

THE MILITANT

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

Mass actions needed

Unite to defeat Boston racists!

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rally for jobs
in Washington**

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**SWP's Camejo
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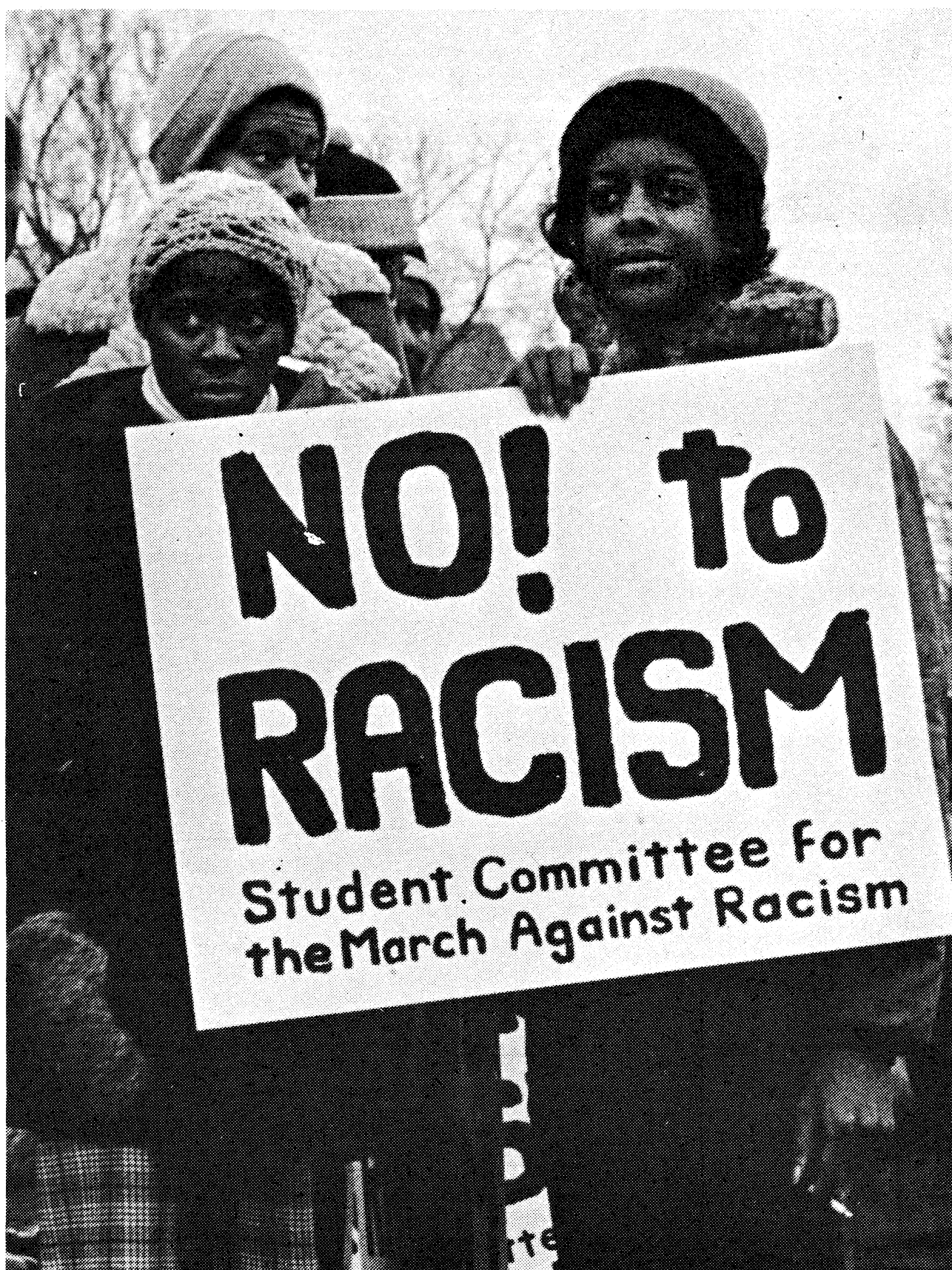
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Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

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In Brief

SUBSCRIBERS WANTED: A total of 9,000 new readers of *The Militant* is the goal of the subscription drive that begins Feb. 14 and will continue until April 12. In the course of the campaign there will be two national "blitz" weekends, March 1 and March 22, when *Militant* supporters will be knocking on the doors of hundreds of campus dormitories, housing projects, and apartment buildings, offering prospective subscribers two months of *The Militant* for only \$1.

STREET SALES: Also planned is an 11-week single-copy sales campaign with the aim of regularly selling 9,700 copies of *The Militant* across the country each week. That effort begins with the Feb. 28 issue of the paper.

Want to help get out the socialist newsweekly that tells the truth about the racist attacks in Boston, the economic crisis, and the other issues affecting our lives? Contact the socialists in your area listed in the Socialist Directory on page 22, or write directly to *The Militant* to order a weekly bundle of the paper and subscription blanks.

FBI TERRORISM IN SAN DIEGO: FBI agent Howard Godfrey, acting as an agent provocateur within the right-wing Secret Army Organization (SAO), formulated plans to destroy the antiwar movement in San Diego during the period when the Republican Party was planning to hold its 1972 convention in that city. Godfrey even drove the car in which another SAO member was riding when that member shot and wounded antiwar activist Paula Tharp.

These are among the allegations made in a suit filed Jan. 6 by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of San Diego activists Peter Bohmer and Paula Tharp. Defendants in the suit are the FBI and CIA, as well as a variety of federal and local officials and former officials of the Nixon administration.

The suit charges that there was a conspiracy in operation from 1969 to 1974 in which the defendants promoted and engaged in such illegal acts as shooting Tharp, firebombing, and wiretapping. The plot is linked both to the FBI "Cointelpro" program for disrupting the left and direct White House efforts through Donald Segretti and others to prevent the peaceful protests planned for the Republican convention, which was to be held in San Diego.

Segretti met with SAO members to develop plans to prevent the demonstrations, and the FBI provided funds to the SAO for the purchase of firearms and explosives, according to the suit. Additionally, the FBI is held responsible for having Bohmer fired from his position as a professor at San Diego State College.

The suit demands a halt to such activities and asks \$10.6-million in damages.

WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS: The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is sponsoring a speak-out in defense of international women political prisoners scheduled for Feb. 21 in New York City.

Speakers will include Maria Isabel Barreno, one of the "Three Marias," the Portuguese feminists who wrote *New Portuguese Letters*; Ti-Grace Atkinson, author of *Amazon Odyssey*; Barbara Solomon, writer on Spain and Portugal; Phyllis Chesler, psychologist and author of *Women and Madness*; Jacqueline Ceballos, president of New York National Organization for Women's international committee; and others.

The cases of Lidia Falcon and Genoveva Forest in Spain, Inez Romeu of Brazil, and the thousands of female political prisoners in the jails of the Chilean junta will receive special attention.

The event will be held at Loeb Student Center, South Lobby, New York University (W. 4th St. and La Guardia) at 8 p.m.

For more information contact USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 600, New York, N.Y. 10010. Their telephone number is (212) 691-2880.

A VICTORY FOR THE ERA: North Dakota became the thirty-fourth state to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) on Feb. 3, when that state's house of representatives voted 52 to 49 to approve the measure. The state senate had earlier ratified the amendment, 28 to 22.

That leaves four more states to reach the 38 required to ratify the amendment.

RIGHT TO ABORTION: The impact of the Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion is illustrated by the results of a study reported in the Feb. 3 *Los Angeles Times*. The number of legal abortions jumped from 750,000 in 1973 to an estimated 900,000 in 1974, making the operation the most common surgical procedure besides tonsillectomy.

Meanwhile, the availability of abortions to poor people remains limited. Only 17 percent of public hospitals,

on which the poor depend, performed any abortions in the first quarter of 1974. Most abortions were handled in nonhospital clinics, with only 7 percent of the total facilities providing 60 percent of the abortions.

The "effect is to make the constitutional right to choose abortion considerably less available to low-income women, who experience the highest rates of unwanted . . . pregnancy," the study concluded.

JENNESS AND HAMILL DISCUSS SOCIALISM: The *Village Voice* of Jan. 13 featured an article by writer Pete Hamill declaring that the solution to the problems now facing the people of this country is socialism. Hamill called for a public discussion on the subject and proposed a presidential ticket headed by social-democrat Michael Harrington.

This has elicited a response, both pro and con, from *Voice* readers. Harrington, who wrote an article declining Hamill's "nomination," argued that socialists should work inside the Democratic Party.

As part of this continuing discussion, Channel 5 television in New York City invited Hamill and Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate in 1972, to explain the basic ideas of socialism. The show was telecast Feb. 10.

In next week's *Militant* we'll run excerpts from the Hamill-Jenness discussion.

SPEAKING OF SOCIALISM: "It is better not to use that word, because everybody locks into position, either for or against it, but that is the real issue for the next 20 to 25 years." Those are the words of Budget Director Roy Ash, arguing for a reduction in federal spending for social services.

Ash said that the Ford administration is afraid that socialism "would occur by the year 2000 if present trends continued." In order to safeguard against that possibility, Ash proposed that the American people agree to a 5 percent limit on such programs as Social Security, Medicare, food stamps, military retirement, and unemployment insurance for at least the next 25 years.

If that is the means by which the American people must combat socialism, Ash may be surprised to find a lot more of them "locking into position" for it.

STUDENTS IN PUERTO RICO PROTEST SUSPENSIONS: Eight hundred students marched on the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico Feb. 7 demanding the reinstatement of 12 student leaders who had been suspended the week before by the rector of the campus. The 12 students included all 10 members of the student council of the humanities faculty and two humanities representatives to the general student council.

The purge came in the middle of student and faculty unrest over a government plan to impose cutbacks and reorganize the university. Students responded by holding general assemblies in the five faculties to discuss the cutbacks.

But the rector refused to grant humanities students permission to hold a meeting. The student council of the faculty then led a march protesting the ban, which the administration falsely claimed was an attack by students armed with clubs and firearms.

This was the rector's pretext for the suspensions, which were made without a prior hearing on the charges, in violation of the student code.

The Young Communist League, a Trotskyist group active on the Rio Piedras campus, is asking that protest messages be sent to Ismael Rodriguez Bou, rector, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, P.R. 00931, with copies to the Consejo General de Estudiantes, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, P.R. 00931.

TIGHTENING THE BELT: In 1974, the price of food consumed by poor families increased more than that of food eaten by more affluent families, a new congressional economic survey reports. Poorer families' food bills rose 12.7 percent.

"In a year such as 1974 when taxes, transportation and housing costs rose more rapidly than food, families whose incomes did not keep up with inflation had to substitute down to less expensive food," the report said.

That means that since the cheapest staples such as bread and beans have increased in price the most, "many of these families and elderly couples have simply had to duce their consumption and in some cases go without some meals."

The report also said taxes rose more than any other single item in the family budget (31 percent for a family of four with an income of \$9,320 a year), and were rising faster proportionately for poor families than for middle income and rich taxpayers.

— NELSON BLACKSTOCK

What next for UAW?

Auto workers rally in D.C. for jobs

By ANDY ROSE

The United Auto Workers' national rally for jobs on Feb. 5 was more a preliminary signal of the pressures building up within the union movement than a model of what independent labor action can do.

The turnout of nearly 10,000 in Washington, D.C.—volunteers who had signed up for the long bus trip—was more than UAW officials had predicted, perhaps more than they wanted.

It was a militant, shouting, placard-waving, foot-stamping crowd that often broke into chants of "We want jobs!"

'We'll be back'

Speakers were caught up in the mood of the angry young workers, or at least wished to appear so. "If people in power don't understand the plight of the unemployed, we're going to come back again and again and again," promised UAW Vice-president Douglas Fraser.

"We can't wait until June or July or August for answers," he declared. "We need them now."

Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, shouted himself hoarse denouncing President Ford's new budget proposals. There were cheers for those who attacked military spending and tax breaks for the wealthy.

Desperation, anger, growing desire for action—it was a sign of the mood in the vast army of the unemployed. Just two days after the demonstration, the Labor Department announced that by its tally unemployment had surged to 7.5 million in January—8.2 percent of the total work force and 13.4 percent of Black workers.

When the "discouraged" workers and those forced to accept only part-time work are added in, the total of unemployed and underemployed surpasses 10 million. Some 1.8 million jobs have been wiped out just since September.

This tidal wave of layoffs is beginning to worry the official leaders of the labor movement. In the face of the government's inactivity, some are beginning to talk of organizing demonstrations.

'Pull out our troops'

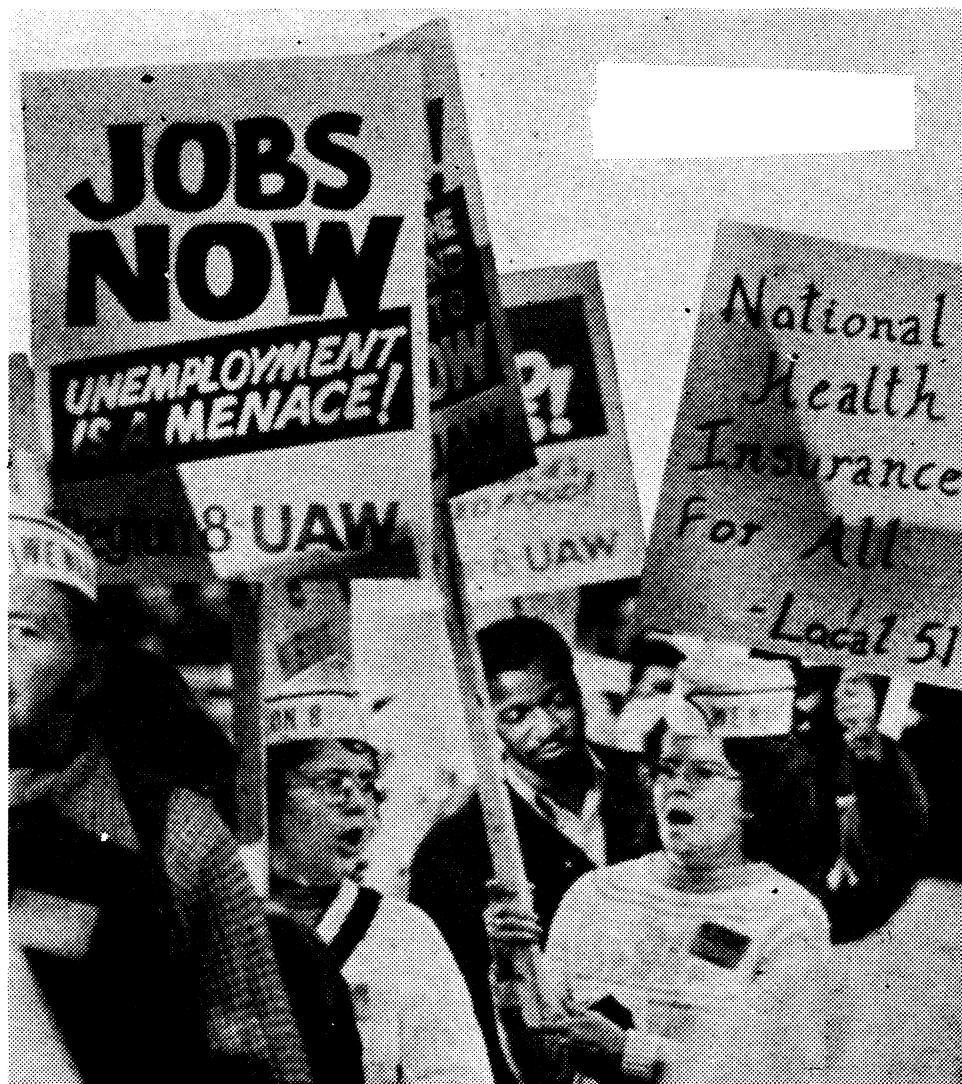
"Our people are looking for it," William Duchessi of the United Textile Workers told the special AFL-CIO general board meeting last month.

Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, agreed: "What we have to do is pull out our troops and come back with a massive army." AFL-CIO President George Meany would of course have nothing to do with such proposals, but the idea is spreading nevertheless.

Victor Gotbaum, head of the influential District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City, is talking up a plan for a march on Washington, and splashed the call across the front page of District Council 37's newspaper last month.

And on Jan. 29, UAW chief Woodcock got loud applause from a Machinists' union meeting when he said: "If by spring we're not getting action in the nation's capital we should be down here all together in the range of 250,000 to march in the streets of Washington to tell them something."

But Feb. 5 was only a tiny indication of the forces the UAW could mobilize, and intentionally so. Some 300,000 auto workers are laid off,



Militant crowd reflected unemployed workers' growing anger and desire for action

and most of them are probably eager to act at their union's call, but the involvement of such large numbers was discouraged.

Keep it 'controlled'

New York Times reporter Anthony Ripley, who presumably was briefed by top union officials, wrote that their approach was to hold a "controlled" demonstration that carried a "warning" of possible future action.

One UAW aide told him that marches of hundreds of thousands tend to be "diffuse." "A big demonstration is a knee-jerk reaction," the union staffer said, "a card you don't play unless absolutely necessary."

The UAW officialdom's knee-joints must be getting rusty, then, since this was the first such union-sponsored national march for jobs since 1959.

Up to now Woodcock has devoted his attention to schemes to get the auto industry rolling again, such as a UAW-paid advertising campaign to help sell cars.

This may be in keeping with the "trickle down" economic theories of Herbert Hoover and Gerald Ford, but hardly with the traditions of the labor movement. Woodcock has gone so far as to join the auto magnates in denouncing pollution controls and defending sky-high auto prices. He alleges that profits are "paper thin."

Woodcock apparently kept these pro-business themes in his briefcase when he addressed the Washington rally, perhaps sensing that the wondrous efficiency of the private-profit system was not what jobless auto workers wanted to hear about.

Instead he took the auto companies off the hook in a different way. "The auto industry will recover when the economy recovers," Woodcock said.

Dismal prospect

Now there's a dismal prospect. One of the few economic predictions that can be made with certainty is that auto workers' Supplemental Unemploy-

ment Benefits will run out long before the economy revives enough to put them back to work—if it ever does. Auto executives are openly discussing plans to scale down production enough to operate profitably at permanently depressed levels of sales.

