling on the top landing.

Jones pursued the man out of the building, but he escaped.

Meanwhile, Jones's shout was heard by Tim Mallory, Socialist Workers candidate for the Pasadena, Calif., school board. Mallory rushed to the landing and saw the bomb with its burning fuse. He slammed the door shut and quickly warned those inside to leave by the rear exit. Within less than two minutes, as they were halfway down the rear stairs, the bomb exploded with tremendous force.

The entrance door was completely demolished, and part of the downstairs street door was ripped off by the blast.

A half-dozen windows were blown out, and fragments of the bomb penetrated a wall 30 feet down the corridor.

Residents of a neighboring apartment building reported some 30 broken windows. The explosion was heard several blocks away, and debris from the blast was found a block away.

At a news conference held this morning at the bombed hall, the demand was made that Mayor Thomas Bradley immediately take special measures to assure the apprehension of those responsible for the attack.

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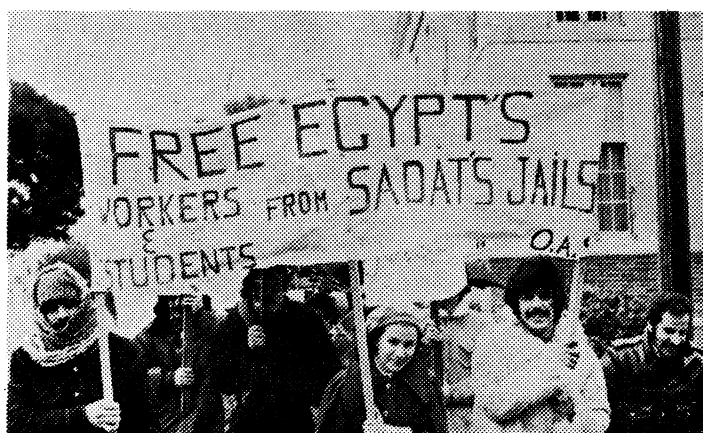
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'THE NEXT BEST THING TO BEING THERE': That was the slogan the telephone company once used to encourage long-distance calls to grandpa. But it turns out that others were interested in being there besides the caller. Between 1965 and 1970, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company monitored 30 million long-distance calls, of which some 1.5 million were recorded and sent to its headquarters for analysis.

AT&T says it was only trying to stop people from robbing the giant corporation of its rightful toll charges. The surveillance was necessary, said one executive, "to protect the integrity of our network and to keep people from cheating."

"I don't think we did anything illegal," the executive said. He didn't mention whether the cost of the bugging was included in the phone bill.



This Jan. 31 demonstration at the Egyptian consulate in San Francisco was called by chapters of the Organization of Arab Students in the Bay Area. Forty people, mainly from San Jose, San Francisco, and Berkeley, showed up despite freezing rain to demand that political prisoners in Egypt be released.

PENN STATE VICTIMIZES BLACK STUDENT: The Pennsylvania State University administration is trying to throw Black activist Robert Ross out of school. Ross has been an energetic fighter for more funding to facilitate Black enrollment and for increased hiring of Black faculty and staff. Blacks currently comprise 15 percent of the state population but only 2 percent of the enrollment at Penn State. There are only eight Black professors on the campus, and only one of these is tenured.

Ross faces charges in civil court and before a campus disciplinary board of having assaulted an administrator. He was suspended from the university and fired from his job by the administration before any hearing on his case was held.

Ross has been supported by the Undergraduate Student Government, the Black Caucus, the Black Christian Fellowship, the Minority Veterans, the Young Socialist Alliance, and other campus organizations.

MENOMINEE INDIANS END OCCUPATION: The seizure of an abandoned novitiate in Gresham, Wis., by members of the Menominee Warriors Society came to an end Feb. 3. The occupation was successful in winning ownership of the novitiate for the Menominee tribe. The Alexian Brothers, owners of the novitiate, agreed to turn it over to the tribe for use as a hospital or educational facility in return for "one dollar and other good and valuable considerations."

However, participants in the occupation, which began on New Year's Day, face victimization in the courts. Twenty-eight of the 39 people involved in the seizure have been indicted on charges of criminal trespass and disorderly conduct. Three others, according to the local district attorney's office, will face felony charges.

Linda Jenness, from the 1976 Socialist Workers campaign committee, and Pete Hamill, author of a recent Village Voice article on the need for socialism, will discuss strategies for the socialist movement on Channel 5 television in New York City, at 11:30 a.m. on Monday, Feb. 10. The two will appear on the "Midday Live" show.

THE PRICE OF CRIME: Convicted Watergate conspirator John Dean is certain to rake in at least \$100,000 in a six-week lecture tour that began Feb. 2. Dean is charging colleges and universities between \$3,000 and \$4,000 for each one-hour appearance. As Robert Walker, his booking agent explained, "Dean is in a class all by himself."

Students at Georgetown University in Washington apparently think that's where Dean should stay: they have begun organizing a boycott of his speech there. At the University of Maryland, according to the head of the

speakers committee, protests have also arisen. "The arguments basically deal with the fact that we are helping a Watergate criminal become rich," she said.

Nobody has yet proposed that the Watergate criminals debate some of their victims, but students at Boston University pressured the student government there into withdrawing its part of a \$2,500 fee for chief cover-up spokesperson Ronald Ziegler. When Ziegler found out that he would be only getting \$1,000 for the appearance, he promptly withdrew.

STOP POLLUTION—CUT DOWN TREES: According to a dispatch from United Press International, a Detroit executive told the Environmental Protection Agency Jan. 21 that the automobile industry should be granted a one-year suspension of clean-air rules: "Even if cars were abolished, Chrysler Vice President Sydney Terry said, certain areas of the country would still exceed clean air rules because of hydrocarbons given off by plants."

HEALTH WORKERS BACK DR. EDELIN: New support for Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Boston physician currently on trial for manslaughter for performing a legal abortion in 1973, has been shown in a letter signed by 11 health workers in the Boston Black community.

The letter, which appeared in Boston's Black newspaper, the *Bay State Banner*, as well as in the *Real Paper*, said in part:

"Dr. Edelin, the first black chief resident in Ob/Gyn at Boston City Hospital... has obviously dedicated his medical expertise to providing quality medical care to black women in the inner city area of Boston... The outcome of his trial will have national significance for all those concerned with the right to choose whether or not to bear a child. We sincerely hope that the racial and religious climate existing in Boston will permit a fair and impartial trial for Dr. Edelin."

In his only public appearance since the trial began, Dr. Edelin told the annual meeting of the National Abortion Rights Action League in Washington, D.C., Jan. 25, "The central issue we've all been fighting for is freedom of choice."

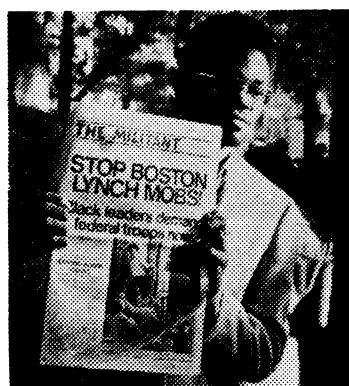
OHIO ABORTION-MANSLAUGHTER LAW PROTESTED: A teach-in and rally at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland drew 125 people Jan. 22 to protest the Ohio abortion law passed last September.

The new law has a clause saying that a doctor who does not make every effort to save the life of any fetus "born alive" will be guilty of abortion-manslaughter. A similar law is being used in Massachusetts in an attempt to victimize Dr. Kenneth Edelin.

The law also says that no hospital—public or private—is required to permit abortions, even if a woman's life is in danger. In addition, women under the age of 18 must have their parent's consent for an abortion under this law.

—DAVE FRANKEL

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The fight to defeat the racist opponents of school desegregation in Boston is part of *The Militant's* coverage of the national and international events that affect the lives of all of us. Keep up with hard-hitting news coverage and socialist analysis of the Black struggle, unemployment and the economy, the revelations about the CIA and the FBI, and the new threats of war in Vietnam and the Mideast.

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Students across country mobilize for conference on fight against racism

By JOSE PEREZ

Momentum is mounting all over the country for the National Student Conference Against Racism, which will be held at Boston University Feb. 14-16.

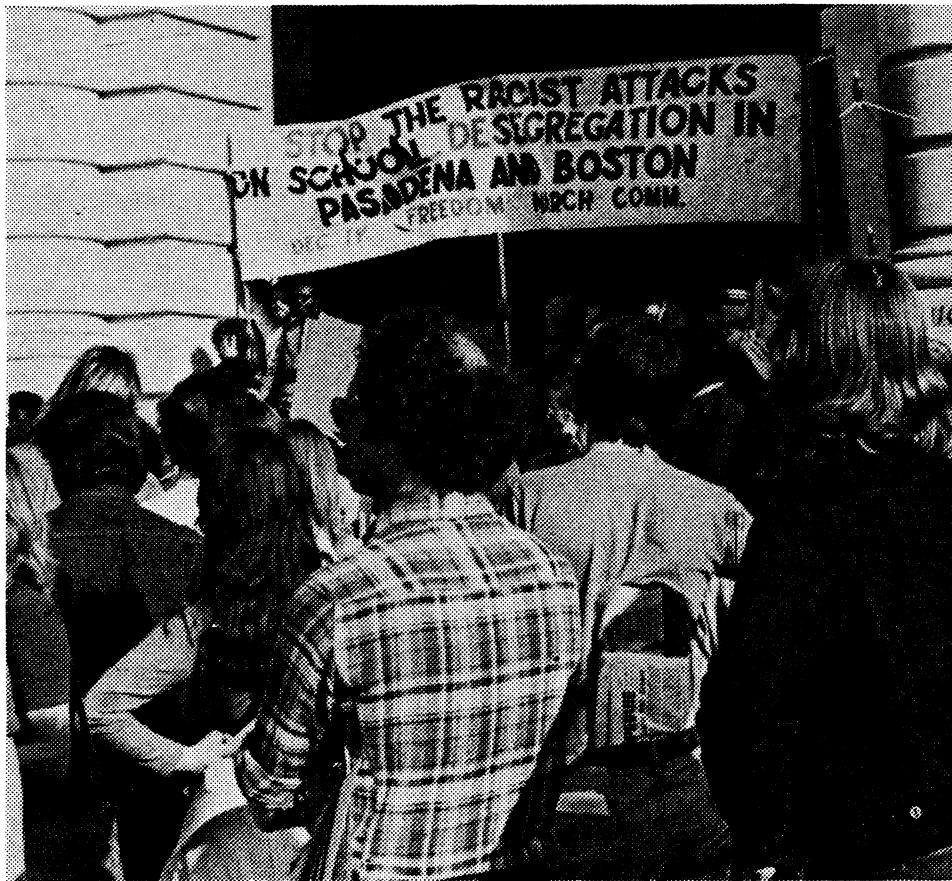
The call for the conference was issued by a national student meeting that took place in Boston immediately after the Dec. 14 probusing march of 12,000. The call to the conference says in part:

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

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

"The freedom movement of today must fight racism on many fronts, especially in key areas like employment, housing and education. . . .

"A mass response is required to counter the racist offensive. Students can be instrumental in mobilizing this response, just as we played a major



Dec. 14 demonstrations, such as Pasadena, Calif., rally, above, were blow to segregationists. Student conference will plan further mass actions for civil rights.

ganizer from the national conference staff, at a Jan. 24 meeting at predominantly Black Atlanta University.

Dixon told *The Militant*, "It was a good, serious meeting. Of the 40 or so students present, 27 signed up to attend the conference." Dixon was in Atlanta to meet with Boston conference activists and leaders of the Black movement.

He spoke with Jondell Johnson, executive director of the Atlanta NAACP; Bernard Lee from the national staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; J. Lowell Ware, editor of the *Atlanta Voice*, the city's largest Black newspaper; and Coretta Scott King. Dixon said that all the meetings were very productive and that all those he talked with pledged support to the national meeting.

The visit to Atlanta was one of many trips carried out by conference coordinators, Boston high school students, and prominent individuals working with the conference committee.

The tours are being organized by the main office of the conference in Boston, which is also publicizing the national gathering in that area.

John Studer, a member of the Boston office staff, reports that activists are planning to distribute 100,000 leaflets and paste up 5,000 posters in Boston alone. In addition to weekend distributions, 40 campuses have been targeted for intensive leafleting during the week.

The Boston office has also filled dozens of requests for speakers in that city and from other parts of the country. For example, several conference leaders will be traveling to New York City for a Feb. 7 city-wide forum at Columbia University.

Buses from New York

In New York, a contingent of several hundred is being organized to go to Boston on Feb. 14. Student governments at La Guardia Community College and Borough of Manhattan Community College have each voted to send a busload. Conference organizers in New York expect to send a total of

eight to 10 buses to the national meeting.

Several prominent Puerto Rican individuals and organizations in New York have endorsed the student effort recently, including the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (Puerto Rican Studies Center), which is giving a \$100 donation for transportation and is sending several representatives to the conference; Ramón Luis Nieves, of the Puerto Rican Family Institute; and Evelina Antonetti, executive director of the Bronx Parents Associa-

tion and a professor at Hunter College.

Other cities also report an enthusiastic response to the conference.

Paul LeBlanc, a member of the coordinating committee of the student committee at the University of Pittsburgh (Pitt) reported, "What's been happening here is good. . . . All kinds of people have been getting involved, from the NAACP to the Young Democrats."

The outgoing student government at Pitt has given its backing to the national effort. In addition, all four candidates for student body president in the recent election endorsed the conference, and all the newly elected members of the student government have declared their support.

The organizing committee in Pittsburgh held its first city-wide meeting Jan. 23. Among those present were representatives of the NAACP, the Urban League, the YWCA, the Pitt student government, and the Westinghouse High School student council.

Traveling teams

One technique being used in a number of areas to spread the word about the national meeting is to send teams of organizers to nearby campuses.

A group of activists from Cleveland, including members of the Cleveland State University Society for Afro-American Unity, drove to Akron, Ohio, recently. They met with a number of student leaders and obtained the support of Calvin Glaze, president of Black United Students at the University of Akron, and of Mike Pernice, president of the student government at that campus.

As a result of the trip, Akron activists are planning to send a bus to the conference.

Organizing in Houston for the na-

Continued on next page

High school organizers

Black high school students have been bearing the brunt of the racist offensive against desegregation in Boston. Richard Wallace, a Black student now being bused into South Boston, can tell you what it's like. And he is doing exactly that at meetings throughout the Northeast to build support for the National Student Conference Against Racism.

Many other high school students are helping to publicize the conference and are planning to attend. Despite obstacles placed in the way of these activists by school authorities and lack of money, they are determined to have the broadest representation possible at the Boston gathering.

One mark of this seriousness is that the student council at the predominantly Black Cardozo High School in Washington, D. C., is organizing fund-raising projects to send their president and vice-president to the national conference.

role in organizing the freedom march and teach-in in Boston."

In the weeks since the call was issued, Black student organizations, student government bodies, chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance, and hundreds of individual activists have thrown themselves into an all-out effort to insure maximum attendance at the conference. In the process, they have won considerable support from civil rights groups, the labor movement, and the academic community.

Indicative of the kind of response received all over the country was the reception given Maceo Dixon, an or-

Boston NAACP chapter supports meeting

Among recent additions to the list of supporters of the National Student Conference Against Racism is the Boston chapter of the NAACP. The decision to endorse the conference was made at a meeting of the chapter's executive board held Jan. 29.

The NAACP, founded in 1909, is the largest civil rights organization in the country, with 440,000 dues-paying members in 1,700 local affiliates throughout the 50 states.

The Boston chapter has played an important role in the struggle for school desegregation. It filed the original lawsuit that led to the court order the racists there have been trying to stop.

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, has been active in helping to win support for the student conference. He endorsed the conference several weeks ago and signed a letter appealing for funds that is being circulated by the student committee.

In addition to the Boston group, a New England regional conference of the organization also endorsed the conference, as did the regional

youth council of the NAACP.

Outside the New England area other chapters and leaders of the NAACP are also helping to build the conference. Recent endorsers include Gene Howell, director of the Colorado NAACP; Tim Stevens, executive director of the Pittsburgh chapter; Jondell Johnson, executive director of the Atlanta chapter; and the Portland, Ore., and Detroit chapters.



Thomas Atkins, president of Boston NAACP.

...students mobilizing for conference

Continued from preceding page

tional meeting is also meeting with success and has strong support from the student government at predominantly Black Texas Southern University (TSU).

TSU leaders and conference activists are contacting student leaders in many parts of Texas and Louisiana by mail, telephone, and personal visits. A special effort is being made to get word of the conference to as many Black campuses as possible.

A carload of conference supporters, including representatives of the TSU student government, traveled to Lamar University in Beaumont, Tex. They spoke in classes and met with students interested in the conference. Several Lamar students signed up to go to Boston.

Fighting cop terror

Beaumont is near the town of Port Arthur, Tex., where the Black community has had mobilizations of up to 2,500 people in recent weeks protesting the police murder of a young Black. Many Lamar students come from Port Arthur.

The student committee in Houston has linked its activities around Boston to the Port Arthur struggle. Reverend Ransom Howard, a leader of that fight, spoke at a forum of 100 on the TSU campus Feb. 4. The meeting was sponsored by the TSU and University of Houston student governments and the Boston conference organizing committee. Howard also spoke at a Jan. 31 Militant Forum in Houston.

Another city where organizing for the conference has been linked to local issues is Philadelphia. A Feb. 8 forum there is set to include a discussion of attempts by local school officials to block desegregation. Among those scheduled to speak is Richard Wallace, a Black high school student from Boston who is working with the student conference.

One example of the racism of Philadelphia's segregated schools is the dilapidated condition of Edison High



Denver, Dec. 14. Activists in antiracist fight across country are coming to Boston for student conference.

School, which is predominantly Black and Puerto Rican.

Aspira, a Puerto Rican organization that led several walkouts at the school protesting the poor conditions, has endorsed the Philadelphia teach-in and is sending a delegation to the national conference.

Midwest support

The student government at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor voted to donate \$1,200 toward the cost of renting a bus. Twenty-one participants and observers at the meeting where the student government appropriated the money signed up to attend the national conference.

In addition, the Huron Valley AFL-CIO, which includes union locals in Ann Arbor, has endorsed the student conference and contributed \$250 for transportation.

In nearby Detroit, labor support for the student effort is also strong. The Detroit Metropolitan Council of the AFL-CIO has endorsed the conference. Tom Turner, president of the council, is scheduled to speak at a Feb. 6 forum sponsored by the Wayne State University Student Committee Against Racism.

The Association of Black Students

at Wayne State has donated \$100 for transportation and the use of its offices to aid the committee's organizing efforts.

In St. Louis, 90 people have signed up to attend the conference.

According to Fred Murphy, there is "a lot of enthusiasm" for the conference. "Many people we talk to want to attend, but being so far from Boston the big problem is money," he said.

Murphy pointed out, however, that the Forrest Park Community College student senate has voted \$500 toward transportation costs. "We're hopeful of getting even more sizable donations," he added.

Minneapolis organizers are also placing a heavy stress on raising funds. More than 50 people have signed up for transportation to the conference, including members of the Black Student Union at Metropolitan Community College.

Follow-up conferences

A number of cities are planning to send delegations to Boston and then hold conferences of their own at a later date. In Denver, the Colorado Student Coalition voted at a Feb. 2 statewide meeting to endorse the national gathering and to call a Colorado Student Conference Against Racism shortly after Feb. 14. That conference will plan a statewide campaign coordinated with the national projections.

The Colorado Student Coalition is composed of student government officers and representatives of other student groups.

Delegates from several campuses in four cities in Colorado are planning to go to Boston. Part of the money to send the delegates is being raised by an appeal from U.S. Representative Patricia Schroeder and John Morgan, president of the Colorado Student Coalition.

Although Portland, Ore., is 3,000 miles away from Boston, interest in the antiracist conference is nevertheless intense. A Jan. 31 forum drew 70 people, and the next day 35 students from five campuses braved a snowstorm to come to an organizing meeting.

The widespread interest in the launching of a national drive against racism was reflected in the coverage of a Portland news conference held Jan. 30 to announce the campaign to send a delegation to Boston.

Three TV stations, two radio stations, and a major newspaper sent reporters to the conference, and the news was carried throughout the state.

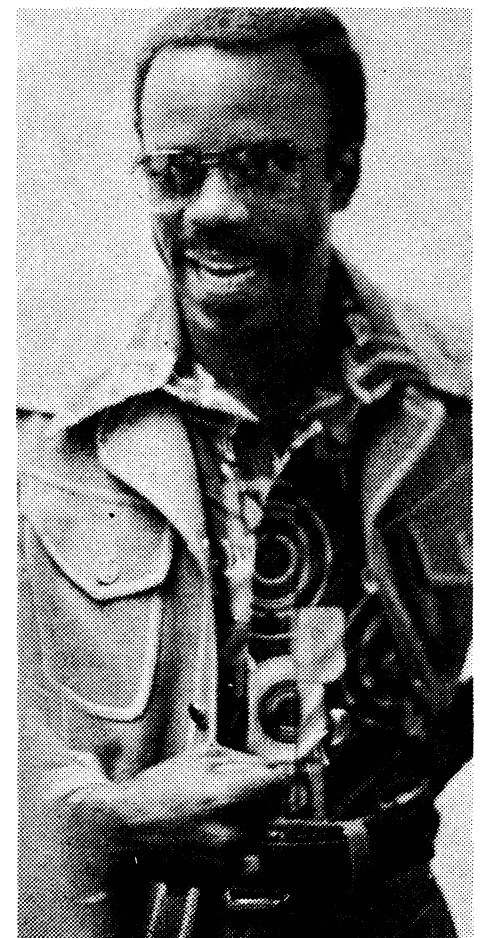
In the Los Angeles area interest in the Boston conference has been intensified because of a struggle around the desegregation of schools in the city of Pasadena in Los Angeles County.

The Committee Against Segregation in Education (CASE) is supporting the national student conference. CASE was formed around organizing efforts for the Dec. 14 march that protested attacks on desegregation in both Pasadena and Boston.

In addition to sending a delegation to Boston, CASE is planning a conference Feb. 22 to discuss how the national projections of the Boston student conference can be implemented in Los Angeles.

Among the groups and individuals who have endorsed the local conference are American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2070; Michael Anderson, vice-president of the Black Students Council at Blair High School in Pasadena; the Chicano studies department at Cal State L.A.; the Pasadena Welfare Rights Organization; and the Pasadena Black Caucus.

The Northern California Emergency Committee Against Racism is also



Militant/Tom Vernier
Reverend Ransom Howard, leader of Port Arthur, Tex., protests against police terror.

Conference information

The National Student Conference Against Racism will open with a teach-in at 7:30 p.m. Friday night, Feb. 14. Among the speakers at this event will be James Meredith, who in 1961 became the first Black student ever to attend the University of Mississippi. Racist threats of violence caused such a furor that President Kennedy sent federal marshals to ensure Meredith's enrollment at "Ole Miss."

Also speaking will be Marii Hasegawa, national president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association; and Rexford Weng, director of the Committee on Civil Rights of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO.

Other speakers will be Jonathan Kozol, award-winning author of *Death at an Early Age*, a book based on his experiences as a Boston school teacher; and Luis Fuentes, first Puerto Rican ever to hold the post of superintendent in a New York City school district. Fuentes was removed last fall in a racist purge carried out by opponents of community control in District 1.



Militant/Mark Satinoff
Luis Fuentes, community-control advocate from New York's School District 1, will speak at Feb. 14 teach-in.

The teach-in and conference will be held at Hayden Hall on the Boston University campus, 725 Commonwealth Ave. Conference registration will be held Friday beginning at 6 p.m. and on Saturday beginning at 9 a.m.

Further information about the conference can be obtained from the National Student Conference Against Racism, 720 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02215. Telephone: (617) 266-9665.

Third of a series

By WENDY LYONS

The struggle over school desegregation in Boston is exposing some notables who have used their support to the civil rights movement in the past as a cover for all kinds of sins.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is a case in point. Shanker has waged a viciously racist crusade against the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents who have been struggling to win control of the schools in New York's District 1.

When he is attacked for this he says, "Who me? How could I be called a racist?" He then proceeds to list the number of sit-ins he participated in back in the good old days.

Shanker goes so far as to claim that he has

is that in Little Rock the white schools were clearly better than the Black schools. He says, "If Southie is significantly better off than Roxbury . . . it isn't very obvious to me."

It may not be obvious to Raspberry and Shanker, but it is certainly clear to the Black community in Boston.

The Black community in Boston is not fighting to desegregate the schools out of a desire to be closer to whites. They want desegregated schools because they want equal education. They know that the formerly all-white schools—however inadequate—are superior to the Black schools. And they know that conditions in the Black schools have a better chance of improving if whites are forced to attend them.

The racists in Boston are also clear on this question. They want to hang onto their superior schools at all costs.

Busing struggle

Why Shanker opposes desegregation in Boston

carried on the real ideals of the civil rights struggle, while others have abandoned them. He accuses those who fight for the right of oppressed minorities to control their own schools of being the real racists.

"I'm one of those people who is still trying to integrate people," Shanker says. "I remained an integrationist, and that's why I'm called a racist."

If it's true that Shanker is for integration, you would think he'd be in the forefront of aiding the embattled Black community in Boston, which has faced mob violence in its attempt to carry out court-ordered desegregation of the schools.

But not so. Shanker has steadfastly refused to speak out against the anti-Black violence in Boston. Instead he calls for "conciliation" on both sides. And Shanker's supporters in the AFT-affiliated Boston Teachers Union (BTU) have led the union into opposing the court-ordered busing plan.

Boston and Little Rock

Shanker's latest attack on desegregation in Boston appeared in his weekly paid advertisement in the *New York Times* on Jan. 26.

Shanker's ad tries to show that, contrary to what the NAACP and other civil rights groups are saying, the Boston struggle is not the same as earlier school desegregation battles, such as Little Rock in 1957. His idea is to prove that since the two struggles are different, you don't have to support the struggle in Boston.

To make his point, Shanker quotes extensively from *Washington Post* columnist William Raspberry, who is Black. Raspberry argues that one of the differences between Boston and Little Rock

Raspberry argues further that the struggle in Little Rock was part of the battle against segregation maintained by laws (de jure), but the struggle in Boston is against segregation stemming from "neighborhood segregation" (de facto). This is true—at the root of segregated schools in Boston is segregated housing.

But Raspberry says that nothing can be done about this de facto segregation. He says, "While neighborhood segregation and public school segregation are very much of a piece, springing from the same sources, no one has seriously proposed for neighborhoods the same second step that is commonly demanded for schools: integration by any feasible means . . . If someone made a similar proposal for ending racially identifiable neighborhoods, he'd be carted off to the looney bin."

Raspberry's "looney bin" may be awfully crowded. Civil rights groups are increasingly turning their attention to breaking down segregated housing patterns.

For example, Black residents of Cleveland recently went to court to argue that officials were trying to confine them to the city by refusing to build low-cost housing in the suburbs. A judge ruled in their favor, ordering the Metropolitan Housing Authority to prepare a plan for low-income housing in five suburbs. This case is now being appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

What Raspberry's—and Shanker's—position boils down to is an abandonment of the struggle for Black rights. The main axis of that struggle today is precisely against de facto segregation.

The ending of the Jim Crow system of de jure segregation meant equality for Blacks under the law, but real equality has yet to be won—in education, in housing, and on the job.

In the struggle to make equal rights a reality, Blacks are running up against the racism that is deeply embedded in all institutions of capitalist society. That is why the struggle for civil rights means a confrontation with the capitalist rulers of this country.

And this is what makes the struggle so fearsome to the Democratic and Republican politicians, who are pledged to uphold the system, and their lieutenants in the labor movement, such as Shanker.

Same struggle

It is no accident that Shanker, a rabid opponent of the right of oppressed minorities to control their own schools in New York City, comes down on the side of those who oppose school desegregation in Boston. The fact is that the fight for community control and the fight for desegregated schools are part of the same struggle.

The Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents and students of District 1 are fighting for more funds, for control over the hiring and firing of teachers and principals, and for a say in the educational methods and materials used in their schools. Why? They want to rectify a situation whereby students in that district have long been denied an equal education.

The Black parents and students in Boston are fighting to desegregate the schools for the same reason—so they can obtain an equal education. The two communities have chosen different means to realize the same goal.

Leaders of the community-control struggle, such as Luis Fuentes and the pro-community members of the District 1 school board, recognize this. In a statement urging people to attend the Dec. 14 march for desegregated schools in Boston, they said, "The 15,000 children and their parents in School District One . . . join the Black parents and children of Boston in their struggle to seek a quality education in their community schools or in neighboring schools."

Threatens status quo

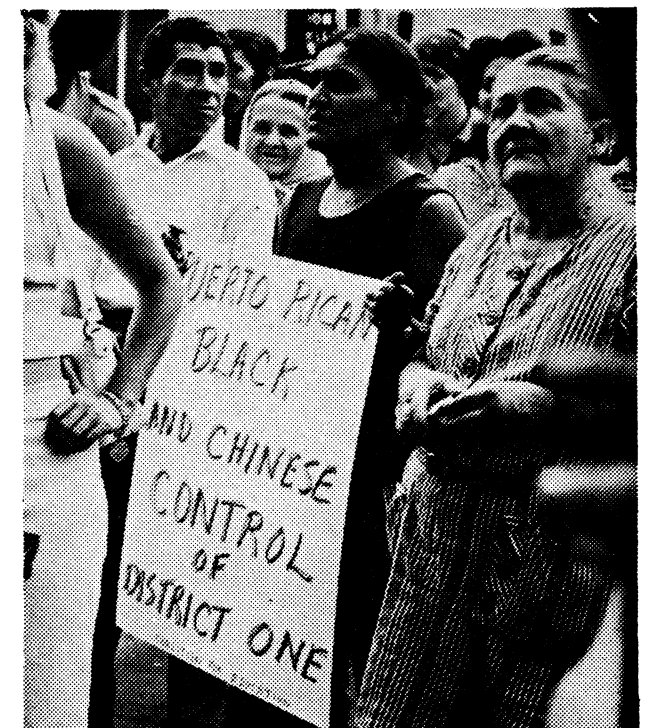
The fight for equal education is part of the unfinished struggle for Black rights—a struggle that threatens the status quo of inequality, privilege, and exploitation. Shanker, as one who is wedded to maintaining the status quo on every level, is becoming increasingly aware of this.

He wants to maintain the New York teacher's union, which he heads, as a white job trust. Just as the fight for community control threatens this perspective, so does the fight for desegregation.

In Boston, the federal court has ordered the hiring of one Black teacher for every white teacher hired, until the faculty is 20 percent Black. Following Shanker's long-standing opposition to preferential hiring for Blacks, the BTU has opposed even this limited step.

Shanker also wants to maintain the status quo in terms of keeping working people tied to the two-party system. He views the question of school desegregation in terms of what is expedient for the Democratic Party presidential race in 1976.

In his advertisement, Shanker says the Democrats lost the last two elections because "the traditional coalition of liberals, labor unions and mi-



Militant/Michael Baumann

District 1 rally in New York. Busing and community-control struggles both have same goal—equal education.

nority groups fell apart on a number of issues." School desegregation "is emerging as a major splitter," he says.

Shanker to the rescue

Shanker sees the handwriting on the wall. He could pose as a champion of desegregation when it seemed like only those "nasty racists in the South" opposed it.

But now the ruling class is on a campaign to push back the gains made by the civil rights movement and stop the continuing struggle for Black equality. Busing isn't going to be too popular among Democratic Party candidates in 1976. Shanker knows this, and is already working to convince unionists and Black activists that they should support a Democratic candidate who will oppose busing.

But Shanker is going to run into some difficulties in this campaign. A number of AFT locals have already come out strongly on the side of the Black community in Boston. Many members of Shanker's own union participated in the Dec. 14 march against racism.

Increasing opposition is developing among teacher unionists to the policies that pit them against those who would be their natural allies—the parents and students of oppressed communities fighting for a decent education. And many of them are becoming convinced that, despite the differences, Boston and Little Rock are the same struggle.



Albert Shanker opposes District 1 struggle because, he says, he's an 'integrationist.' But he sides with segregationists in Boston.

...new rightist bomb attack on L.A. SWP; civil liberties figures demand Bradley act

Continued from page 1

In addition to representatives of the SWP and YSA, participants included Linda Hunt, public relations director for the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); Reverend Amos Barstow Murphy, chairperson of the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg case; and Michael Zinzun, a leading Pasadena Black activist.

Nazis post new threat

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 5—A terrorist threat from a fascist group was found this afternoon on the door of the West Side L.A. Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Santa Monica.

Inscribed with a drawing of a gun and a swastika, the note read: "The future belongs to the few of us still willing to get our hands dirty. POLITICAL TERROR. It's the only thing they understand. Build the national socialist revolution through armed struggle. Venice provo, National Socialist Liberation Front." (Venice is adjacent to Santa Monica.)

Called to the scene, Santa Monica police pooh-poohed the incident. A cop said there were probably a hundred such leaflets tacked up around the city, and that they could not provide protection to everyone who felt they needed it.

"Even people involved in divorce actions think they need protection," he observed.

The October League also held a news conference today to protest the bombing of the Unidos Bookstore, apparently by the same type of explosive that hit the SWP hall. Extensive damage was done to the building, but fortunately no one was in the store at the time.

Mike Klonsky of the October League demanded official action to apprehend the bombers. He noted that the police have agents planted in the right-wing groups and, further, that the police have been provided with a description of the person who threw the bomb at the SWP offices. Linda Hunt of the ACLU and Reverend Murphy of the Rosenberg committee also partici-

pated in the October League news conference.

The demand that Mayor Bradley take quick action stems from mounting concern regarding laxity by Los Angeles and federal officials in dealing with previous similar attacks on the SWP and other groups in Los Angeles.

Cuban exiles

The SWP alone was the victim of six bombing and shooting attacks in a two-year period from 1968 to 1970. The most dangerous assault occurred May 27, 1970, when a gang of armed Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles entered the SWP hall and at gunpoint forced four campaign workers to lie on the floor. They spread gasoline and ignited it. The four narrowly escaped.

During the same period the Haymarket, a radical center, was burned to the ground. A similar arson attack was made on the Ash Grove, a radical coffee-house. The Long March, a movement center, was bombed several times.

The *Los Angeles Free Press* has also been the target of several bomb attacks.

During the recent United Nations appearance by Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, a bookstore operated by a group supporting the UN was bombed. The Jewish Defense League took credit for that one.

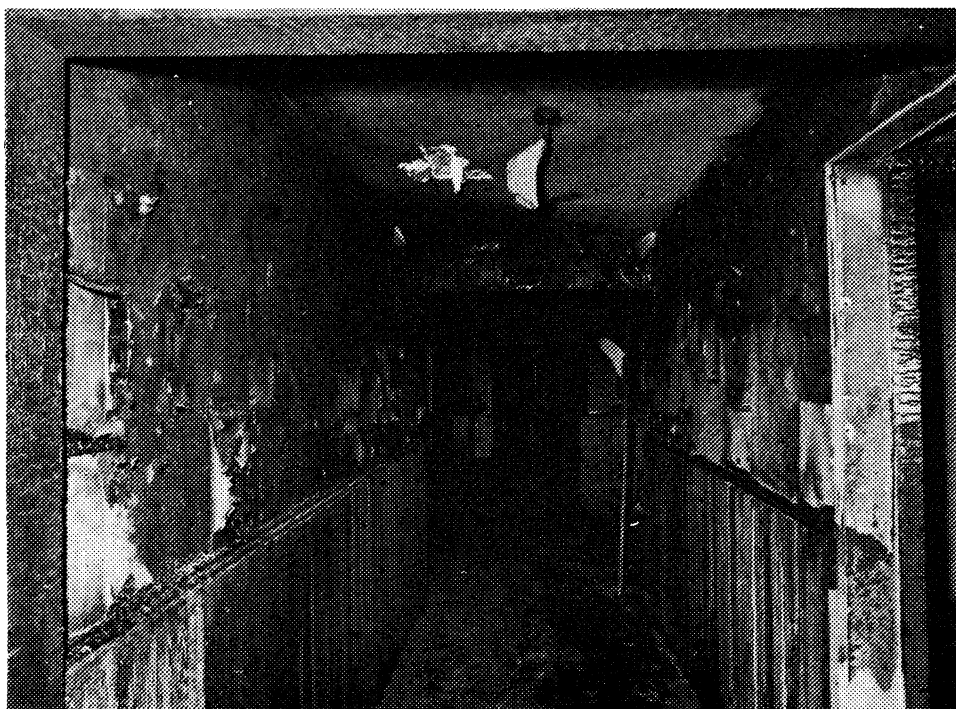
In the May 1970 attack on the SWP, three Cuban exiles were later arrested on other charges. Police officials indicated they were persuaded the three had ties with the CIA.

The present attack on the SWP hall was no amateurish business. The weapon was a pipe bomb some 15 inches in length and of high explosive power. All evidence indicates it was no homemade affair.

Police informants mum

The need for demanding meaningful official action is underlined by the entire police record here. Both the local police and various federal agencies have openly acknowledged, even boasted, that they have informants planted in various organizations of the left and the right.

There is a strong likelihood that they have had advance knowledge of such attacks, or at least the means of obtaining information after the fact.



Militant/John Gray

Results of 1970 fire bombing of Ash Grove, a radical gathering place. CIA was linked to series of bombings against radical groups, including SWP, in that period.

Yet they have proven singularly inept at preventing the continuing attacks on left-wing groups, or apprehending those responsible.

At the time of a March 30, 1970, gun attack on the SWP hall, Peter Seidman, then party organizer here, spoke with a "community relations" officer of the Los Angeles police department.

Seidman asked the official why the police could not find out who was responsible for the shooting, since they must have informants within these groupings.

"Well, frankly, we do have agents," the official replied, "but it is not worth blowing their cover over a little incident like this."

A small incident last night further illuminates the police attitude toward such matters.

While the police and federal agents were leaving the SWP hall, a party representative asked that a police officer be stationed at the door for the rest of the night while party members and supporters were securing the entrances.

A cop said this could not be done and that a private security guard could be hired.

Later that same policeman returned, explaining that the entrance to a downstairs jewelry store had been

broken open during the night's events. He stayed until early morning to ensure the safety of the merchandise.

Meanwhile, within hours after the attack, work was under way to restore the hall to a functioning condition, and political activities were continuing virtually uninterrupted. A meeting is slated for Feb. 7 to protest the attack and demand official action. A representative of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and others are scheduled to participate.



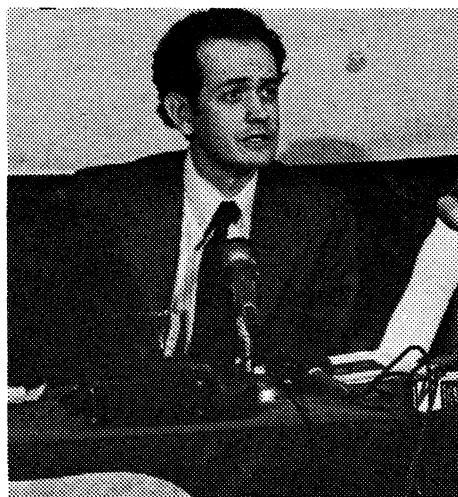
Militant/Dave Wulp

Lew Jones, Los Angeles SWP city organizer, discovered bomber by chance.

'Gov't creates climate for terrorist attacks'

NEW YORK, Feb. 5—In a statement released today, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo demanded that Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley take swift and decisive action to arrest those responsible for the bombings.

"Last night's nearly fatal bombing of the SWP headquarters in Los Angeles," Camejo said, "was clearly aimed at stopping socialists from carrying on political activity in Los Angeles. The would-be murderers who planned and carried out this assault also hope the frightened people away from participating in struggles in which socialists are active, such as the effort to desegregate the Pasadena schools and to mobilize support for the Black com-



Militant/Pat Hayes

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo demands decisive action by Mayor Bradley against terrorists.

munity of Boston against the racist offensive there."

Camejo charged that the government bears responsibility for creating the political climate that encourages terrorist attacks against the SWP and other radical groups. He pointed out that just last week secret documents were released proving that the FBI had carried out a systematic campaign to get a socialist professor, Dr. Morris Starsky, fired from his job at Arizona State University.

"The SWP, along with the Young Socialist Alliance," Camejo said, "launched a lawsuit in 1973 against the government, demanding that the FBI and CIA be stopped from carrying out a vast illegal operation to intimidate and disrupt the SWP and

the YSA.

"When the government can carry out 'disruption programs' against Starsky and other dissidents—and get away with it—it encourages right-wing terrorists to believe they also can engage in illegal attacks with impunity.

"What's more, in some cases the government is *directly* involved, as in the series of fire-bombings in Los Angeles in 1970, when CIA agents participated in planning the attacks.

"But we will not be intimidated. We are appealing to all supporters of civil liberties to join us in demanding that Mayor Bradley take action to see that the criminals who placed the bombs last night are apprehended and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

A Bill of Rights for working people

1976 Socialist Workers action program



Chicago, Jan. 15. Growing numbers believe that working people have right to a job and decent standard of living.

Militant/Tom O'Brien

In this time of economic crisis, the jobs of millions of workers have been taken away and the standard of living of millions more is eroded. Many of the gains made by women and the oppressed minorities over the past few years are being wiped out.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are campaigning for the following Bill of Rights for Working People. The Bill of Rights is aimed at protecting us from this crisis and offering a socialist alternative to it.

Socialist campaign supporters are attempting to get this Bill of Rights into the hands of all those interested in social change. It is being distributed at union meetings, in classrooms, and on unemployment and picket lines.

Help circulate the Bill of Rights for Working People. Discuss it with your friends, co-workers, and classmates. Send your ideas, suggestions, and comments to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

America is in a developing crisis. The quality of life for most people is going from bad to worse. And the present system offers no hope for the better.

There is no end to wars—one after another since the end of World War II. After Korea came Vietnam; now the Middle East is like a powder keg.

Huge stockpiles of atomic weapons are a constant reminder of the threat of nuclear war.

Pollution is destroying our environment—from the water we drink to the air we breathe.

The economic crisis is worsening. Breakdowns, shortages, layoffs, soaring prices—each week it's harder to get by. Suffering the most are those at the bottom of the ladder—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other doubly oppressed people.

Neither the Republican administration nor the Democratic Congress offers a solution. They are only interested in shifting the responsibility and escaping the blame.

They pit white workers against Blacks in a struggle for jobs, housing, and education.

They blame all working people, claiming we eat too much and live too well. They say that inflation will slow down if we live in colder rooms and stop demanding higher wages.

They blame people in other countries. They point

to a "population explosion" in poor countries as a burden on the American economy, while the corporations they represent plunder the resources of these same countries.

They say Arabs cause the energy crisis, as if the skyrocketing profits of U.S. oil monopolies weren't responsible.

The Democratic and Republican proposals are clear: Don't struggle to defend your living standards; pay the costs of foreign wars; eat less and pay more; deport foreign-born workers; use less electricity and gasoline; forget about safety, Social Security, and jobs.

This way of handling the economic crisis can be stated in nine words: "What's good for big business is good for America."

The Rockefellers, DuPonts, Mellons, Morgans, and other families like them who run the country think they were born with rights that come first no matter what happens to the welfare and security of the rest of us. For the sake of profits they think it's perfectly justifiable to lay off tens of thousands of workers, to destroy our environment, or to plunge the country into war.

They are a tiny minority who brush aside the rights of the American people.

Nearly 200 years ago, when our country won its independence from British despotism, the small farmers and workers succeeded in adding 10 amendments to the Constitution—the Bill of Rights. These were intended to help guarantee "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Among these are:

- freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion;
- the right to a jury trial by one's peers;
- the right to bear arms; and
- protection from unreasonable searches and seizures, excessive bails and fines, and cruel and unusual punishment.

A second revolution—the Civil War—resulted in additional amendments to the Constitution protecting the rights of the American people.

These are:

- the ending of slavery;
- no deprivation of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; and
- the right of all male citizens, 21 years of age or over, to vote, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

More than 50 years ago women won the right to vote, and recently this right was extended to all citizens over the age of 18.

These rights were won through struggle, and bitter battles have been required to preserve them against witch-hunters, racists, bigots, antilabor forces, and government agencies.

Yet they have never been fully implemented nor do they extend to everyone. In reality, they are still denied to millions of Americans who are reduced to second-class status.

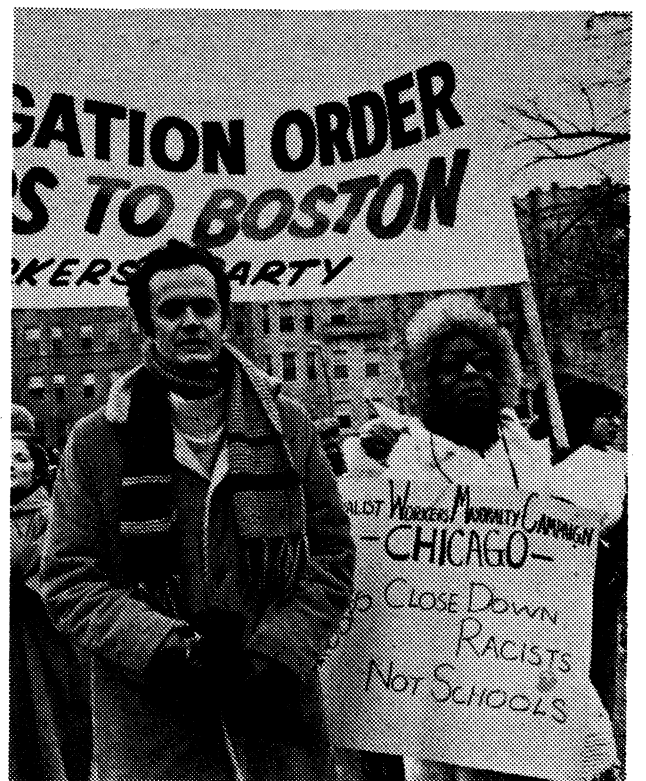
Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed minorities are struggling for equal opportunity in housing, education, and jobs.

Preferential hiring and upgrading should be established to help achieve equality on the job.

To gain equality, oppressed minorities have a right to live in the neighborhoods of their choice. They have the right to decide where to send their children to school, and to use busing to transport them to better, predominantly white schools.

For minorities who don't speak English, education, civil service exams, and voting instructions

Continued on next page



Militant/Flax Hermes

SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid join Dec. 14 freedom march in Boston. They demand enforcement of school desegregation order and protection of Black students from racist violence.

...socialist candidates propose new

Continued from preceding page

and ballots in their own language are needed to help achieve equality.

Women are fighting to adopt and implement the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution to help achieve equality in all spheres of life. Preferential hiring and upgrading, and equal pay for the same work are needed for women to gain full equality on the job.

Democratic rights should be applied to prisoners, GIs, gays, foreign-born workers, and youth. Repeal all repressive legislation. End all cruel and unusual punishments, including the death penalty.

As the economic crisis deepens and big business tightens the squeeze on labor, the elementary civil liberties of working people as a whole are eroded. Government harassment and intimidation challenge our right to assembly and free speech.

Government interference infringes on the right of unions to collective bargaining and to strike. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and all other antilabor legislation.

Government agencies harass and repress unions and Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and American Indian organizations. Socialists and other dissenters are subjected to witch-hunt measures.

Not only is it necessary to fight back and reassert our rights, but we need to broaden these rights to protect working people on the economic level and against the threat of new wars, racism, and antilabor drives. We need a new bill of rights to meet the present-day needs of the majority.

The Socialist Workers Party proposes the following:

- 1) Right to a job;
- 2) Right to an adequate income;
- 3) Right to free education;
- 4) Right to free medical care;
- 5) Right to secure retirement;
- 6) Right to know the truth about economic and political policies that affect our lives;
- 7) Right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs;
- 8) Right to decide economic and political policy.

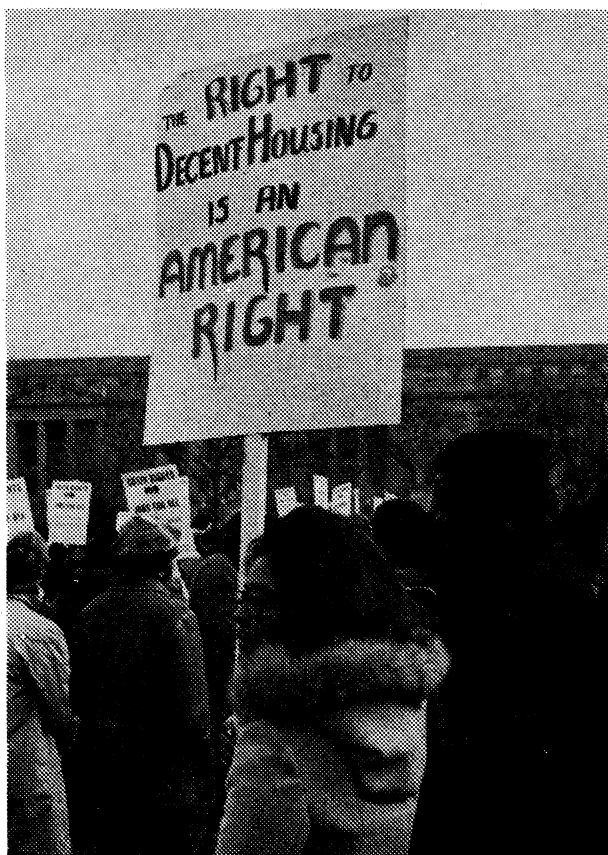
1. Right to a job

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, expanding mass transportation, and constructing hospitals, parks, schools, and other social necessities. Priority should be given to projects where they are most needed—especially in Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

As a first step, the huge sums necessary to pay for this program should come from eliminating military expenditures, raising taxes on big industry, and placing a 100 percent tax on all income over \$25,000. Taxes for working people should be lowered.

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



Militant/Dennis Scarla

When the bosses close down plants, they should be reopened by the government under workers control.

In order to assure economic independence for women, government-financed child-care centers should be established. Maternity leaves with full pay should be granted. Women have a right to decide whether or not to give birth to children. This includes the right to abortion and contraception on demand and protection from forced sterilization.

Workers who are not U.S. citizens, including those without documents, have the right to jobs and equal pay without fear of harassment and deportation.

2. Right to an adequate income

A guaranteed living wage is a basic right. As a protection against inflation, wages must be free to rise. No government wage controls.

To offset price gouging in food, rent, gas, electricity, and other basic necessities, wages must be protected with cost-of-living escalator provisions in union contracts so that wages increase with each rise in living costs.

Escalator provisions should be pegged to the real rate of inflation as determined by committees set up by unions and consumer groups, not to the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index, which deliberately underestimates real price increases.

All pensions, Social Security benefits, unemployment and disability compensation, welfare, and veterans benefits should be raised to union wage scales and protected with cost-of-living escalator provisions.

Small farmers, who are gouged by banks on the one hand and squeezed by the food trusts on the other, should be allowed to make a decent living. They have a right to low interest, long-term government loans.

3. Right to free education

4. Right to free medical care

5. Right to a secure retirement

Education, health, and security should not be privileges of the rich. These are rights that should be guaranteed to everyone.

Tuition, books, and living expenses should be furnished to all who want to attend public universities and trade schools.

Everyone, from birth to old age, should be guaranteed government-financed medical and dental care through a full program of socialized medicine.

All retired and disabled persons should receive government-financed benefits at full union wages.

The health, welfare, education, and cultural enrichment of all citizens is the responsibility of society.

Government-financed programs should be instituted not only to provide care for people who are ill, but for medical research and mass education about health care.

Adult educational and cultural programs should be vastly strengthened to permit working people to develop themselves to the fullest extent possible.

Television and other entertainment media should be taken out of the hands of private owners and corporate advertisers whose commercials are wasteful and often harmful, and whose programs lack variety and are for the most part culturally barren.

6. Right to know the truth about economic and political policies that affect our lives

Democratic and Republican administrations claim that their foreign-policy decisions advance peace and democracy throughout the world. The Pentagon papers and revelations about CIA intervention in Chile show that this is not true. We have a right to know the full truth. Publish all secret treaties and agreements this country has made with other countries.

No secret diplomacy behind the backs of the American people!

Let the American people know the truth about U.S. support for dictatorships all over the world from South Africa to South Vietnam.

When corporations claim they can't grant wage increases, make them open their books.

Make the oil, sugar, and grain trusts open their books so we can see their profits, production statistics, and secret dealings. Then we can see who is rigging prices, deliberately cutting back production to create shortages, and hoarding reserves.

Expose the threads that tie industry and agribusiness to the big banks; to transportation and retailing enterprises; and to government agencies, Democratic and Republican politicians, and judges.

Make the gas, electric, and telephone monopolies show us the profits they make when they raise their rates and use polluting fuel.

Examination of the financial books of the big trusts should be done by price committees made up of delegates from workplaces, unions, cooperatives, and farmers', housewives', and Black organizations.

The Watergate affair has revealed a tiny bit of the secret spying, bugging, and harassment carried out by the government. It showed how government policies are designed to work against the interests of working people.

We have a right to know the full truth. Let us see what the rulers really have in mind when they make the decisions that affect our lives. Open all police and FBI files! Publish all the White House tapes.

7. Right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs

Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed peoples have a right to control the schools, hospitals, parks, and other institutions in their communities. They have a right to determine how federal and state funds will be used in their communities.

To end police brutality remove the police from the ghettos and barrios. A security force democratically selected and supervised by the people in these communities should be established.

To order SWP campaign literature

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

Please send me the following material:

- ☐ Bill of Rights for Working People in English (3 cents each; 2 cents each for 1,000 or more).
- ☐ Bill of Rights for Working People in Spanish. Same price as above.
- ☐ Vote SWP buttons (30 cents each, 20 cents

on orders of 50 or more; 15 cents on orders of 300 or more).

☐ Camejo photo button (35 cents each; 20 cents on order of 15 or more; 15 cents on orders of 500 or more).

☐ Reid photo button (35 cents each; 20 cents on order of 15 or more; 15 cents on orders of 500 or more).

☐ Camejo for President poster (10 cents each; 5 cents on orders of 25 or more).

☐ Reid for Vice-president poster (10 cents each; 5 cents on orders of 25 or more).