The element of truth is that the economic crisis is far broader than the auto industry, and its solution will require action going beyond the collective bargaining arena—political action.

The question is, *what kind of political action?*

The UAW officialdom gave its answer at the Feb. 5 rally. The assembled jobless were treated to a parade of Democratic politicians eager to place sole blame for the layoffs on the Republican administration and to join with the UAW in demanding action *by the executive branch.*

"We are asking for jobs now," said Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), "and if we don't get them, we're going

to get a new president."

Well, even aside from the question of whether auto workers can wait until January 1977 for relief, we just got a new president, supposedly free from the sins of the old one. And if he seems to offer little hope, there's a brand new Congress as well.

Indeed, the UAW poured considerable funds into electing the solidly Democratic majority of the new "veto-proof" Congress.

Friends of labor?

If there were any *real* "friends of labor" in Congress they could take immediate action to provide jobs for all—no need to wait for Ford.

- They could adopt legislation to put all the unemployed—not 100,000, not one million, not two million, but *all* who want jobs—to work at union wages on socially useful public works.

- They could move to have the government take over and keep open any factories that threaten to close down.

- They could amend the hours and wages law to institute a 30-hour workweek at 40 hours pay in all industry.

Those are the kinds of measures true representatives of working people, running on an independent labor party ticket, would fight for. And they would not limit the fight to the halls of Congress, but would take the lead in strikes and mass demonstrations for the needs of working people.

The plain fact is that for all the demagoguery and posturing of Democrats on the make for the labor vote, the Democrats are doing nothing more for the unemployed than the Republicans, nor will they in the future.

The curious timidity of the UAW leaders in acting to defend auto workers' jobs has its roots in their alliance with these Democrats—an alliance that requires limiting their demands to what the Democrats find acceptable.

Ready to fight

There *are* answers to the economic crisis. They will be found not by worrying about how the auto companies can fatten their profits, but by beginning to mobilize the union ranks in struggle for their own interests and those of the unemployed and unorganized.

Important concessions can be wrested from government and industry, but it will take a fight. The enthusiasm of the Feb. 5 rally may be an indication that auto workers are readier for such a fight than their leaders suspect.

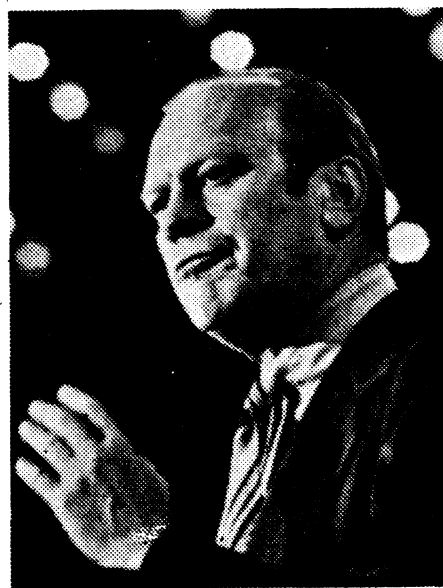
'Keep 'em out of Washington'

At his Feb. 11 news conference in Topeka, Kans., President Ford was asked what he would think of a mass march on Washington by the unemployed, "which you hear increasingly talked about in labor circles."

Ford replied: "Now, I think it's just a great deal better from the point of view of domestic tranquility for all of us to concentrate on achieving an answer to our economic problems."

"Action by the Congress, administrative decisions by me, this I think is more productive than something that could upset some of the people in Washington and elsewhere."

Could there be any better recommendation for starting right now to organize such a march?



FORD: Let me handle it

Rally calls for unity against rightist terror

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES— Three days after it was bombed, the Central-East Los Angeles campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party was the scene of a militant, spirited rally demanding that Mayor Thomas Bradley act immediately to apprehend the terrorists responsible for the bombing.

Well over 200 people jammed into the hall Feb. 7 to hear a broad range of speakers join in a call for a united response to the terrorists to force action by the city administration.

The meeting responded with repeated applause as the chairperson, Walter Lippmann, read copies of letters to Mayor Bradley from an exceptionally wide spectrum of prominent individuals from across the country and an equally broad range of organizations. All demanded that he take action against the bombers.

The rally was covered by the Los Angeles TV affiliates of CBS and ABC and was prominently featured on the local 11 o'clock news programs.

Both programs focused on the demand of the rally for action by the mayor, and both referred to the record of police inaction against right-wing terrorists.

Both newscasts also noted the well-organized monitoring system inside and outside the hall to ensure the safety of the rally, and both cited the absence of police protection.

CBS also interviewed SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo, who flew in from Atlanta to participate in the rally.

A Militant Forum meeting had originally been scheduled for that night at the hall, with a speaker from the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. After the bombing attack, it was decided to turn the meeting into a rally against the terrorists. The principal speaker was Reverend Amos Barstow Murphy, chairperson of the Los Angeles Rosenberg commit-



Militant/Al Twiss

Rally of 200 demands Mayor Bradley act now to apprehend terrorists who planted bomb at SWP hall.

tee. On Feb. 2 a rally of the Rosenberg committee was disrupted by a tear-gas attack.

The other speakers were: Will Lewis, station manager of Pacifica radio station KPFK; author and playwright Donald Freed; Dr. Morris Starsky, who recently won disclosure of secret FBI documents detailing a "counter-intelligence operation" against him; and Deborah Chankin of the Los Angeles National Women's Political Caucus.

Also: Tim Mallory, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Pasadena school board; Olga Rodriguez of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance; Michael Zinzun, Pasadena Black activist; John T. Williams, Teamsters union business agent; Manuel Rodriguez of the anti-deportation organization CASA; and Verne Harrell, president of Social Services Union Local 535, a Los Angeles affiliate of the Service Employees International Union.

In brief statements, Will Lewis and

Michael Zinzun urged a united response to the terrorists. Verne Harrell spoke of the need for the labor movement to concern itself with the issue.

Manuel Rodriguez told of the terrorist bombings of Chicano activists in Colorado and the police refusal to act. He too urged solidarity in the face of such attacks.

Deborah Chankin said her presence expressed the support of the National Women's Political Caucus. "When I mentioned to someone at work this afternoon that I was going to come to this meeting," she said, "they said, 'You're going to walk into the place that was bombed?' That is why I am here.

"As women," she continued, "we are trying to make progress with the concerns of women. There are two things we have learned. One is that none of us are free until all of us are. And we've learned that no one is free until they are not afraid. . . . One of the ways you get rid of freedom of assembly is by scaring people."

Nazis admit bombing; cops still fail to act

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 11— A Nazi group has declared it carried out the Feb. 4 bomb attack on the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters here.

The *City News Service*, a local news agency, said it received a phone call Feb. 6 from the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front taking credit for the murderous attack.

The caller said the purpose of the attack was not to harass socialists but to "exterminate" them.

He concluded by shouting "White power!"

Earlier a Santa Monica police offi-

cial said the same Nazi group had declared that it was responsible for the tear-gas disruption of a Feb. 2 rally held by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Also, the day after the bombing of the Central-East SWP headquarters, a threat was posted on the door of the party's headquarters in Santa Monica.

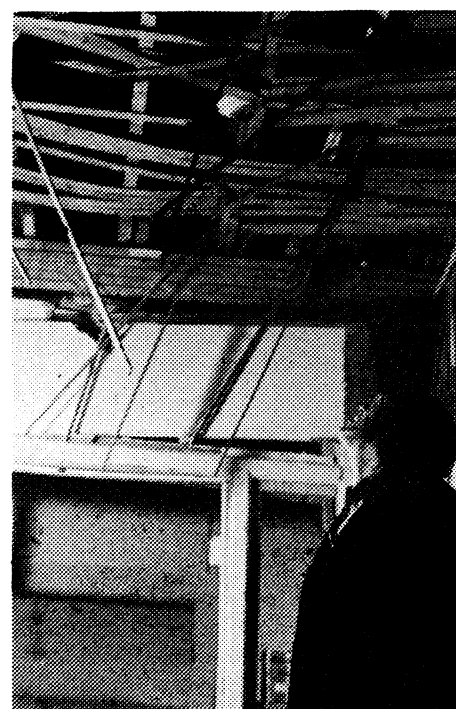
Signed by the same Nazi gang, the leaflet was inscribed with a rifle and swastika and declared, "Political Terror. It's the only thing they understand."

The bomb that exploded at the SWP hall was set off with intent to kill. There were about 25 people in the headquarters at the time and no warning was given. Fortunately the bomber was seen just as he lit the fuse, and those present were able to escape through a rear exit just as the fragmentation-type bomb exploded with lethal force. While there were no injuries, damage was extensive.

Several hours later a similar bomb was hurled through the window of the Unidos bookstore, initiated by the October League, a Maoist-oriented group. No one was present at the time, but damage there too was extensive.

A representative of the same Nazi gang appeared on the TV panel on school desegregation last December, along with Omari Musa of the Socialist Workers Party, a former mayor of Beverly Hills, and a representative of the Ku Klux Klan.

The frothings of the Nazi made the Klansmen appear almost lucid by



Militant/Harry Ring

Ceiling above bomb blast was wrecked

comparison. The Nazi began by explaining that his group had split from the National Socialist White People's Party because it did not relate sufficiently to "armed struggle."

A few days after the broadcast, the same group appeared in the Black community in Pasadena at the assembly point for the Dec. 14 march against school segregation. Carrying race-baiting placards, the Nazis immediately got into a scuffle with demonstrators, but monitors forced them away.

Tim Mallory focused on the demand for action by the Bradley administration and cited some of the long list of terrorist attacks and the police failure to act.

Olga Rodriguez, who came in from New York for the rally, declared that the YSA saw the bombing as an attack on the entire organization and pledged the support of the national organization in fighting back.

John T. Williams eloquently appealed for a united, fighting response, and pointed to the significance of the bombing coming at a moment of deepening social and economic crisis. He said the attack represented the frustration of those who rule this country and those who represent them.

Don Freed paid tribute to the SWP as an early defender of the Rosenbergs and as a consistent, effective fighter for civil liberties.

Reverend Murphy said the purpose of his remarks was to underscore the urgent need for a united-front response of all progressive and left-wing forces without regard to political differences.

"If we don't work together," he declared, "these terrorist attacks will go on. We will not have strength to oppose violence—in our country and overseas."

Peter Camejo said that actions such as this rally, focusing on the demand for action by Mayor Bradley, could be effective in curbing the terrorists. He told the audience how in Chicago and Houston the SWP had led in developing a campaign to force the authorities to act against the Ku Klux Klan and other right-wing terrorists.

A collection of \$220 was taken, which will be divided between the Rosenberg committee and the SWP.

The protest rally concluded with unanimous adoption of a resolution demanding action by Mayor Bradley, with copies to be circulated to the media and concerned individuals and organizations.

Last Oct. 31, police found an exploded pipe bomb along the route of an antideportation march in East Los Angeles. At various antiwar marches here the Nazis have tried to attack participants.

As of this writing it is five days since the Nazis took credit for the bombing. Despite this fact police have not yet picked any of them up.

The failure of the cops to act in this matter is not an aberration. There has been a long series of right-wing terrorist acts in this city going back to the early 1960s. The SWP has been the target of arson, gun, and bomb attacks. A radical center, the Haymarket, was burned down, as was the Ash Grove, a coffeehouse. The Long March, a movement center, has also been the victim of several arson attacks.

The only conviction obtained by the police throughout all of this was in a single instance where the arsonist literally knocked over a couple of cops while fleeing the scene of the crime.

The stubborn do-nothing position of the police underlines the responsibility of Mayor Thomas Bradley to see to it that those responsible for the bombings are apprehended and put behind bars. If he fails to act, the mayor assumes the same responsibility as the police for permitting a situation where right-wing killers are free to run loose in Los Angeles.

Representative delegations are now being organized to see the mayor and demand that he act now.



Militant/Harry Ring

SWP organizer Lew Jones shows hole in floor of landing where bomb exploded.

Protests pour in to Bradley urging quick action by police to halt right-wing attacks

The following are excerpts from a few of the scores of messages expressing solidarity with the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party in the wake of the bombing of its headquarters Feb. 4 and urging Mayor Thomas Bradley to act to ensure apprehension of the terrorists. In addition to those whose messages are quoted, some of the others who have sent messages to Bradley are:

Art Carter, president of Contra Costa Central Labor Council; Jessica Mitford, author; Howard Moore, attorney; Paul Chown, international representative, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Harry Bullard, state representative, Michigan; and Herb Magidson, Los Angeles Business Executives for Peace.

Also: John T. Williams, Teamsters business agent, Los Angeles; David Richardson Jr., Pennsylvania state representative; Ted Pearson, Illinois Communist Party; Max Lieberless, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 2000, Chicago; Ben Freund, Chicago Clergy and Laity Concerned; State Representative Barney Frank, Boston; New York Public Library Guild Local 1930 (AFSCME); and John Sinclair, United Presbyterian Church, Bloomington, Minn.

Also: Reverend Vernon Carter, All Saints Lutheran Church, Boston; Dr. Ed Keemer, Detroit; Reverend V. L. Hawkinson, Grace Lutheran Church, Minneapolis; Patrick Knight, president, New York Social Services Employees Union; Charles Garry, San Francisco attorney; and John Mitchell, international representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, Summerville, Mass.

Dear Brother Bradley:

We are grieved to hear that right-wing hoodlums seem to be running wild in your city.

We refer to the bombing of offices of the Socialist Workers Party and the October League, as well as tear-gassing of the Rosenberg meeting. . . .

In the past the Los Angeles police



Militant/Al Twiss

JOHN T. WILLIAMS: Los Angeles Teamster leader adds voice to protest.

department has been less than diligent in pursuing the perpetrators of such atrocities. However, we hope that under your regime there will be a greater effort to stop such outrages and deal with the criminals involved.

Our experience in the South has been that attacks on the left are usually followed by attacks on Black people and other minorities, since Red-baiting and



Militant/Maceo Dixon

THOMAS ATKINS: Cites SWP's support to desegregation struggle in Boston and Pasadena.

race-baiting are two sides of the coin of reaction.

We trust that you will push the police department to find the bombers and gassers in your city and bring them to justice.

Yours for freedom,
Carl and Anne Braden
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Mayor,

It has been several years since you and I last talked. At that time, I was a member of the Boston city council and you were on the council in Los Angeles. . . .

Since that time, much has happened to both of us. You are the distinguished mayor of one of our most important cities. I am the president of the Boston NAACP, and we are struggling to tear down a system of segregated schooling which was erected by our school committee with as much care and deliberation as any to be found in the backwoods of Mississippi or Alabama. . . .

Many people from around the country have made efforts to let us know here that they support our efforts, just as you and I did with respect to our colleagues in Mississippi and other parts of the South.

One such group of people who have sent us encouragement has been the various units of the Socialist Workers Party, including the unit located in your city on S. Westlake. The NAACP, and the black children who are the beneficiaries of the federal court decision, have welcomed the support which has been voiced, whatever its source, whenever it has come. We are aware, from long and painful experience across the country, that an assault on individual freedom anywhere is an attack on human dignity everywhere. We are heartened when others view assaults on human rights as seriously as do we.

It was with great sorrow that I read of the most recent attack upon the Socialist Workers Party office in Los Angeles. Any bombing is horrible, whether Americans in Vietnam, or lunatic fringe elements in this country. I was particularly disturbed since I know that the current principal effort of the unit in Los Angeles is the support of the school desegregation efforts in Boston and Pasadena. . . .

I am glad to know that you and your staff have already initiated investigations about alleged non-action of law enforcement officials in pur-

suing the perpetrators of this and other right-wing attacks, according to recent news accounts. I write to applaud your fast action, and to urge you to place what happens in Los Angeles in the national perspective it already occupies. Many of us are afraid that given how contagious hatred and violence are, unless the strongest measures are taken in the shortest possible time, we too will begin to feel the bomb-blasts of misguided patriots, fools, or just plain nuts. . . .

Yours in struggle,
Tom Atkins
Boston, Mass.

We, the undersigned candidates for president of the St. Louis board of aldermen, wish to express our outrage at the murderous, terrorist bombing of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Los Angeles, Calif., on February 4, 1975. Such acts of violence, directed against any political organization, constitute attacks on the Democratic rights of everyone.

Further, we add our voices to the call for an immediate thorough investigation, and the apprehension of those responsible for this murderous attack.

David Pentland (D), Albert Holst (R),
Elbert Walton Jr. (D), Barbara
Bowman (SWP)
St. Louis, Mo.

I urge that you order thorough investigation of Feb. 4 bombing of the



LINUS PAULING: Nobel Prize winner urges 'thorough investigation.'

Socialist Workers campaign headquarters.

Linus Pauling
Mountain View, Calif.

Shocked at outbreak of political violence. Urge maximum effort to capture terrorists and prevent future outbreaks.

Michael Harrington

. . . . An immediate investigation of this bombing is imperative. Stop the murdering.

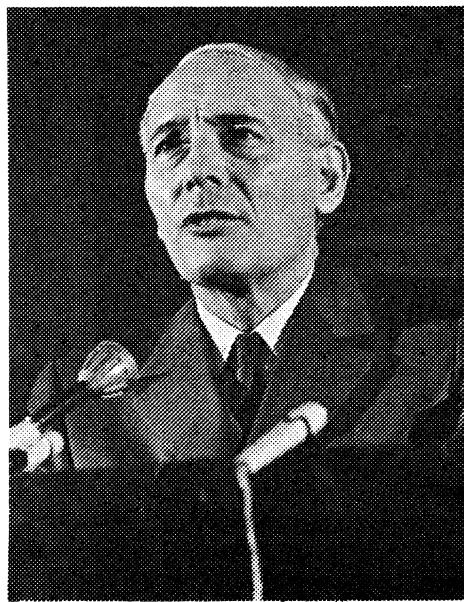
Carole L. Banks, vice-president,
Cleveland chapter, National Organization for Women

The bombing of the office of the Socialist Workers Party is deplorable. Request every effort be made to apprehend perpetrators of this dastardly act.

Colorado Civil Rights Commission
Denver, Colo.

. . . . Such attacks on democratic rights are a threat to the entire labor movement. An injury to one is an injury to all.