☐ The Socialist Workers Candidates for 1976 (biographical brochure, 4 cents each).

Enclosed is \$_____ to cover the cost of the order.

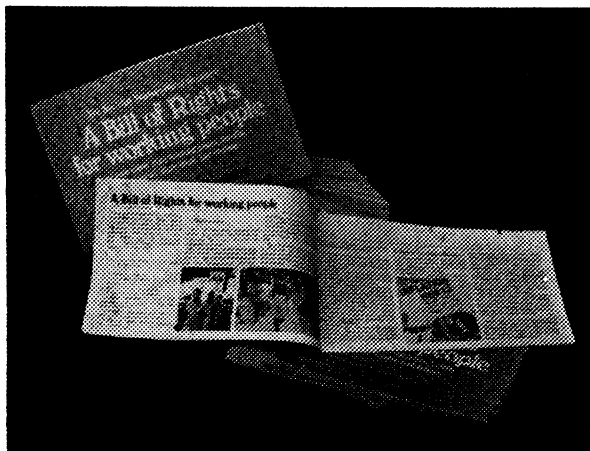
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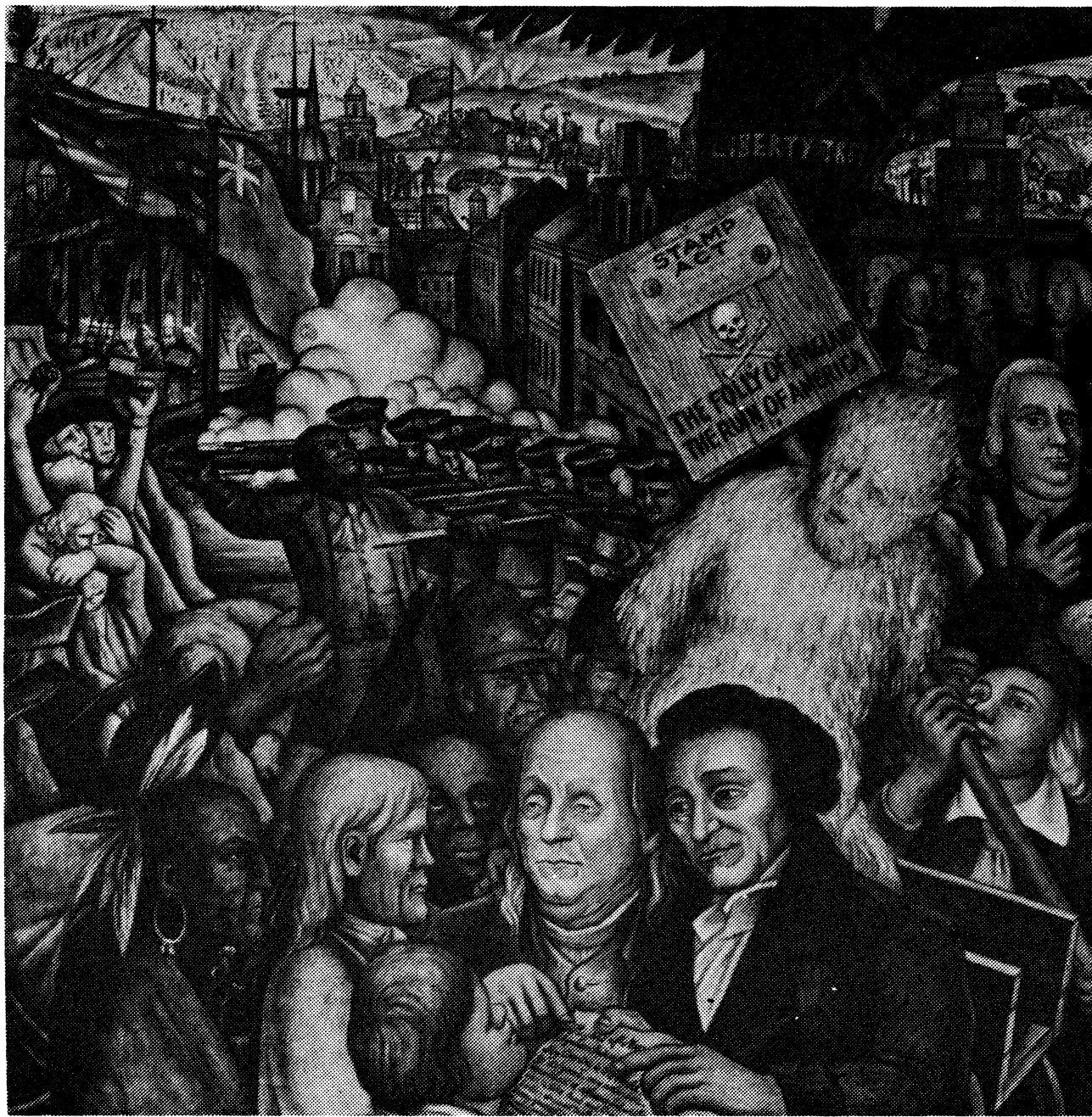
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Occupation/School/Organization _____

Business Address _____



Bill of Rights for working people



Two hundred years after first American revolution, working people are fighting to defend democratic rights and broaden them to win protection from soaring prices, layoffs, wars, racism, and oppression of women. Above, section of mural by Diego Rivera depicting American revolutionary figures.

8. Right to decide economic and political policy

Take the war-making power away from the White House and Congress.

Let the people vote in a referendum before the country is taken into any war. Let us have the right to say no to policies that can lead to nuclear holocaust and the end of humanity.

We have a right to say no to government stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons; to U.S. military bases throughout the world; and to support of puppet generals and military dictators.

The small handful of extremely rich families who own the factories, mines, oil wells, utilities, and banks manage them with only one goal—profits. The welfare and security of the majority is no concern of theirs.

Workers have the right to control their working conditions through their own democratically elected committees. They have the right to regulate the pace of work in the safest and least dehumanizing way. They have the right to have their own inspectors on the job. They have a right to decide layoffs and whether or not plants will be shut down.

Workers have a right to determine that production will be for social needs rather than private profits. To help achieve this all major industries from oil to food should be taken over by the government.

AT&T and other utility monopolies should be converted into government-owned utilities.

All the banks should be expropriated and merged into a single government bank. The concentration of the entire credit system in the hands of the government will provide the latter with the necessary resources for national economic planning.

A national economic plan, democratically determined by the workers, will put an end to the present anarchy and breakdowns in the economy.

If the majority had known the truth about the oil industry and had the right to make the decisions about the country's energy needs, the energy crisis would have been prevented. The oil trusts deliberately cut back their refining capacity in order to create a shortage and drive prices and profits up. A national plan worked out and overseen by the workers themselves would not have allowed this to happen.

Similarly, a national economic plan under the workers' management would end the food crisis, establish a mass-transit system, and institute effective environmental controls. The colossal sums now spent for military purposes would be used for social needs.

However, this will only be possible if the government itself passes completely into the hands of the majority—the masses of the working people.

When the American colonists could no longer tolerate British rule and drew up their Declaration of Independence, they stated, "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness] it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Today we are ruled by a new tyranny. Industrial and financial barons govern by the rule of profits, denying us the basic democratic and social rights we need for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This government of the few must be abolished and replaced by a workers government that will represent the majority.

A workers government will guarantee democratic rights and implement the proposed Bill of Rights for working people.

It will immediately recognize the right of Blacks and Chicanos to self-determination. It will immediately grant independence to Puerto Rico.

It will adopt a policy of peace and friendship with peoples throughout the world and offer massive economic and technical assistance and food to other countries—with no strings attached. It will stop U.S. interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It will dismantle all U.S. military bases abroad.

Instead of supporting oppressors and dictators it will aid the struggles of the oppressed—Palestinians driven from their homeland by Israel; South African Blacks against their white rulers; Vietnamese against U.S.-backed banker-landlords; and Chileans against bloody repression.

A workers government in the United States would be a tremendous inspiration to people all over the world. With the knowledge that the mighty USA

was a friend, and not their enemy, oppressed people everywhere would rise up against their oppressors. The entire world would be changed for the better.

The Soviet working people would throw out their hated dictators and reinstitute the democratic and humanitarian goals of the Russian revolution. The hand of friendship would be extended between the Soviet and American peoples, and the threat of worldwide nuclear war would be eliminated.

The majority can win its democratic and social rights only by its own action. *Strikes* for higher wages and cost-of-living escalator provisions, *rallies* demanding jobs now, *demonstrations* against cutbacks in education and social services, *boycott* of scab lettuce, grapes, and wine; and *marches* against racist attacks on busing and school desegregation are examples of struggles now being waged.

But it doesn't make sense to strike, rally, demonstrate, boycott, or march on one day, and then vote for the parties of big business on the next day.

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

Likewise today, working people cannot rely on the Democratic and Republican parties, which were established to defend the profits of big business. They cannot depend on these parties but must break from them.

The Socialist Workers Party believes that the only way to effectively organize the power of American working people on the scale necessary to abolish the present government and initiate a workers government is through a mass socialist party. This will not be anything like the Democratic and Republican parties; it will be a fighting party that will help lead the struggles of working people and all the oppressed. This is what the Socialist Workers Party is campaigning for.

As a first step toward a working-class break from the parties of big business, we support the formation of a labor party based on the unions. A mass Black party and a mass Chicano party would also point the way ahead for all working people.

The Socialist Workers Party is campaigning for a new society—a socialist society—where wars, racism, sexual oppression, and all other forms of human degradation and exploitation no longer exist. We believe that this is a realistic goal, and a necessary one if humanity is to survive.

Join us in this struggle.

Every dollar counts

In order to distribute hundreds of thousands of copies of the Bill of Rights for Working People, the socialist campaign needs money.

The campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid is not financed by big businessmen or bankers. It is financed by people who believe that the socialist alternative is worth fighting for.

Send your contribution today. Every dollar counts. Every dollar helps spread the socialist answer.

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

Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____
() I would like to make a monthly pledge of \$ _____

() I endorse the Camejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Organization/School/Occupation _____

Business Address _____

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

Ford's war budget

President Ford's budget proposals paint a grim picture of the future U. S. capitalism has to offer working people. For those already hardest hit by the economic crisis—the unemployed, the sick and disabled, the elderly—cutbacks and austerity will be the watchwords. Ford said the burden of spending for social welfare is becoming "insupportably heavy."

Budget director Roy Ash was more blunt. In the past, he said, this country has been "compassionate toward those in need," but now "it is a question of how well off they should be."

With inflation running at more than 12 percent a year, Ford demanded a 5 percent ceiling on increases in Social Security and other benefits, and the same limit on federal employees' pay. In a thinly veiled threat to restore wage controls, he added that workers in the private sector had better "follow this example."

The president's economic report predicted unemployment will be a staggering 8 percent for the next two years and around 7 percent for the foreseeable future. These official figures are an open admission that despite all the talk of a "180-degree turn" in economic policy, the administration has no intention of putting the jobless back to work.

The budget offers a paltry \$1.3-billion for public service employment—enough to create at most 141,000 jobs. But 7.5 million workers are expected to be unemployed next year.

It's not that there is "no money" to do more than this, as Ford claims. While social programs are slashed, allocations for the Pentagon will climb \$15.7-billion to a new record high of \$104.7-billion, and are slated to reach nearly \$150-billion by 1980.

Just two months after the Vladivostok pact, which Ford declared had "averted an arms race of unbelievable cost," he announces the need for advanced new weapons systems (to the tune of \$24.7-billion) and bigger "conventional" forces (another \$35.9-billion).

Another \$36-billion—fully 10 percent of the budget—is earmarked for the bankers as interest payments on the federal debt. We're still paying taxes for the Vietnam war, Korea, and World War II.

This crushing burden is the cost of policing the world—from Vietnam to Chile—for the owners of U. S. industry.

That's the picture: millions jobless, soaring prices, mammoth war spending, spreading poverty, degradation, and hunger. It's all part of making working people pay the costs of maintaining the outmoded capitalist system—a system that grows more irrational and destructive with every passing day.

Oil extortion

Day after day the propaganda mills grind out the now-familiar story. Higher oil prices dictated by the "Arab sheiks," we are told, are responsible for the economic crisis, rising prices, and layoffs. The tale is embellished with terms like "black-mail," "extortion," and "strangulation," and we are led to believe the United States wants to bring oil prices down.

But speeches by more and more high government officials are now confirming what *The Militant* has pointed out since the beginning of the "energy crisis"—that U. S. oil strategy is exactly the opposite. It is based on *maintaining high oil prices*, not lowering them.

In a Jan. 3 speech, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger announced new details of the U. S. oil plan. His key proposal was that the major capitalist powers agree on a *price floor* to "insure that the price for oil on the domestic market does not fall below a certain level."

As the exploited, semicolonial oil-producing countries demand more control and a greater share of the income from their oil, the U. S. energy trust is seeking to develop other, more expensive energy sources. These include domestic oil, coal, synthetic fuels, and nuclear reactors. Their central aims are: 1) to keep the world oil price high enough to make profitable the exploitation of the "alternative" sources of energy now under their control; 2) to keep world energy supplies firmly in the grip of the U. S. oil giants; and 3) eventually to cut back on the price paid to any of the semicolonial countries.

The real problem, Kissinger explained, is to make sure the Arabs don't upset this scheme by suddenly *lowering* prices and underselling the U. S. companies—hence the "price floor" plan.

Working people are suffering from extortionate oil prices, all right, but the real blackmailers are right here at home.

No more yesterdays

I urge all readers of *The Militant* to attend the National Student Teach-in Against Racism, to be held at Boston University the weekend of Feb. 14. Buses and rides are being organized in cities across the nation.

It is imperative that we recognize and work to combat the problem of racism in Boston because, as writer/singer Gil Scott-Herron said, "Boston becomes yesterday all over again (Little Rock, Mississippi, etc.)."

The racists are trying to make Black people live in this yesterday. My brothers and sisters, the past for Black people in the USA was marked by mental and physical degradation by white racists, which some of us have not fully recovered from to this day.

In the South there was fear of the Ku Klux Klan. Now in 1975 this group of barbarians has appeared again, this time in the North and stronger than ever. The Klan is determined to shed Black blood once more.

What can we (Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, whites, Indians, Latinos, Chinese, and Japanese) do to defeat the racists? Come to the National Student Teach-in and learn how to exorcise the racist offensive against busing.
Loretta Garvin
Atlanta, Ga.

On abortion

While in agreement with most of the orientation of *The Militant*, I have reservations concerning the subject of abortion.

I think that most of us could agree with part of the arguments of the Black physician Mildred Jefferson. In other periodicals, she is cited as believing that "abortion reflects a new, impersonal outlook in medicine in which people simply become parts of a mechanical system that can be scrapped once their costs exceed their utility."

Can anyone deny that this attitude is very pervasive in today's medical business, within a capitalistic system?

At the college where I teach, I recall that in 1970 and 1971, the "student newspaper," essentially the organization of the management, had three or four abortion advertisements per issue, with verbal inducements that pointed up how "competitive" their rates were.

Unless I am mistaken, I believe a major motivating force for abortion is a six-letter word, "profit."

John Williman
Bloomsburg, Pa.

'Money Madness'

A recent Twin Cities Militant Forum called "Money Madness" was one of the best yet. The topic of "mental health care" was introduced as one of the crudest and most obvious ways people are oppressed in capitalist America. All of the speakers agreed that patients have no legal rights and become the helpless victims of a psycho-manipulation industry that seeks to control people and preserve the status quo.

It was brought out that women are 80 percent of the patients, and white males are 70 percent of the therapists. Women are special vic-

tims of this industry, which works from the foundations of sexism, individualism, and patriarchal authority.

One speaker pointed out that the connection between big profits and the mental-health establishment is the billion-dollar drug industry. The drug producers' biggest seller is valium, a highly addictive drug.

She tied it together by saying, "The mental health care of our people will never be adequate within a capitalist system, and individuals cannot solve the problem."

Koreen Phelps
Minneapolis, Minn.

Two-cent raise

A large group of California state employees are seeking a two-cent-per-hour wage increase. This will skyrocket their wages to six cents an hour.

Approval was given in 1974 to raise inmates' wages within the California penal system, but apparently no money was allotted to carry this out.

The problem, however, is not limited to this state. A survey of the prison systems showed that in 20 states, the District of Columbia, and the federal prison system, 90 percent of the inmates earn wages that range from four cents a day to a high of \$1.30 a day.

We are often told that the reason for inadequate wages is that the work assignments are part of the rehabilitation or training program, and you don't pay a person while providing them a service. But how true is this?

Most prison work assignments are nothing more than forced slave labor that pays a small token that is named "incentive," which in reality is so small that it is an insult equal to having your face spit in.

Every inmate should be paid a minimum wage.

A prisoner
California

Study aid

I'm a Black woman studying political science at Texas Southern University. I've enjoyed reading the past issues of *The Militant*, for they have been of great assistance to me during class discussions.

Hurry and rush my coming issues, for I'll need them for this semester too.

T. S.
Houston, Tex.

New subscriber

Recently my husband Sam sent in a subscription for a friend of ours up here. I'd like to explain how it came about.

Our neighbor is a working man in his fifties who was until recently a guard at the county jail here.

After hearing this man constantly complain about the government, the state of the economy, and the poor treatment prisoners get, Sam started to tell him about the socialist alternative and gave him a few copies of the *Young Socialist*. After he read them he brought them to the prison, where they were nearly worn out until the sheriff found them and burned them.

He was recently laid off and is really disgusted with the capitalist system. He asked Sam to get him



subscriptions to *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* and is really interested in learning about the socialist alternative.

Another example of working-class awareness of how the capitalist system does nothing to benefit us.

*Diane Slakie-Chetta
Catskill, N. Y.*

Oasis

Enclosed is my subscription renewal plus \$4 for the prisoners subscription fund.

I don't always agree with *The Militant's* view, but at least it is an oasis of action in the apathy that gives more space to the president's sumptuous Christmas than to starvation at home and abroad.

The Archie-and-his-pals mentality that seems to have settled on so much of the country is so easy to fall into. Your newspaper helps keep my consciousness from clouding.

*Jenny Austin
Bloomington, Ind.*

Pass it on

This letter is to request that my free subscription be turned over to another prisoner, because I have "made the board."

I have received *The Militant* since February 1972, and it has been a very informative newspaper—as well as raising the level of consciousness of those who have read it here.

I urge you to continue your good work and right on!

*A prisoner
New York*

School protest

On Jan. 17 the executive board of the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) of Public School 186, in Harlem, organized a sit-in at their school. The mostly Black and Latin parents were protesting the firing, without a proper hearing, of the Black principal of the school, Harold Lomax. They also demanded that the mostly white district board allow them some say in who is fired and hired in their school.

The district board claimed that Lomax had to be relieved of his duties because of incompetence. PTA President Virginia White responded that Lomax has been working for the board of education for 30 years as a teacher, assistant principal, and principal, and he was given a satisfactory rating in June 1974. She feels that this attack on Lomax is totally unfair.

This development is important not only for its own sake but because it heralds the reaction to the central board of education cutbacks. Black and Latin parents are not going to sit back idly and let quality education slip from the grasp of their children.

*Earl Williams
New York, N. Y.*

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

'Supplemental Insecurity'

In her Jan. 6 syndicated column, Sylvia Porter revealed another terrible crime being perpetrated against Social Security pensioners, the blind, and the disabled, whose benefits come through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

In 1972 Congress passed a bill granting Supplementary Security Income (SSI) to those whose pensions or disability payments fell below the federal "poverty" level—then \$146 per month. The increased payments became effective in January 1974.

Last fall, Porter reported, in an unnamed Northeastern state, Social Security computers "spewed out letters promising an increase" in SSI payments. In September the larger checks came as promised, and were quickly spent.

Then came telegrams informing these persons that it was all a mistake. The pensioners were ordered to immediately return the increase.

Many of the people sent back not only the money represented by the SSI check, but their entire Social Security payments. Some of them even sent cash from meager savings accounts. Porter says they did this drastic thing because they "were afraid of getting in trouble with the government, or losing their benefits."

Then, when the October checks were scheduled to be mailed out, the aged, blind, and disabled were informed that there would be no SSI checks that month at all.

These bewildered and frightened people, now being punished for their "honesty," were virtually penniless except for the Social Security pittance.

The state's Legal Aid Society got an injunction against the Social Security Administration forbidding the government agency to accept any more money being returned and is now preparing a class-action suit to recover the money already returned.

When the SSI program was passed it was hailed as being "as important to older Americans as the passage of Medicare."

Now critics have relabeled it the "Supplemental Insecurity program."

It is not too hard to figure out why the bureaucratic, red-tape-bound Social Security Administration has made so many heartbreaking errors at the expense of the elderly, the disabled, and the blind.

In the 14 months between the time the SSI bill was passed and the date it went into effect, no basic rules and regulations were issued. None of the Social Security staff workers or administrators could make any key decisions.

Since January 1974 a series of confusing and contradictory rules on eligibility have been issued.

And despite the increased casework, the White House has refused to allow the hiring of more staff workers.

As a result, applicants for the SSI payments wait endless hours in Social Security offices, travel miles to get to their area offices, and fill out endless forms. And then wait, up to 10 months, before their supplemental checks come in or their applications are rejected.

Porter (a financial analyst not generally noted for any liberal pronouncements) wound up her column thus:

"In brutal summary: The SSI program to date has been among the biggest broken promises ever made by a Congress and an administration. Instead of a giant step toward reform of our unworkable welfare system, it is as of now a disgrace."

We agree with Porter that this situation is a disgrace. But we disagree when she categorizes Social Security pensions as part of the "unworkable welfare program." The people who now receive these benefits bought and paid for them during their working lives.

Under a civilized, socialist society, the security in Social Security will become a reality. It won't be a pittance designed to keep the elderly and disabled alive, but barely so.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



The Common Cause connection

The following anonymous letter, which found its way into our office the other day, may be of interest to Militant readers.

Dear John,

It sounded like such a great idea. If all us little people could just get together, and if everybody chipped in \$10 or \$15, we could put together our own lobby—a "citizens' lobby." We could, as you put it so well, "open up the system," call a halt to the abuse of power by big money.

And we counted ourselves lucky to have a man like John Gardner ready to lead us: a man who had been taken to the top of the mountain in Health, Education and Welfare, but who turned his back on the corruption of power and renewed his vows to fight for the Common Cause of the people.

And we finally got the Big One through: campaign disclosure. Forcing everyone to list their contributors, file all those reports, limit their donations—that ought to really smash the corporate power brokers and vested interests! No more Watergates—give government back to the people—right on, John!

Oh, I heard the carping voices about how this would penalize only the smaller parties, while the Democrats and Republicans could easily get around the laws since they're the ones who enforce them. But I wasn't swayed.

And I heard the Socialist Workers Party griping that disclosure of names and addresses of their contributors would subject them to FBI harassment. They just didn't understand that when you stack the rights of a few leftist malcontents up against a law that *proves* once and for all that *the system works*. . . . Well, in your own winged phrase, John, "There are constitutional rights and constitutional rights." So I saw it was only right for us to send our top Washington lawyers all over the country to help the government fight the SWP's appeals for exemption.

But now these stories in the *Village Voice* and *New*

York magazine, John, about you and Common Cause and the Rockefeller money. . . . Slanders, I said, and I kept waiting for you to deny it all. Then it turned out that when Common Cause was set up in 1970 you really *did* get \$25,000 from John D. Rockefeller III, and \$10,000 each from David and Martha Rockefeller. . . .

In fact, it turned out Common Cause has gotten more than \$72,000 from the Rockefeller family, not to mention \$10,000 from Ford Motor Company, \$5,000 from Boise Cascade, \$5,000 from Time, Inc., \$3,000 from Allied Chemical, and on and on.

You never told us it was *their* Cause too, John. I mean, it just doesn't add up. If we're fighting *against* big business, how come the biggest of the big are passing us all this dough? They're not dummies, John.

But what really stung me, after all our talk about "disclosure," was to find out you've been a trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund since 1968. Yeah, the military preparedness, fallout shelter, cold-war think-tank fund. You never mentioned that in any of the Common Cause mailings, John. In fact, you somehow forgot to include it in any of your official biographies or entries for *Who's Who* or things like that. Almost like you had something to cover up.

I remember our argument against exempting the SWP from disclosing its contributors. We said that would open up loopholes "through which powerful and sometimes sinister forces in our society use money to corrupt the political process."

I've been giving that argument some thought, John. But who really *is* getting the big money from "sinister forces"? And why *are* we on this relentless crusade to force disclosure of the SWP's contributors? Whose side are we on, John?

I'm sure you can explain it all. I just wish you'd hurry up. The nasty remarks about you being like the Bible-thumping fundamentalist preacher who ran a prostitution ring on the side are beginning to worry me.



The way the cookie crumbles—“AMARILLO (AP)—If the weather and economic conditions remain stable, there should be enough food for the world's population, but a few will be eating most of it while many will go hungry, an adviser to the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture said.”

American know-how—Supermarket shoplifting was up an estimated 20 percent in December, with the lifters getting almost as crafty as the rip-off artists who operate the markets. People are switching meat package labels

and bottle tops from more expensive items to less expensive ones. Some are taking butter sticks from their cartons and putting them in margarine cartons.

Vanished into thin water—Concern was evidenced when an 18-mile oil slick appeared in the Santa Barbara channel. But the concern was unfounded. “The slick that was there yesterday has dissipated and moved seaward and is no longer a threat to the environment,” explained a Coast Guard official.

Maybe it wasn't good enough—Maxwell House coffee ads used to boast, “Good to the last drop.” But according to Los Angeles county authorities, they're now skipping that last drop. A damage suit charged Maxwell House with short-weighting its instant coffee by about a half-ounce per jar.

House-hunting?—A Miami Beach apartment-hotel condominium is offering 84 units at prices ranging from \$165,000 to \$211,000. Immediate occupancy. A penthouse? Sorry, none left.

Voices of revolt dept.—“American people are stupid, stupid, stupid. They have to wake up and know that only the wealthy have a voice. We've got to get the wealthy down. We've got to give Middle America the voice—even if it means communism.”—Martha Mitchell as quoted by the Jan. 5 *Miami Herald*.

Dishwasher safe—A Louisville shop is offering mint julep cups in sterling silver bearing the name of the winner of the 1974 Kentucky Derby. Only \$59.95 each, plus \$1.25 postage.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Joanne Little committed no crime

Before slavery was abolished in this country white men often kept houses full of Black women whom they sexually assaulted and raped at will. Today they still do—only the houses are called jails.

The case of Joanne Little, a 20-year-old Black woman from Raleigh, N. C., reveals the sordid practices that go on in small-town—and other—jails.

Her case is also a classic example of justice trampled underfoot by the laws of white, male supremacy. Joanne Little faces the death penalty for defending herself against a jail guard who tried to rape her.

Little's story is hair-raising:

On Aug. 27, 1974, Little was sleeping in a cell at the Beaufort County, N. C., jail. She had been in jail three months awaiting action on her appeal of a breaking-and-entering conviction. The Beaufort County jail has no facilities for women, no matrons, and no privacy; and all of Little's jailers were white men.

Clarence Alligood, a 62-year-old guard, entered Little's cell with an ice pick that he kept in his desk drawer and tried to rape Little. She fought him off. During the struggle Alligood was stabbed numerous times with his ice pick. He died from the stabbings.

That Alligood was trying to rape Little, threatening her with the ice pick if she refused, is beyond doubt.

The medical examiner, reports the *New York Times*, said that Alligood's “shoes were in the corridor, his socks on his feet. He was otherwise naked from the waist down.” The examiner also reported that the jailer was found holding his trousers in one hand, the ice pick in the other. Finally, the examiner reported clear evidence of sexual activity by the jailer shortly before he died.

Joanne Little, frightened and confused, fled from the jail. She spent more than a week in hiding, hunted with dogs by the entire police force, before turning herself in to the State Bureau of Investigation. Fearing for her life, she contacted the Southern Poverty Law Center before turning herself in and they agreed to protect and defend her.

Little has been indicted for first-degree murder, which in North Carolina carries a mandatory death sentence. If convicted, she would join 69 other people on death row in that state.

“She is currently being held on a \$115,000 bond,” Morris Dees, an attorney for the Southern Poverty Law Center, said in a phone interview. “The attorney general of North Carolina wants to raise

it to \$150,000—\$100,000 on the murder charge and \$50,000 on the breaking-and-entering charge. The \$115,000 of bond money and property has been raised, and there will be a hearing before the judge soon to see if the \$150,000 can be reduced. We think she's going to be able to get out on bond, because we're confident the additional money can be raised if the amount is not reduced.”

Little's chances for a fair trial are nil. A defense motion to move the trial from Beaufort County has been denied. That means that few, if any, Blacks will be called to serve on the jury. It also means that the trial will take place where an atmosphere of sympathy for Alligood is being whipped up by the press. One newspaper, for instance, referred to Alligood as “dying in the line of duty.”

Add to all that the sexist attitudes and practices of the courts toward rape victims, plus the racist prerogatives accorded white men who rape Black women, and Little's plea of self-defense will undoubtedly fall on unsympathetic ears.

Joanne Little committed no crime. She was the victim of a sadistic, racist sexual assault. She should not be in jail or facing trial. She should be free.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



What Chicanos can learn from Cuba

LOS ANGELES—Raza Unida Party (RUP) leader José Angel Gutiérrez announced recently that a delegation of RUP activists from throughout the United States will make a 10-day visit to Cuba.

The Chicano delegation hopes to bring word of the Chicano movement to Cuba, and to learn from the experiences of the Cuban revolution.

This should be an educational trip because the Cuban revolution is rich in lessons for all victims of capitalism.

A country whose economic development was blocked by U.S. domination, Cuba suffered from widespread illiteracy, poor health, unemployment, and abysmal poverty. A small layer of the population lived well as the favored accomplices of the *yanquis*. Blacks suffered racial discrimination, and women suffered from sexist prejudices.

How were these evils eliminated?

The leaders of the revolution did not begin as Marxists, but because they were determined to satisfy the desires of the Cuban people for social justice, they found themselves on the road to socialism.

The revolutionary government broke the grip of U.S. finance capital on the island by expropriating all *yanqui* holdings. Large Cuban capitalist firms were nationalized as well.

The repressive national police and army were disbanded and replaced with a popular militia. Lands that had been allowed to remain fallow by their *yanqui* owners were redistributed in the most thorough land reform ever seen in Latin America.

When production for profit was ended and the economy was oriented instead to fill the needs of the Cuban people, unemployment was eliminated. There was more work to be done than people to do it! There were fields to be plowed and planted, and schools, housing, factories, and clinics to be built.

The placing of social needs over the profit motive also enabled the government to mobilize thousands of dedicated student volunteers to teach the rural population how to read and write. As a result, illiteracy has been almost totally wiped out. Medical students carried out mass vaccination programs on a scale never before seen.

Race discrimination, which in the old Cuba had kept Blacks at the bottom of society, has been eliminated. The government set the example by bringing Blacks into every level. Blacks were completely integrated into the work force. The government took decisive measures against racist prejudices in hiring and public services. Extensive

campaigns to educate white Cubans against racism have been carried out. Afro-Cuban culture has taken on new life.

In a similar manner, the revolutionary government has used its legal and moral weight to bring women out of their inferior position in Cuban society. Special programs have been established to train women for skilled jobs, professional work, and managerial positions considered “unladylike” in the old Cuba. Day-care centers have been instituted on a wide scale.

La raza in the United States suffers from many of the same problems of superexploitation faced by prerevolutionary Cuba.

A leadership in the *movimiento* that is determined to bring about social justice for *la raza* by any means necessary, I think, will come to the conclusion that the path to Chicano liberation, as in Cuba, is the path of socialism.

The Cuban people have set an example for us to follow. With the material riches that exist in this country, we can do even more. By eliminating capitalism here, we can not only bring about Chicano liberation. We will also be helping to set free the other peoples of Latin America, held in bondage today by the greedy tentacles of Uncle Sam.

Secret FBI memos reveal 'disruption' conspiracy against socialist professor

By HARRY RING

PHOENIX, Ariz.—The disclosure of secret FBI documents establishing that the agency secretly intervened to get Dr. Morris Starsky fired from Arizona State University (ASU) has had nationwide impact.

At a news conference organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) here on Jan. 29, Starsky provided the first detailed evidence from the agency's own files of how the FBI conducts its dirty tricks against dissident Americans.

This material constitutes a new, important body of evidence in the suit aimed at halting such FBI harassment that is being sponsored by the PRDF on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

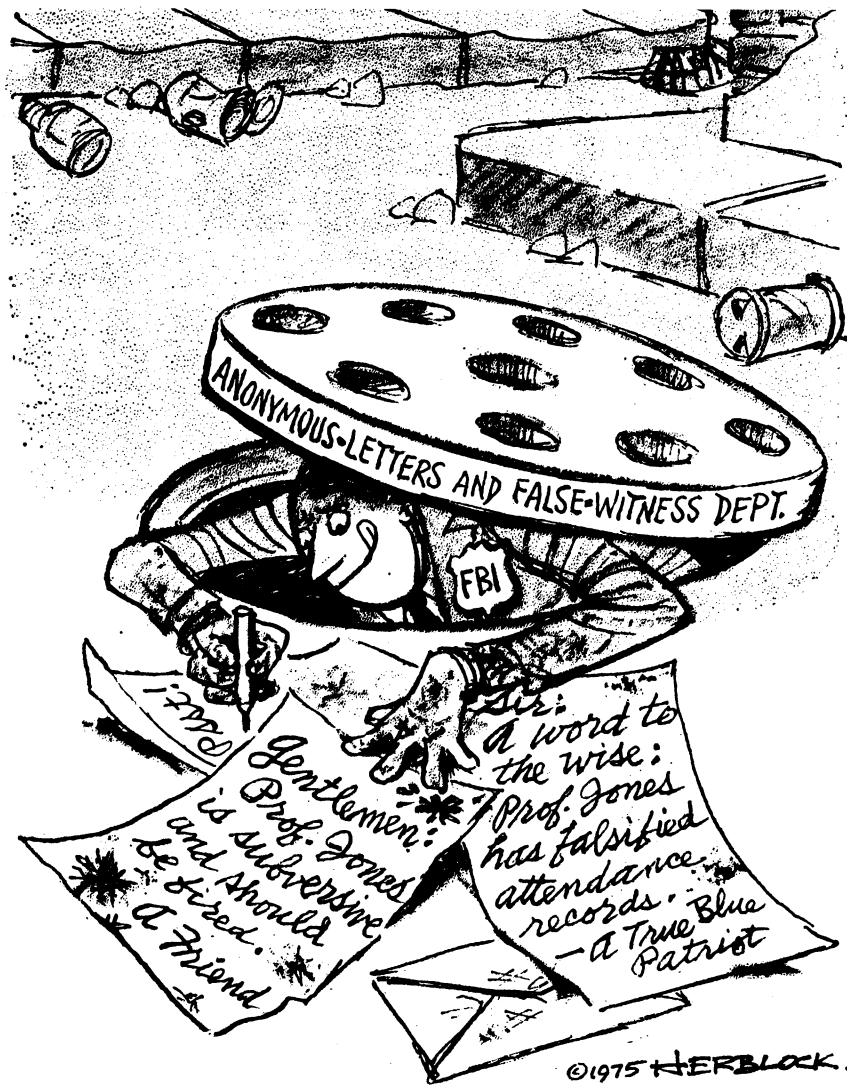
Reporters at the news conference were presented with copies of memoranda that had been exchanged between the FBI's Washington and Phoenix offices during a "counterintelligence" operation against Starsky, who is a member of the SWP.

Included was a copy of an "anonymous" letter sent by the Phoenix FBI to members of a faculty committee then considering charges against Starsky, as well as a memo from the office of J. Edgar Hoover approving the sending of the poison-pen letter.

The memoranda constitute the first publicly revealed working papers of the recently exposed FBI Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence program"), which was designed to intimidate, disrupt, and victimize radical and progressive groups and causes.

With public concern mounting rapidly about FBI and CIA activities, the media gave full play to the Starsky revelation. The night of the news conference the three major TV network news programs carried the story. Radio coverage was equally extensive, and newspapers throughout the country featured wire-service stories on the documents.

The widely reprinted *New York Times* story noted that the Starsky case "is the first documented specific incident of harassment of a private citizen by the counterintelligence program, known as Cointelpro."



Undercover work

The PRDF is financing and publicizing the suit against the federal government and various officials. The legal team handling the case is headed by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin.

The suit demands a halt to the persistent campaign of illegal activities against the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and those associated with them. In conjunction with the suit, a federal judge in New York recently ordered all government agencies, including the CIA and FBI, to turn over to him all their files concerning activity aimed at the two organizations.

Starsky had been ousted from the

ASU faculty in 1970 for his socialist and antiwar activities. In 1972 a federal district judge ruled his ouster unconstitutional and ordered him reinstated. A federal appeals court is now considering an appeal of the reinstatement order by the Arizona board of regents.

The now-revealed documents establish the insidious role of the FBI in the right-wing drive to get Starsky off the ASU campus.

The documents were obtained under the federal Freedom of Information Act by Starsky's Phoenix attorney, Alan Kyman. Kyman has represented Starsky since the original campus hearing, and he won the federal court

decision ordering Starsky reinstated.

One report to Washington from the Phoenix FBI reporting that the poison-pen letters had been sent to the members of the faculty committee boasted that, along with other allegations, the anonymous charges "greatly tarnished STARKSKY's reputation and standing in the academic community."

The contents of the anonymous letter, which asserted that he had threatened an individual (see documents on page 15), were described by Starsky as a "reprehensible slander." He said that he and members of the Phoenix YSA had visited a former member of the group to obtain the return of literature belonging to the YSA. There had been no threats of violence as asserted in the FBI letter.

The secret memoranda released to Starsky constitute only a part of the FBI dossier on him, and even those documents released are heavily censored. Yet they constitute a damning indictment of the FBI's secret-police mentality and methods.

The opening Phoenix-to-Washington memo states that "it is apparent that New Left organizations and activities in the Phoenix metropolitan area have received their inspiration and leadership almost exclusively from the members of the faculty in the Department of Philosophy at Arizona State University (ASU), chiefly Assistant Professor MORRIS J. STARKSKY. The most logical targets for potential counterintelligence action locally are therefore pretty obvious."

In the memo proposing that the smear letter be sent to the faculty committee, the local special agent in charge notes with apparent concern that Starsky was the faculty adviser to the YSA and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and that "local sources believe that he is the catalyst of meaningful New Left protests on the ASU campus and in the Greater Phoenix area."

The documents also confirm that it is not only the immediate target of the FBI's "counterintelligence" program whose rights are violated. The anonymous letter to the faculty com-

Continued on next page

Starsky documents evoke response in D.C.

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON—The senators and representatives charged with investigating illegal government spying have just been confronted with a new FBI scandal—a conspiracy approved in 1970 by J. Edgar Hoover himself to get socialist professor Morris Starsky fired from Arizona State University.

President Ford's press secretary, Ron Nessen, officially disavowed the slander campaign against Starsky. According to an article in the Jan. 30 *New York Times* by Nicholas Horrock, "Mr. Nessen told newsmen that although he could not vouch for or deny the accuracy [of Starsky's charges], 'I can say this President is not responsible for what may or may not have happened before . . . and has made very clear that he expects Government agencies to live up to standards of conduct he has spelled out.'"

Representative Don Edwards (D-Calif.), head of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Constitutional Rights, issued a strong statement against "Cointelpro"-type operations when asked about the Starsky revelations. Edwards's committee is scheduled to begin hearings on illegal FBI practices on Feb. 20.

Edwards denounced programs "where private citizens and private organizations, engaged in legal political activities, have been placed under surveillance, have had dossiers prepared about them, and indeed have been illegally disrupted and harassed by the F. B. I."

Times reporter Horrock wrote that "Mr. Edwards, whose subcommittee is investigating the harassment incident in which F. B. I. agents attempted to discredit a former Arizona State professor, Morris J. Starsky, has drawn a sharp difference between customary F. B. I. practices and the techniques used in 'Cointelpro.'"

According to the *Times*, "Among the matters now under [Edwards's] staff investigation are charges by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance that the tactics of disruption used in 'Cointelpro' are still

being used by the bureau under other guises."

" . . . Cathy Perkus, a spokesman for the Political Rights Defense Fund, said that the fund had received 'Cointelpro' documents that made it appear that the program had only been discontinued as a single operation under that name. . . ."

"Miss Perkus said the defense fund had amassed reports of some 50 incidents of harassment and disruption of groups and individuals that took place after the so-called 1971 cutoff date."

The first series of hearings by the Edwards committee will deal with FBI spying on members of Congress. At a later date the committee will take up illegal surveillance against radicals, according to committee staff counsel Alan Parker. Parker said the evidence from the Starsky case "was provided to us and certainly will become a part of what we're doing."

The renewed furor over FBI crimes has irked FBI chief Clarence Kelley, who has retaliated with public attacks on critics of FBI practices. At a Salva-

tion Army dinner Jan. 29, the top cop claimed that "record-keeping is not in itself an ominous thing, but it depends on the manner in which they are used." He also accused FBI critics of "opportunistic grandstanding and demagoguery on the issue of privacy."

Meanwhile, the newly created Senate select committee to investigate CIA and FBI spying has remained silent on the Starsky case. The attacks on Starsky clearly fall within the field of the committee's inquiry, however.

According to the resolution establishing the panel, it is to investigate "the extent, if any, to which illegal, improper or unethical activities were engaged in by any agency or by any persons, acting either individually or in combination with others, in carrying out any intelligence or surveillance activities by or on behalf of any agency of the Federal Government."

Most members of the committee contacted by *The Militant* refused to comment on the Starsky case, but an aide to Senator Gary Hart (D-Colo.) said, "I'm sure that'll crop up" in the course of the committee's deliberations.

...secret documents reveal conspiracy

Continued from preceding page

mittee, signed, "A concerned ASU alumnus," constituted a cynical effort to pressure and manipulate the members of the committee while they were weighing Starsky's case.

Fortunately, the FBI did not succeed in that particular effort. The faculty committee rejected the allegations against Starsky, finding there were no grounds for his dismissal. However, the board of regents then obtained Starsky's ouster by instructing the ASU president not to renew his contract. It has not been established whether the regents also received the FBI letter or had other contact with the agency.

On learning the source of the anonymous letter, Professor Ross Rice, who chaired the faculty committee, registered a sharp protest.

He told reporters, "Since the committee did not concern itself with hearsay, we put the letter aside and made our decision on the basis of the identifiable evidence."

He said that there was nothing at the time to indicate the source of the letters and declared that he considered the FBI action "a matter of shock and dismay."

According to the *Arizona Republic*, one of the FBI agents involved was Robert Gebhardt, now in Washington as an assistant to the FBI director. Where Starsky is concerned, Gebhardt's mind has apparently gone blank. The *Republic* reported that when queried on the matter of the letter, he responded, "I don't recall any of it."

At the news conference attorney Kymman said he considered the letter libelous. He also noted that it constituted an attempt to lead the faculty committee to arrive at a verdict on a basis other than the evidence submitted to it.

"If something like that were done in a court," the attorney said, "I'm certain it would be a criminal violation. I believe that this is analogous."

"I cannot help thinking what the situation would be if the roles were changed, if it were I or Professor Starsky who were responsible for sending such letters. I would probably be a roommate of Chuck Colson or some of his acquaintances. And I don't believe I would have been paroled or discharged from prison after four months."

Starsky told the assembled media, "The FBI activities were clearly intended to discredit me and, if possible, to destroy my academic career. This was done not because I was engaged in unlawful activity, but only because I was exercising my constitutional right to express dissident views—views the FBI did not like."

The disclosed memoranda also refute previous sworn FBI assertions on several counts.

In a response to interrogatories filed by attorneys for the SWP and YSA in the federal damage suit, Special Agent Hugh Mallet asserted that there was no need to respond to the plaintiffs' queries regarding the "COINTELPRO—New Left" program since, he said, it was not "applicable to either the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)."

According to this sworn statement, only operations carried out under the "Socialist Workers Party—Disruption Program" affected members of the SWP and the YSA.



Demonstrators gather at Arizona state capitol to protest 1970 invasion of Cambodia. Starsky's role in organizing such actions caused FBI to initiate slander campaign.

However, all the Starsky documents come under the "Cointelpro—New Left" classification.

Special Agent Mallet, who said he had been assigned to handle the "Socialist Workers Party—Disruption Program," also asserted in his sworn statement that "no activity in the program was implemented after March, 1970."

The Starsky memoranda, however, confirm that J. Edgar Hoover's office

formally sanctioned sending the anonymous letter on April 24, 1970, and that the Phoenix FBI reported back that the letters had been sent May 6 of that year.

At the news conference, Byron Ackerman of the PRDF called attention to these contradictions. He said that the Starsky memoranda "confirm that the FBI is still making false assertions, even under oath, in a continuing effort to cover its tracks."

Brainy G-men?

The following item appeared in the Jan. 29 Phoenix Gazette.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation leaves little to chance.

Take, for example, a memo from the Phoenix special agent in charge to the FBI director in Washington on April 7, 1970.

The memo asked authorization to send copies of an anonymous letter regarding self-proclaimed socialist Morris Starsky, to members of the Arizona State University faculty committee reviewing his status as an assistant professor of philosophy at the Tempe school.

Attached to the memo was a copy of the proposed letter with a heading, "Anonymous Letter to Members of the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, Arizona State University."

About two weeks later Washington fired back its okay, but stipulated that "prior to mailing, however, you should change the format in order to delete the caption 'Anonymous Letter to Members of the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, Arizona State University.'"

And the Phoenix office dutifully notified Washington on May 12, 1970, that it had mailed the letters and "the changes were made in the letters as suggested in referenced bureau letter. . . ."

Support suit against FBI

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is responsible for the latest revelations of FBI crimes against the civil liberties of the American people. The case of Dr. Morris Starsky has laid bare a hidden, illegal FBI attack on civil liberties and academic freedom. The *New York Times* called it "the first documented specific incident of harassment of a private citizen by the counterintelligence program, known as Co-intelpro."

The PRDF is currently preparing testimony based on these revelations to be given to congressional committees investigating FBI counterintelligence.

At the same time the PRDF will be continuing its day-to-day work of publicizing and raising funds for the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the government. This suit is designed to expose and put a stop to the pattern of illegal activity revealed in the Starsky case.

What can you do to help? Send

in the coupon below. Find out more about the suit. Send a contribution to the PRDF. Become a sponsor of the PRDF and get your union, school, or organization to support the case.

Send to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.
() Enclosed is \$_____ to help cover expenses.

() Please send more information.
() I am interested in having a PRDF speaker appear before my organization.

() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies of *A Challenge to the Watergate Crimes* (\$1 each, or 75 cents for five or more).

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Organization or School _____

AFT local hails Starsky free-speech fight

The following statement was made by Professor Roger Murray at the news conference for Morris Starsky. A member of the faculty at Arizona State University (ASU), Professor Murray represented Local 2050 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

Many of us in the ASU teachers federation have long felt that the Starsky firing was at bottom a political one. With today's news that hypothesis becomes more and more plausible.

One cannot charge motives finally. But if Dr. Starsky was a thorn in the regents' side, if he was outspoken in an unpopular political cause, why else would the regents set aside the recommendations of the board that reviewed his case, backed by the advice of then-president Newcomb?

After Watergate, it is not hard to understand how Starsky came to be



Militant/Harry Ring

Byron Ackerman of the Political Rights Defense Fund speaking at Starsky news conference.

sought out by federal agents apparently ready to use any means to harass and discredit people on their "enemies" list. Starsky spoke out, and saying anything makes you suspect to a jittery and unprincipled power elite.

This nation was, and in some ways still is, perilously close to losing its freedoms and fulfilling Orwell's prophecy of 1984-style totalitarianism.

The insidiousness of the Starsky harassment leaves one again shocked. What is incomprehensible is how those who fired Starsky, who had a chance to confirm for themselves the conclusion of the hearing, could have lent themselves to the cause of political repression, wittingly or not, since they could see for themselves that Starsky was only exercising his First Amendment rights.

Freedom of speech implies freedom

of speech without punishment or reprisal. We judge freedom of speech as the first and most important of our rights as citizens. We in the teachers union are especially convinced of the importance of the principle involved. Repression of free speech is intolerable to all Americans, and is especially so in its schools. That is why from the first, we worked to help see Starsky's case through the courts.

The Starsky sort of harassment and reprisal is hardly uncommon, as many teachers know. Basically, as we saw it, Professor Starsky lost his job for daring to say what he thought.

The AFT on campus wishes to thank Professor Starsky for his persistence and courage in helping us all to appreciate the fact that we must all be persistent if we are to preserve our freedoms.

Memos target Starsky for slander drive

The following are reproductions of excerpts from the secret FBI documents released to the media by Morris Starsky.

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: 5/31/68

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (b) (7)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet to Albany, 5/10/68, copies to all offices.

On the basis of developments to date, it is apparent that New Left organizations and activities in the Phoenix metropolitan area have received their inspiration and leadership almost exclusively from the members of the faculty in the Department of Philosophy at Arizona State University (ASU), chiefly Assistant Professor MORRIS J. STARSKY. The most logical targets for potential counterintelligence action locally are therefore pretty obvious.

STARSKY is presently the subject of active investigation in the Selective Service category. (b) (7) (b) (6) Background information which is thus developed may prove useful for counterintelligence purposes. (b) (7) (b) (6)

STARSKY has already received considerable publicity in Phoenix papers in connection with his anti-war and anti-draft activities. (b) (6) This suggests an avenue of counterintelligence approach as well as that offered by reliable and cooperative contacts in the news media.

The remainder of this 3 page communication does not concern Morris Starsky.

(b) (7)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (b) (7) DATE: 10/1/68

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (b) (7)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Remylet, 7/1/68.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

MORRIS J. STARSKY, by his actions, has continued to spotlight himself as a target for counterintelligence action. He and his wife were both named as presidential electors by and for the Socialist Workers Party when the SWP in August, 1968, gained a place on the ballot in Arizona. In addition they have signed themselves as treasurer and secretary respectively of the Arizona SWP. Professor STARSKY's status at Arizona State University may be affected by the outcome of his pending trial on charges of disturbing the peace. He is alleged to have used violent, abusive and obscene language against the Assistant Managing Director of Gammage Auditorium at ASU during memorial services for MARTIN LUTHER KING last April. Trial is now scheduled for 10/8/68 in Justice Court, Tempe, Arizona.

A recommendation for counterintelligence action as to STARSKY will be submitted by separate letter.

The remainder of this 2 page communication does not concern Morris Starsky.

FBI

Date: 4/7/70

Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (b) (7)

FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (b) (7)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Phoenix lets, 1/6/69 and 3/31/70.

Enclosed herewith for the consideration of the Bureau are six copies of an anonymous letter being suggested for mailing to five faculty members at Arizona State University (ASU) hearing charges against Professor MORRIS J. STARSKY, a (b) (7) in the Phoenix Division.

(b) (7) Referenced Phoenix letters commented on the professional problems of MORRIS J. STARSKY, Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona and on the possibility of utilizing counterintelligence action concerning STARSKY. (b) (7) STARSKY is the subject of a hearing which resumed on 4/6/70 before the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure at ASU. This committee is weighing several charges made against STARSKY and recurring news reports have stressed that the Arizona State Legislature and the Arizona Board of Regents both are anxious that STARSKY not be retained on the faculty at ASU. There has been some faculty and student support developed for STARSKY at the ASU campus. He is the faculty advisor for the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the

(b) (7)

Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) and local sources believe that he is the catalyst of meaningful New Left protests on the ASU campus and in the Greater Phoenix area.

(b) (6) (b) (7)

(b) (7)

On 4/6/70, advised on 4/6/70, that he had learned that during the course of a meeting of the SMC on the ASU campus on 4/2/70, a comment was made that MURPHY had attempted suicide.

The records of the Tempe PD reveal that a complaint was filed with that department by DAVID JAMES MURPHY, Apartment #8, 122 South Ash, Tempe, at 3:45 A. M., 4/5/70. The complaint charged "Disturbing the Peace" and "Threat" against MORRIS J. STARSKY and his spouse, PAMELA STARSKY, 8029 East Granada, Scottsdale, JAMES TAYLOR ROWLAND, 1010 East Lemon, Tempe and MICHAEL HOWARD, 311 West McDowell, Phoenix. The police report reveals that MURPHY had contacted the PD and alleged that he had retained in his apartment a box of YSA literature belonging

to MORRIS STARSKY because he was owed approximately \$70.00 by STARSKY for unpaid telephone bills. On 4/1/70, MURPHY said he was now residing at the Baptist Hospital, Scottsdale, and STARSKY returned to his apartment and removed the literature.

On 4/4/70, MURPHY picked up a similar box of literature at YSA Headquarters, 1010 East Lemon, Tempe, which is also the residence of ROWLAND. MURPHY claimed that he had free access to the YSA Headquarters.

-2-

(b) (7)

The police report continued that at approximately 1:35 A. M., 4/5/70, MURPHY was awakened at his apartment. He recognized the voice of Mrs. PAMELA STARSKY and HOWARD and opened the door. Both Mrs. STARSKY and HOWARD entered the apartment accompanied by DAVID MURPHY. MURPHY said that he sat down and both HOWARD and ROWLAND related that they wanted the material returned to them which they claimed was worth \$175.00. MURPHY said that he asked for the money which was owed to him. These three individuals were very loud and abusive at MURPHY. In a short time MORRIS STARSKY entered the apartment and told MURPHY, "It's very simple, DAVID, you either give us the stuff or these two guys work you over." MURPHY said he replied, "Do you want that, MORRIS?" STARSKY replied, "No, not what I want but that's the way it has to be." Then he left the apartment. MURPHY told the police officers that he was scared and intimidated by MORRIS STARSKY and the others due to their loud and threatening behavior and by the way Mrs. STARSKY yelled at him. He said that he released to them the YSA literature and they left the area. He told the police that he wished to sign complaints against the above four individuals on Disturbing the Peace.

At 5:00 P. M. on 4/5/70, the Tempe PD received a call from MURPHY stating that he wished no further action by the police regarding his complaint. He said he had discussed the matter with the persons involved and an agreement was reached and no further action was desired.