Janet Bandy, state president, Social Services Union Local 535, California



Militant/Dave Wulp

CHARLES GARRY: Attorney demands apprehension of would-be murderers.

. . . . In your effort to have the freedom to follow the beliefs of your choice and the freedom to speak of these beliefs, we stand united. In defense of these rights please know that we are one together in this struggle.

Julie Christensen, chairwoman, United People for Wounded Knee
Los Angeles

We deplore the right-wing terrorist attack on your office and support your right of free speech.

Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee
Riverside, Calif.

This is an attack on all those fighting for equal rights. We demand that the authorities apprehend and prosecute those responsible to the fullest extent of the law.

National Student Conference Against Racism
Boston, Mass.

Urge swift and intensive investigation to bring perpetrators to justice. Los Angeles has no place for such behavior.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Philadelphia, Pa.

The recent terror attack on the Santa Monica Civic Center Rosenberg rally, the Socialist Workers Party office, and the Unidos bookstore pose a threat to all who seek to exercise their First Amendment rights of political expression. . . .

Lucy Fried, coordinator, Coalition for Economic Survival in Los Angeles, and Larry Gross, assistant coordinator

I urge you to apprehend the terrorist bomber of the Socialist Workers Party before innocent people are killed.

Margaret Russel, American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO
Ypsilanti, Mich.

. . . . Demand a full investigation of this attack leading to the apprehension of the would-be murderers.

Associated Students of University of California, Berkeley

Camejo opens national tour, condemns FBI harassment of campaign supporter

By CINDY JAQUITH

COLUMBUS, Ga. — Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, denounced FBI harassment of socialist campaign supporters in southwest Georgia at a news conference Feb. 10. The socialist candidate traveled here as part of a 10-day visit to the South, the first stop on a three-month campaign tour.

Columbus, which is located near the Alabama border, has always had a conservative reputation. However, in recent years it has seen antiwar protests on the part of GIs stationed at nearby Ft. Benning, and activity in support of socialist candidates.

At his news conference, Camejo introduced Martha Shockey, who detailed FBI attempts to frighten her away from socialist activity.

"I was born and raised in Columbus," Shockey said, "and I was taught in the Muscogee County schools that every citizen has the right to express political beliefs, no matter what they are. This right is protected under the Constitution.

"However," she continued, "last spring, when I helped arrange a meeting at Columbus College for Vince Eagan, the SWP candidate for governor of Georgia, strange things began to happen to me.

"My mail was delayed. I received letters that had been torn open and then resealed."

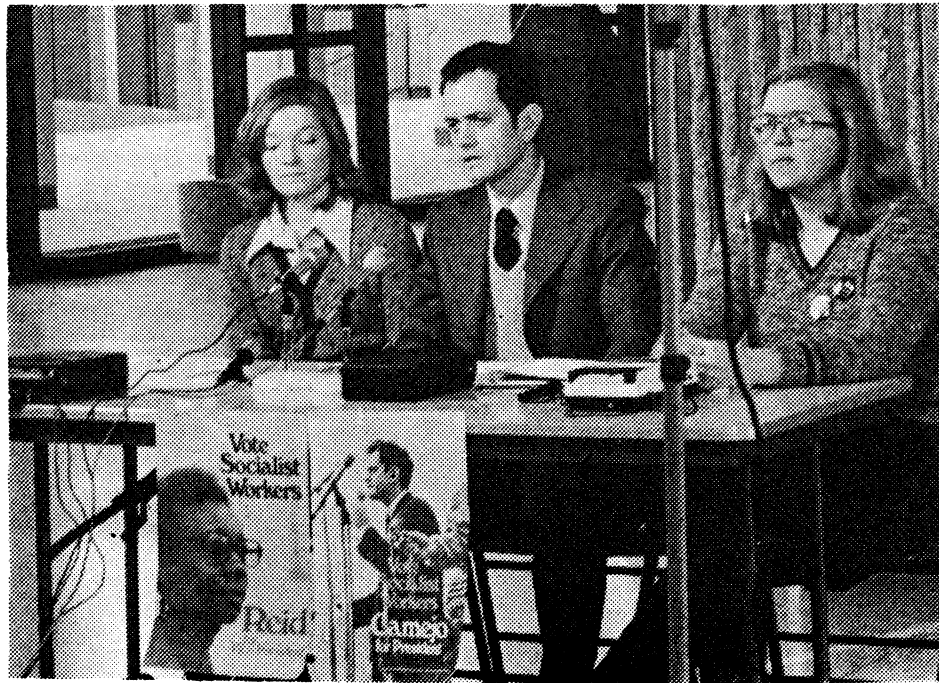
FBI visit

"Then, on Nov. 11, 1974, a local FBI agent by the name of Mr. Rose went to my employer at United Parcel Service and told him I was a member of a 'subversive' organization, implying that I was part of something illegal.

"The purpose of this," Shockey charged, "was to have me fired, to intimidate me, to deprive me of my right to freedom of expression."

Shockey, who belongs to Teamsters Local 728, said her membership in the union prevented her from being fired.

"I might add," she continued, "that



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Speaking at Columbus, Ga., news conference are (left to right) Martha Shockey, whose employer was visited by FBI; SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo; and Mary Nell Bockman of Young Socialist Alliance.

I wrote a letter of protest to my congressman, Jack Brinkley, and even the letter of reply he sent had been opened by the FBI!"

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have filed a suit against illegal government harassment and surveillance.

"This suit demands that the government stop its attempts to prevent us from campaigning," said Camejo. He explained that the harassment in Columbus is part of a pattern of attacks. "We requested the right to address GIs at Ft. Benning today and we were refused. Last week in Atlanta, President Ford had me arrested when I tried to present the socialist program at his economic conference.

"And in Los Angeles, my campaign headquarters was the target of a murderous bomb attack on Feb. 4, carried out by Nazis," he said.

After hearing this, a Black woman reporter revealed that the local Columbus police had spread a rumor

that Camejo would not arrive in town until late in the afternoon, apparently in hopes of sabotaging the news conference, scheduled for the morning.

Camejo also addressed a meeting of 85 students here at Columbus College. He focused his talk on the socialist solutions to unemployment and inflation, and the struggle against racism.

"In 1776 we had a revolution to end rule by aristocracy," he told the students. "But today we are ruled by the Rockefellers, the Du Ponts, the Mellons, the Kennedys, all of whom were millionaires the day they were born. We have an aristocracy by birth.

"Would we ever vote to have millions unemployed?" Camejo asked. "Would we ever vote to have 12 percent inflation? No, the decisions on economic policy in this country are not made by us. They are made by the rich, who make decisions on the basis of profits.

"What we socialists advocate is a

workers government, where decisions are based on human needs," he said.

Camejo emphasized in his speech the importance of the busing struggle in Boston. "Boston has always had a racist busing plan," he explained. "They used to have busing in Boston to keep the best schools all white and to keep the worst schools all Black. Then all of a sudden a judge ruled that they must have desegregation and that Black children must have the right to go to decent schools.

"All of a sudden, it's front-page news—there's busing! Well, there had been busing all along, only it used to be racist busing.

"Now, people like Ford come out and say they're opposed to busing. Well, how come he wasn't against busing when there was racist busing?"

Several students at the meeting asked how the socialists would end racism.

"The first thing we would do," said Camejo, "is enforce the law of the land. There is a law on the books that says segregated school systems are unconstitutional, yet there is segregation in most school systems in this country.

"The U.S. Constitution says that Blacks have a right to equal housing. We would take these racist real estate owners and lock them up if they refused to rent to Blacks."

Equality on the job

"We would enforce equality on the job and equality in pay. To end unemployment we would institute a national public works program. We would have preferential hiring for Blacks, other minorities, and women, to help them overcome centuries of oppression."

Camejo has spent most of his time in the Southeast campaigning in Atlanta, where he spoke to students at Georgia State University (GSU) and Atlanta Junior College, and was the featured speaker at a Feb. 8 SWP campaign rally.

The rally, attended by 85 support-

Continued on page 22

SWP candidate arrested at Ford conference

ATLANTA—A hearing has been set for Feb. 18 for Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo, who was arrested here on charges of "disorderly conduct" and "criminal trespass" Feb. 3 when he tried to present the Bill of Rights for Working People to the economic conference at which President Ford was speaking.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Camejo and civil rights leader Hosea Williams speak out against their White House-ordered arrests.

Arrested with Camejo was State Representative Hosea Williams, the head of the Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Ram Rattan; and James Brown. Charges have since been dropped against Rattan.

At a well-attended news conference the following day, Camejo told reporters: "This shows how the Ford administration treats dissident views. We asked for time to present our proposals, and Ford gave us a jail cell instead."

The economic conference was the first in a series Ford is holding in an attempt to boost sagging public confidence in his economic policies.

The Georgia Socialist Workers campaign committee had written to the local Chamber of Commerce, the host of the event, to request that Camejo be invited to present the socialist program to end inflation and unemployment. The letter noted that "as a presidential candidate Mr. Camejo should be given the same right to present his party's program for solving the current economic crisis" as other candidates for the office.

However, in a curt rejection letter, the Chamber of Commerce said that the conference would not be "a forum for political candidates." Nevertheless, several capitalist presidential candidates did get invited, including Gerald Ford and George Wallace.

On Feb. 3 Camejo joined a picket line outside the Regency Hyatt hotel, where the conference took place. Demonstrators included supporters of the SWP campaign, SCLC activists, and members of the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition.

At the conclusion of the picket, Camejo and Williams led a delegation inside the hotel to demand that the conference permit alternative programs to be heard.

"I am here to present the Bill of Rights for Working People to this conference," Camejo stated, as a crowd of reporters gathered in the hotel lobby. "We call for the right to a job, for decent education, health care, and the workers' right to decide economic and political policy."

Williams said that he had come to introduce the "Poor People's Manifesto." The manifesto calls for raising and extending unemployment compensation, reducing the cost of food stamps, and starting an immediate

program to provide jobs for all.

A member of the White House staff, James Gilday, arrived to talk with Camejo and Williams. He insisted that the schedule was "too tight" for the views of Camejo and Williams to be heard. However, he finally agreed to check with Ford's staff. He told everyone to wait until his return.

Instead, after a half-hour wait, the White House sent back assistant police director Eldrin Bell, who told the group they were about to be arrested for "trespassing."

The four arrestees were cordoned off by secret-service agents and local cops and were led out to a waiting police van.

A report that appeared in the Feb. 6

Great Speckled Bird indicates that the White House staff directly intervened to make sure the protesters were arrested. The *Bird* stated: "The Police Department claims that, when first asked to make the arrest, they declined, citing Williams' legislative immunity. When pressured by the Secret Service, however, they complied and carted off the two in a paddy wagon."

When contacted by *The Militant*, the police department refused to confirm or deny this report.

Last of a series

By WENDY LYONS

The National Student Conference Against Racism, meeting in Boston Feb. 14-16, will discuss plans for further actions to roll back the racist offensive against Black rights, epitomized by the violent resistance to court-ordered school desegregation in Boston.

Some people who agree with the need to oppose racism are uncomfortable with focusing attention on the present school desegregation struggle in Boston.

Some ask, "Since all the schools in Boston, in both the white and Black neighborhoods, are so rotten, what good will desegregation do?"

Others ask, "Doesn't the struggle for desegregated

Desegregating the schools so that Blacks can get an equal education does not solve the general problem of improving the educational system as a whole. But no preconditions should be placed on support to the right of Blacks to an equal education. It is a fundamental democratic right that must be supported unconditionally.

From the time of the defeat of Reconstruction after the Civil War until 1954, schools were segregated by law. The racists argued that there was no difference between the Black and white schools—they were "separate but equal," they said. This concept was even sanctioned by the Supreme Court.

But the whole purpose of Jim Crow segregation laws was to keep Blacks down. This was recognized by the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*, which outlawed segregated schools. The court ruled that segregated

Secondly, it is the wrong approach to winning whites to unite with Blacks in a common struggle. It is wrong because it tells Blacks to postpone the fight for better education for themselves until whites are ready to struggle for a better educational system for all.

In order to win real quality education for all working-class youth, it will take a mass united struggle of Black and white parents, students, and teachers demanding a substantial increase in funds for education from the federal and state governments.

Such a united struggle will never take place while "quality education" for many whites means keeping Blacks in inferior schools while the whites hang on to the privilege of going to slightly better schools.

The Black community in Boston has shown that it is ready to wage a concerted campaign for improved education. Black students are facing lynch mobs in their determination to get a better education. The problem is among whites infected with racism. This cannot be wished away by abstract calls for unity between Black and white to fight for better education for all.

Whites must be won to support the struggle for equal education for Blacks, instead of being obstacles in that struggle, before there can be unity around fighting for better education for all. Unity on any other basis would deny the rights of the Black community.

How to win allies

The way to win whites who now follow the leadership of the racists is not to adapt to the abstract demagoguery of "quality education," but to build a powerful movement that wages an uncompromising struggle to defend the right of Boston's Black community to an equal education.

The sooner whites learn that the Black community will not relinquish its rights and that the idea of achieving a better education for themselves at the expense of Blacks is a dead end—the better. Only when this happens will there be the basis for mov-

Busing struggle

No 'quality education' without equal education

schools just stir up trouble between Black and white parents and students? Shouldn't they be demanding better schools for all instead of fighting among themselves for the crumbs of an inferior educational system?"

Both of these questions note that there is a general problem with the school system in Boston. It is true that there is not one school in Boston that really fulfills the educational needs of its students. While Boston has one of the worst school systems, its problems are a reflection of the general crisis of education in this society.

There, as elsewhere, all students are victimized by lack of funding for schools, bilingual programs, and educational materials. Classes are overcrowded and much of what is taught is irrelevant or downright harmful, such as textbooks that portray oppressed minorities and women as inferior. Students, teachers, and parents have virtually no control over the decisions regarding education.

But within this generally inadequate system, there are inequalities. As bad as all the schools are, the schools in the Black community are the worst off.

That is what the struggle for school desegregation is all about—ending this inequality. Desegregation is a means of equalizing education among Blacks and whites, and thus improving the education that Blacks receive.

schools were inherently unequal—that the whole purpose of segregated education was to maintain and perpetuate inequality.

On the twentieth anniversary of this decision, in response to a suit filed by the Boston NAACP, a federal court found the Boston school committee guilty of consciously maintaining a dual school system "for the purpose of promoting racial segregation." Since this was clearly a violation of the constitutional rights of Blacks, the court ordered the Boston schools desegregated through the use of busing.

This reassertion of the fundamental right of Black people to an equal education has met with a campaign of racist violence.

Black students being bused into white neighborhoods have been stoned, and residents of the Black community passing through white neighborhoods have been beaten up. On Dec. 11, more than 100 Black students were trapped inside South Boston High School by a lynch mob out for blood.

The major problem facing the Black community in Boston and all supporters of Black rights today is how to beat back this savage campaign and establish the right to equal education.

'Quality education'

The racist antibusing forces are doing everything they can to divert attention from the real issue in Boston—equal education. One of their favorite tricks is to counterpose "quality education" to desegregation.

President Ford, who has shown his deep concern about education by cutting back federal educational funds, is for "quality education" instead of busing.

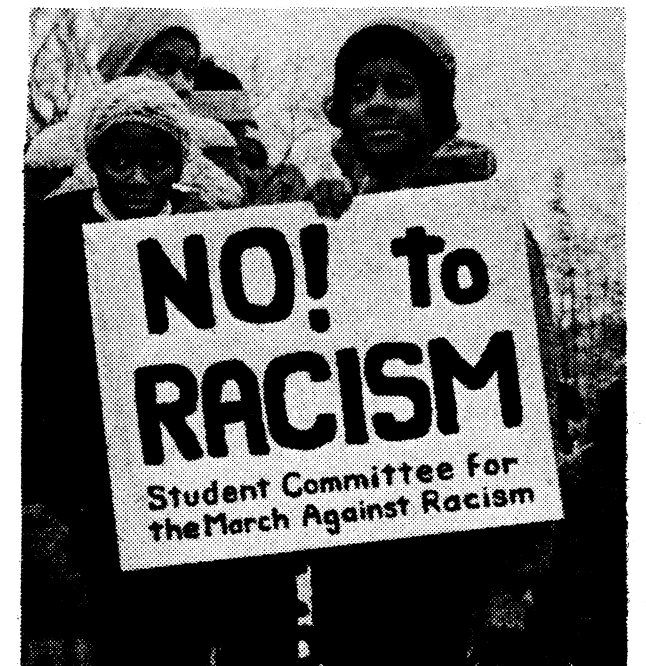
Louise Day Hicks, who presided over the decay of the entire Boston school system as head of the school committee, is for "quality education" instead of desegregation.

These hypocrites and the white racist mobs who follow them put forth no proposals for bettering any of the schools. All the talk about "quality education" is simply a cover for racist opposition to the democratic right of Black people to an equal education. It is a subterfuge to take the spotlight off of the real issue.

In the face of this, the antiracist forces must do everything in their power to keep the spotlight on the real issue. We must organize a campaign to defend desegregation. Our job is to keep the buses rolling.

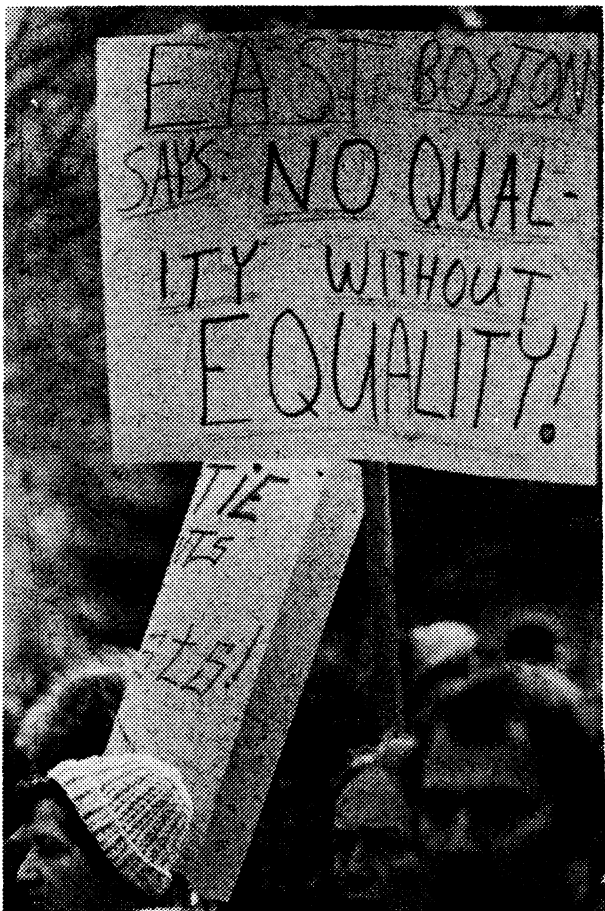
Unfortunately, there has been some adaptation to the pressure of the reactionaries' campaign among antiracist forces. Some have taken the demagoguery about "quality education" for good coin. They feel that perhaps if we don't focus on desegregation so much and talk more about quality education ourselves, we can win over some whites who are now under the influence of the racists.

This would be a costly mistake. In the first place, it would play into the hands of the racists by giving legitimacy to their claim that the issue in Boston is not racism but "quality education."



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Black students at Dec. 14 freedom march in Boston. Fight for equal education can win others to mass movement to defeat racism.



Militant/Flax Hermes

Antibusing movement's slogan of 'quality education' is only a cover for opposition to equal education for Blacks.

ing on to united struggles around other issues such as a general improvement in education for all.

This mistaken idea, that the only way to win whites who now follow the racists is by playing down the demand for Black rights and coming up with some demands the whites can agree with, flows from a pessimistic view of our ability to change people's minds. If they are incapable of being won to supporting the struggle of the Black community for equal education, then they are incapable of waging a successful struggle for quality education or any other social change.

But this is not the case. We should have confidence in our ability to organize a powerful movement that will win even many of those who now follow the racists.

Just as the earlier civil rights movement won masses of people to the justice of its cause, and just as the antiwar movement won a majority of Americans to opposing the war, we too can win a majority.

The National Student Conference Against Racism can play a key role in building such a national movement by launching a campaign of street demonstrations, community meetings, and teach-ins to keep the spotlight on the struggle for desegregation in Boston, and to keep the buses rolling.

N.Y. meeting protests segregation

The battle over school busing: Black

More than 500 people attended a Feb. 7 forum at Columbia University in New York City sponsored by the National Student Conference Against Racism organizing committee. The topic of the forum was "Little Rock—1957; Boston—1975."

The meeting was both a protest of the government-backed attacks against the rights of Blacks and a part of the mobilizing effort for the conference scheduled at Boston University the following weekend.

We are publishing excerpts from three of the presentations made at the forum.

The first is by Luis Fuentes, who was the first Puerto Rican superintendent of a New York City school district. He was suspended from that post last fall in a racist purge carried out by supporters of Albert Shanker, who control the majority of the District 1 school board.

The second speech is by Nathaniel Jones, general counsel of the NAACP.

The third is by Dr. Kenneth Clark, the only Black member of the New York state board of regents.

Other activists in the fight against racism also spoke at the Columbia meeting. Among them were Reverend Timothy Mitchell, of the New York City Council of Churches; Reverend Wilbert Miller, a leader of the Canarsie school desegregation struggle in 1972; James Breheny, a writer for *Irish People*; Jonathan Kozol, the award-winning author of *Death at an Early Age*; and Robert Harper, one of the national coordinators of the student conference.

In addition, U.S. Representatives Bella Abzug, Herman Badillo, and Charles Rangel sent messages to the meeting.

Luis Fuentes: 'Boston and District 1 are sister struggles'

I was asked to talk tonight about the relationship between the struggle for community control of public education now being waged in District 1 on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, and the struggle for integrated public education now occurring in the streets of Boston.

The relationship is often described by the media as a contradiction. Community control and integration movements are described by the media as the antithesis of each other.

But in fact, they're brother and sister movements, with the same goal—the education of Black and Brown children—and the same enemy—white racism.

In case you have any doubts about that, I'd like to start with my own personal barometer of white racism in New York City, Albert Shanker.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Shanker, the president of this city's teachers union [United Federation of Teachers] wrote a column in the *New York Times* on the question of Boston racism. And he made the following points:

He said that Boston is not like Little Rock, because the Boston court decision attempts to force integration within a unitary school system, while the Little Rock decision integrated two racially separate systems.

He also says that in Little Rock the white schools were clearly superior to the Black schools in their educational programs and facilities, while South Boston High is educationally indistinguishable from Roxbury High.

He also points out that the issues of busing and integration hurt Democratic candidates in 1972, and could possibly destroy electoral opportunities for what Shanker calls the "liberal-labor alliance."

Traditional racist arguments

Inside each of Shanker's arguments are all the historic crutches of American racism. Shanker has actually returned to the nineteenth century, and he's now rearguing *Plessy v. Ferguson*. [*Plessy v. Ferguson* was the 1896 Supreme Court decision that upheld segregationist laws that had been

passed in many Southern states.]

He's essentially contending that so long as racially segregated schools are separate, and equally inferior, there's no need to integrate them, and that even the intentional segregation demonstrated in Boston is not amenable to legal force.

But most striking is the eagerness with which Shanker accepts the mantle handed down by the Southern power brokers within the Democratic Party.

Historically, the modern Democratic Party has managed an uneasy partnership, an uneasy relationship of Southern conservatives and Northern liberals. But it was the Southerners who negotiated the party's silence on civil rights. And it was that partnership and that silence that kept things going for the party for so many decades.

Now Shanker and the labor autocrats are bargaining for a new version of that old silence. The thrust of Shanker's *New York Times* article is: "Let's not upset the rednecks. Let's not press the issue too hard. Let's not tamper with the Democratic coalition by introducing extraneous issues that would divide it."

What Shanker winds up saying in his *New York Times* column is that instead of integration confrontations, civil rights actions should now begin aiming at some fair allocation of educational resources. In a word, Shanker takes apartheid as a given, and he says, "Let's equalize the financing of both ends of a racially divided school system."

Shanker's hypocrisy

Even this statement is hypocrisy, because it is Shanker who forces the New York City school system to allocate its funds to the community districts based not on any equitable formula, but on the salaries of teachers and staff working in those districts.

This means that the white, well-to-do districts in this city receive substantially greater allocations than poor Black and Brown districts.

And I can assure you that Mr. Shanker has no intention of changing that formula. Instead, what Shanker attempts to do is to place community control against integration.

Those of us involved in the community-control struggle have learned from the past eight years that Shanker will resist each of these movements and will definitely stand up against community efforts to change local schools.

He crushed the efforts in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968, an effort to reshape the professional staff there. And in the Lower East Side, his union, and his union alone, has used all of its power and all of its wealth to impose on a district whose schools are 95 percent nonwhite an all-white school board majority beholden to his 93 percent white union, and sworn to defend the schools from the parents whose children attend those schools.

Make no mistake about it—Shanker wants white control of white schools to keep us out. But he also wants control of *our* schools to keep the salaries and the contracts that flow from them right where they are today—in his community and in his pocket.

There is a story to the birth of this city's community-control movement. It started in 1966. Under the pressure of the civil rights movement, the New York City board of education came up with several devices which they claimed were mechanisms to foster integration. One of these was the intermediate schools.

The concept was that by replacing junior high schools with intermediate schools, thus changing the entry grade into the middle schools to the fifth grade, and then constructing new intermediate schools, integration would result.

The new prototype was to be intermediate school 201, to be built in central Harlem. The Harlem community demanded, and the board of education pledged, that the new school would be integrated 50-50.

But when construction was completed, and the school was about to open, the board suddenly informed the Harlem community board that 201 would be "integrated 50-50"—50 percent Black, 50 percent Puerto Rican!

This incredible insult led to the explosion around 201, from which the struggles of Ocean Hill and the Lower East Side have emerged. [In 1968, Shanker led the teachers union in a racist strike against the right of the Black and Puerto Rican community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville to control their schools.]

But these struggles did not represent the abandonment of integration. Rather we're now fighting for education with a double-edged sword.

Indeed it was the same community, Ocean Hill Brownsville, which was the focus of both the 1968-69 community-control battle, and the focus of probably the one real integration struggle that we've had in this city in the past eight years, the struggle in Canarsie in 1972.

[In the fall of 1972, parents in the Black and Puerto Rican Tilden Housing project demanded that their children be allowed to enroll in schools in a predominantly white school district in Canarsie, instead of being forced to attend inferior, overcrowded, and racially segregated schools. After mobilizations by the parents and counterdemonstrations by white racists, a limited number of the children succeeded in enrolling in the white school district.]

The same people were involved, and we knew that the busing of the 32 Tilden Houses children to Canarsie was wholly compatible with the transferring of 20 lousy teachers from Ocean Hill-Brownsville. In each case the search was a search to find some way to find someone who would educate our children.

And that search continues. It's not going to take a break for recession. It will not be sacrificed to what the labor autocracy calls its "liberal-labor coalition."

In this city, at this time we are pressing forward as extensions—not contradictions—to what is happening in Boston. What happens in Boston happens to all of us.

Nathaniel Jones: 'Continue, expand student effort against racism'

Those of us who have been in this school desegregation struggle since 1970 have had some lonely times. Because prior to the eruption in Boston, it was not considered newsworthy, fashionable,



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

Luis Fuentes speaks outside District 1 school during boycott last fall. Fuentes told Feb. 7 forum that community control and desegregation are both means to obtain better education for oppressed minorities.

and Puerto Rican leaders speak out



Part of crowd of 500 at Columbia University national student conference forum

Militant/Flax Hermes

or in vogue to contend that the Constitution of the United States applied to the rights of Black children in the North as much as it did in the South.

But there were those who carried on, beginning with our suit against the Detroit school board in 1970, which led to a historic decision by a federal judge that was affirmed by the court of appeals.

In the wake of that case came a number of other decisions, one of which was the Boston case. What is significant for all of us to understand about this entire thrust for desegregation is that it is inextricably tied up with the total thrust for liberation by minority people in this country.

You know, the cases in the South involved merely an attack upon a statute or a constitutional provision, which on its face declared that there should be segregation. But things are more complicated in the North. You are dealing with state statutes and state constitutions that expressly prohibit segregation.

Pull sheets off

So in order to bring a court around to issuing the type of orders that have been issued in Boston, you have to sort of pull the sheets off the practices and policies of those school boards and other public agencies, policies which have had the effect of prostituting the constitution and the rights of minorities. That is what we succeeded in doing in all of these cases.

School boards come along with their neighborhood attendance patterns built along the lines of racially segregated neighborhoods, so that the schools would reflect the racial composition of the neighborhoods.

And the courts have now come to the conclusion that these types of policies have been guilty of perpetuating segregation.

Now when we do this in the North we get all kinds of flack, talk about how Northerners don't want their kids bused. They believe in "neighborhood schools." But in all these cases we've demonstrated that these school boards follow a neighborhood attendance pattern until the neighborhood begins to change. Then they allow whites to opt out and select their schools.

It's becoming increasingly apparent to more and more people in this country that we have been victimized by a national anti-Black strategy, which had as its objective the slowing down of the advance the minorities have been making in the previous decade.

Blacks & Watergate

You know, we've heard a lot about Watergate. But Black folk knew in 1969 and 1970 they were being deceived. Blacks were Watergated long before John Dean, long before the Watergate hearings.

When we had a president get on TV and say that he was opposed to the forced integration of the suburbs, we knew we were being Watergated.

Because Watergate to us means the systematic undermining of the constitutional rights of citizens. And that's been occurring to Black people historically and certainly in the early 1970s.

I would urge you to lend every support to this student movement. Expand it. Because what happens outside the courtroom is as important as what happens inside the courtroom. Because without question, the Supreme Court would not have

turned tail and run on that Detroit decision if there had not been the climate of hysteria against busing.

The court limited busing in Detroit to the city limits. But why are the suburbs excluded? The suburbs are excluded because the climate created in this country caused the Supreme Court to draw its punch.

And so I think it's very important that all of us recognize the relationship that exists between school desegregation and affirmative action. Because these things are tied together. When the evil of racism is able to penetrate one area and corrode one link in a chain, the entire chain is weakened, and we are weakened accordingly.

I would urge that we continue to carry the message forward and not get hung up on these euphemisms, not get hung up on whether we like busing or don't like busing. Because busing is here to stay, whether you know it or not. We've had it and we're going to continue to have it.

Kenneth Clark: 'Regents to blame for N.Y. school segregation'

I will tell you briefly how the New York State board of regents effectively maintains, encourages, and supports racial segregation in the public schools of New York State.

In 1963, the late James Allen, former commissioner of education in the state of New York, appointed a commission to make a study of the trend of segregated schools in New York City and to advise him and the board of regents as to what could be done about it.

That commission made a very careful study and published a report, and gave it to Commissioner Allen and the board of regents. And that report became the basis for a positive integration policy, which the board of regents adopted in 1963 and communicated to boards of education throughout the state. Four times since 1963 the board restated its positive integration policy.

I was elected [by the state legislature] to the board of regents in 1967. And my colleagues viewed my presence as a basis for reaffirming, almost every other meeting, the positive integration policy — until I became suspicious.

Because it wasn't very long before it became clear to me, a culturally disadvantaged minority, that the board of regents was using its integration policy at that time as an excuse for not implementing the policy.

This taught me something important about the Northern form of racism and segregation — that words were a substitute for action.

That was my complaint about the board of regents until a year ago, namely that we had a very strong integration policy, which we systematically did nothing about.

And every time that point was raised, I was told

that it was important to have the policy, and that if we tried to implement the policy we would have disruption and disturbances.

Rockefeller attacks busing

About two years ago, when Mr. Nixon started making statements about how detrimental busing was, then-governor Rockefeller — now vice-president of the United States — sent a message to the board of regents asking the board to reconsider its busing and integration policy.

When that message was received my colleagues did in fact reconsider their busing policy and strengthened it. The board wrote back to Mr. Rockefeller a very strong message that said it was for integration for the schools, and that it felt that desegregation of the schools could only come about by the use of all reasonable and rational methods, of which busing was one.

Governor Rockefeller was disturbed, and at that session of the state legislature, antibusing legislation was passed.

But a more important thing was done. The Republican leadership of both houses decided that all new members of the board of regents would be interviewed, and that their opinions and attitudes about integration and busing would be the critical determinant of whether they would be elected to the board.

The last four new members were elected to the board because they satisfied the Republican leadership of the New York State legislature that they would reverse existing regents' policy on integration and busing and that they would see to it that existing directives for desegregation of schools were not implemented — which to me seemed unnecessary since they weren't being implemented anyway.

The fact is that as of now, the New York State board of regents is a political subcommittee of the state legislature on the matter of race.

The majority of the board of regents are committed to political figures to vote against busing, to vote against integration, and to tie the hands of the commissioner of education if he dares to attempt to enforce desegregation in any community in New York State.

Protest regents' decision

What can you do about it?

Nate Jones and some other lawyers and I have been meeting since the last meeting of the board of regents, and we are drawing up a complaint to take the board of regents into the federal courts.

Finally, this evening every speaker mentioned the South and the effective methods which we used to develop a momentum for change in the South, not only for desegregation of the schools, but also for removing the more flagrant manifestations of crude racism in the South.

And it's true that in the South the initiative came from litigation. But the legislation that makes the litigation really function came out of demonstrations, came out of the fact that this society was confronted with large numbers of people assuming the risk of defying illegalities.

I will conclude my comments to you by saying that the board of regents will meet in Albany Feb. 19-21. I think it would be very effective if your committee would organize students from colleges all over the metropolitan region, or the state, to march on Albany, to tell those people that you are ashamed of what they have done, that you demand that they reverse this disgrace and abomination.



Militant/Flax Hermes

Kenneth Clark, only Black member of New York state board of regents, urged demonstrations to protest recent antidesegregation decision by board.

Prospects for fight against racism

The following is a statement by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo addressed to participants in the Feb. 14-16 National Student Conference Against Racism.

I am in full solidarity with the aims of the National Student Conference Against Racism.

This conference, significantly, takes place on the tenth anniversary of one of the most important chapters of the earlier civil rights movement—the fight of Blacks for the right to vote in Alabama, which culminated in the Selma-to-Montgomery march in March 1965. That struggle holds lessons for the struggle centered in Boston today.

I was on the Selma march, and I remember the great power it had. Supporters of civil rights from across the country streamed into Selma to march alongside Black Alabama citizens who had dared to defy Governor George Wallace and the whole local police force.

A wave of sympathy demonstrations swept through virtually every major city in the country—with 25,000 gathering on the Boston Common, and 25,000 taking to the streets in Harlem. The overwhelming demand was that federal troops occupy Alabama to protect Black people in exercising their constitutional rights. One result of this struggle was the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

At Selma 10 years ago, Black people used mass, direct action to force the eyes of this entire country—and of the world—onto the U. S. government's refusal to protect the right of Blacks to vote.

Today the antiracist movement focused on Boston needs the same kind of perspective that the Black people of Alabama had.

The goal of this conference is very ambitious: to organize a fight for the right of Blacks to equal education. This means defeating the organized campaign of the racists to sabotage court-ordered school desegregation by terrorizing Black students and stopping the buses from bringing them to school.

This conference can launch an ongoing campaign to build a massive national response to the racists, a response that the government cannot ignore. It can launch a campaign of education and action that will bring to bear the power of the Black masses and their allies when they unite in action, the power that was so vividly demonstrated in Selma 10 years ago.

The stakes in the Boston desegregation struggle are high. Last fall, when the racist mobs were running wild in Boston, this gave confidence to reactionaries of all stripes—from racist employers, to killer-cops, to the politicians and trade-union bureaucrats. President Ford gave his blessing to the racists, and the Democratic Party politicians were either silent or sided with the racists as well.

But the prospects for organizing an antiracist offensive are good. There is growing recognition around the country of the importance of stopping the Boston racists—from the Puerto Rican parents fighting for a say over their children's education in New York City's District 1; to the Black activists fighting for the arrest of killer-cops in Port Arthur, Tex.; to the Black community and bus drivers fighting for school desegregation and adequate funding in Pasadena, Calif.

There are prospects for winning other allies as well.

The school desegregation struggle is taking place in a context of deepening economic and social crisis. Millions have been thrown off their jobs. Social benefits have been slashed. The standard of living of all working people is being ground down in other more hidden ways.