(b) (7), (b) (6)

(b) (7) advised that the episode at MURPHY'S apartment has become known to the "New Left" community on the ASU campus. (b) (7) who was an SDS leader at ASU in 1969-1970 and a supporter of STARSKY, contacted an asking the statement that STARSKY should be fired because of such incidents.

-3-

(b) (7)

Bureau approval is requested to mail a copy of the enclosed anonymous letter to each member of the faculty committee which is hearing the charges against STARSKY. This committee is sitting in the Law School on the ASU campus and is composed of the following faculty members:

1. Dr. ROSS R. RICE, Chairman.
2. JOHN A. COCHRAN
3. RICHARD W. EFFLAND
4. JOHN P. DECKER
5. WALLACE ADAMS, Chairman of the Faculty Assembly.

-4-

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND TENURE ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Dear Sir:

It seems appropriate that you should be informed of one of the most recent activities of Morris J. Starsky. Starsky learned of a suicide attempt by one of his close campus co-workers, David Murphy. Feeling that Murphy could no longer be trusted as a member of the campus socialist group, Starsky demanded that Murphy return all literature and other materials belonging to the socialist group. Murphy refused to give Starsky a quantity of socialist literature in his possession until Starsky would pay him a sum slightly in excess of \$50 which was owed for telephone calls charged by Starsky to Murphy's telephone. Morris Starsky was indignant at Murphy's independent attitude and at 2:00 A. M. on April 5, 1970 he, accompanied by his wife Pamela and two young male associates, invaded Murphy's apartment and under threat demanded return of the socialist literature. When Murphy refused unless Starsky paid the phone bill, Starsky told him that his two associates would beat him unmercifully. Murphy, convalescing from a recent hospital stay, was under great fear of bodily harm or death and surrendered the literature.

I find this episode interesting. Where did Starsky learn of the effectiveness of smashing into a person's home at 2:00 A. M.? Also, of utilizing four persons to threaten the health or life of someone? Is this an example of academic socialism? Should the ASU student body enjoy the guidance of such an instructor? It seems to me that this type of activity is something that Hitler or Beria could accept with pride. If Starsky did not enjoy the prestige and sanctuary of his position he would be properly punished for such a totalitarian venture. Unfortunately, Murphy is too terrified to testify against Starsky. This is another example of Starsky's brand of academic socialism.

/s/ A concerned ASU alumnus

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, PHOENIX (b) (7)

(b) (7)

Director, FBI (b) (7)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurintel 4/4/70.

Authority is granted to make the above mailings as suggested in referenced urtel. These letters may be sent to these recipients listed in that communication.

Prior to mailing, however, you should check the format in order to delete the caption "Anonymous Letter to Members of the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, Arizona State University."

Closely follow this matter and keep the Bureau advised of results.

(b) (5)



Militant/Harry Ring

Starsky speaks to Phoenix media about FBI harassment.

Parents mobilize for N.Y. school board election

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

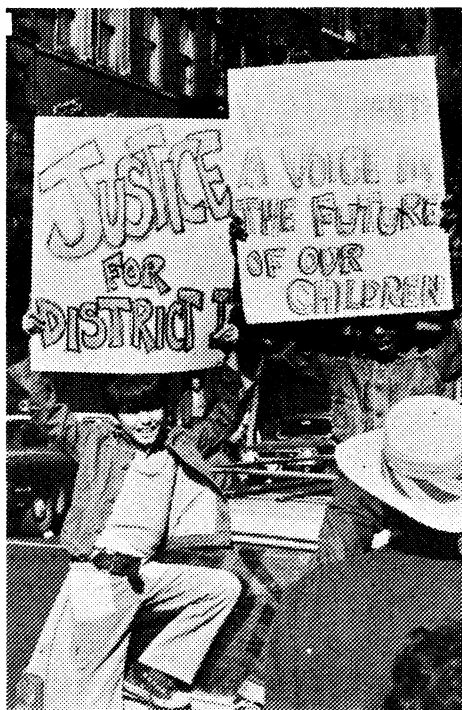
NEW YORK — Parents in Manhattan's School District 1 are currently selecting candidates to run on the Por los Niños/Save the Children slate. The new community school board election will be held May 6.

To interest people in applying to be candidates, thousands of leaflets and letters were distributed throughout New York's Lower East Side. The entire community was urged to attend a "candidates' night" to interview those seeking places on the community slate.

On Sunday, Jan. 19, candidate hopefuls appeared at a large community meeting to discuss where they stand on the crucial issues facing parents and children in District 1. Final screening is being done by the steering committee of the campaign, the District 1 Parents' Council.

The campaign is opening at a time of unprecedented racist attacks against Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese in District 1. In recent months five parent-chosen principals have been removed from their schools; the Puerto Rican superintendent, Luis Fuentes, has been suspended; bilingual teachers and paraprofessionals have been fired; and vital community school programs have been sabotaged.

These actions have been carried out



Militant/Ken Shilman

District 1 students demonstrating during 1973 school boycott.

by the current school board majority of five, backed by the president of New York's United Federation of Teachers, Albert Shanker.

Each person being screened for one of the nine positions on the Por los

Niños/Save the Children slate is being asked if they will stand by the strong community-control program of the campaign.

This program was developed in public meetings of the community. Among its 13 points are:

- "All principals, assistant principals, and supervisory and district personnel who were screened by the parents and have been illegally fired because parents were not consulted by the present board must be reinstated. The community superintendent, who was screened and recommended by the parents and supports the right of parents to remove him, must also be reinstated. No personnel may be removed without the recommendation and consent of the parents' screening committees.

- "Budget cuts cannot be tolerated in our district. There must be enough to provide for the educational needs of the children of this district. The board should be active in ensuring adequate funds to meet the needs of our children as well as in seeking new sources of funding.

- "Bilingual, Black studies, and multicultural education should be available to all children. In such programs every child should have the right to learn in the child's dominant lan-

guage. All children have the right to learn about their own culture. The composition of the teachers and paraprofessionals in these programs should reflect the cultural background and language of these children. Existing programs that have been cut by the present board should be restored and further expanded.

- "All manifestations of racism must be eliminated from our schools. This means striving for staff that more closely reflects the racial and ethnic balance of our school community and, the elimination of racist textbooks, as well as the "tracking system," where Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese children of poorer families are railroaded into curricula that train them only for nonprofessional, unskilled, and low-paying jobs.

- "Discrimination on the basis of sex must be eliminated for adults as well as for children. All school programs must be open to both sexes on an equal basis, and textbooks and curricula should reflect equal respect and opportunity for women and men.

- "Job security of paraprofessionals, bilingual and Black studies teachers, and community workers in the schools should be protected by including them in the permanent (tax levy) education-

Continued on page 22

CUNY students, faculty: 'Stop the cutbacks!'

By JACK LIEBERMAN

NEW YORK — More than 250 students and faculty from the City University of New York (CUNY) demonstrated at the board of higher education meeting here Jan. 27, protesting a \$17-million cut in the university budget.

The demonstration was cosponsored by the University Student Senate (USS), a city-wide body of student government representatives, and the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), a union representing the CUNY faculty. The action was the latest of a series of protest actions against the cutbacks. In December 2,000 students demonstrated at City Hall and rallies and protest meetings have occurred at many of the more than 20 CUNY campuses located throughout the city.

Because of the cuts, hundreds of university employees have been fired, course offerings reduced, and many campus services severely curtailed. Most hard hit by these cuts are CUNY's already inadequate financial aid and remedial programs, which serve many Black and Puerto Rican students who are able to attend CUNY

thanks to its open admissions policy.

Because of the cuts, many of these students may be forced to leave school. Both the USS and the PSC see these cuts as an attempt by the city government to lay the groundwork for eliminating CUNY's open admissions and free tuition policy. The government has been threatening for several years to eliminate open admissions, and the cutbacks seriously undermine the policy.

This general sentiment was reflected on the spirited picket line the demonstrators held before entering the board of education meeting. "No cuts! No way! Open admissions are here to stay!" was one of the most popular chants among the demonstrators. After entering the meeting the students demanded the right to address the board with their demands.

The students demanded that the board refuse to implement any further cuts and that it allocate funding to compensate for the cuts that have already been implemented. The students also called for more state funds for CUNY, and demanded that the board



American Teacher

Belle Zeller, president of Professional Staff Congress, speaks at rally.

make public a specific listing of the cuts that have been implemented. Thus far the specific areas being cut have been kept secret, with only the total figure being made public.

The board refused to respond to any of these demands. After hearing several representatives of the PSC and several student activists, the board adjourned the meeting without even taking a vote on the proposals that the students and faculty raised.

However, the struggle is not over. As Jay Hershenson, chairperson of the USS, told the board, "We want to make it clear that CUNY students and faculty find these cuts unacceptable."

"We intend to go back to our campuses and organize the thousands of our fellow students who are being hurt by these cuts," Hershenson added.

On Monday, Feb. 17, a CUNY conference will be held at Hunter College. The conference will plan further actions against the cutbacks. For more information on the conference contact USS at 430 E. 80 St., or call (212) 794-5546.

Events mark 'Woman's Evolution' publication

By JON BRITTON

On March 9, the day after International Women's Day, Pathfinder Press will host a program and reception in New York City to mark the publication of *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* by Evelyn Reed. The celebration and tribute will culminate a seven-city speaking tour by the author.

The theme of the March 9 program is "Women's Part in History." The gathering will be addressed by Reed, a leading participant in the women's liberation movement and a veteran socialist. Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation* has been published in eight languages and used in more than 250 women's studies classes. Other speakers will include Ana Rivera Lassén, editor of *El Tacón de la Chancleta*,



Militant/Flax Hermes

REED: On seven-city tour

a Puerto Rican feminist publication; Joan Mellen, film critic and author of *Women and Their Sexuality in the New Film*; abortion-rights leader Dr. Barbara Roberts; and playwright Myrna Lamb.

Reed's tour had an auspicious beginning in Pittsburgh, where she was the featured speaker at the Jan. 29 session of the Women's Cultural Festival 1975, a week-long series of lectures, panels, and workshops at the University of Pittsburgh. One hundred fifty people attended Reed's lecture.

A lively question-and-answer period followed, with a great deal of discussion on the relationship between feminism and socialism. A number of women expressed interest in attending classes organized by the Young So-

cialist Alliance. Eighteen copies of Reed's new book were sold.

Reed's speaking tour will also take her to Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Palo Alto, and New York during February and March.

Two especially significant West Coast events will be a Feb. 21 meeting for Reed at the University of California at Berkeley, and a panel featuring Reed and others on "Women's Role in History" on March 1 in Los Angeles.

The March 9 celebration in New York will take place at the New York University Law School, Tishman Auditorium. The program will begin at 3 p.m. and will be followed by a reception.

Dilemma at Wash. 'Star-News'

Are pay cuts the answer to layoffs?

By FRANK LOVELL

The question at the *Star-News*, the afternoon daily in Washington, D. C., is whether workers should take a pay cut in order to keep their employer in business when he says the business is failing.

This question has been faced by other workers before and is coming up more and more these days.

Several years ago when the U. S. economy was still expanding and auto sales booming, workers at the old Studebaker plant in South Bend, Ind., were asked to work for less than the prevailing standard in the auto industry.

After repeated urging and a good deal of chicanery by officials of the United Auto Workers, the Studebaker local voted to accept the lower wages. This amounted to a windfall of several hundred million dollars for Studebaker stockholders. But it did not prevent Studebaker from going out of business, and it wasn't long before the underpaid workers were out of a job.

At the *Star-News* a small group of workers is involved, 560 reporters and editorial employees, out of a total work force numbering about 1,750 at the paper.

The owners claim a loss of \$15.5-million in the past four years, nearly \$5-million in 1973. In connection with the newspaper they also own several radio and television stations. Because of the alleged financial losses, the *Star-News* management threatened to lay off about 100 in the editorial department.

'Share the misery'

At this point the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild submitted a plan to save these jobs, a four-day workweek at four days' pay. A kind of "share the misery" plan.

Management immediately accepted the plan and the *Star-News* unit of the Guild voted for it last December, 347 to 44. It became effective after Christmas. Like a continuous gift certificate it can be cashed in after the giving season—week after week after week. . . .

Philip Kadis, head of the *Star-News* Guild unit, called the plan "a bold new venture in the newspaper industry and in newspaper trade unionism."

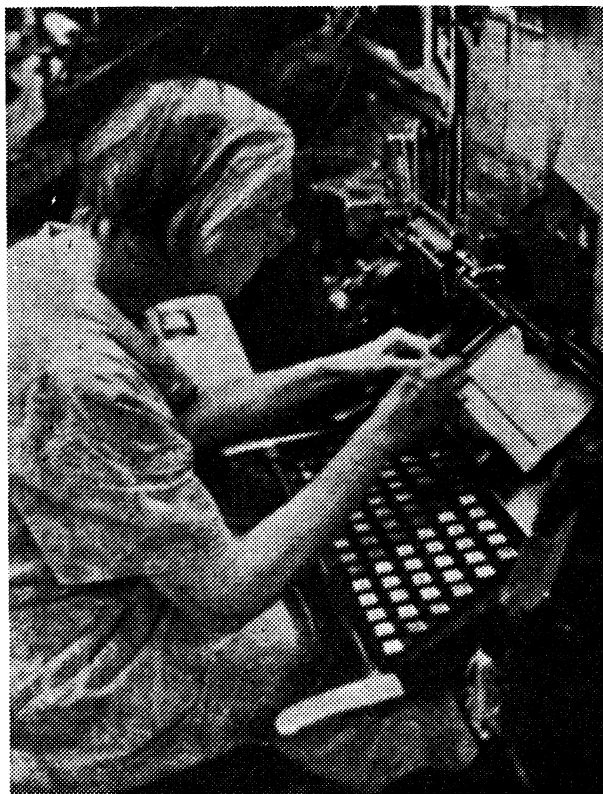
Joe Allbritton, the Texas banker who bought controlling interest in the newspaper and its radio-TV system last year, used more restrained language. "We have a great staff," he said, "and with some additional changes yet to be made I am confident we will be well on our way toward a vastly improved product and profitability."

Allbritton did not specify the "additional changes yet to be made." That announcement will come soon enough.

There is nothing new in this plan as it unfolds, even under the sobriquet "bold new venture."

The editorial staff was presented with a cruel choice: vote either to cast out about 100 fellow workers or to take a 20 percent pay cut.

Their overwhelming vote to stick together and protect those who are the last hired and lowest-paid is a show of solidarity that must be maintained to protect all of them against further at-



Transition from traditional Linotype typesetting . . .

tacks by the publisher—which are coming. But they will need to ask themselves if there are no alternatives to docile acceptance of constant reduction in their standard of living.

The present weekly wage of these workers is above average. With a scheduled cost-of-living adjustment the minimum pay for reporters and advertising employees under the Guild contract is \$430 for a five-day week. This will be cut to \$344 under the four-day plan.

It may be some consolation to *Star-News* reporters to remind themselves that their income remains above average, but the bill collectors will remind them that it is not enough to meet their obligations.

No doubt this helps account for their mixed reaction to the public statement of their Guild leader when he announced the "bold new venture." Kadis also said that "the stunningly large vote in favor of the four-day week is proof that our members are confident they can accomplish in four days what others need five days to do."

In other words, the four-day week is not only a pay cut. It is also a built-in speedup, requiring the same production in four days that previously took five.

Attacks won't stop

The process that has been started at the *Star-News* against the editorial staff will not stop there. The reference by owner Allbritton to "additional changes yet to be made" applies to the other 1,200 workers at the paper. Will they be threatened with layoffs? And will they be given the choice to work a four-day week and take a 20 percent pay cut?

Most of these workers are not as highly paid as the editorial staff. Some get hardly enough to live on. What will their unions do to hold these jobs and protect the standard of living of these workers?

These are questions that plague millions of workers today as the economic crisis deepens. It is not confined to the Washington *Star-News*, nor to the publishing industry. All industries are hit, and everywhere workers are losing their jobs.

What is happening at the *Star-News* is of special interest to newspaper reporters because they know that they may be next in line wherever they work. Even before the current economic slump, thousands of jobs in the newspaper industry were being threatened by the introduction of new technology, especially computerized typesetting.

The owner of the *Star-News*, though, is not laying off workers either because of production cutbacks or because of new printing processes that eliminate jobs. The same work has to be done, but he aims to get it done in fewer hours with a reduced payroll. That puts money in his pocket, taken from the weekly paychecks of the workers.

His problem, so he says, is "declining profits" or "failing finances," which must be recouped at the expense of the workers.

It may be that the *Star-News* cannot compete

with the *Washington Post*. Since one is the morning paper and the other the afternoon, they are not competitors in a strict sense. But the employing class may be unwilling to sustain through advertising and other subsidies two daily papers in the nation's capital.

If this is so, the *Star-News* is no longer a viable profit-making enterprise in the capitalist economic structure, in which case it will fold as many other newspapers in this country have.

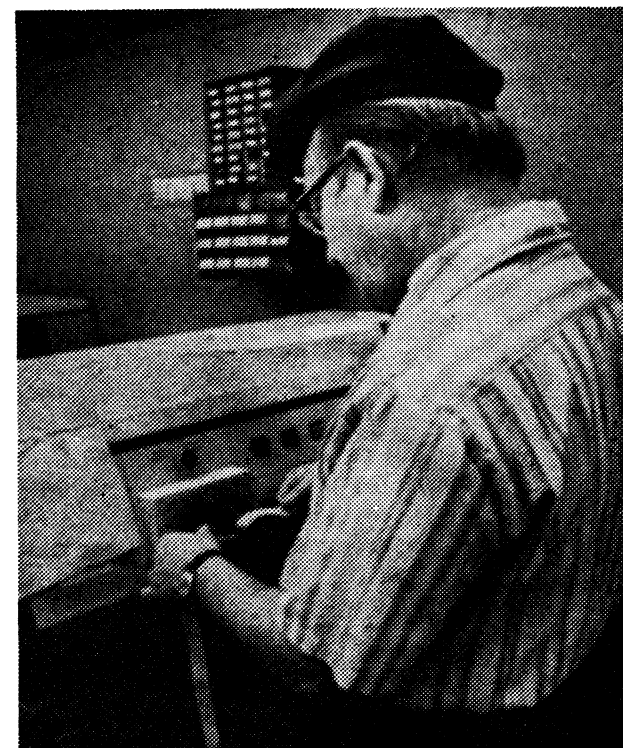
One thing is certain—the workers cannot afford to subsidize the paper out of their wages in order to guarantee profits for the owners. This will only prolong the agony.

There is an alternative. The newspaper unions at the *Star-News* can notify Allbritton that there will be no layoffs and no reduction in pay. He might try to write up the discharge slips anyway, or announce that he intends to hire nonunion labor at lower wages.

If it comes to that, the newspaper unions have the power to keep scab labor away and keep the paper closed down until Allbritton is brought to terms.

There is no reason why the newspaper unions should accept the claims of management that the *Star-News* is "financially troubled." Often such "troubles" result from mismanagement or (more likely) financial manipulation and book juggling. The unions can demand to open up the books of the corporation to find out for themselves where the money is going.

It is unlikely that banker Joe Allbritton would have sunk \$25-million into this newspaper less than a year ago if it were a losing enterprise. It is possible that money from the newspaper is being channeled into the radio and TV accounts that are part of the same operation, making it appear as if the newspaper is losing vast amounts.



. . . to computerized photocomposing machines is major threat to jobs in newspaper trades.

It may be that Allbritton is paying his own bank high interest rates on short-term loans to his "failing" newspaper. Such trick bookkeeping and interest shakedowns are common practice in banking and industry.

Two opposing interests

The *Star-News* has a daily circulation of about 380,000, not a sign it is about to go out of business. If the present owners can't make a go of a newspaper with that circulation, then probably some other capitalist investor will want to try it.

But in any case the unions have no need to offer advice to the owners of industry about how to make bigger profits, their *only* interest in production. Once the unions start down that road, the employers might well argue that they could become more financially sound if the unions would fold up entirely and if all the workers would accept starvation wages. It would be perfectly logical.

There are two opposing interests involved, and the task and purpose of the union is to protect its members. To be able to do so, especially when workers' jobs are at stake, the unions would do well to begin uncovering the real story of how these businesses are operated.



NEWSPAPER OWNER ALLBRITTON: Sees wage cut as road to 'vastly improved profitability.'

U.S. threatens escalation

Ford demands more arms for Saigon

From Intercontinental Press

By ERNEST HARSCH

Despite widespread opposition, Ford asked Congress on January 28 to appropriate an additional \$300 million in military aid for Saigon and \$222 million more for Phnompenh. He also called for a lifting of the \$377 million ceiling on overall assistance to the Lon Nol regime. This would enable Washington to supply its Cambodian puppet with more aid through the so-called Food for Peace Program.

Congress had originally authorized \$1 billion in military aid to Saigon for fiscal year 1974, but limited actual appropriations to \$700 million. Ford's request for the \$300 million supplement was to cover the period through June of this year. In addition, Saigon is scheduled to receive \$400 million in "economic" aid from Washington this year.

Since the conclusion of the January 1973 "cease-fire," the U.S. Congress has so far authorized more than \$6 billion in U.S. military and economic aid to the regimes in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, according to figures released by Representative Les Aspin.

U.S. 'investment'

Ford declared that the additional \$300 million would not cover all the needs of Saigon's forces. Instead it was the "minimum needed to prevent serious reversals by providing the South Vietnamese with the urgent supplies required for their self-defense against the current level of North Vietnamese attacks." He termed it "an investment."

Other government officials joined this chorus. According to the January 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said at a recent news conference, "It would be a serious error on the part of the U.S., and I believe a serious moral lapse, for us to contemplate the semi-abandonment of an ally by failure to provide them with the appropriate financial resources."

Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller termed the \$300 million to Saigon

CHITZ IS MOORE'S
THE DENVER POST



'Anyone care to give again to Vietnam. . . ?'

as "essential" on January 26. He claimed that Saigon's "not having enough strength" had encouraged more fighting.

Dictator Thieu added his voice during a January 27 interview with *Washington Post* correspondent Philip A. McCombs. He said he wanted to "impress on the American people and the American Congress that we badly need their support . . . to resist Communist aggression and the takeover of South Vietnam." He declared: "I won't give up! We won't give up! Not President Thieu!"

Phantom 'offensive'

Ford's request for more war funds followed a concerted White House campaign to convince the U.S. population that Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam had embarked on an "offensive" against Saigon and that they were

responsible for the breakdown of the "cease-fire" agreement.

Trying to add some credence to its charges, Washington released documents January 30 that claimed Hanoi was moving from one to two army divisions to South Vietnam.

The major bourgeois newspapers in the United States also took up this tune. Despite a qualifier that there were violations of the "cease-fire" agreements on both sides, an editorial in the January 25 *New York Times* claimed that "the current violations by North Vietnamese forces in the South are the most serious, on a military scale, that have yet taken place." The *Washington Post*, in a January 28 editorial, stated, "It would be wrong, in our judgment, for Congress to enforce a one-sided cease-fire by denying the South Vietnamese adequate means of self-defense."

The hypocrisy of Washington's charges of "Communist aggression"

becomes clear when Thieu's record is examined. Anthony Lewis pointed out in the January 16 *New York Times*, "The justification for intensified American intervention is that the Communists have upset the peace agreement made two years ago. But the evidence is rather the other way on initial responsibility for the breakdown of the truce."

Lewis then quoted an article by Maynard Parker in the current issue of the quarterly *Foreign Affairs*: "Almost from the moment the agreement was signed, President Thieu took to the offensive in an attempt to eradicate the Communist ink spots [areas controlled by the liberation forces]. . . . The second phase, which began on Jan. 4, 1974, with a speech by Thieu ordering the Army 'to hit them in their base areas' and ended in May, 1974, resulted in a marked increase in large-scale offensive operations. . . ." On

Continued on page 22

Wyoming cops attack United Mine Workers

By JACK MARSH

DENVER—Violence erupted Jan. 20 at the Rosebud coal mine in Hanna, Wyo., when police attacked a picket line set up by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

In a scene reminiscent of union-busting drives decades ago, state police fired their weapons into the air and ordered the miners to lie face down on the ground or be shot.

Forty-four pickets were arrested and held in the Wyoming State Prison for 24 hours.

A court injunction limits the number of pickets to four, a ruling that the UMWA plans to appeal.

Eighteen months ago the 150 miners at Rosebud voted out the Operating Engineers as their bargaining agent and voted in the UMWA. Rosebud was not covered by the UMWA contract negotiated at the end of last year, though, since it is a strip mine. An extension was negotiated to work out a contract to cover the surface miners.

When the extension expired Jan. 13, the UMWA organized picket lines at

Rosebud and two other strip mines—Big Horn mine in Wyoming and Decker mine in Montana. All three are owned by Peter Kiewit Company.

Kiewit has refused to recognize the UMWA as the bargaining agent at Rosebud. The Big Horn miners are represented by the Operating Engineers and the Decker miners by the Progressive Miners Union of America (AFL-CIO), both of which are continuing to work.

Kiewit is determined to keep all three mines operating and to break the strike at Rosebud. With the help of Wyoming Democratic Governor Edward Herschler, state police, SWAT (Special Weapons Attack Team), National Guard, and county sheriffs, Kiewit has so far been able to keep the mine operating.

Rosebud miners have been threatened with firing if they do not report to work. Some have even been picked up by police at their homes, taken to the mine, and ordered to work.

Negotiations are continuing in the "neutral" zone of Billings, Mont., away from the mines. The dispute now centers on wage increases and the UMWA's demand that when a company with a UMWA contract opens a new mine, it must open it under union contract as well.

The antiunion attack by Kiewit is especially significant in the context of the government's and energy trust's all-out drive to exploit energy resources in the West.

Jim Marketti, Western Regional Director of Organizing for the UMWA, told *The Militant* that the government and corporations hope to mine Western coal with nonunion or company-union workers.

"They don't want the wages or safety conditions, let alone environmental and reclamation demands that the UMWA demands," he said.

"If there would be a miners' strike in the Eastern fields organized by the UMWA," Marketti continued, "then the energy emperors envision the Western coal region being able to produce their industrial and power needs, and there would be a lever to break the strike."

Indian tribes are also worried about the effect of the strip mines, since vast tracts of land slated for mining are on Indian reservations. Indians on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming began a conference Jan. 29 to discuss this issue, and invited a UMWA representative to participate.

Marketti said he believes that the Indians affected must have some control over the strip mines.



Strip-mined land in Montana. United Mine Workers' demands for reclamation are one reason coal barons seek to keep union out.

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 14, 1975

CP preaches confidence in armed forces

Portugal: Behind the crisis over trade-union 'unity'

By Gerry Foley

The third major crisis of the Portuguese popular front regime seemed to have ended on January 20 when the cabinet approved in principle a law to enforce national "trade-union unity." The measure will ban the formation of rival federations outside the Stalinist-controlled Intersindical.

The Socialist party and the liberal-bourgeois Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—People's Democratic party) had threatened to leave the government if the proposed law was accepted. Apparently they backed down. The decisive factor was support for the bill by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), the military lodge that dominates the government.

"Because of the AFM-Communist alliance on the issue," Geoffrey Godsell wrote in the January 21 *Christian Science Monitor*, "the Socialists' battle is an uphill one; but the Socialist Ministers are reluctant to resign from the Cabinet in protest lest this leave the field open and unimpeded to the Communists."