As the Boston struggle reflects, one of the by-products of the economic crisis is the erosion of human rights. Discrimination in hiring and firing means that the unemployed lines are filled with Blacks and other oppressed minorities. The stepped-up use of racism is also reflected in the reactionary campaign against foreign-born workers—the so-called illegal aliens—who are treated as if they were aliens to the human race.

These wide-ranging attacks on working people and on civil rights are giving rise to the rumblings of resistance. This resistance will, in turn, strengthen the school desegregation struggle.

Just as in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, this conference shows that students and young people are taking the lead in organizing to fight back against the racists. I hail your determination and pledge the support of my party in this fight.

Keep it up

Wow! I just finished the Feb. 7 issue, and it is definitely one of the best ever. Cindy Jaquith's Washington column is a real plus. It will enable us to keep a close eye on the *real* criminals. I also thought the coverage of unemployment was especially good.

And Peter Camejo's cover statement really illustrated how a people's government can work. My friends, once illustrious Democrats, read that and said, "So that's what you mean by a workers government." One even agreed to vote for Camejo on the basis of it.

I know I've said it before, but *The Militant* is the best newspaper around. Keep it up, and so will I. *Maureen Michael*
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Donation

Joyous congratulations on opening the Washington, D. C., office.

Enclosed is a contribution of \$20 toward building the Washington office.

Juan Martinez
San Francisco, Calif.

Please do

We are writing in regard to an "In Brief" item in your Jan. 31 issue, in which you had a small write-up about *Los Barrios* reprinting articles from *The Militant*.

The Militant is a very informative and educational paper, and since we are among the only ones around here that receive your publication, we like to share the news with the rest of the people. So, we hope you don't mind if we continue reprinting your articles. *Los Barrios*
Hondo, Tex.

[We are glad to have *Militant* articles reprinted. We do request, however, that credit be given to *The Militant* when this is done.]

James T. Farrell

I am writing a life of James T. Farrell and will appreciate receiving biographical information of any kind about him. Letters, or copies of letters, to and from Farrell will be promptly acknowledged and returned.

Edgar Branch
4810 Bonham Rd.
Oxford, Ohio 45056

The real cheats

We often hear complaints about "welfare cheats," with blame attached to women who have too many babies and people who refuse to work. Some rip-off artists were exposed in Los Angeles recently, and they weren't poverty-stricken mothers or lazy bums.

One case was the game played by Charles Weldon, a data processing employee.

A Los Angeles court released 44 elderly alcoholics to Weldon, who posed as the representative of a phony senior citizens council. He virtually kidnapped these men and placed them in hospitals that paid Weldon a per-patient fee. The

hospitals profited by receiving Medi-Cal (state health insurance) payments for their "treatment."

The "patients" were forcibly kept in the hospitals by locking them up when they tried to leave, drugging them, and telling them the court had ordered them to serve 90-day sentences in a medical facility. Staff members made sure the "patients" weren't rescued by listening in on their phone calls and reading their mail.

As a result of this "helpful treatment," some of the "patients" had allergic reactions to the drugs used, and a couple actually died. Eleven hospitals and five doctors are now being sued.

When the news broke, reporters asked Weldon about the case, and he said he had wanted to "try to help the guys out." That sounds like the old Vietnam war excuse, "We had to burn the place down to save the village."

Evelyn Sell
Los Angeles, Calif.

Worthy cause

I want to commend you and your staff for the dynamite job you are doing with *The Militant*. It has been of great help to me in my self-teachings of how to deal with a cruel and corrupt system such as the big prison that "Rocky and friends" have set up out there in a not-so-free world.

Please renew my subscription, for it's such a worthy cause, defeating the people who oppress us.

Keep on in the struggle.
A prisoner
Massachusetts

The best

I would like to renew my subscription to *The Militant* for one year, and I would like to remind you that *The Militant* has got to be the most informative Marxist-socialist newspaper around—the best.

Thanks for publishing a newspaper that speaks on behalf of victims that suffer under a rotten and oppressive system known as "capitalism." For the benefit of humanity, let's destroy it and form a socialist world.

A student
Tracy, Calif.

More sources

The Militant is doing a great job for the revolution by bringing consciousness to the people.

Although your work is great, it could be improved a great deal if all the sources of your information were stated. If this is done, *The Militant* will be stronger, and the people who are just opening their eyes will have an opportunity to check any of the realities of capitalism that they think are impossible to believe.

J. A.
Rhode Island

Real inflation

In 1945 there were 12.1 million U. S. men under arms; in 1975, there will be about 2.1 million U. S. troops on active duty. Yet the number of high-ranking officers on the payroll of the nation in 1975 will

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Brennan comes in from the cold

Peter Brennan lasted two years as secretary of labor, only because it wasn't convenient for his employers to get rid of him sooner. His appointment to the Watergate cabinet was confirmed by the Senate in February 1973, and Ford called in his resignation on Feb. 6, 1975. These dates have no other significance.

Apparently Brennan did not know when he would resign, because that came only after his successor, Professor John Dunlop, had been named. But that is not the only thing Brennan was ignorant of during his tenure in public office.

He was appointed because Nixon sought "labor collaboration," providing it was the right kind and would serve Nixon's purposes. Brennan was eminently qualified in only one of these respects. As head of the New York state and city AFL-CIO building-trades councils, Brennan had been an active supporter of the Republican administrations of Governor Rockefeller in New York and had endorsed Nixon for president in 1968 and 1972.

He was an outspoken opponent of Blacks and other minorities who tried to break into the construction industry and gain membership in the building-trades unions. In 1970 he served as front man for the Nixon-inspired attacks by construction workers on student antiwar demonstrators in New York City's Wall Street area.

He appeared to have the support and endorsement of the union bureaucracy, with some minor reservations. At the time of Brennan's appointment, AFL-CIO President George Meany allowed that Nixon had made a "good" choice. Brennan was the right kind of union bureaucrat for Nixon.

Brennan proved unable, however, to serve Nixon's purposes. He tried. He proudly joined the Nixon team and explained his conduct thereafter as that of a "team player." Part of his trouble was that he never knew what the team was doing because they didn't tell him. He never understood, either, that it is against the rules to play on two teams at the same time in the same game. He became dimly aware of this after being disavowed by the union bureaucrats when

Nixon tried to use him to further discredit them in the matter of minimum-wage legislation.

Brennan suffered, also, from a false notion of his position. He thought he was a star instead of a benchwarmer to be used on occasion in foul play. He was selected to be one of Nixon's "dirty tricks" men, but operating in the open. Like others, he couldn't figure out how to keep from getting caught and didn't know exactly what was required of him. He had a difficult assignment, and none of his serious limitations added to Brennan's usefulness on the old Nixon team. He was a minor embarrassment from the beginning, one of Nixon's less grievous "mistakes."

Six months after becoming "Mr. Secretary," Brennan was still trying to ingratiate himself with the union bureaucracy. Few doors remained open to him, but he managed in September 1973 to get into the New York state AFL-CIO convention. He told the delegates, "I'm still the same Peter Brennan—I haven't changed." As if to prove his claim he went on to say, "You can throw the rocks from the outside, but what the hell, that's easy. I'm working on the inside."

Few delegates were convinced that he was their "inside man" working to change government policy in their favor. They suspected, with cause, that Brennan was Nixon's agent trying to worm his way back into their good graces. It is not reported what the Nixon administration thought of Brennan's efforts on this occasion. His standing on the team probably was not enhanced.

Now that Ford has finally kicked him out, Brennan says he plans to return to his old job as head of the New York Building and Construction Trades Council. He was elected to a four-year term in 1972 and went with Nixon on the understanding that he could return. But there must be some doubts now about his qualifications for union membership in view of his Washington performance.

Maybe the union bureaucracy will take him back as an experienced "inside" operator, hoping they can learn something from him. He belongs to them.

well surpass that of 30 years ago. Is this not inflationary?

There are 465,000 land-based troops overseas. Is this not inflationary?

The strategic system of the U. S. includes enough bombs and missiles to flatten, several times over, the USSR landscape—as if once was not enough! Is this not inflationary?

Plus a budget for fiscal year 1975 of \$82.6-billion allocated to the Department of Defense.

It is not only inflationary, it is pure madness.

Mr. Ford asks me to clean my plate. I promise I'll not even waste one apple core if Mr. Ford is willing to go to the core of this nation's inflation: this wormy apple called Department of Defense.

Michele Mooney
Los Angeles, Calif.

Militant gets around

You might be interested to know that a Chicano instructor at Sacramento City College bought 17 copies of the Dec. 13, 1974, *Militant* with the centerfold article on the Texas Raza Unida Party. He distributed them to students in his classes and to a few MECHA members at the college.

Steve Iverson
Sacramento, Calif.

Bus drivers

The Amalgamated Transit Union, (ATU), which represents Greyhound bus drivers and municipal drivers in Detroit and some other cities, seems to be undergoing changes, partly the result of new social and economic pressures upon the membership.

A recent issue of the union paper, *In Transit*, says a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) is necessary and urges "that all locals not having such protections should make COLA a high priority in any future negotiations."

In New Jersey the ATU is demanding public ownership to replace private ownership, and no or very low fares. ATU President Dan Maroney says, "The need is to provide efficient, fast and convenient service to all who need it. The cost should be shared by the overall community. . . ."

Here in Detroit the three ATU locals are beginning to work together. Also in line with this, there are several Black churches and community groups forming a transit riders' association. They hope to involve drivers and riders in an advisory board to improve the bus system.

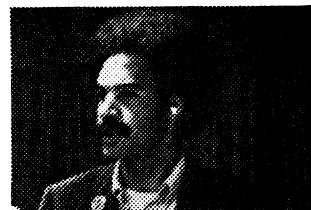
These are the first steps toward expanding the system, improving the service, creating more jobs, and eliminating fares.

Steve Beumer
Detroit, Mich.

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

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Government role in housing bias

Jimmy Huggins dug into his pocket one day last October and fished out a crumpled note that read: "We're going to burn you out, nigger. Hope you have insurance, nigger."

White vandals had earlier torn up his new home in Oak Valley, N.J., and burned a cross on the lawn. Now they were threatening more. All he wanted was a place closer to his job. But instead, he took another long look at the note, a long look at his wife and five children, and decided it wasn't worth it.

Huggins is just one of any number of Blacks who have faced similar difficulties when trying to move out of the ghetto. In a warped sense, though, Huggins was lucky. Unlike most Blacks, he got past the first two impediments—government housing agencies and realtors.

Last August the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report sharply critical of federal enforcement of housing standards. The commission found that white realtors have not only discriminated against Black prospective home-buyers, but even against Black realtors.

White realtors often steer Black buyers to all-Black neighborhoods. Local real estate boards, the report said, have sometimes refused to admit Black brokers, and Black brokers have been denied access to lists of homes for sale.

Federal housing programs, the report concluded, "often are administered so as to continue rather than reduce racial segregation."

The commission, however, lacks enforcement powers.

In December, after there had been no federal action, the commission issued an even more strongly worded report naming the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Veterans Ad-

ministration, the General Services Administration, and various federal financial regulatory agencies as the main culprits.

The steps these agencies had taken to remedy housing ills, the commission charged, "have had little impact on the country's serious housing discrimination problem."

The commission directed most of its fire against HUD. HUD, however, has not only been lax in housing enforcement; the agency itself is steeped in scandal.

In 1972, 28 HUD employees were indicted for fraudulent dealings. By the end of 1972, 1,930 cases of possible housing fraud by the agency were under investigation.

Just last month, U. S. District Court Judge Gerhard Gesell ordered a halt to the demolition of a public housing project in Washington, D. C. The project, which housed mostly Blacks, was being leveled by HUD so that a private developer could put up high-cost single-family homes. Gesell reminded HUD of its "mission to provide low-income housing . . . in a city where it's so desperately needed."

Philadelphia Blacks face yet another problem. The old row homes in the ghetto there were done up, years back, in lead-based paint.

In 1973 a federal court prohibited HUD from selling any of them before first removing the paint, which when eaten can cause lead poisoning.

You'd think if the court had any sense it would just go ahead and order HUD to clean up those houses and in the meantime order HUD to assist tenants and homeowners in removing all lead-based paint from ghetto homes.

But I guess in this game that's not the way the rafters fall.



Consistency is his thing—"Does the consumer know how much natural water is in carrots? Did you know that an apple is 87 percent water? There's nothing wrong with water. Have you ever eaten a dry egg yolk? In our statement we say we use water necessary for proper consistency, and that's all."—A Gerber spokesperson explaining their opposition to labels indicating how much water they put in their baby food.

Pretty sensitive fellow—Attorney general Edward Levi said he senses "an enormous amount of cynicism about

the administration of justice in the United States."

What's so paranoid?—Discussing the psychological toll of the war, a Saigon psychiatrist said, "Almost all my paranoid schizophrenics believe they are being followed by the CIA or political police. The simple, uneducated ones talk about the political police; the younger, more educated ones, the CIA."

A good beginning—All 86 of the plainclothes cops in Acapulco, Mexico, were placed under house arrest.

Local uniformed police immediately noted a significant drop in the crime rate. "Before, we had up to two or three crimes a day, robberies and muggings," an official said. "Now we have not had a single crime since the police were ordered to remain in their headquarters."

Tough Situation—California officials said they mistakenly approved a nickel per half-gallon milk-price increase on the basis of inflated projections of producers' costs. Surprisingly, the "erroneous" figures were provided by the industry. Will a reduction be forth-

coming? No, an official explained. The increase "has now been completely justified through inflation," and a rebate simply wouldn't be "equitable."

Equal exposure—Sandra Bouressa, one of two recently appointed female sergeants-at-arms for the California state assembly, walked into a basement room traditionally used by her male counterparts and noted half a dozen *Playboy* nude pinups. The next day she put up a nude male from *Playgirl*. "Now they're all gone," she said. "They took them all down. Men are such prudes."

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



School segregation: a case study

LOS ANGELES—Oxnard is a small farming town on the California coast north of Los Angeles.

Chicano parents there have sued the board of education, demanding that the schools be desegregated. In 1970, three of Oxnard's schools were 75 percent Anglo, and the other three were 95 percent Chicano. The Chicanos won their case last December.

The school board had argued that the fact that there were separate schools for Chicanos and Anglos had nothing to do with racism. "The racial imbalance that exists in the schools," the board stated, "is the result of neighborhood housing patterns and not the result of any concerted action by the board or staff based on improper considerations of race."

Attorneys for the Chicanos proved conclusively, by citing minutes of school board meetings from as far back as 40 years ago, that the school board had indeed carried out a deliberate plan to segregate the schools.

The minutes of Nov. 4, 1936, show that one board member told the superintendent, who was coming under fire from racist white parents for not segregating the schools fast enough, "You don't

seem to understand what these people want. They want complete segregation of the white children. Why can't that be done?"

The minutes show that the school board president "stated that the board was in favor of the principle of segregation, although it might not be practical at this time."

The obstacle was that, having only three schools to work with, the board could not match up the number of Anglo and Chicano students to achieve total segregation.

In 1936, therefore, the board tried to make one of the schools as Chicano as possible and the other two as Anglo as possible.

Where there were still some Chicanos at the Anglo schools, the board ordered "staggered playground periods" to keep Chicano and Anglo children from playing together, and the "release of the American children 10 minutes or so ahead of the Mexican children" when it was time to go home. (The *gringos* referred to Anglos as "Americans" and Chicanos as "Mexicans," even though all were U. S. citizens.)

In addition, the board called for building a school in the middle of the Chicano community

(called *la colonia*) where all the Chicanos could be sent.

What kind of schools were built in *la colonia*? Former school officials were brought to the witness stand in the Chicano suit, and they testified that one school was "literally no more than a chicken coop. It had a dirt floor, single-thickness walls, [was] very run-down, [and there was] some stench" from the toilets.

The school board minutes also tore to shreds the phony claim that those against desegregation are trying to preserve "neighborhood schools." This is the same argument that Boston racists have used to block desegregation. Under the 1937 segregation plan in Oxnard, as in Boston today, school-children were being taken far away from their neighborhoods.

A letter written in 1937 by a parent to the school board said that the segregation plan was "working a hardship not only on the American children but also on the Mexican children to have to go so far to classes."

"The (Anglo) children from the south part of town have to pass the Mexicans coming from the northerly part of town on their way to school."

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



The Lawrence textile strike

With International Women's Day—March 8—approaching, and forums, panels, rallies, and demonstrations being planned, women, in addition to looking forward, will be looking back to reclaim more of our history.

This year the addition of the Coalition of Labor Union Women to the women's movement will inspire a greater interest in past labor struggles and the role women played in them.

That part of our history is rich with examples and lessons. Here's just a small part of one big event that occurred 63 years ago: the Lawrence textile strike.

In January 1912 the wages of the textile workers in Lawrence, Mass., were cut. The workweek was reduced from 56 to 54 hours, resulting in a 3.5 percent wage cut. As the pay envelopes were passed around Jan. 11 at the Everett Cotton Mill, the workers—primarily Polish women—sat at the machines, refused to work, and finally walked out of the plant.

By the next day the fury had spread from mill to mill and the Battle of Lawrence had begun under the cry, "Better to starve fighting than to starve working."

The American Federation of Labor, headed by Samuel Gompers, refused to help the strikers. The

workers, in need of leadership and organization, called upon the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) to come to their aid.

The Wobblies, as the IWW members were called, immediately organized mass picketing—the first to be seen in New England. Within a few days, thousands of men, women, and children were picketing in front of the mills on a 24-hour basis.

The workers were mainly foreign-born—from more than 20 different nationalities. "Never before," wrote the *New York Sun* at the time, "has a strike of such magnitude succeeded in uniting in one unflinching, unyielding, determined and united army so large and diverse a number of human beings."

Police, state militia, mass arrests, and brutal beatings failed to halt the picketing or break the strike.

Efforts were made to gain publicity and support for the strike outside of Lawrence.

The Italian Socialist Federation in New York decided to publicize the strike, and at the same time relieve some of the burden from the strikers, by bringing the Lawrence children into homes in other cities for the duration of the strike.

On Feb. 10, 119 children, accompanied by four women, including Margaret Sanger, made their

way from Lawrence to New York City, where they were greeted by a crowd of 5,000 socialists and Wobblies.

Humiliated by the wide publicity the children were receiving, the police chief in Lawrence declared that "there will be no more children leaving Lawrence." Two hundred more children were scheduled to leave on Feb. 24, but the parents of most of the children, frightened by the threats of the police chief, canceled out.

But the families of 40 of the children were determined to go through with the trip. As the children and their parents lined up to board the train, the cops converged on them with their clubs. Women and children were hurled into a military truck and beaten to submission.

This brutality was met with a national cry of outrage.

The "children's crusade," along with the inability of the companies to break the strike, finally caused the textile companies to surrender. A meeting of 15,000 workers ratified an agreement on March 14, 1912. The agreement included pay increases of 5 to 21 percent, in inverse order of earnings; time and a quarter for overtime; the 54-hour workweek; and a pledge to reinstate strikers without discrimination.

Votes to run candidate

Black Assembly plans '76 race

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK — The National Black Assembly, meeting here Feb. 1, voted to field a Black presidential candidate in 1976 who is "not a Democrat and not a Republican."

The gathering, held at the Biltmore Hotel and attended by about 270 delegates and observers from 21 states, voted to hold its next national convention in March 1976 in Cincinnati. The group also decided to host a conference on the economic crisis in April of this year.

The assembly was formed in 1972 at a convention of 8,000 people in Gary, Ind. Last March it hosted the Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Ark., attended by 1,700 people.

The decision to field a candidate independently of the two capitalist parties could mark an important and positive departure from the assembly's past orientation.

The assembly's stated aim is to implement the Black Agenda adopted at the Gary convention, which calls for winning Black political power.

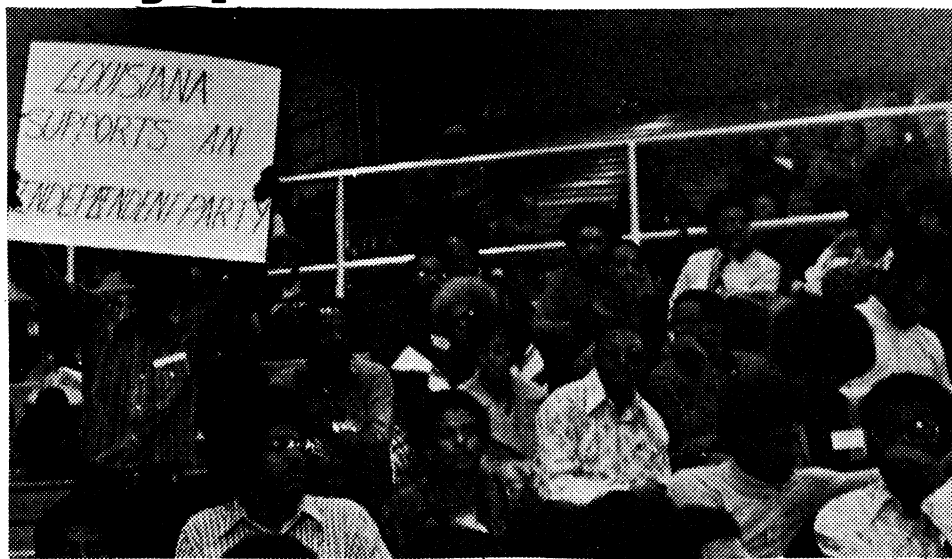
However, until now the assembly has operated around the Democratic Party. At the Little Rock convention last year, a resolution calling for the formation of an independent Black party was tabled. Discussion there was focused on how to elect Democratic and Republican candidates.

It is not clear whether the leaders of the assembly intend to do more than talk about an independent presidential candidate. However, a report by Irv Joyner from the assembly's Political Task Force indicated that the



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

BARAKA: Target of red-baiting attack



Sentiment for independent Black electoral action was strong at 1972 Gary conference. But until now National Black Assembly has refused to back independent candidates.

assembly has already begun to investigate the complicated and difficult requirements for getting on the ballot.

In reaching their decision to field a presidential candidate, the delegates rejected several other proposals.

Among them was a proposal supported by Amiri Baraka calling for making the 1976 convention "a 'people's' convention. It should consist of various groups of people, i.e. Black, Hispanic, Red, Asian, and White." The resolution said that "just to focus on the Black community was too narrow."

Baraka, head of the Congress of African People (CAP) and secretary-general of the assembly, argued for the proposal, saying that Black people would be "chumped off if we don't have a people's convention."

This proposal, a fundamental departure from the all-Black Gary and Little Rock conventions, aroused strong opposition among the delegates. Following a heated discussion, the assembly voted 101 to 62 to reject the "people's convention" concept and instead to host another Black convention.

In his report from the Political Task Force, Joyner outlined the options available to the assembly in 1976.

The first option, he said, would be simply to run an independent candidate. The second option would be to run an independent candidate who is the product of a "people's coalition," including whites and other non-Blacks.

The third option would be to run an independent candidate on a Black party label. Fourth would be to run no candidate at all, and instead support some other candidate.

During the discussion, CAP forces argued for fielding a candidate on an "antidepression, antirepression, anti-Democrat, anti-Republican platform." However, a motion to run a candidate who is "not a Democrat and not a Republican" carried instead.

The final agenda point was to have been a discussion of a letter sent out by Ron Daniels, president of the assembly, charging CAP with "domination" of the assembly and red-baiting Baraka as a "communist."

Basil Paterson, who is vice-chairperson of the Democratic Party National Committee, in remarks at the fund-raising benefit, made an oblique reference to an earlier "very hectic" closed-door meeting and said, "If we lose this assembly this year, we'll just have to build one next year."

Oklahoma State Representative Hannah Atkins, national treasurer of the assembly, insisted that the "communist" charge be aired so that action could be taken. However, the point was tabled, a move urged by Baraka.

Atkins then announced her resignation, claiming she could not remain in an organization "with a person with a leadership position who is an avowed scientific socialist."

Baraka took the microphone as At-

Continued on page 22

Cleveland unionists discuss economic crisis

By ERNEST MAILHOT

CLEVELAND—More than 250 people, most of them trade unionists, attended a "Conference on Recession and Inflation" held here Feb. 1.

The conference was organized by leaders of the United Auto Workers (UAW), Cleveland Typographical Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and other unions.

John Yates, head of the UAW Community Action Program in northern Ohio, was the moderator of the program.

The mood of the conference participants reflected the growing sentiment among union members that action on the economic crisis is urgently needed, and indicated a willingness to consider radical measures.

The keynote speaker was U.S. Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.), who got a good response when he called for nationalizing the oil industry and cutting military spending.

One of the best-received speakers was Geraldine Roberts, president of the Domestic Workers of America. She explained the plight of this least-noticed layer of the work force and called for hearings in Cleveland and around the country on the conditions facing domestic workers. Her proposal was adopted by the conference.

Conference organizers had prepared a program for adoption that called for a price freeze, a public works program "on a broad enough scale to employ the millions of jobless," increases in unemployment and Social Security payments, tax reform, and "public ownership" of energy industries.

A motion from the floor to amend the proposal by including a statement opposing any government wage controls was overwhelmingly approved.

The perspective of the conference organizers was clearly one of reliance on liberal Democratic Party politicians to bring about such changes.

Robert Bresnahan of the Socialist Workers Party spoke in the discussion and presented the 1976 Socialist Workers action program, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Bresnahan stressed the need for independent working-class political action. "In order to defend our rights as working people," he said, "we must break from the parties of our oppressors and form our own labor party, a party controlled by and responsive to the unions."



Militant/Mike Alewitz

Robert Bresnahan of SWP addresses 'Conference on Recession & Inflation.'

'February 1st Movement' formed

By NAN BAILEY

BOSTON—A New England regional conference introducing the February First Movement was held at Boston College the weekend of Jan. 30-Feb. 1. The February First Movement is a newly formed organization of Black students. It was initiated by activists formerly associated with the recently dissolved Youth Organization for Black Unity, the National Save and Change Black Schools Project, the Black Student Collective in New Jersey, and the Peoples College, a radical study group in Nashville, Tenn.

The group takes its name from the date of the first sit-in in Greensboro, N.C. On Feb. 1, 1960, four Black students from North Carolina A&T College decided to take direct action against segregated lunch counters at the local Woolworth store. They walked in and sat down at the "whites only" food bar, demanding to be served. Within two weeks, protests spread to lunch counters throughout the South, inaugurating the sit-in

movement.

The Boston conference featured keynote speeches by national leaders of the African Liberation Support Committee. About 150 students heard Owusu Sadaukai speak on "Imperialism and Black Liberation" at the conference's opening session. Sixty students heard talks by Abdul Alkalimat on "Building the Anti-Imperialist Student Movement" and Gene Locke on "Effects of Imperialism on Africa and Oppressed Nations." Workshops held on Saturday discussed the history of the Black student movement, building the anti-imperialist student movement, and educational cutbacks at Boston-area colleges.

A Black student organization focusing on the specific problems of Black students, the February First Movement also plans to unite with students of other national minorities around common struggles on the campuses.

In its "Statement of Unity" the February First Movement states: "Students must see the need and commit them-

selves to struggle. For it was only through struggle that gains were made by the Black liberation movement in this country."

The statement outlines the February First Movement's goal of winning large numbers of students to support campus struggles, community actions around issues such as police repression, the fight of working people for better wages and working conditions, women's struggles, the fight of oppressed nationalities "against economic and national oppression," and actions in support of national liberation movements around the world.

February First Movement leaders maintain: "In these struggles, we must seek to renew the spirit of militancy, of courage, of sacrifice that characterized the struggle of the 1960s. In the present period, this is our historical task as Black students!"

Recently the February First Movement endorsed the Feb. 14-16 National Student Conference Against Racism in Boston.

AAUP takes strong stand behind Starsky

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

The head of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has called on the attorney general to fire the FBI agents responsible for "counterintelligence" operations against a socialist professor at Arizona State University.

William Van Alstyne, president of the AAUP, took the action in response to the recent release of secret FBI "Cointelpro" documents exposing an FBI plot to have Dr. Morris Starsky fired from his teaching position at the university.

In a strongly worded statement, Van Alstyne called on the attorney general "to take every step necessary to insure that dismissal proceedings are

brought against any person still within the FBI connected with this reprehensible episode, and to provide enforceable assurances that the FBI will be controlled in a manner precluding the possibility of such abuses in the future, and to provide by public statement the basis upon which the people of this country can believe that they are genuinely protected from the abuse of their liberties by their own national police."

The FBI documents, which Starsky secured under the Freedom of Information Act, revealed that the Phoenix FBI—with the knowledge and approval of its Washington headquarters—mailed a slanderous "anonymous" letter to members of a faculty

committee examining charges against the professor.

"The deliberate effort of an unidentified FBI agent to destroy the academic career of Professor Morris Starsky at Arizona State University was a thoroughly contemptible act," Van Alstyne said.

"When a member of the FBI," the statement continued, "can come to believe (and to be encouraged in that belief by the agency's own director) that the national security will be advanced by posing anonymously as 'a concerned alumnus,' to slip in his future accusations against a teacher and thereby to try to influence against that person the judgment of those upon whom he depends for his own whole career and livelihood, the least reaction called for is one of utter disgust."

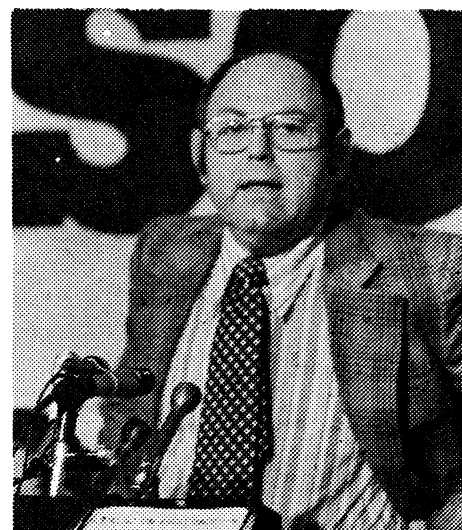
"It was to protect our civil liberties, rather than to have them subverted by sleazy and surreptitious campaigns of FBI harassment, that the taxpayers and citizens of this country accepted the expense and intrinsic hazard of this national police agency. If we are to have an FBI at all, clearly we cannot have it this way."

Van Alstyne's statement was featured in both the *Higher Education Daily* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, newspapers widely circulated in the academic community.

J. E. Kurland, associate general secretary of the AAUP, told *The Militant* that the organization is considering financing further legal action on Starsky's behalf. The Arizona State University board of regents is currently appealing a federal district court order to reinstate Starsky.

Kurland termed Starsky's firing by the regents "an outrageous violation of academic freedom."

"Given the further information that has come out only recently about the FBI meddling in the case, we'd like to help in whatever way we can," Kurland said.



Militant/Harry Ring

MORRIS STARKY: Will speak around country on FBI threat to academic freedom.

Meanwhile, Representative Don Edwards (D-Calif.), head of the House Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Constitutional Rights, which is charged with investigating FBI spying, sent a letter to Starsky. "Your case is most significant because it is the first detailed incident of Cointelpro activity we have had the advantage of examining," Edwards wrote. "This is most helpful to us in our work."

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is arranging speaking engagements for Starsky on campuses around the country to raise funds for the PRDF's efforts to win the release of other "Cointelpro" documents. The PRDF is the sponsor of a Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit demanding a halt to FBI surveillance and harassment.

"FBI Threat to Academic Freedom" is the topic of Starsky's talk. Those interested in arranging speaking engagements can write to the PRDF (Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003) or call (212) 691-3270.

'Poison-Pen Police'

Under the headline "Poison-Pen Police," the New York Times published the following editorial Feb. 5 commenting on the Starsky case.

Former Attorney General Saxbe has released evidence that the Federal Bureau of Investigation engaged in a deliberate campaign of defamation against a radical professor at Arizona State University. The clandestine efforts, which included the writing of anonymous letters to a faculty committee dealing with the teacher's professional future, continued for a period of two years, between 1968 and 1970. They appear to have had the personal approval of the late F. B. I. Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Dr. Morris Starsky, philosophy professor, anti-war activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party, who was the target of these attacks, was ultimately dismissed by the Arizona State Board of Regents, against the faculty committee's recommendations. Denials by

spokesman for the Regents of any link between the poison-pen letters and the firing are irrelevant to any appraisal of the F. B. I. action. What matters is that the bureau appears to have engaged in an illegal and despicable act of faceless persecution and slander.

Even as a single aberration, the acts against Professor Starsky would be intolerable. But beyond one professor's right to justice lurks the question of how many more dissident faculty members may have been similar targets. Dr. Starsky was, by all accounts, hardly a figure of great personal influence or national visibility. If the F. B. I. found it necessary to take "counterintelligence" action against him, it is reasonable to suspect that his case may not have been unique. As Congress investigates the abuses of domestic intelligence, it has a special responsibility to seek full disclosure of, and adequate reparation for, any similar episodes of character assassination.

Rally demands release of Rosenberg file

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES—At a news conference here Feb. 3, Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, announced plans to force the release of the still-secret government files on his parents. The Rosenbergs were electrocuted in 1953 after being convicted on trumped-up charges of espionage for the Soviet Union.

The files will be sought under terms of the Freedom of Information Act. Attorneys from the Rutgers Law Clinic, along with private lawyers, are working on the effort.

Letters will be sent to the Justice Department, the FBI, the CIA, and the Atomic Energy Commission requesting the files on the Rosenberg case. If the requests are denied, suits will be filed to force release of the materials.

Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), appeared at the news conference and expressed the ACLU's full support for the effort to win disclosure of the Rosenberg files.

Meeropol said that even those who are not persuaded of his parents' innocence should want to see the files so that they can get the facts. The FBI, he noted, asserts that the files will prove the guilt of the Rosenbergs, "yet we're the ones who are demanding that they be released."

"We're not afraid of what's in there," he said, "and we wonder what the government is afraid of in refusing to

release these files."

The news conference was held the day after a rally to demand the reopening of the case, which was disrupted when a powerful tear-gas device erupted on the stage of the Santa Monica Civic Center auditorium. The audience of 2,500 filed out in an orderly manner amid the choking fumes. There were no serious injuries, but

the meeting was not able to resume for an hour.

The fascist group that said it had placed the tear-gas device also claimed responsibility for the Feb. 4 bombing of the Socialist Workers Party offices here. (See story, page 4).

Featured speakers at the rally were Robert Meeropol and his brother, Michael. The rally also heard a number

of other speakers, including the noted physicist Dr. Harold Urey. Entertainment was provided by an entire cast of movie and television personalities, including actor Henry Fonda.

Dr. Urey worked on the first atomic bomb, whose "secret" the Rosenbergs were alleged to have passed on to the USSR. Urey said he was approached to support the Rosenbergs shortly after they were convicted. He was cool to the idea, he said, until the defense committee sent him a transcript of the trial.

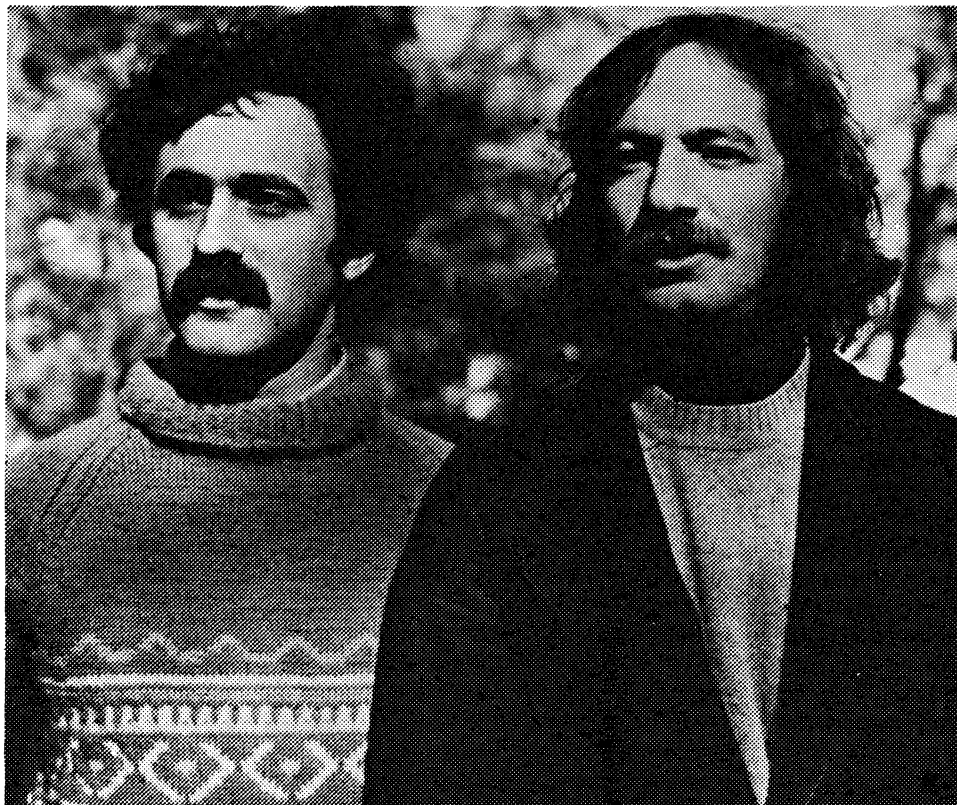
After reading the transcript, he became convinced that the Rosenbergs were innocent.