At the same time as it decided to impose a united structure on the trade-union movement, the MFA felt it necessary to reaffirm its intention to go ahead with the elections to the Constituent Assembly scheduled for the spring. Fears had been expressed by the SP in particular that a decision by a government elected by no one to establish a state-regulated national union federation had a logic that ran contrary to freedom of association and thus to the free play of parliamentary democracy.

In its January 18 issue, *Expresso* commented: "From the single union to the single party, the distance may be a short one." The resemblance of this kind of government regulation to the corporatist structures of the Salazarist regime no doubt helped to spark a strong reaction from Portuguese liberals.

The SP and the PPD, along with their allies, obviously had their own conservative, bureaucratic interests to defend. But what lay at the heart of the struggle over the trade-union bill, really, was the Bonapartist nature of the MFA, and the decision of the CP to base its hopes on an alliance with a "progressive" military junta.

Such a policy not only fits in with the CP's bureaucratic method of operating. In the difficult process of capitalist readjustment in Portugal, with a potentially explosive ferment among the workers and poor masses, this line reflects the need felt by the ruling class and, logically, by the forces in the workers movement committed to

a class-collaborationist program, for an unassailable arbiter standing "above" the class struggle.

This need is felt in a particularly acute way in pro-Moscow Stalinist circles, where the argument has often been expressed that it was a lack of "discipline" on the part of the Chilean Communist party's coalition partners, especially the left wing of the Socialist party, that "provoked" the military coup against Allende.

The SP, as such, is no less committed to class collaborationism than the Stalinists. But as a loosely organized parliamentary party embracing many tendencies, it would find it hard to operate within the framework of Bonapartist "guided democracy."

It's Easy When You've Got Rich Friends

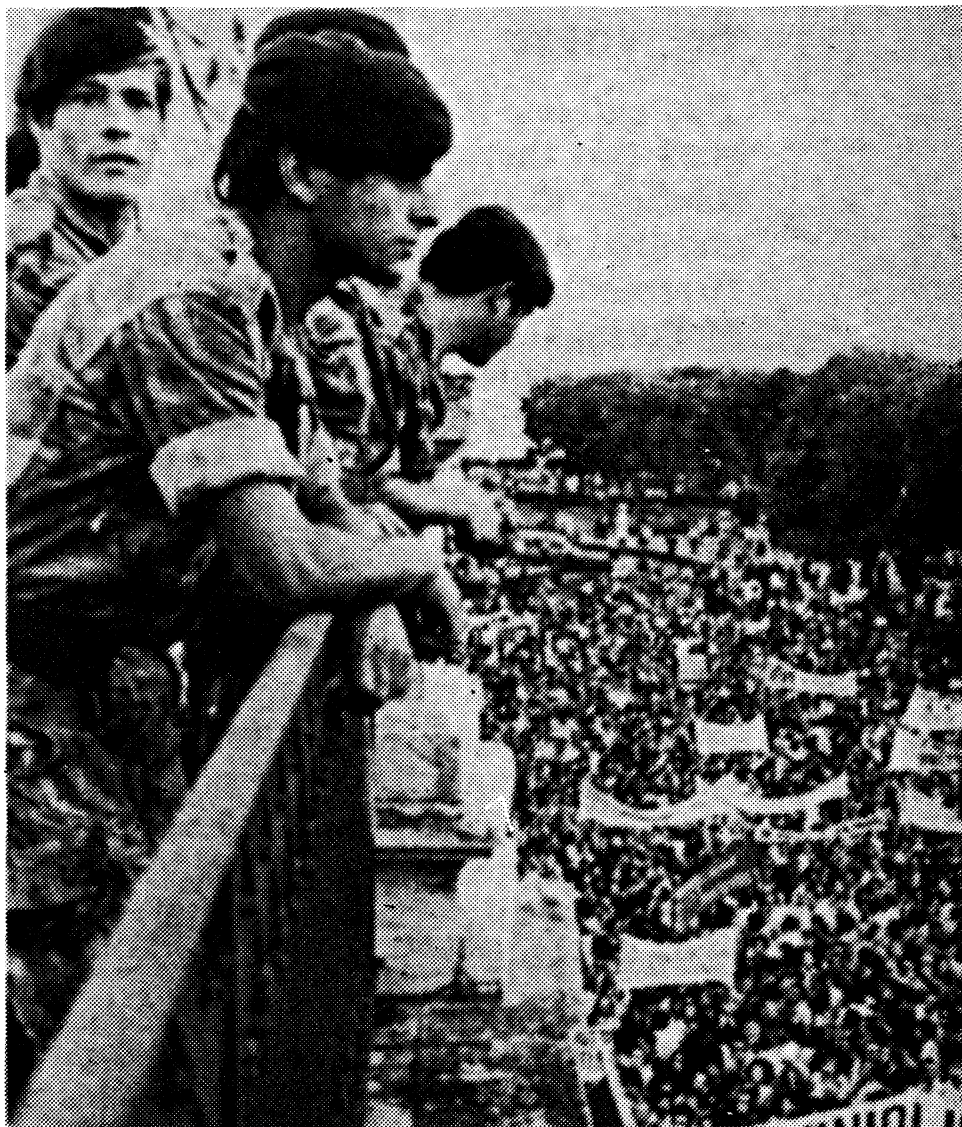
The decisive capitalist interests in Portugal supported the military coup in April precisely to remove the obstacles to modernization presented by the Salazarist regime and to head off the explosion they could see building up in the working class. It was this that permitted the MFA to win an easy victory on April 25.

As a result, the all-pervasive political-police apparatus that had maintained a brutal dictatorship for nearly fifty years through the pressures of the Spanish civil war, World War II, and the postwar upsurge, proved strangely ineffective against a conspiracy of a few hundred junior officers.

"The apparently so perfectly organized police apparatus was able only to carry out orders," J. Rentes de Carvalho explained in the January 18 issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*. "The PIDE [Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado—State Security Police] were unable to rouse the regime to action against the junior officers with their warnings—which were correct as it turned out—that these officers were preparing a coup."

The MFA included some young officers with links to the CP and the SP. This was, after all, necessary to the success of the operation the big capitalists wanted to see carried through. But at the same time, it included reliably right-wing officers, whose presence was necessary to guarantee that the operation remained within the framework desired by the big capitalist interests like the Companhia União Fabril that sponsored General Spínola and his book.

In this context, insistence on the unity of the armed forces meant in effect guaranteeing the essential capitalist interests in Portugal, since obviously any move beyond the big capitalists' project would immediately



Armed Forces Movement wants to make sure revolutionary process in Portugal doesn't go beyond their goal of modernization of capitalist system.

shatter this "unity."

In fact, the first step to preparing the way for a real "struggle against the monopolies" would have to be splitting the officer corps, since this would require organizing the ranks of the armed forces democratically and arming the masses. This, clearly, the MFA leaders had no intention of doing. Nor did the Communist party or the Socialist party want them to.

While all of the opportunist workers parties have subordinated themselves to the big capitalists' project and thus to the MFA, the Communist party has been the most conscious, consistent, and explicit in this. Following Spínola's attempted right-wing coup at the end of September, in which the MFA was almost destroyed by its contradictions, and the left parties with it, the CP general secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, explained the party's perspectives in a news conference October 8. The text of his remarks was printed in the October 11 issue of the weekly CP organ *Avante!*. Among other things, he said:

"I am going to tell you another secret too. The Communist party has no arms. But in Portugal there are arms to defend the democratic revolution, and there must be such arms to defend the democratic revolution. These arms are in good hands, in the hands of the Movimento das Forças Armadas. Our people do not need arms to defend the democratic revolution in our country under the present conditions."

When the Communist party called its supporters onto the streets January 14 in support of the "trade-union unity" bill, they coupled this issue with confidence in the MFA. In an editorial in the January 16 issue of *Avante!* entitled "The Lesson of January 14 Must Be Understood," the CP attacked the Socialist party for not subordinating itself entirely to the military junta:

"When the public sees the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] attacked in an open or veiled way, when they see

Continued on next page

...behind Portuguese governmental crisis over trade

Continued from preceding page

people publicly advocate the return of the MFA to the barracks and an attempt to reduce its political role in reinforcing, defending, and advancing the democratic process, when the public sees people take a position so hastily and unrealistically against the will of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese workers who support trade-union unity as a means of preserving, by law, the unity of the working class—the unifying link that binds the broad toiling masses together—when they see such people even evoking an artificial 'rank and filism,' it is obvious to all that the result of such a policy is not strengthening but weakening the process.

"The PCP sincerely hopes that the SP will overcome its difficulties. The SP has an important role to play in building a truly democratic state in Portugal.

"The policy of acting as an apprentice sorcerer releasing forces that cannot be controlled does not promote this role."

What the law says

An article in the January 24 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* contained further information on the content of the new Portuguese trade-union law. Points 21 and 22 of the law prescribe that "only the union commissions can call a meeting of workers in the enterprise. All meetings in the enterprise must be announced at least one day in advance."

Such regulations are designed to block the kind of spontaneous democratic mobilization of the workers that occurred in the wake of the coup last April. They would prohibit the formation of factory committees uniting union and non-union workers, and would prevent the unions from responding immediately in the case of rightist threats or other fast-moving events.

The PCP had evidently been disturbed by the SP's "undisciplined" attitude toward the MFA. In a report on the SP congress in the December 20 issue of *Avante!*, the following passages were singled out in General Secretary Mário Soares's address as especially significant:

"Elections, when they are free, are the direct expression of the will of the people, the only way of legitimizing political power. Thus, there is no way the Constituent Assembly can be composed of nonelected deputies chosen by some means other than popular suffrage.

"In opposition to this view, it has been argued that there is a need for keeping the MFA associated with the process of democratizing Portuguese society, even going beyond the elections to the Constituent Assembly. The SP—whose draft constitution will be one of the points on the agenda of this congress—agrees that there is such a need. But it does not draw the conclusion from this that elements chosen by the MFA and not elected by popular suffrage should have a right to sit in the Constituent Assembly. Constitutionally speaking, this is an aberrant idea. Moreover, it would transform the MFA, in violation of its program, into a kind of party competing with other parties, and

would inevitably lead to a split in the MFA, with all the risks this would involve for the future of Portuguese democracy."

What CP Can Do for Military

The CP favors the inclusion of delegates chosen by the MFA in the Constituent Assembly. In line with this, the editorial in the January 16 *Avante!* indicated that the Portuguese Stalinists are looking forward to an alliance directly between the military and the mass organizations led by the PCP. This was the context, as the authors of this editorial saw it, of the debate over the "trade-union unity" bill:

"Strengthening and vitalizing the popular component of the Portuguese revolutionary process is a precondition for consolidating and broadening the rights that have been won and for confronting and overcoming the crisis in which the country finds itself as the result of the policy of sabotage by the more reactionary sectors of finance capital.

"This involves persistent work on two fronts: One is reinforcing active collaboration among the forces really interested in the democratic process by means of a dogged search for common roads to the practical and just solution of the difficult national problems. The other is a continued, many-sided campaign among the working people to organize and vitalize the mass people's movement in the broadest sense, which involves continually wider participation in the practical solution of the national problems.

"In the context of the originality of the Portuguese revolutionary process, there is no other way to constitute a genuinely democratic state in Portugal. When we say 'genuinely democratic,' we mean that this would be a state that would increasingly reflect the profound aspirations of our people and identify with them."

The present crisis, the writers of this editorial indicated, had shown that a coalition government by itself was not stable enough to handle the strains of the "process."

"We have maintained that reinforcing and vitalizing the popular component of our revolutionary process was indispensable for overcoming the unevenness in the tempo of the evolution of the military movement headed by the MFA and the evolution of the democratic movement, which has been dangerously weakened by the difficulties of the political parties in working together.

"The dizzy pace of events in recent days has yet again shown the political maturity and unity of thought and action that distinguish the military component, as well as a worsening of the crisis of unity among the political parties of the government coalition."

While they were apparently ready to admit that the popular front coalition was at least somewhat disappointing, the authors of the *Avante!* editorial thought that the CP could provide an indispensable partner for the MFA.

"Without the Movimento das Forças Armadas—we said in the last editorial in *Avante!*—the people's movement would be unable not only to advance democracy but even to assure its survival. Without the people's movement, the Movimento das Forças Armadas might be able to hold political power

but never build a democratic society."

Responding to a charge by the SP Minister of Justice Salgado Zenha that the "trade-union unity" bill was "unconstitutional" (which presumably meant undemocratic, since the country as yet has no constitution), the editorial writers accused the Socialist party implicitly of "bourgeois legalism."

"There are forces and personalities who remain tied to conceptions of legality that do not come from the working class. In a democratic and revolutionary process such as the one we are experiencing today in Portugal, the real legality is what comes from the freely expressed will of the popular masses with the force that

shown by the giant demonstrations of January 14, the *Avante!* editorial claimed. But the description of these demonstrations in the same issue of the CP paper made it clear that they were organized as progovernment demonstrations, like the May Day march organized by the CP shortly after the April coup to channel the mass upsurge behind the military junta.

"Group after group of workers marched by. The shouts 'PCP' and 'The people are with the MFA' inundated the whole length of the Avenida Almirante Reis." And further on in the same article: "'The people are with the MFA'—this vast shout was



Lisbon shipyard workers on strike after last April's coup. New labor law strengthens government interference and bureaucratic control in unions.

is given it by the military component of the democratic process."

This is a classic example of turning a revolutionary principle on its head. It is true that the highest political legitimacy comes from the direct, democratic organization of the masses in a revolutionary process. This kind of legitimacy, moreover, is incompatible by its nature with the survival of capitalism, since the rule of the few depends on the demobilization of the many.

However, capitalism has not been abolished in Portugal. In fact, the "military component" of the "revolutionary process" has declared its admiration for, and its determination to protect, "productive" capitalists. While legal forms are subordinate to the directly expressed will of the masses under a revolutionary regime, under a capitalist government revolutionists strive for the maximum formal limitations on the power of the bourgeois rulers.

CP Beats Drums for Junta

This invocation of "revolutionary legality" by the Portuguese Stalinists to justify a form of government regulation of the workers organization that they think will advance their specific bureaucratic interests is pure demagoguery. It is a very dangerous kind of demagoguery, moreover, for the PCP itself, because it is illusory to think that a capitalist regime will accept a permanent partnership with a Communist party, no matter how abjectly such a party subordinates itself and the interests of its supporters to "the needs of the nation."

The "will of the masses" had been

taken up by hundreds of thousands of voices. . . 'Where is the people if this is not the people?' the immense multitude of demonstrators asked with a single voice."

The article featured the speech of Carlos Carvalho, a member of the leadership of the metalworkers union and the secretariat of the Intersindical. "Interrupted by vigorous cheers for the MFA and by the shout of 'Down with reaction' chanted by the entire mass of demonstrators, Carlos Carvalho continued: 'The Provisional Government put the Trade-Union Bill up for discussion so that that most concerned could express their opinion on it. And we are the ones most concerned, we the Portuguese workers. And all of us have already expressed in a decisive and firm way what we think of this so-called trade-union freedom, because we workers don't want it.'

"Seconded by thousands of voices chanting 'death to the CIA' and 'down with the monopolies,' Carlos Carvalho went on to state that 'only the legal proscription of trade-union pluralism can safeguard our interests,' and then he stressed: 'The strategy of international imperialism is to hide under liberal language its real intentions toward the workers.'"

The CP used the opposition to enforced unity expressed by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), a body with well-known connections to the U.S. government, to rally support for the bill backed by the MFA. As an example of what could happen if such a law were not passed, the CP cited the U.S.-engineered split in the French trade-union movement during the opening phase of the cold war.

union law

There is no doubt that the U.S. government's labor front as well as the Christian Democratic labor apparatus in Europe want to establish a foothold in the Portuguese unions. As bureaucratic organizations, they would naturally want to set up their own separate federations that they could dominate. They subordinate themselves to the anti-Communist objectives of the Western capitalist powers.

However, it does not follow from this that the way to combat such bureaucratic maneuvers is by another bureaucratic maneuver, by allying with a military junta and putting the union movement in the hands of the capitalist state. In fact, one of the things that greatly helped to bring about and maintain the split in the French labor movement was the undemocratic methods of the Communist party—its suppression of opposition and the crude subordination of the interests of the union membership to the opportunistic zig-zags of the party line.

In Portugal, the same Stalinist trade-union policy holds still greater dangers. Here also, the CP has subordinated the interests of the workers to the opportunist line of the party, even breaking strikes and slandering whole categories of workers in order to ingratiate itself with the military regime, to prove its capacities as a "stabilizing factor."

But this policy has inevitably involved complete reliance on a Bonapartist junta that in the long—if not the short—run will inevitably turn against the Communist party. And when the capitalists decide to cut the CP down to size, they will be able to exploit resentment against the party "establishment" among the workers themselves. There are precedents for this. This was how the proimperialist trade-union bureaucrats succeeded in totally crushing the CP in the American labor movement after the end of the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance.

From the military's point of view, the CP is an invaluable ally in the present stage, although some of the right-wing members of the MFA may have difficulty accepting this or may be reluctant to take the risks involved. While the Social Democrats in the long run are more assimilable into a capitalist parliamentary framework, they have one major disadvantage in a period of potentially explosive ferment. They lack the dictatorial regime of the CP and its dogmatic indoctrination. It is harder for them to present a

solid bulwark against the pressures of the masses.

The CP has made no secret of its fears that the SP is not a reliable ally for the government. In its editorial December 6 *Avante!* said:

"What is happening at the University of Lisbon, where the SP organizations are supporting the reactionary provocation against the Government, against the MFA, and the democratic forces* illustrates the degradation opportunism leads to. . . .

"What does the Socialist party want? Why is it acting this way? Why is it trying the patience shown by the Communists? Does it want to hang on to fiefs or create them? Does it want to meet the demands of foreign circles for divisive activity? What meaning could there be to Mário Soares's statement in Paris. . . that the participation of the PCP in the Government after the elections will depend on the vote? Will the SP, in turn, if it fails to get a high percentage of the votes, lose its right to a place in the Government? . . .

"The PCP is ready to examine all these questions together with the SP and seek a solution that, through co-operation in word and deed, will remove the atmosphere that has been poisoning the relationship between these two parties more and more every day."

The condition for "removing this atmosphere," the editorial went on to clarify, was that the SP also subordinate itself completely to the junta:

"The alliance of the people's movement with the Movimento das Forças Armadas is an essential feature of the present democratic political situation. Any breach that opens up in this alliance is an important victory for reaction. Anti-MFA positions are the invariable mark of reaction. These are the positions of the fascist rags sent in from Spain and the ultraleftist rags produced in Lisbon.

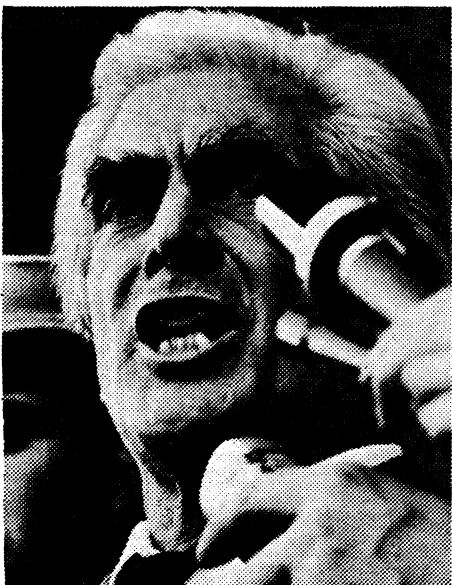
"The ultraleftist provocateurs, who more and more play the role of the spearhead of the counterrevolution, are attacking the MFA and its alliance with the people, and have tried several times to provoke confrontations with the Armed Forces.

"Against such activities and maneuvers, it is essential to continue tirelessly to defend the alliance of the people's movement with the Movimento das Forças Armadas and to combat still more firmly activities aimed at disrupting this alliance."

For its part, the MFA declared in issue No. 7 of its bulletin: "The unity and cohesion of the Armed Forces is the primary condition for strengthening the indispensable unity between the Armed Forces and the people. . . . This is the condition for applying the 'National Reconstruction' plan to the whole of society."

The National Reconstruction plan is the junta's class-collaborationist project for advancing the interests of "productive" capital.

*The CP has supported the Ministry of Education's plans for suppressing opposition political activity in the universities, including canceling the freshman year and substituting "civic service," i.e., work at low wages. It has attacked all opposition to these schemes as "ultraleft provocations." Of course, given the strength of the Mao-Stalinists in the Portuguese young left, some forms of opposition have been ultraleft and have facilitated the CP's betrayal of the student movement.



CP's CUNHAL: Warns SP of 'acting as an apprentice sorcerer releasing forces that cannot be controlled.'

World news notes

Strike paralyzes Indian ports

Tens of thousands of dock workers launched a strike for higher pay January 16, paralyzing work at eight of India's nine major ports. At least 160 ships were idled at five of the ports.

The workers had originally demanded a wage increase of 100 rupees (one rupee equals US\$0.128) a month retroactive to January 1974. They later scaled down their demands to Rs 50 a month for 1974 and Rs 60 a month in 1975. The government, however, did not accept these demands. Makhan Chatterjee, the general secretary of the dock workers union, said after declaring the strike, "In spite of our best efforts, it [the strike] could not be averted because of the miserly attitude of the Government."

The regime of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi responded to the strike by invoking the Defence of India Rules to declare the strike illegal and to ban strikes at all the ports for six months. As a cover for its strikebreaking efforts, the government said that ships carrying fertilizer and grain had to be unloaded.

Security forces moved in to guard the ports, and at a meeting in Calcutta local authorities discussed the possibility of using the Territorial Army to unload the ships.

1.4 million new Vietnamese refugees

The continued war drive of the U.S.-backed Thieu regime in South Vietnam has driven 1.4 million persons from their homes since the signing of the January 1973 cease-fire agreement. In addition, the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees reported January 25, at least one South Vietnamese child in five is now an orphan.

In Cambodia, it was estimated that 3.3 million persons, more than half the population, were refugees at the end of 1974. In the first two weeks of 1975, an additional 60,000 Cambodians were forced to flee their homes.

Miners, students strike in Bolivia

One-fourth of Bolivia's tin industry has been paralyzed as the result of a miners' strike that began January 13. The strike is costing mineowners \$1.5 million a day in export losses.

The strike began when the Banzer regime raided and shut down four radio stations in important state mining centers. The government acted, according to Bolivian Press Secretary Javier Arce Villalba, because the stations "had become centers of political agitation and subversion."

In response, miners at Siglo Veinte, Catavi, and Llallagua declared a forty-eight-hour work stoppage. Two days later 12,000 students at the University of San Andres in La Paz staged a forty-eight-hour walkout in solidarity with the miners. The miners extended their stoppage to a strike of indefinite duration, and by January 26 their numbers had grown to 12,000.

Cuba asks freedom for Lolita Lebron

Havana will release jailed CIA agent Lawrence Lunt if Washington frees Puerto Rican nationalist Lolita Lebrón, Cuban officials announced January 22. Lebrón has been in a U.S. penitentiary for twenty years, following conviction on charges of having taken part in an armed attack on the U.S. House of Representatives in 1954. Lunt was arrested in 1965 on charges of espionage. He is currently serving a thirty-year term. The White House made no immediate response to the offer.

'Daily World' caught between lines

The *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, wasn't quick enough to catch on to a recent switch in Kremlin policy. The January 29 *Daily World* ran a story under the headline "No change expected in Soviet oil price." It began: "Soviet oil prices will not change, because the prices are fixed by long-term contracts."

The article was referring to Soviet oil exports to countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which includes the East European states.

The *Daily World* editors already had this article in the works, apparently, before they saw the report in the January 28 *New York Times* titled "Soviet Doubles Oil Price in East Europe." This dispatch from Budapest cited Hungarian officials who said that the Kremlin planned to hike its oil price from the equivalent of less than \$3 per barrel to more than \$6. The world-market oil price is around \$10.

The *Daily World* had quoted a Soviet official as saying, "Soviet oil prices are much lower than the price on the world market, which is subject to constant ups-and-downs connected with the energy crisis in the West."

In the *Times* report, however, the Kremlin officials were said to have told the Hungarians that the doubling of the price was necessary because "world prices of oil had risen too much for the Soviet Union not to adjust prices to its allies."

'Hot Table' exposed

New reports from Iran document shah's torture of political prisoners

By Majid Namvar

An investigation by Yves Baudelot, a Paris lawyer who visited Iran in November 1974, has produced further evidence on the wide use of torture in the shah's jails.

Baudelot's visit was made on behalf of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the International Association of Catholic Lawyers. While in Iran he met secretly with former prisoners and relatives of prisoners. They gave him detailed statements about detention, torture, and political repression in Iran.

According to an account of his investigation published in the January issue of the *Amnesty International Bulletin*, Baudelot was refused interviews with the prime minister and other government officials in Iran. His request to visit the Comité and Evin prisons in Tehran, which are the main centers for pretrial detention of political prisoners, was also turned down.

Baudelot also tried unsuccessfully to obtain information on the case of Simian Salehi, a physician arrested in August 1974, when she was five months pregnant. Salehi is thought to have died in prison as a result of torture.

Some of the information gathered by Baudelot confirmed reports previously obtained by the London *Sunday Times*, which published a well-documented account of torture in Iran in its January 19 issue.

"The Iranian government flatly denies the use of torture in its prisons," correspondent Philip Jacobson reported. "But a *Sunday Times* investigation over a period of two years—based on personal testimony from prisoners, interviews with prisoners' families and reports from impartial observers—has produced a weight of evidence supporting such allegations which cannot be dismissed.

"Examination of the cases in The *Sunday Times* dossier," Jacobson added, "reveals a clear pattern. The prisoners who are alleged to have been

tortured fall into three broad categories: left-wing activists who either support or take part in guerrilla operations; Moslem dissidents opposed to what they regard as the religious and political repression of the Shah, some of whom also turn to armed resistance; and those people, predominantly middle-class intellectuals, who were unwise enough to criticize the regime, in private or public, and were reported to the police. Most of the prisoners whose cases were examined were men under 30, but there are also allegations of young women being tortured and first-hand reports of attacks on young children."

Two such cases of torturing young children were also reported in the January *Amnesty International Bulletin*.

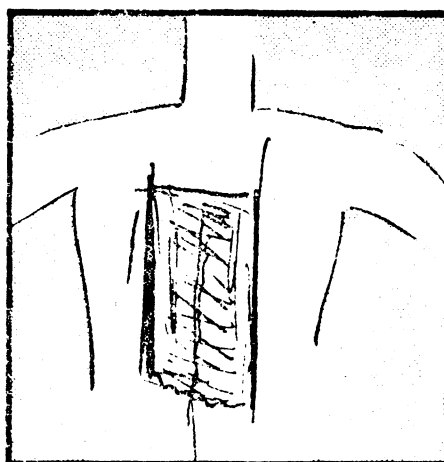
In the first one a seventeen-year-old was whipped and given electric shocks before the eyes of the father. In the second, "a 4-year-old child was whipped and cut in the neck with scissors before the eyes of the mother."

"One of the former prisoners," the *Bulletin* added, "told that it was so unbearable to see his child being tortured that he wished he had a knife to kill the child and put an end to its suffering."

According to the *Sunday Times*, the shah's torturers are all members of his secret police, SAVAK, headed by General Nemat-Ollah Nassiri. The shah himself, however, bears the ultimate responsibility for the murderous operations of this secret network.

In his lengthy report, Jacobson outlined the methods of torture used by SAVAK. These include: "felacca, the sustained flogging of the soles of the feet, extraction of finger and toe nails, electric shock treatment to sexual organs and the thrusting of a broken bottle into the anus of prisoners suspended by their wrists from a beam."

Victims of SAVAK are also subjected to mental torture. According to the *Sunday Times* correspondent, some of the political prisoners, "were prepared in elaborate detail for their own execution, being led to the edge of a freshly dug grave and blindfolded before being 'reprieved.'"



Sunday Times
Sketch of prisoner Ahmadzadeh's "toasted" back, made by lawyer Nuri Albala.

Another method of torture extensively practiced by SAVAK is the "Hot Table." SAVAK is thought to have invented this instrument, which Jacobson describes as "an iron frame, rather like a bed-frame, covered with a wire mesh which is electrically heated like a toaster. Prisoners would, it is alleged, be strapped to the table while it was heated until it became red hot." At least one prisoner "is said to have died after suffering on this barbaric device," Jacobson reported.

SAVAK's use of the "Hot Table" was revealed through the case of Masoud Ahmadzadeh, who was sentenced to death in 1971. When Ahmadzadeh's case came before the appeals court in February 1972, two French lawyers were able, despite the government's obstructions, to attend the session as observers for international associations of lawyers.

Nuri Albala, one of the lawyers present in the courtroom, later described to the *Sunday Times* what he saw on Ahmadzadeh's chest and back.

"The whole of the middle of his chest and his stomach was a mass of twisted scars from very deep burns. . . . I am no doctor but I estimate they were several months old. His back was even worse. There was a perfect oblong etched into it, formed by a continuous line of scar tissue. Inside the

oblong, the skin was again covered in shiny scars from burning. I would estimate that the width of the table marks on his back was at least nine inches."

That same day the French lawyers were allowed to interview two prisoners at Evin. They spoke to Nasser Sadegh and Ali Mihandoust, who at the time were awaiting trial on political charges. The two have since been executed.

"Albala asked Sadegh if he or his colleagues had been tortured," Jacobson reported. "An interpreter conveyed Sadegh's long reply as: 'No, only beaten when we were first arrested.'"

"By facial gestures," Jacobson added, "Sadegh indicated that this was not what he had said. Albala then asked him directly in English, 'Were you beaten?' 'No, toasted,' Sadegh replied."

While the SAVAK agents were taking the lawyers out of the room, Sadegh shouted: "Let them know that I saw Behruz Dehghani die near me in the torture room."

According to Iranian law, prisoners must be brought before a magistrate after twenty-four hours of detention. SAVAK's victims, however, are reported to be held incommunicado for several months. During this time (the "danger period") the prisoner is subject to the worst kind of torture.

The immediate aim of SAVAK is to obtain a signed "confession," incriminating not only the victim but also those friends and relatives who are suspects. Any resistance to signing the "confession" leads to the next stage of "serious interrogation."

According to Jacobson, this takes place at the Evin prison in special blocks known as "inquiry rooms." It is there that the "Hot Table" is kept.

"Several former prisoners have testified," he reported, "that they were taken into the torture chamber after hearing dreadful screams coming from it and immediately noticed 'a smell of roasted flesh.'"

When asked by the *Sunday Times* to comment on the charges made by Baudelot, a spokesman for the Iranian Embassy in Paris cynically replied: "We have no political prisoners in Iran. His Majesty the Shah on several occasions recently has spoken of the fact that we have no need to carry out torture."

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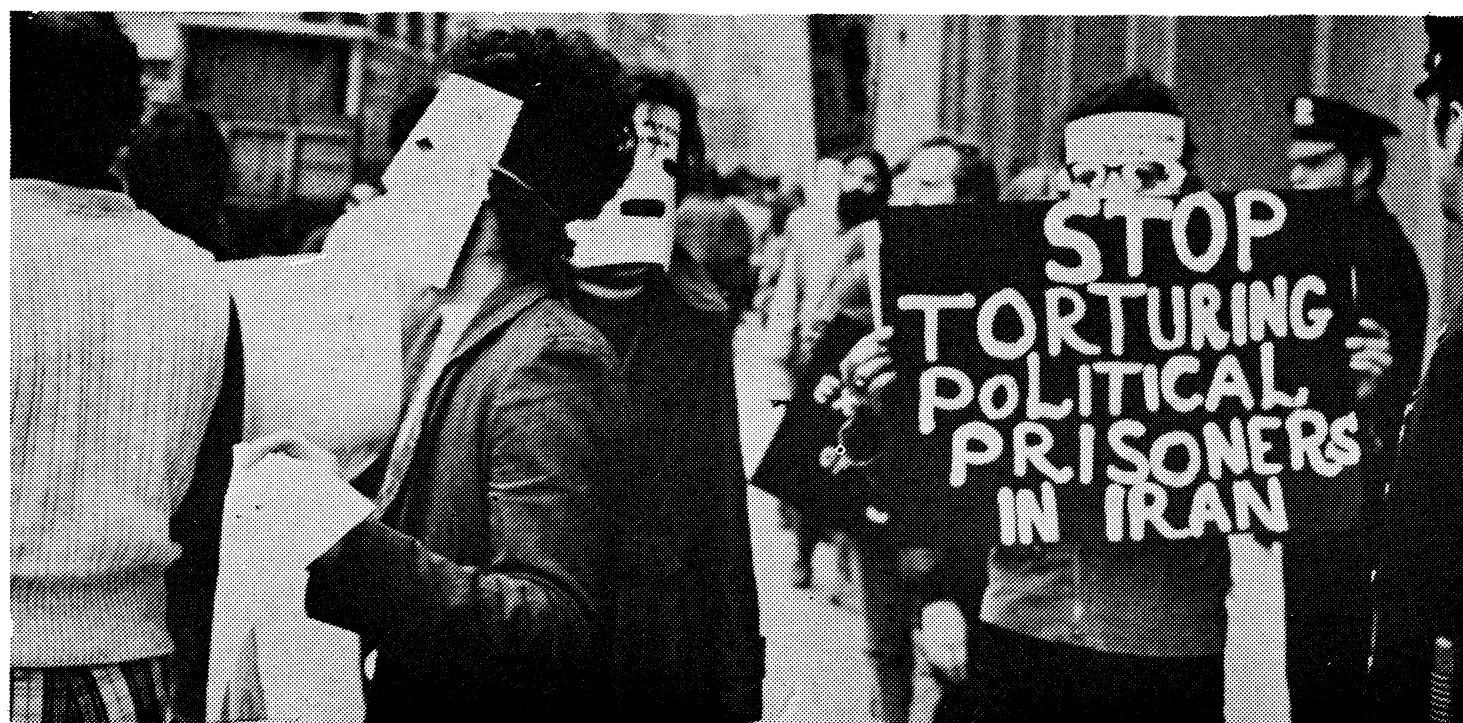
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Iranian students in New York wear masks while demonstrating to prevent identification by SAVAK agents

Militant/Steve Beck

Look to Democrats in '76

Harrington 'socialists' hold nat'l gathering

By FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK—"Creating a socialist presence in the Democratic Party" and "electing the most liberal Democrat possible in 1976" were the goals adopted by the second convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), held here Jan. 24-26.

National chairperson Michael Harrington told the 350 delegates and observers gathered at the Hotel Commodore that the election of five DSOC members as delegates to the Democratic Party's "miniconvention" in Kansas City last December was an example of progress toward these goals.

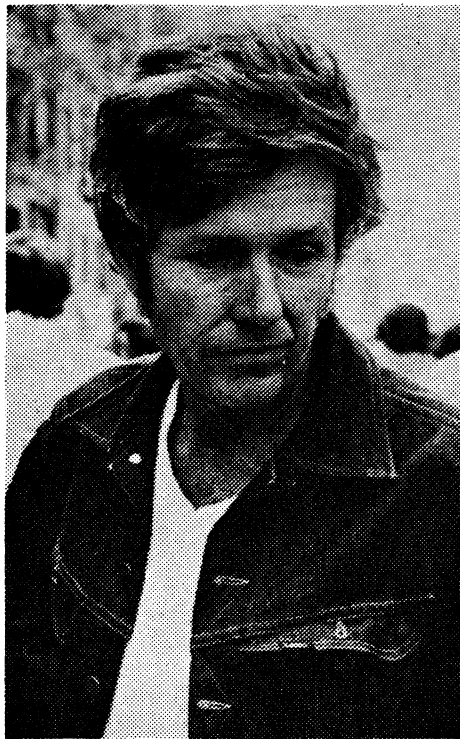
The general economic program adopted by the convention is aimed at building support within the Democratic Party for measures such as Senator Adlai Stevenson's (D-Ill.) bill for the creation of a "national energy corporation" modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority.

In response to complaints by some delegates, Harrington agreed to add to the main economic resolution a section dealing with the special burdens imposed on Blacks and other oppressed nationalities by the economic crisis.

However, no one at the convention even mentioned the need to oppose the racist offensive against school desegregation in Boston.

DSOC's strategy stems from its origin in a division within the union bureaucracy over whether to support George McGovern in 1972. This division was reflected in a 1973 split in the bureaucracy's "socialist" shadow, Social Democrats, USA (formerly the Socialist Party).

The majority of SDUSA attached themselves to the Meany-Shanker wing of the labor bureaucracy, which is trying to defeat the "new politics"



MICHAEL HARRINGTON: Bemoans 'shift of resources' from imperialist nations to semicolonial Arab countries.

Although DSOC leaders object to the strident cold-war rhetoric of SDUSA (which regards the U.S.-Soviet détente as "appeasement"), DSOC positions on foreign policy are no less proimperialist.

Following the lead of many Democratic politicians, including even Henry Jackson, DSOC took the step of opposing "any American aid to prop up the corrupt and dictatorial regime in Saigon." This was an advance over the position Harrington and his followers adopted when direct U.S. military intervention in Vietnam was at a peak. They then opposed antiwar demonstrations and bitterly fought against the demand for immediate, unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, favoring schemes that would permit the imperialists to retain a foothold in Vietnam.

On the Middle East, however, where Democrats and Republicans alike have been trying to stir up war hysteria against the Arabs, DSOC lined up solidly with the war hawks. A DSOC resolution stated, "The vast shift of resources from the industrial West to the OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] powers has a dynamic of its own, threatening the international monetary market and imposing frightful burdens on the poor nations."

There was no indication that DSOC opposes U.S. military action to retake these resources for the "industrial West." On the contrary, another resolution called for "such military aid to Israel as is necessary for its struggle to defend its right to exist."

The spectacle of "socialists" like Harrington bemoaning the "shift of resources" from the imperialists to some of their victims, and calling for more arms for the racist, expansionist Israeli state, was a little hard for some delegates and observers to stomach. Nonetheless, the resolutions were approved without difficulty.

These resolutions lined DSOC up closely with U.S. imperialist policy in the Middle East, committing the organization to support an imperialist invasion of the Middle East.

There was no opposition expressed to the pro-Democratic Party orientation Harrington outlined. Delegates were generally optimistic about DSOC's ability to build its strength in the Democratic Party.

However, some delegates thought

DSOC could better win radicalized youth by adopting more "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" rhetoric. Some delegates proposed that Harrington run as a socialist in the 1976 Democratic primaries. Most, however, opposed this idea as an obstacle to working in the campaigns of various liberal Democrats.

Many of the speeches and reports attested inadvertently to the futility of trying to win significant reforms—not to mention socialism—by acting as a spectral "presence" in the capitalist parties. At the public meeting held Jan. 24, Victor Gotbaum, president of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union, told of New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer's arrogant response to a request from Gotbaum that he try to prevent the planned layoff of 12,000 city workers.

O'Dwyer, who has cultivated a reputation as a "radical" in the Democratic Party, told Gotbaum bluntly, "Plenty of people were laid off in the last depression. Why should this one be any different?"

Despite the callous indifference of this capitalist politician to the plight of working people in New York City, Gotbaum expressed the hope that O'Dwyer would "cooperate with us in reaching a solution." Gotbaum announced that he was joining DSOC to "work to make good men like Paul O'Dwyer understand the human suffering this crisis is causing."

National Secretary Jack Clark, reporting on the organizational progress of DSOC, also felt obliged to note the failure of DSOC's Democratic allies to pass even the minimal reforms DSOC advocates.

"We were not able," Clark reported, "to mobilize the support necessary to pass the Stevenson energy bill. Or the Green amendment ending the oil depletion allowance. Nor is our general democratic Left tendency strong enough to keep an astute, pragmatic politician like Ted Kennedy from abandoning the liberal stand on national health insurance."

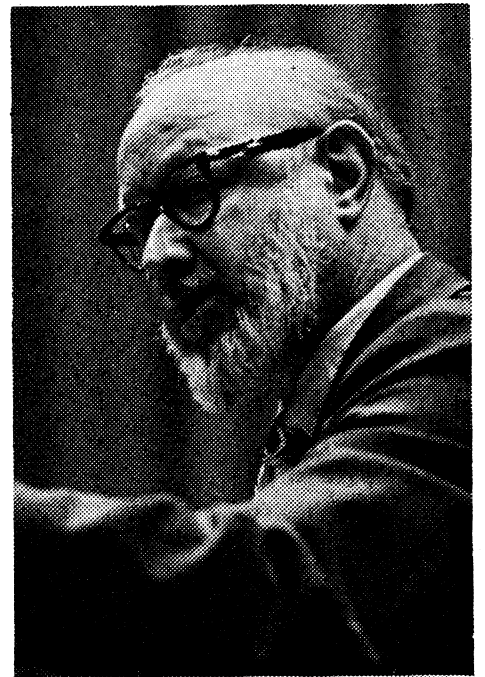
'Serious current'

Nonetheless, Clark concluded, "our Kansas City operation shows that we are a serious current in the left wing of the Democratic Party."

Clark is dead wrong if he thinks that reforms like guaranteed health

care can be won by doorbell ringing for "astute, pragmatic politicians" like Kennedy. The reforms that have been won in past decades were gained not by collaboration with the capitalist politicians and the ruling class, but by militant strike action and mass demonstrations independent of the capitalist parties.

They were won because "astute, pragmatic" capitalist politicians feared that the labor movement and the Black community would break out of the capitalist two-party straitjacket and challenge the capitalist system itself.



Militant/Howard Petrick

VICTOR REUTHER: Joins other UAW officials in backing Harrington group.

DSOC has gained support from many Social Democratic parties abroad, which are embarrassed by the brazenly right-wing stance of the SDUSA. Donald MacDonald, federal president of the Canadian New Democratic Party, and Alva Myrdal, representing the Swedish Social Democratic Party, addressed the gathering. Greetings were sent by François Mitterrand for the French Socialist Party, and from the British Labour Party.

Nobel Prize winner Gunnar Myrdal spoke to the conference. Myrdal was one of seven Nobel Prize winners who sent a statement to DSOC calling for "the exploration of alternatives to the prevailing Western economic system."

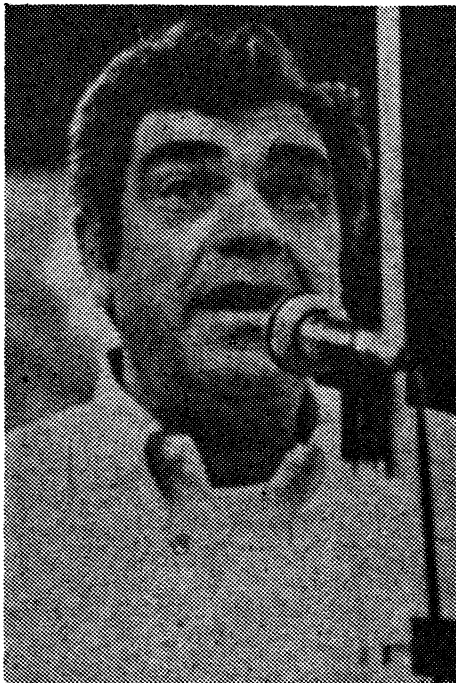
Union support

DSOC has also won backing from many anti-Meany union leaders. Several officials of the United Auto Workers were elected to leading positions at the convention. Victor Reuther, former International Affairs Director of the UAW, and Carl Sheir, a UAW leader from Chicago, were elected vice-chairpersons.

Leslie Nulty, from the union's research staff, and Nat Weinberg, the author of many of the union's contract proposals, were elected to the national board. Greetings were sent to the convention by UAW International Vice-president Douglas Fraser and by UAW Political Director Bill Dobbs.

Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers, addressed the gathering, and Murray Finley, general vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, sent a message.

Six Democratic members of Congress, and Democratic presidential hopeful Fred Harris also sent messages.

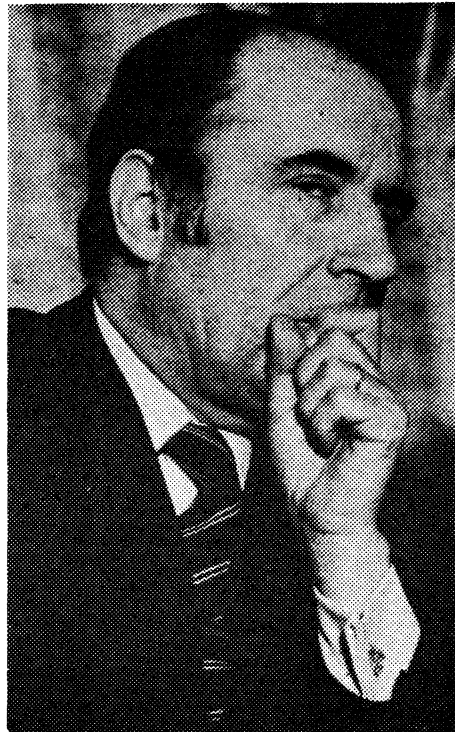


Public Employee Press

VICTOR GOTBAUM: Wants to help Democrats 'understand the human suffering this crisis is causing.'

supporters in the Democratic Party and insure the 1976 nomination for a conservative Democrat such as Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.).

The Harrington group aligned itself with the other wing of labor officialdom, including figures such as United Auto Workers (UAW) President Leonard Woodcock and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees President Jerry Wurf. This grouping backed McGovern in 1972 and now favors nominating a Democrat with a more liberal image than Jackson.



FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND: Finds DSOC more palatable than pro-Meany Social Democrats.

Internationalism versus Russification

Internationalism or Russification?
by Ivan Dzyuba. Monad Press.
Distributed by Pathfinder Press,
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.
10014. New York, 1974. 262 pp.
Paper, \$2.95.

By DAVE FRANKEL

"Translate that into human language!"

Imagine the reaction of a Chicano, speaking Spanish, to being told that. Now go a step further and imagine that this occurs in a United States that claims to be socialist, and the offender is not some leftover from the John Birch Society, but a government official. Finally, imagine a situation in which those who protest this vicious and crude insult are labeled "bourgeois nationalists," while the reactionary responsible for this provocation is sent as a representative of the Chicano people to a world conference.

Could anyone think of a more grotesque perversion of socialism and the ideals of human solidarity and international cooperation that it stands for? Yet this is precisely the situation in the Ukraine today.

In *Internationalism or Russification?* Ivan Dzyuba describes how a poetry reading in honor of the

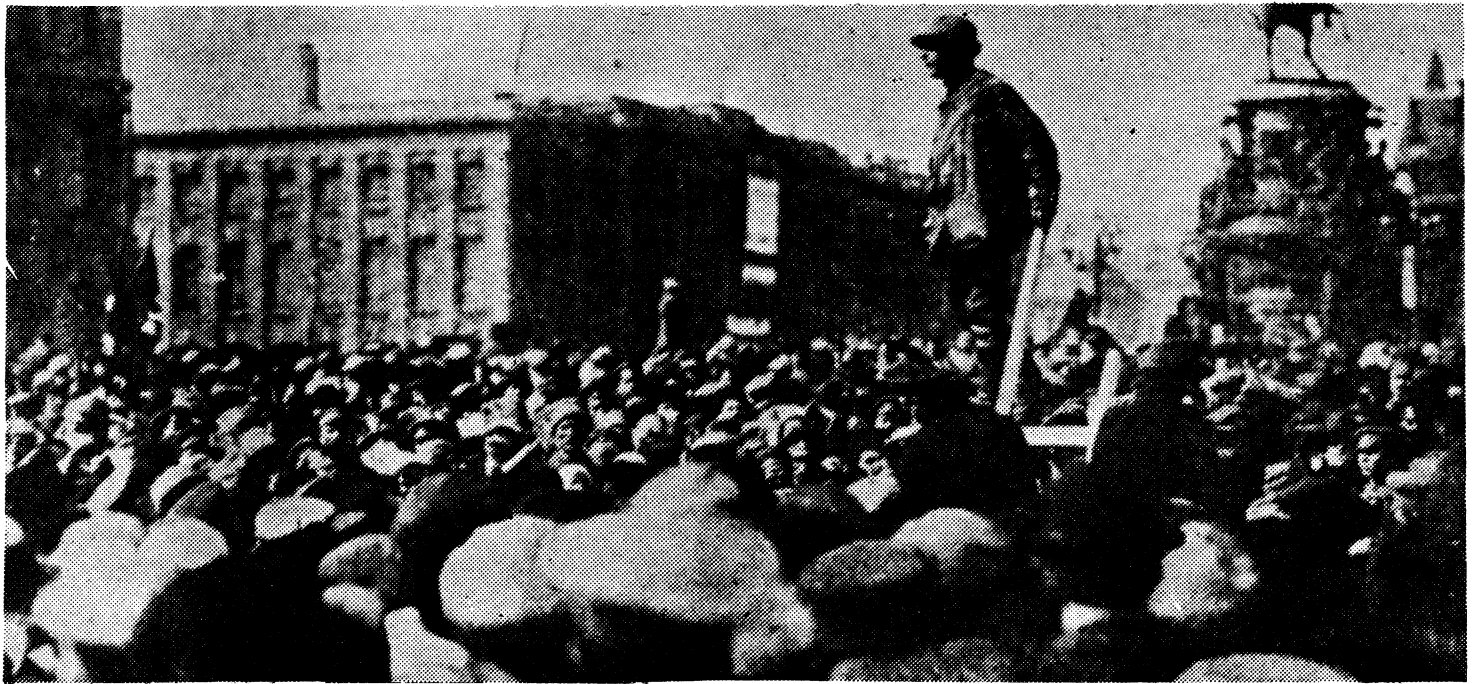
Books

Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko, at the Gor'ky Machine Tool Factory in March 1965 was interrupted by a Communist Party official who shouted, "Translate that into human language, we don't understand Banderist language!" (Banderist is a derogatory term for Ukrainian.)

This same official was sent to the Sixth World Congress of Trade Unions as a member of the Ukrainian delegation.

Dzyuba gives other examples of the same mentality. He asks, "Is there anyone who does not know how much humiliation and mockery from the petty-bourgeois public has to be endured, let us say, by a village woman [because she speaks Ukrainian] who has come to the city on business."

Naturally, such a state of affairs has provoked widespread resentment among the Ukrainian people. "I am firmly convinced," writes Dzyuba, "that the anxiety felt by an ever-widening circle of Ukrainian youth is the inevitable result of grave violations of the Leninist nationalities policy, or more precisely: a total revision of the Leninist nationalities policy of the Party carried out by Stalin in the



Bolshevik street meeting in Petrograd in 1917. The policy of the early Soviet government toward the oppressed nationalities was reversed by Stalin.

1930s and continued by Khrushchev in the last decade."

The Ukraine is a country of 47 million people—larger than Poland or Spain—and Ukrainians compose 17.8 percent of the population of the USSR. According to the Stalinist press the relations between the various nationalities of the Soviet Union are characterized by the "mutual enrichment of peoples" and "an end to the feeling of subjection and inferiority among the formerly oppressed peoples."

Everyday life

Such rapturous accounts are answered simply enough by Dzyuba: "Lenin taught us that any policy manifested itself *visibly* in the *everyday life* of millions. Not everyone reads newspapers and not everyone believes them. But everyday life is real for everyone and influences everyone."

Everyday life tells the Ukrainian people in no uncertain terms that they should have been born Russian.

"For instance, in Ukrainian universities lectures are given in Russian, on the grounds that many Russians study there (as if it were not their elementary civic duty to learn Ukrainian in such a case). Russian culture, Russian books and the Russian press are actually predominant in the Ukraine. . . .

"Any bookstore can give us an idea of this: several dozen or hundreds of Russian books, newspapers and magazines and only somewhere in the corner two or three in Ukrainian and one in Yiddish."

Dzyuba describes how the functions of government and economic life, as well as higher education and specialized or technical education, are all carried out in Russian. The result?

"Some people simply stop feeling the need for the Ukrainian language, since everywhere life imperiously demands Russian (as an unpublished letter to *Literaturna Ukraina* justly observed: with the Russian language you can travel all over the Ukraine and manage without Ukrainian, but you cannot manage in the Ukraine with Ukrainian and without Russian); others again would like to speak Ukrainian, but they are ashamed to: at best, people look upon someone speaking Ukrainian in a town as a crank."

The attitudes toward Ukrainian culture and language described by

Dzyuba are the result of centuries of oppression. The Ukraine came under tsarist domination in the late 1600s. In order to hold together their multinational empire, in which the Russians were a minority, the tsars followed a policy of Russification.

Educational "reforms" were designed to make Russian the language of instruction wherever possible. All government business was transacted in Russian, and state employees and professionals were required to know Russian.

When the Bolsheviks came to power in October 1917 they tried to reverse the process of forcible assimilation. Dzyuba, who considers himself a Leninist, draws a devastating contrast between the nationalities policy followed by the Soviet government in the 1920s and the Stalinist policies introduced in the following decade.

These policies, which are continuing to this day, are the same tsarist Russifying program, carried on now, however, in the name of proletarian internationalism.

The question arises: why so much concern about the Ukrainian language? Is it really that important if people in the USSR speak Russian instead of the various other languages of the minority nationalities? Perhaps the forced assimilation of the minority nationalities by the Great Russians is even a progressive development.

Marxism vs. Stalinism

It is true that Marxists favor the abolition of national borders and foresee the gradual emergence of a single human culture on the material basis of a future worldwide socialist economic system.

The starting point of that process, however, is not the destruction of the languages and cultures of oppressed nations—just the contrary. Before such a process can begin, the legacy and bitterness of national oppression must be surmounted.

Although Dzyuba makes a theoretical error by attributing to Marxism the position that the preservation of separate nationalities is desirable in and of itself, his political arguments and practical conclusions are wholly correct.

The gradual evolution of humanity toward a single culture can only begin when all oppressed nationalities have the right to control their own affairs as they see fit. This includes the right

to develop their own languages and cultures freely, without interference from their former oppressors. Revolutionists have always vehemently rejected the pretensions of oppressor nations claiming to be the bearers of "culture" to their supposedly backward victims.

How far the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy is removed from a Marxist policy can be seen when Ukrainian-speaking parents find it necessary to address appeals to the authorities requesting that the teachers in day-care schools speak Ukrainian and not Russian to their children—children who speak only Ukrainian at home!