He told the audience that his personal library includes a section filled with books that provide in an abbreviated way the information necessary to build the bomb. No one, he said, could boil that scientific information down to the crude drawing the Rosenbergs were supposed to have passed on to Moscow.

Further, he said, the only "secret" was that the United States was actively working on production of the bomb. The theoretical knowledge required to build one was already known to other countries, including the USSR.

The rally also heard Helen Sobell, wife of Morton Sobell, who spent nearly 19 years in prison after being convicted as a "coconspirator" of the Rosenbergs.

She focused on two current defense cases—those of Gary Lawton and Los



Committee to Reopen Rosenberg Case

Robert (left) and Michael Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

Continued on page 22

Tanks used against crowds in Lima

Mass revolt threatens Peruvian regime

From Intercontinental Press
By GERRY FOLEY

Peruvian troops supported by tanks stormed one of the main police headquarters in Lima February 5 to crush a strike by the "defenders of order."

The military assault on the striking police touched off a mass explosion which the army tried to suppress with indiscriminate shooting.

"As news of the army assault spread, thousands of youths massed in the streets downtown," *New York Times* correspondent Jonathan Kandell cabled from the Peruvian capital. "After overturning buses, cars and trucks, they sacked and set fire to the army officers' club in the central plaza."

The fighting between the two sectors of the repressive forces of the state gave the masses of desperately poor people concentrated in the city a chance to take what they wanted from stores as well as to attack the symbols of hated privilege.

"Demonstrators also stoned the United States Embassy, breaking more than 40 windows. Further damage was prevented when T-55 tanks, recently acquired from the Soviet Union, moved in."

The political police seized the offices of the Reuters news agency and shut it down. It was accused by the government of "rumor-mongering."

On February 8, the government confiscated 50,000 copies of a special issue of *Caretas*, virtually the only independent publication left in the country. The issue was devoted to the clashes.

The government-controlled papers,



Peruvian military chief, General Velasco Alvarado, in happier days.

which blacked out the buildup of the crisis and servilely defended the regime, were singled out as special targets by the angry crowds.

Some reports claimed that the police rallied to the support of the regime as the clashes spread.

"By late afternoon, the conflict with the 20,000-member paramilitary Guardia Civil national police force appeared to have been resolved," a February 5 dispatch in the *Washington Post* said. "Platoons of riot police with their officers reappeared on the streets of Lima to help military patrols suppress reported wide-spread clashes, a fact that showed that there was a solution."

After the first clashes, the government suspended constitutional guarantees. The suspension was later extended for thirty days. It ordered all workplaces and businesses shut. On February 8, United Press International reported that military courts had begun trying 1,300 persons arrested in the clashes and that even more arrests were expected.

"Heavily armed police and soldiers

burst into scores of homes and apartments to search for the loot taken by rampaging mobs.

"The number in custody was expected to rise with the arrests of men in homes where the machine gun-carrying soldiers found stolen goods."

It seemed clear that the "progressive junta" faced a very extensive popular explosion that put its survival in question. And the fact that it reacted to the popular outbreak like any bourgeois government, ruthlessly defending "sacred" private property, could only weaken its political position further.

'A powderkeg'

"Lima is a powderkeg," Marcel Niedergang wrote in the February 7 issue of *Le Monde*. "Half of the population lives in *barriadas*, shantytowns of canvas and cardboard. Unemployment, underdevelopment, a 'lumpen-proletariat' in the Peruvian capital quick to go on rampages of rioting and looting. This is a factor that has to be taken into account in assessing the February 5 events. But the objectives chosen by the looters are no less instructive—the offices of the newspapers that were 'socialized' last year, the officers club, the big hotels in the downtown area, and above all, the offices of Sinamos, the government body in charge of 'mobilizing energies' in support of the regime."

Sinamos was designed roughly to function like the party and trade-union apparatuses in Stalinized countries, that is, to serve as a transmission belt to enable the government to extend its direct control deeply into the masses.

In the final analysis, Sinamos seems to have succeeded only in getting close enough to the masses to make a handy target for the first full-scale outburst of popular frustration and rage at the demagogic regime.

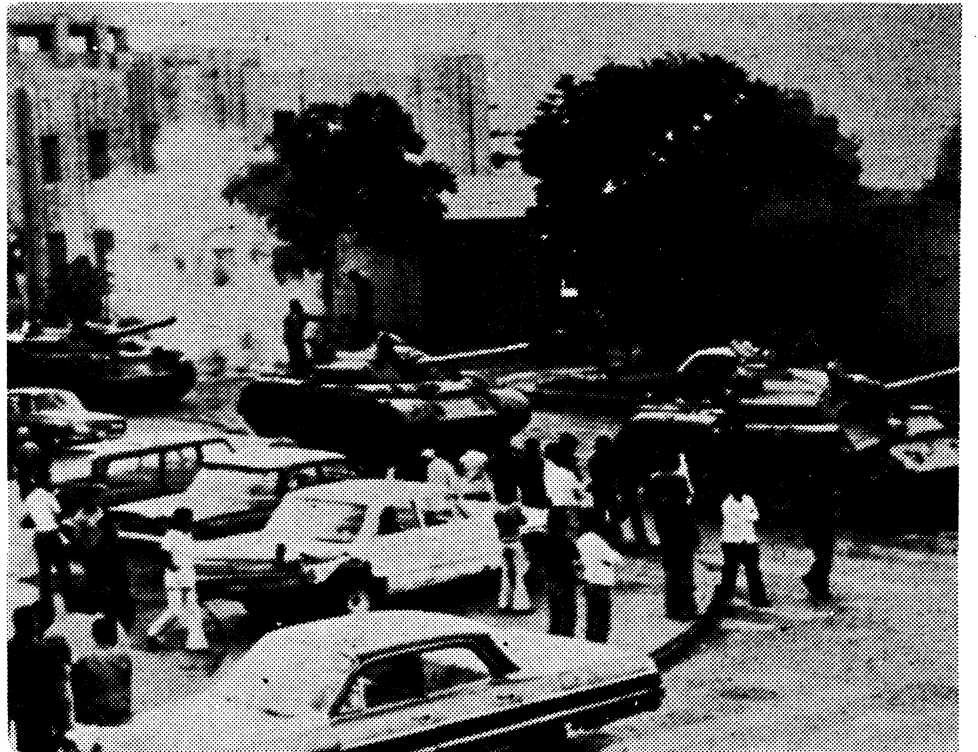
The Peruvian junta's attempt at reform from the top down and at balancing between the poor masses, the native capitalists, and imperialism seemed on the verge of ending in disaster.

The crowds that clashed with the army February 5 were not treated with the kid gloves the junta has used for dealing with rightists, nor with the toleration the Allende government in Chile showed toward the rightist demonstrations that prepared the way for its overthrow.

People 'mowed down'

Reuters correspondent Eduardo Ascaranz was in the middle of the shooting. Perhaps it was his reports that prompted the junta to close down his agency. He wrote: "A young man holding a new pair of pants in his right hand lay stretched out on the Plaza San Martin, while the tanks sprayed the square with machine-gun fire. Near him lay two other youths hit by the soldiers' fire. I was crouching in a telephone booth, and saw three other persons struck by machine-gun fire. The ambulances pulled up. Several minutes later, the looters came out of a shop on the square. They were mowed down by bullets. Two other persons fell under a rain of lead. A young man collapsed a few yards from me, near the booth. Blood spurted from his throat and his right arm, and continued to flow profusely for several minutes until an ambulance arrived."

But even this slaughter could not drive off the masses of poor who saw a chance finally to get things that had been hopelessly beyond their



Soviet-supplied tanks were used to put down popular uprising in Lima

reach.

"Despite the withering fire from the army's tanks, the looters continued their thefts. A young man ran out of a dry-goods store with a box full of shirts under his arm, another seized a pile of suits. A little further on, a family came out of a store with a television set. 'It's a clearance sale, buddy,' a man shouted to me as he ran off with a pile of pants."

The police strike had come in the midst of rising discontent.

Inflation

"Behind the Government's current troubles is an inflation rate that reached 20 per cent last year, an unusually high figure for Peru," Kandell wrote February 5. "With prices continuing to rise, factory workers, miners and public employees have staged strikes in recent weeks."

There had also been indications for some time that the junta was beginning to yield to the pressure of world imperialism. Joseph Novitski summed up a number of examples in the January 26 issue of the *Washington Post*.

"The revolutions of our time have had to learn the hard way that nothing is free in today's world," the government newspaper said when the huge foreign loans for Peru's largest mining project came through recently after a five-year delay."

For five years, the junta had refused to pay compensation to Exxon for the nationalization of its Peruvian subsidiary, which was seized shortly after the coup that established the present government. For those five years the junta could not get the foreign loans it applied for. On December 19, 1974, the United States allocated part of a \$76 million fund for compensation for other nationalized property to Exxon. The Peruvian regime did nothing. On January 7, the new loans were announced, and it became known that one of the institutions putting up the money was the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

"There have been other instances of the Peruvian military nationalists coming to terms with the outside world," Novitski also pointed out. "The oil-exploration contracts signed with 18 foreign companies drilling in Peru's Amazon jungles since 1971 have been criticized by exiled opponents of the government as more favorable to the companies than is necessary in today's oil-starved world."

Despite the feebleness of the junta's nationalism, however, there is little doubt that the imperialists thought that many of the regime's measures set a "bad example" that, at some point, would have to be "discouraged." In particular since the 1973 U.S.-backed army coup in Chile, the junta has been under steadily increasing pressure from proimperialist forces.

After more than five years of rule, and perhaps the most extensive reforms made in the recent period by any bourgeois government in Latin America (except for Chile where the Allende government, operating within a framework of parliamentary democracy, was forced by mass pressure to go much further than its intentions), the Peruvian junta now seems to have been virtually abandoned by the masses.

"Observers have noted the political vacuum that prevails in the country," *Le Monde* pointed out in its February 8 issue. "No sector of the civilian population has demonstrated in favor of the regime of President Velasco Alvarado except the General Confederation of Labor controlled by the Communist party."

Balancing act

In order to be able to play its game of balancing between the masses and imperialism, the junta had to suppress all independent political activity and demobilize the workers. Otherwise, it would have run the risk of its reforms setting in motion a process that it could not control, a process that would have led to a decisive confrontation of the fundamental forces in society as it did in Chile. Many of the government's highly touted experiments in "industrial democracy" were in fact designed to tie the workers hand and foot to the regime's plans for developing a modern bourgeois economy.

During the past five years, strikes by both teachers and industrial workers have been ruthlessly suppressed. Leaders who tried to defend the interests of the masses against the government, like the revolutionary peasant union leader Hugo Blanco, have been arbitrarily expelled from their own country.

Now it appears that the support of all the opportunist left, from the Communist party to former guerrilla leaders, cannot save the regime if the imperialists decide the moment has

Continued on page 22

Key issues: economy, racism

Socialist Workers Party launches

Boston: challenge to racist school committee

By STEVE CRAINE

BOSTON—The Socialist Workers Party announced at a public meeting here Feb. 7 that it is running Ollie Bivins for Boston school committee.

Bivins, 21, is a student at Boston University and a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. He is the first candidate to announce for a position on the five-member school committee.

Bivins received 14,000 votes as SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts last year.

Addressing 90 people at the Militant Forum, Bivins declared his support for the upcoming National Student Conference Against Racism. "The most important question facing the Boston Black community and its allies today is how to keep the buses rolling," Bivins said.

"The answer is to be found in the strategy employed by the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s. That strategy was to build a mass movement based on demonstrations and other forms of direct action."

Today, Bivins asserted, "the Boston school committee and city council stand in the same position as Governor Orval Faubus did when he tried to stop Black youth from entering the white high school in Little Rock, Ark., 17 years ago. The school committee and city council have placed themselves outside the law."

"The busing plan is now under attack by a vicious, reactionary, racist movement," Bivins said. "Their aim is to prevent school desegregation and deny Black students equality in education. They use 'busing,' 'neighborhood schools,' and 'quality education' as code words for their hatred for Blacks."

Bivins stressed the need for a new civil rights movement to ensure the rights of Black students in Boston.

He said he will campaign on a program directly challenging the policies of the school committee, which have long been responsible for relegating Blacks to inferior, segregated schools. "If I am elected to the school committee," Bivins said, "I will use my office to help organize action by the Black community and its supporters in defense of desegregation."

"The school committee should be the protector, not the opponent, of the right of Black students to attend any school they wish. It should enforce desegregation by whatever means are necessary."

"A school committee committed to equal educational opportunity would carry out a program of preferential hiring to increase the proportion of Black and Puerto Rican teachers, along with greatly increasing the total number of teachers."

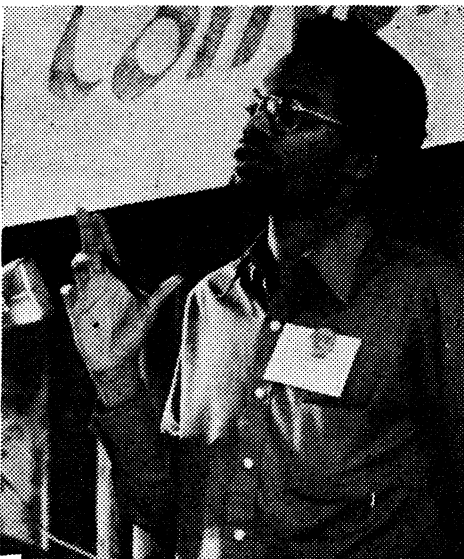
"A crash program of school construction is necessary to begin to catch up for decades of neglect," Bivins continued. "Programs in bilingual education should be greatly expanded and made available to all students who do not speak English as their first language."

"But first and foremost," he said, "the busing plan to achieve desegregation

must be implemented now, and whatever force is necessary must be brought to bear to ensure the safety of Black schoolchildren."

The Boston school committee has traditionally been the exclusive preserve of the Irish-American Democratic machine, concerned more with political patronage than with education. Since it was founded in 1906 the committee has never had a Black or Puerto Rican member.

Speaking along with Bivins at the Militant Forum on "The Struggle to Desegregate Boston schools" were Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, and Ray Sherbill, a coordinator of the National Student Conference Against Racism.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Ollie Bivins seeks seat on Boston school committee, which has never had Black member.

Cleveland: trade-union activist runs for mayor

By ERNEST MAILHOT

CLEVELAND—The Socialist Workers Party announced the candidacy of Robert Bresnahan for mayor of Cleveland at a news conference Feb. 4.

Bresnahan, 31, has been active in the antiwar and civil rights movements since 1965. He was a founder of the Kent State University Committee Against the War in Vietnam, a coordinator of the 1969 Vietnam Moratorium in Boston, and a coordinator of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition.

As an activist in Local 1746 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Bresnahan has helped lead a number of labor actions in Cleveland, including a protest by welfare workers against Nixon's wage freeze in 1972. He was a delegate to the Cleveland Federation of Labor in 1973 and a delegate to the 1974 Ohio AFL-CIO convention.

Bresnahan is a former teacher in the Boston high schools and has seen firsthand the racism of the educational system there. He has helped organize support here for the school desegregation struggle in Boston and has also participated in protests against attacks on Blacks in Cleveland.

In his statement at the news conference, Bresnahan pointed out that the SWP has shown itself to be a force in Ohio politics. Nancy Brown, SWP

candidate for governor of Ohio in 1974, received 97,000 votes.

Singling out the economic crisis as a central issue of the campaign, Bresnahan said, "Thousands have already been deprived of their jobs, prices are in orbit, and the worst is yet to come. Hundreds of thousands of Clevelanders are forced to survive on welfare grants, and the limited social services that do exist are in a state of collapse."

"Despite the urgency of the situation," Bresnahan said, "the Democrats and Republicans only offer more of the same. Both parties are guardians of the status quo and the interests of the wealthy."

As an initial step toward solving Cleveland's economic problems, Bresnahan called for a massive public works program to put the unemployed to work at full union wages building housing, schools, hospitals, and other much-needed facilities.

He said such a program could be funded by taxing corporate profits and placing a 100 percent tax on all income over \$25,000 a year.

Bresnahan denounced the recent violent attacks on Black students in the Collinwood area of Cleveland. He said the racist politics of the Cleveland school board had set the stage for these attacks. Bresnahan urged Clevelanders to participate in the Feb. 14-16 National Student Conference Against Racism.

He also spoke of a recent Nader report that exposed Cleveland's University Hospitals as violating federal regulations against forced sterilization of women patients.

"The Socialist Workers Party demands that city authorities implement the Supreme Court decision on the right of women to abortion and that the practice of forced sterilization be ended immediately," the candidate said.

Bresnahan concluded his statement by challenging his opponents in the mayoral race to join in a series of debates throughout the city.

Pittsburgh: steelworker on SWP ticket

By CARLA HOAG

PITTSBURGH—A fight to clean up the air and water of this region and to safeguard the jobs, health, and safety of steelworkers was pledged by Neil

Berns at a Feb. 5 news conference announcing his campaign as Socialist Workers Party candidate for Allegheny county commissioner.

The party's other candidate for the county commissioner seats up for election will be Joan Buchanan, it was announced.