Writing on this subject more than 50 years ago, Lenin explained, "If a Great Russian communist insists upon the amalgamation of the Ukraine with Russia, Ukrainians might easily suspect him of advocating this policy not from the motive of uniting the proletarians in the fight against capital, but because of the prejudices of the old Great Russian nationalism, of imperialism."

Victimization of Dzyuba

The Soviet constitution formally guarantees the right of the constituent republics of the USSR to secede from the union. But anyone rash enough to take this guarantee seriously would soon find themselves in Siberia. Dzyuba himself was arrested in April 1972, and in the spring of 1973 he was sentenced to five years in prison for writing *Internationalism or Russification?*

He was held in solitary confinement at the Soviet secret-police headquarters in Kiev for 18 months following his trial. A sick man, suffering from acute tuberculosis, Dzyuba finally gave in and publicly renounced his views.

In his fine introduction to this book, M. I. Holubenko writes, "Dzyuba's recantation discredits not himself but the regime that conceived it. The recantation only shows that even Dzyuba is made of flesh and blood, and cannot resist endless physical and psychological pressure. . . . In any case, the ideas and hopes of the Ukrainian opposition which Dzyuba expressed in *Internationalism or Russification?* have an autonomy apart from Dzyuba. They remain valid no matter what self-denigration Dzyuba the individual may be forced to perform."



Ivan Dzyuba was hounded by Soviet secret police for writing 'Internationalism or Russification?'

Detente vs. world revolution

Why 'detente' of the 1930s led to war

Fourth of a series

By CAROLINE LUND

Last week we described the "détente" policy as it was first applied by Stalin in the 1930s under the name "collective security."

The Kremlin's strategy was to conclude diplomatic alliances with the "peace-loving" capitalist democracies of Western Europe against the "aggressive," fascist countries of Germany and Italy. The vehicle of this "front of democracies" was to be the League of Nations, which would supposedly avert war by vowing collective action against any violation of the state boundaries established by the treaties that issued from World War I.

As an inducement to the imperialist powers to ally with the Kremlin, the Communist parties around the world were to hold back the class struggle in the name of "defending democracy against fascism." They were to make political blocs with liberal capitalist forces—especially those amenable to deals with the Kremlin—against rightist or fascist parties. This policy took the form of the Popular Front governments in France and Spain.

What results?

What were the results of this variation of the détente policy?

First of all, the so-called peace-loving imperialists revealed themselves to be worthless in terms of opposing Hitler and Mussolini. They capitulated at every point to the fascist aggression.

The French foreign minister Pierre Laval—with whom Stalin had concluded an alliance in 1935—made a pact with Mussolini the same year, which paved the way for Italy's invasion of Ethiopia.

At the Munich conference in September 1938, the rulers of Britain and France made a front with fascist Ger-

many and Italy legitimizing Hitler's seizure of part of Czechoslovakia.

In July 1936, when the Spanish fascists launched a civil war—which was planned, directed, and armed by Berlin and Rome—the democracies clamped an embargo on any sale or shipment of arms to the elected republican government of Spain.

The "collective security" agreements proved to have no force whatsoever. As soon as the French imperialists saw no more to be gained from their pact with the Kremlin, they unceremoniously junked it. The "front of democracies" was replaced at Munich by a front of the democracies and the fascists aimed against the Soviet Union.

In fact, the Italian historian Gaetano Salvemini says that as early as 1936 the British rulers "had reached an understanding with Hitler which allowed him a free hand toward Russia," thus "making World War II inevitable."

Just as the French imperialists turned their backs on their Kremlin "allies," so the capitalist Radical Party in France quit the Popular Front in November 1938, after it had made full use of the Popular Front to help French capitalism survive the powerful upsurge of the French working class of 1936.

Contrary to Stalin's "collective security" blueprint, the League of Nations did nothing to "punish" Hitler's or Mussolini's aggression or to stop the inexorable drive toward war. It was simply irrelevant.

The "collective security" agreements hailed by Stalin as the way to guarantee peace were revealed to be only the prelude to World War II.

Stalin-Hitler pact

After Stalin's attempt at an alliance with the imperialist democracies collapsed, he turned to the Nazis, attempting to apply the same strategy of dependence on diplomatic deals for defense of the Soviet Union. The Stalin-Hitler pact was signed on Aug. 23, 1939.

The Stalinist parties around the world were ordered to make a 180-degree turn—to drop their "antifascist" campaigns and instead organize anti-war campaigns against the imperialist governments that were allied against Germany.

The CPs had previously given wholehearted support to the feverish war preparations of these regimes. Without batting an eyelash, the Stalinists now condemned as "imperialists" the capitalist governments they had formerly lauded as "peace-loving" and "progressive."

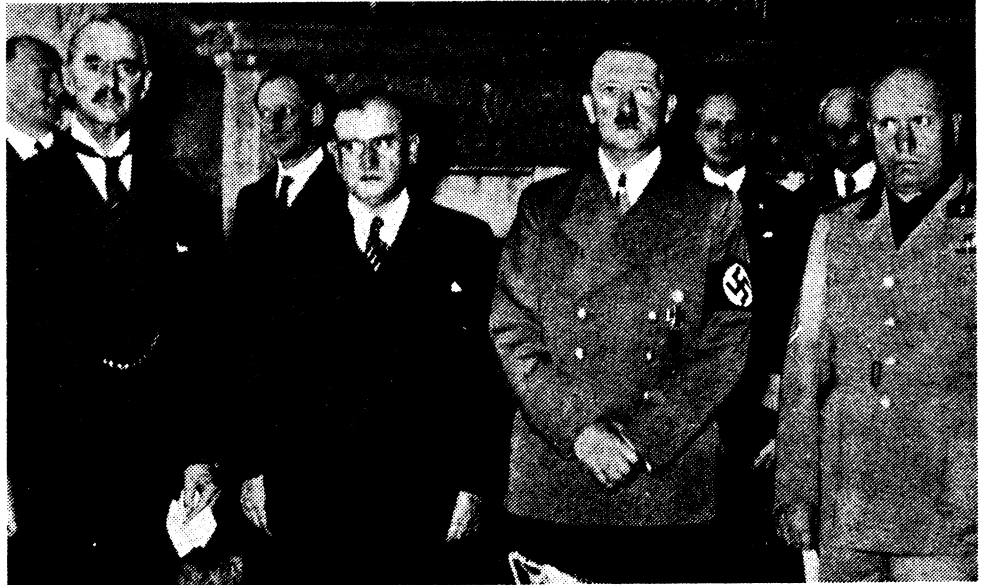
Two years later, when Hitler felt he was ready, he invaded the Soviet Union, taking Stalin completely by surprise. The Stalin-Hitler pact, like the collective security agreements, was revealed to be just a scrap of paper.

The Soviet workers and peasants paid a ghastly price for Stalin's "road to peace." During World War II, the Soviet Union suffered 20 million dead. The "allies" of the Soviet Union refused for three years to open a western front, letting the Soviet people hold off Hitler's armies alone.

Defeats for workers

The huge number of Soviet war dead was only one of the defeats for the working class that stemmed from Stalin's collective security line.

In France, the masses of workers rose up under the Popular Front regime, thinking they had a government of their own. But their wave of sit-down strikes was broken by the gov-



British and French representatives Chamberlain and Daladier (from left) with partners in Munich pact, Hitler and Mussolini.

ernment, with the help of the CP, and their hopes for a revolutionary transformation were crushed.

In Spain the heroic mass struggle against the fascists was slowly strangled by Stalin. In the course of the war the peasants rose up to take over land; the workers created broad democratic councils and militias; they took over factories and began producing their own arms; in Catalonia a full-fledged social revolution began to occur.

However, the line of the Spanish Stalinists and the Popular Front was to deliberately crush any mobilization of workers or peasants that threatened to go beyond the bounds of respect for private property, since this would scare off the liberal capitalist forces in Spain as well as "democratic" France and Britain, whom Stalin sought as allies.

To enforce this line, Stalin refused to send more than token amounts of arms to the republican armies, and instead he sent Soviet GPU (secret police) agents to Spain to aid in flogging and eliminating Trotskyists, anarchists, and any other militant worker leaders who criticized the Popular Front from the left.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940, it was as though the Stalinists "wanted to eliminate the need for fascism by proving to the Spanish and world bourgeoisie that they were themselves capable of strangling the proletarian revolution under the banner of 'democracy.'"

One million Spaniards died in this war, as Hitler and Mussolini used Spain as a testing ground for their new weapons of mass slaughter.

Trotsky's view

Throughout the years leading up to the carnage of the Second World War, Leon Trotsky waged a tireless campaign against Stalin's policy of détente. Exiled in Europe and then in Mexico, Trotsky mercilessly exposed every new twist and turn in Stalin's policy of international class collaborationism.

He pointed out that the drive toward war stemmed not from a conflict between the democratic and fascist capitalist regimes, but rather from the conflicts between the capitalists—of both democratic and fascist nations—over control of markets and raw materials.

Trotsky wrote in 1935 that "the contradiction between Germany and France is by no means that of democracy vs. Fascism, but rather that between a hungry and a sated imperialism."

France already was living off of a colonial empire of some 60 mil-

lion superexploited workers and peasants, while German imperialism was more "hungry" to carve out for itself a larger colonial empire.

The United States, Britain, and France, Trotsky wrote, could afford to allow political democracy only because they were "the richest, traditionally the most predatory and privileged capitalist countries which have long since concentrated in their hands a lion's share of the colonial possessions and the chief natural resources of our planet." They could therefore buy social peace by granting higher living standards to their own workers.

As far as their "peacefulness" was concerned, Trotsky noted, "The 'peaceful' English and French democracies rest on the suppression of national-democratic movements of hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa for the sake of the super-profits derived from them."

How to fight fascism

This is not to say that Trotsky thought the working class should be indifferent to the rise of fascism. To the contrary. He explained, however, that the imperialist democracies and their armies could not be looked to as a force against fascism.

The history of the 1930s demonstrates that these imperialists were not opposed to Hitler or Mussolini's rule any more than they were to Franco's seizure of power in Spain. The only reason they went to war against Hitler was because of Germany's challenge to their markets and colonies.

To fight fascism, Trotsky urged the creation of united fronts of workers

Continued on page 22



Spanish Communist Party rally during 1936-39 civil war. Stalinist strategy of popular front led to terrible defeat for Spanish workers and peasants.

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RACISM IN DENVER'S SCHOOLS. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

HOUSTON

SOUTHWESTERN BELL VS. CIVIL LIBERTIES. Speakers: representative from Communications Workers of America; Charles Sabatini, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

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ATHENS '73: Film on Greek student struggle against military dictatorship. Speaker: Bill Warrick, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westside Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

MILWAUKEE

IS BIOLOGY WOMAN'S DESTINY? Speakers: Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist; Myrna Lamb, feminist playwright. Thurs., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. Milwaukee Room, West 191, University of Wisconsin/Milwaukee Union, 2200 E. Kenwood Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: UWM Feminist Center and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (414) 963-5551.

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JENNESS AND HAMILL ON TELEVISION. Linda Jenness, cochairperson of 1976 Socialist Workers campaign committee, and Pete Hamill, former New York Post columnist, in a discussion of strategies for building socialism. Mon., Feb. 10, 11:30 a.m. on Channel 5 television's "Midday Live" show.

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MAOISM IN THE U.S.: TOWARD A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY? Speaker: Lisa Potash, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

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THE NEW U.S. WAR THREAT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Speaker: Mike Maloney. Fri., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

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...Dist. 1

Continued from page 16

al budget instead of year-to-year federal or state funding. All paraprofessionals and bilingual and Black studies teachers dismissed by the present board must be reinstated.

● "Our schools should be open to all

community residents regardless of whether or not they are citizens."

The nine candidates being chosen by the parents will once again be opposed in the May election by a "brotherhood" slate backed and financed by Shanker. In last year's election, parents ran a vigorous campaign against Shanker's well-financed machine, winning four of nine seats.

The Por los Niños/Save the Children campaign headquarters is located at 90 Avenue B, at 6th Street, in the Lower East Side. The telephones are (212) 982-0480 and 477-9437. Weekly campaign meetings are held on Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 18

January 25, the PRG charged that Saigon had violated the cease-fire agreement 533,000 times in the past two years.

As *New York Times* diplomatic correspondent Leslie H. Gelb noted in the February 2 issue, the "predictions of possible North Vietnamese offensives seem to correlate better with the American budgetary cycle than with the weather in Vietnam."

Washington's propaganda campaign carries with it the implicit threat of renewed U.S. military intervention in Indochina, as was shown by the recent declaration that it no longer feels bound by the Paris accords.

"To escalate the American role now," *Times* columnist Lewis wrote, "is to chase the old delusion that we can impose our settlement on the Vietnamese. If we start down that road again, no one should expect it to stop at arms aid. Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, in his remarks about 'aggression' rousing America to anger, signaled the possibility of U.S. forces going back into combat."

In a January 21 news conference, President Ford left open just that possibility. When asked if there were any circumstances in which Washington might reenter the Vietnam war, Ford replied that he didn't foresee any "at the moment." "Are you ruling out the possibility of bombing, U.S. bombing over there, or naval action?" a reporter asked. Ford answered: "I don't think it's appropriate for me to forecast any specific actions that might be taken."

Defense Secretary Schlesinger has already admitted that Washington has resumed its reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam.

In a January 17 *Washington Post* column, Tad Szulc described how the resumption of reconnaissance flights could quickly lead to greater military intervention: "If American pilots are lost, the administration may again invoke the need to protect U.S. lives by assigning armed escorts and, as one step leads to another, order 'protective' hits at North Vietnamese anti-aircraft emplacements."

Any reescalation of the U.S. involvement in the Indochina war, however, would be an extremely risky proposition for the U.S. rulers. The continued antiwar sentiment in the United States will make it difficult for Congress to accept Ford's aid request. Even Senator Henry Jackson, a longtime defender of Washington's Vietnam war policies, who now has his eye on the 1976 presidential campaign, has hesitated to publicly support the Ford proposal.

Kissinger also reflected concern over a possible resurgence of antiwar protests when he said at a news conference January 28, "Let me express the hope that what we are asking for doesn't rekindle the entire debate on Vietnam. . . ."

...detente

Continued from page 21

organizations for mass action against the fascists.

While refusing to give an ounce of political support to capitalist politicians, Trotsky said, the workers should fight alongside even capitalist forces—as they did in Spain—if any were willing to oppose the fascists not only in words but in action.

But, he wrote in 1938, "It is . . . sheer fraud and charlatanism to transfer mechanically the laws and rules of the struggle between *different* classes of *one and the same* nation over to an imperialist war, that is, the struggle waged by *one and the same class* of *different* nations."

That is, a workers united front against the fascists and their protectors in one country is a form of class struggle; but for the workers to take sides between two imperialist ruling classes—or between groupings of "democratic" imperialists and fascist

imperialists—entails a betrayal of the class struggle.

It means covering up for the fact that the "democratic" imperialists are fighting not for any political principles of democracy, but rather for colonies and the right to exploit, both in their own country and abroad.

Trotsky wrote that "the only obstacle in the path of war is the fear of the property-owning classes of revolution." By turning the Communist parties from leaders of the class struggle into guardians of capitalism, Stalin freed the hands of the imperialist rulers to drive toward war.

In 1939, following the defeat of the Spanish workers and peasants in the civil war, Trotsky wrote the following epitaph on the first Stalinist attempt at détente with world imperialism:

"The Spanish tragedy will go down in history as an episode on the path of preparation of a new world war. . . . The charlatanism of Popular Fronts serves one part of the imperialists to conceal their plans from the popular masses, as the other gang uses phrases about blood, honor, and race for the same purpose. The petty-bourgeois windbags and phrasemongers only make it easier for the imperialists to prepare war, by preventing the workers from seeing the naked truth.

"Thus, from various ends and by various methods, a new carnage of the people is being prepared. Humanity can be saved from ruin and destruction only by tearing the vanguard of the proletariat away from imperialism and its lackeys; by complete independence of proletarian policy; by complete mistrust of the rituals of imperialism, fascist and democratic; by merciless struggle against the Second and Third Internationals; by stubborn, systematic, untiring preparations for the international proletarian revolution!"

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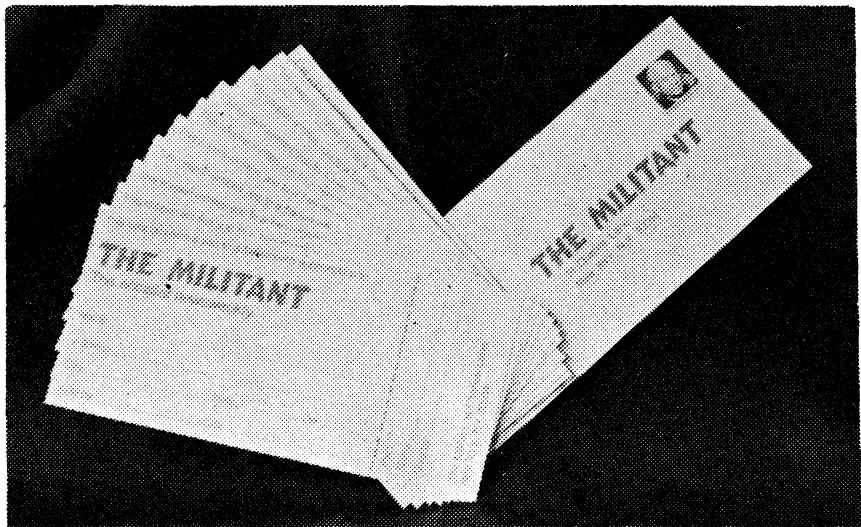
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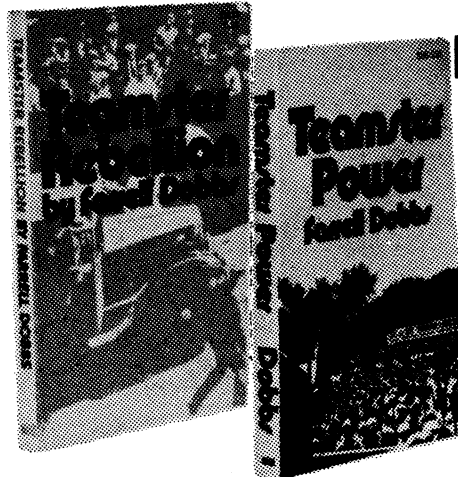
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'Now voters have a choice'

Willie Mae Reid wins Chicago ballot fight

By JUDY HAGANS

CHICAGO—In a major victory for democratic rights, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Willie Mae Reid has won a place on the April 1 ballot here.

Reid, whose running mates are Antonio DeLeon for city clerk and Nancy Rosenstock for city treasurer, will be the first independent candidate to appear on Chicago's mayoral ballot in decades.

On Jan. 27 Reid filed 66,243 signatures of Chicago voters—the maximum permitted—to fulfill the outrageously high requirements for certification.

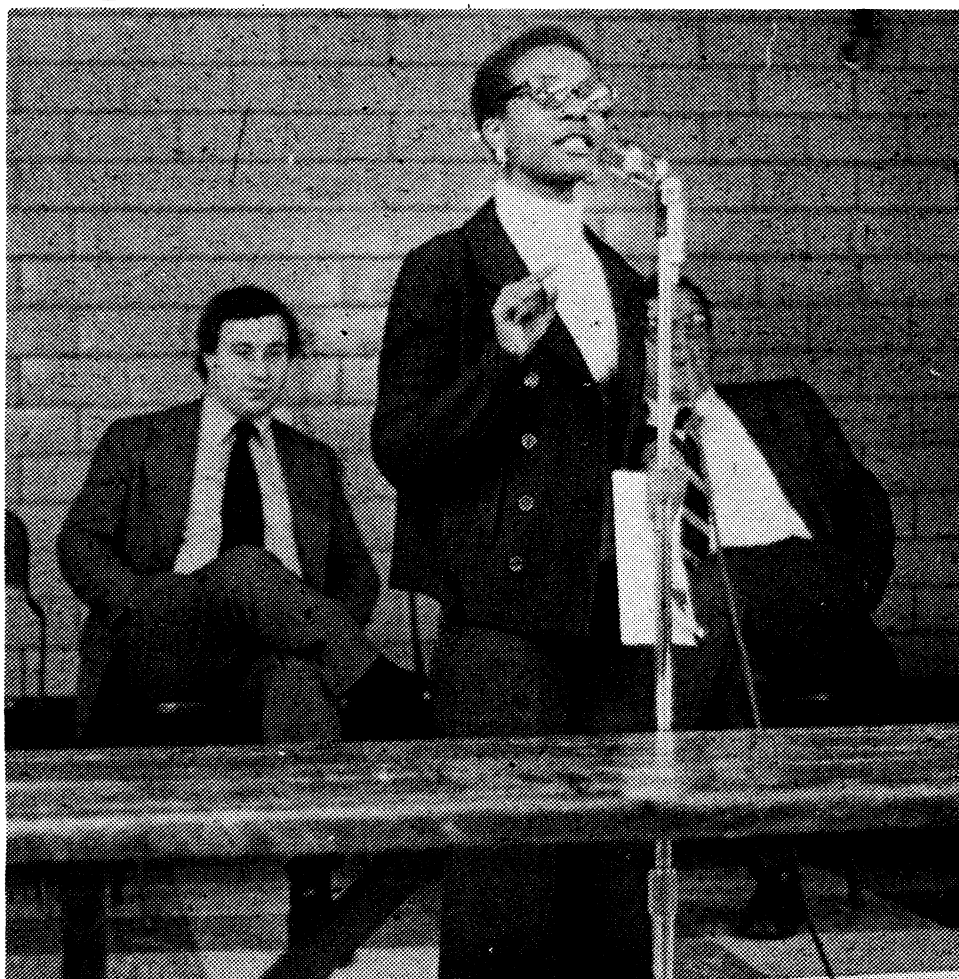
Feb. 1 was the deadline for filing challenges to those signatures. None were submitted, so the socialist candidate is assured of a position on the ballot.

At a news conference just before filing, Reid stated, "I'm here to say to the board of elections that it's high time our mayoral ballot gave the voters a choice other than Democrats or Republicans. Now more than ever, with rampant inflation, skyrocketing unemployment, and a serious decline in the quality of life everywhere, people must have an opportunity to see for themselves who is serious about solving these problems."

Reid, the only Black and the only woman to file as an independent candidate, added, "Our campaign is historic because it represents proof that real independent politics is possible in Chicago. It's a very good sign when 66,000 people say, 'The socialists have the right to be heard in this election.'"

Joining Reid and a delegation of her supporters at the filing were a number of Chicagoans who came to demonstrate backing for her right to be on the ballot. Among them were: Dr. Richard Rubenstein, a political science professor at Roosevelt University; Ayoub Talhami, Arab-American Congress for Palestine; Brad Lytle, longtime peace activist; journalist Ron Dorfman; and Professor Louis Gordon, University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Those present were signers of a statement circulated by the Illinois Committee for Democratic Election Laws supporting Reid's ballot rights. Others who signed the statement include: Barbara Merrill, state convener, Coalition of Labor Union Women; Edward Sadlowski, director, United Steelworkers of America District 31; Neal Bratcher, director, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 19; author Sid Lens; Alderwoman Anna Langford; and Democratic mayoral candidate Richard Newhouse.



Willie Mae Reid debates Democratic contenders William Singer (left) and Edward Hanrahan at a West Side community center.

Candidates running independently of the Democratic and Republican parties must obtain signatures of registered voters equivalent to between 5 percent and 8 percent of the vote cast in the previous election for governor. Candidates of the two capitalist parties in the primaries are required to submit signatures totaling 0.5 percent of the vote of their party's candidate in the same election.

So while Reid had to secure at least 41,403 valid signatures, her Democratic and Republican opponents needed only some 3,000.

E. Duke McNeil, a Black Democrat who had entered and then withdrawn from the Democratic primary in favor of State Senator Richard Newhouse, had hoped to appear on the April 1 ballot as an independent. But he announced the day after the filing deadline that he had been unable to gather sufficient signatures.

Reid's victory in the fight for ballot status came in the midst of intensified campaign activities. On Jan. 20 she confronted Democratic mayoral contenders Newhouse, Alderman William Singer, and former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan at a meeting attended by 400 students at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Originally invited to be part of the panel, Reid was subsequently disinclined at the instigation of Singer campaign officials. However, during the discussion period, Reid asked whether there was any objection to her joining the debate. Enthusiastic applause greeted the decision to allow Reid to make a presentation.

A headline on the article in the campus newspaper reporting on the debate indicated the friendly reception Reid received: "Socialist Workers Candidate Steals Show."

Hanrahan's presence on campus angered many students. Hanrahan was state's attorney at the time of the assassination of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. It was cops under Hanrahan's command who carried out the infamous raid in which the two Black activists were murdered.

Although they both spoke about crime and police brutality, neither Singer nor Newhouse had any comments on the brutal murder organized by the man sitting next to them.

Hanrahan, clearly worried about trying to undercut his racist image, said the major issue of the campaign is "crime" and pointed out that most crime victims in Chicago are Black.

His solution, like those of Singer

and Newhouse, is to send more cops into the Black community without doing anything to tackle the problems that breed crime.

Reid was applauded when she denounced Hanrahan as a "racist." She pointed out that none of the other three candidates on the platform could solve society's problems, since they all defended the capitalist status quo.

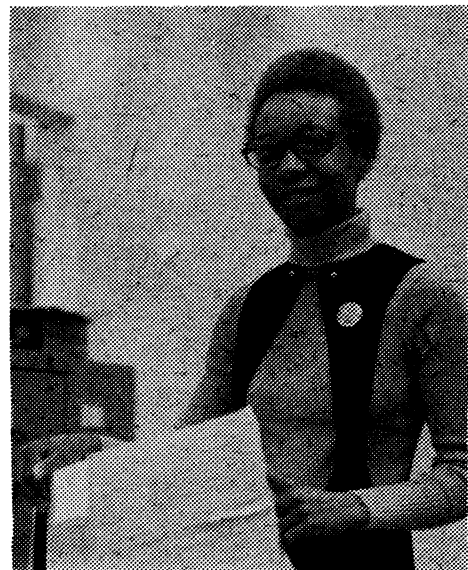
In a second debate, held Jan. 23 in the West Side Black community, Reid again minced no words as she spoke along with Singer, Hanrahan, and McNeil (who was present on behalf of Newhouse).

Reid attacked the rising unemployment rate and the failure of the other parties to present alternatives that would provide jobs. To end unemployment the socialist candidate called for massive public works programs and shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the work around.

Hanrahan again tried to portray himself as being concerned with the problems of the Black community. But the audience asked many hostile questions and was clearly not buying the idea that he had "changed." After one questioner accused Hanrahan of being behind the Panther raid, Hanrahan made some feeble attempts to clear himself of responsibility and left the meeting.

During the continuing question period, Reid pointed out that not only Hanrahan but also federal agencies such as the FBI and the Chicago "red squad" were responsible for the raid.

To learn more about the Socialist Workers Party campaign in Chicago, or to find out how you can help, contact the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Telephone: (312) 939-0737.



Militant/Cassandra Dowden

Reid with petitions. Ballot victory is first in decades for an independent candidate.