"For generations," Berns said, "the people of Allegheny County have endured a poisoned environment for the sake of the profits of the United States Steel Corporation and the other corporate giants of Western Pennsylvania. But the time is now past when the economic well-being of our region must mean skies blackened with smoke and gases and rivers heavy with chemicals and industrial runoff. We have the technology to send men to the moon and bring them back again. Surely we can produce steel and still keep our air and water clean!"

Berns has had years of firsthand experience with the pollution and job hazards of the steel industry. He works at U. S. Steel's Clairton Coke Works, notorious for its deadly job conditions, and is an active member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1557.

Berns charged that U. S. Steel pretends steel cannot be produced without pollution. The company threatens that strict enforcement of environmental standards must mean layoffs, and thus tries to divide steelworkers from environmentalists and other community groups. Berns urged an alliance between the union and these groups "to fight for clean air and job security."

"The record profits of the steel industry could easily cover the expense of cleaning up the environment and building clean, safe steelmaking facilities in Allegheny County," the candidate said.

"In Allegheny County, the 'free enterprise system' has meant freedom to destroy the environment and cut short workers' lives. The Socialist Workers Party believes that human needs should come before corporate profits, and we think the majority of working people will agree with us."

The news conference also announced that Christina Adachi will be the SWP candidate for Allegheny county controller, and that Howard Beck, Susan Beck, Virginia Burke, Paul LeBlanc, and Thomas Twiss will be the party's ticket for Pittsburgh city council.

Susan Beck issued a statement condemning the city's failure to desegregate its schools. She noted that it has been seven years since the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission outlined a desegregation plan, yet by 1973 only 24 of the city's 106 schools were in compliance with the commission's guidelines.



Clairton coke works near Pittsburgh. "We have endured a poisoned environment for sake of profits of U. S. Steel."

local campaigns across country



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Pasadena, Calif., Dec. 14. SWP candidates are campaigning for school desegregation there and in Boston.

St. Louis: Bowman wins spot on ballot

By TOM MORIARTY

ST. LOUIS—Barbara Bowman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the St. Louis board of aldermen, has won a spot on the ballot in the April 1 municipal elections.

Bowman filed petitions for ballot status Jan. 23 bearing more than 5,500 signatures, and on Feb. 4 she was officially notified her name would be on the ballot.

Last year, SWP senatorial candidate Barbara Mutnick was denied ballot status after she had fully complied with the state election laws. Bowman had pledged to vigorously fight any such "undemocratic, discriminatory maneuvers or dirty tricks" aimed at keeping the socialist alternative off the ballot in 1975.

Bowman, a member of the American Federation of Teachers Local 420 and of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, is the first candidate for municipal office ever run by the St. Louis SWP.

One important issue in her campaign is the struggle for abortion rights. St. Louis Mayor John Poelker has prohibited the performance of elective abortions at all city hospitals—in direct defiance of the 1973 Supreme Court decision granting women the right to abortion.

Bowman stated, "I intend to join with all women who have been denied the right to abortion in protesting this action. I will campaign for a reversal of this decision and in support of court action to reverse Poelker's illegal decree."

Improving the St. Louis schools will be another crucial question in this election. "For the third time in 10 months," Bowman noted, "the people of St. Louis will be confronted with a referendum requesting a school tax increase. Working people are again being bombarded with horror stories about what will happen to their children's education if they resist this attempted blackmail."

Newspapers have carried threats that if the referendum is rejected teach-

ers will be laid off, several schools closed, and many programs eliminated.

"As a teacher in the St. Louis public schools," Bowman said, "I can speak with authority about the run-down facilities and lack of adequate staff and supplies that are the result of inadequate funding."

"But I also know why parents have twice said 'no' to this proposed tax hike. Parents know they will have no control over the funds, and they have no illusions that new taxes will improve the quality of education here. They absolutely refuse to pour any more of their shrinking paychecks down the tax drain."

"Instead of heaping new taxes on already overburdened working people," she continued, "the city, county, and state should begin taxing the bloated profits of corporations in the area, especially the big war contractors like McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics."

"In addition, the Socialist Workers Party demands that instead of boosting arms spending and cutting funds for education, as President Ford proposes, the \$100-billion a year now wasted on the war budget be used for social services."

"As president of the board of aldermen," Bowman concluded, "these are the kinds of policies I would fight for."

Los Angeles: candidates focus on school fight

By JOHN GATTUSO

LOS ANGELES—The 1975 Socialist Workers Party municipal election campaign was kicked off at a rally of 100 people here Jan. 25.

Speakers at the rally focused on the need for an ongoing fight against school segregation in Los Angeles and Pasadena, and linked this to the struggle going on in Boston.

Among the speakers was Michael Zinzun, director of the Pasadena Community Information Center and an activist in the desegregation fight there. Zinzun declared his support for

Tim Mallory, SWP candidate for Pasadena school board, who has been campaigning for immediate implementation of the Pasadena Plan for school desegregation.

The rally followed two weeks of petitioning by campaign supporters, in which 16,000 signatures were collected to place eight socialist candidates on the ballot in the April 1 election. The petitions were filed Jan. 23.

For city council the SWP is running Laurel Nickel in the 6th district and Miguel Pendas in the 14th district. Nickel is a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2070. Pendas, who writes the *Raza en Acción* column in *The Militant*, is well known as a writer and activist in the Chicano movement.

For board of education the SWP is running David Keepnews, a student at the University of California at Los Angeles; Willy Petty, an activist in the Black liberation struggle; Arnold Weissberg; and Kathleen O'Nan.

The SWP candidates for community college board of trustees are David Brown, an activist in the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; and Cathy Hinds, a student at California State University in Los Angeles.

All eight candidates have been certified for ballot status.

Berkeley: 100 rally to kick off campaign

By PAUL MONTAUK

BERKELEY, Calif.—A spirited rally Jan. 18, attended by 100 people, launched the Socialist Workers Party municipal campaign in the East Bay Area.

Carl Finamore, the party's candi-

date for mayor of Berkeley, talked about the need for mass struggles against the growing attacks on working people. He presented the SWP's proposal for a new "Bill of Rights for Working People." Finamore, a steelworker, was formerly a leader of the antiwar movement.

Froben Lozada, the SWP candidate for Berkeley school board, and Anne Chase, one of five SWP candidates for Berkeley city council, also addressed the rally.

Lozada is the chairperson of the Merritt College Chicano studies department. Chase, a student at the University of California in Berkeley, has been active in the women's liberation movement.

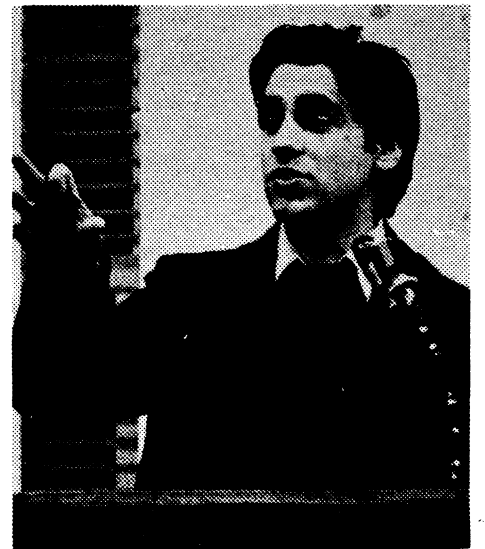
The SWP is also running Gaile Wixson, Reiko Obata, Susan Hampton, and Clifton DeBerry for Berkeley city council, and Glenda Horton for Berkeley school director.

Peter Oanes is the SWP candidate for Oakland school director, and Richard Trujillo is running for the Oakland city council on the party's ticket.

The rally launching the campaign capped off a successful educational weekend of panel discussions. One of the basic themes of the weekend was the struggle against racism, from Boston to Berkeley.

Clifton DeBerry joined Obie Cooper,

Continued on page 22



Militant/Joseph Ryan

Carl Finamore, SWP candidate for mayor of Berkeley.

Bill of Rights for working people

All across the country Socialist Workers Party candidates are campaigning for a new Bill of Rights for Working People.

In opposition to the Democrats and Republicans who have brought us inflation, unemployment, racism, and wars, the SWP says working people have a right to a job and an adequate income. And the SWP candidates have proposals for action to win these rights.

You can help distribute this Bill of Rights at your workplace, on picket lines, at unemployment and welfare centers, at community meetings, or at your school. It should be read by all those looking for a way to fight back.

Bill of Rights for Working People: 3 cents each; 2 cents each for 1,000 or more.

() Please send me one copy free of charge () in English; () in Spanish.

Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies () in English; () in Spanish.

() I endorse the 1976 SWP ticket of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president

as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Business Address _____

Occupation/School/Organization _____

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

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

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.

D.C. school board voids contract

Washington Teachers Union under attack

By ERICH MARTEL

WASHINGTON—Teachers here have been confronted with a sharp antiunion attack by the board of education, which broke off negotiations with the Washington Teachers Union Jan. 29 and declared the union contract terminated as of Feb. 5.

On Feb. 6, School Superintendent Barbara Sizemore announced the end

of union dues checkoff, thus requiring union building representatives to collect members' dues.

Negotiations for a new contract had dragged on for a full year already. Although the original contract was due to expire on March 31, 1974, it was extended on a day-to-day basis by mutual consent.

The school board is demanding a

45-minute increase in the workday for teachers beginning next September. The added time is not for teaching purposes; students would not be expected to stay longer.

The other major outstanding disagreement involves the grievance procedure, which the board wishes to change in a manner the union considers disadvantageous to teachers.

Twelve hundred union teachers attended an emergency meeting Feb. 3 to discuss the crisis and hear the recommendations of the union executive committee. About 5,000 of the 7,000 teachers are union members.

Teachers felt the school board was trying to provoke a strike in order to balance its perennially unbalanced budget. Teachers expressed the need for an alternative strategy before resorting to the ultimate strike weapon.

After considerable discussion, the meeting adopted an executive committee recommendation to request that the board submit the disputed issues to fact-finding and binding arbitration; to institute a work slowdown under which teachers would teach classes but perform no other assignments; and to empower the executive board to call a strike vote if the board rejects arbitration.

A motion from the floor was passed to hold a rally Feb. 4 at a special meeting between the union and the board. Although the rally was called on short notice and held during school hours, more than 200 teachers participated.

The union has set up a public re-

lations committee to counter the board's propaganda and win public support for the teachers.

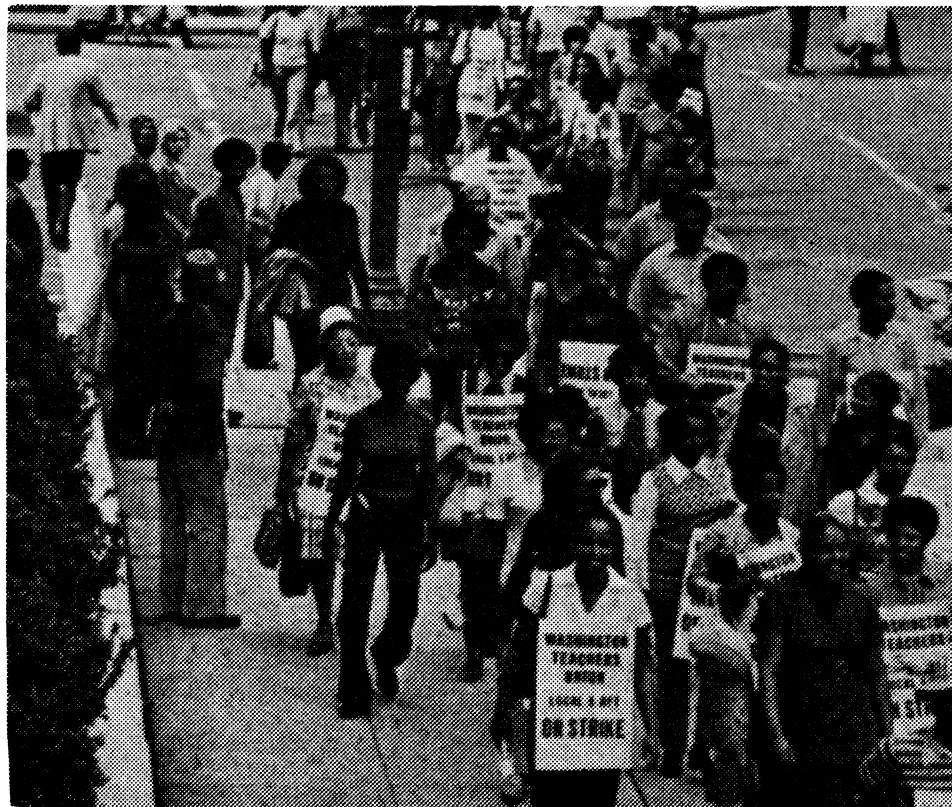
In response to board claims that previous salary increases were adequate compensation for a longer workday, the union placed a full-page ad in the Feb. 5 *Washington Post*. The ad explained that since September 1969 teachers have had pay increases totaling 27.4 percent, while the Consumer Price Index has risen 39.7 percent.

Teachers have also started contacting community organizations to explain their side of the story, and attending school board meetings to counter the lies put out by the board.

Teachers see the board's current demands as only the first stage of an all-out attack upon teachers and education in Washington. If the board is successful, the next steps may be to increase class sizes, increase the number of teaching periods per day, give teachers more clerical chores, and give school principals more arbitrary power.

Many teachers have begun to question the role of the school board members, who have been unanimous in the attack against teachers.

Although school board elections are formally nonpartisan, nine of the board members are Democrats or Republicans and two belong to the Statehood Party. Since five seats will be up for election in November, some teachers are raising the idea of the union running its own candidates for school board.



American Teacher

Teachers march during 1972 strike. Now school board demands longer workday as first step in rolling back gains of union.

Columbus Education Assn. rejects board offer

By MARGARET VAN EPP

COLUMBUS, Ohio—A meeting of 2,800 teachers on Feb. 2, called by the Columbus Education Association (CEA), voted overwhelmingly to reject the latest contract offer from the Columbus board of education.

The teachers had struck in early January after turning down a board offer of a 4 percent pay increase. The teachers have been asking for 12 percent as the minimum necessary just to keep up with inflation.

The strike was the first by teachers in Columbus history and was carried out in defiance of Ohio's Ferguson Act, which prohibits strikes by public employees.

A majority of the school system's 5,000 teachers and 98,000 students stayed away from classes, while administrators and a small band of

teachers kept schools open in the face of daily picketing. The strike ended after one week when a court ordered the teachers back to work and directed the two sides to reopen negotiations under the auspices of a federal mediator.

At the Feb. 2 meeting, CEA leaders reported on negotiations and recommended rejection of the board's latest offer as representing no substantial difference from the previous one.

"The board has moved backward from its position since the end of December," said Jack Burgess, executive director of the CEA and its chief negotiator. "The board's offer of an immediate 6 percent salary increase represents no monetary change whatsoever. Savings from the strike and from not having to implement a new salary schedule bring the board's position

back to approximately its original 4 percent offer."

Teachers voted down the contract not only for its poor salary offer but also for inadequate provisions on class size, preparation periods, and other teaching conditions. They also approved a motion to reject any offer that does not include a no-reprisals clause.

The teachers at the meeting were angry and frustrated. Typical comments were: "I have a feeling of being stepped on;" "The issue is not the money but what part teachers are to play in the school system;" and "Our argument is that they are prioritizing things other than human needs."

In contrast to the January mass meeting of 4,000 that voted to strike, which was marked by a mood of solidarity and determination, this gathering had an unfortunate tone of recrim-

inations and accusations.

Terry Lee of the Ohio Education Association accused the CEA members of not being solidly behind their leadership and the work stoppage. Teachers, on the other hand, criticized the CEA leadership for not working to build support for the strike in the Columbus labor movement and for not preparing the membership for the court injunction and other board tactics.

When the vote was taken on whether to strike again in defiance of the court injunction, only 25 percent of the teachers favored another walkout.

Burgess said the rejection of the strike recommendation was not a defeat for the CEA leadership. "It's a question of timing," he said, adding that if teachers do not get what they want he is convinced they will approve a strike later.

Milwaukee teachers, AFSCME stand united

By DEBBY DEEGAN

MILWAUKEE—Public school teachers, teacher aides, secretaries, truck drivers, and school social work aides displayed unity and discipline in the final showdown of their strike battle with the school board.

The board reached a settlement with the teachers and teacher aides, members of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association (MTEA), late Feb. 5. They then tried to open schools the next day without settling with non-teaching personnel, who are represented by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Locals 1053 and 1616.

The board failed to take into account the solidarity that had developed between the teachers and the secretaries and truck drivers, who had walked the

picket lines together for nearly three weeks in Milwaukee's first teachers' strike. The teachers refused to cross the picket lines of the AFSCME locals still on strike.

Only after the school board secured a court order ordering the teachers back to work did schools reopen on Feb. 7.

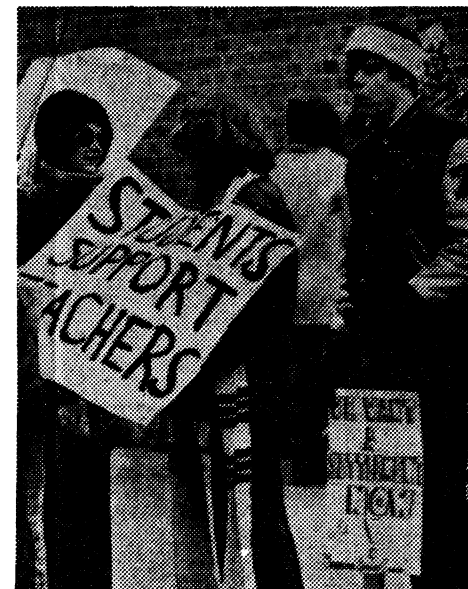
The tactics of the school board, which were intended to sow dissension between teachers and nonteaching staff, only served to convince MTEA and AFSCME members of the importance of fighting together. These tactics backfired as hundreds of irate parents besieged the school board with angry phone calls for trying to reopen the schools prematurely.

The unity of teachers and non-

teaching personnel succeeded in winning an 8 percent wage increase this year and 9 percent in 1976 for all employees. In addition, the teachers preserved seniority rights in transfers and forced the board to set a maximum class size. They did not win a cost-of-living clause, one of the strike goals.

Meanwhile, in an action brought by the Hortonville Education Association, the Wisconsin supreme court upheld the constitutionality of the state law that prohibits strikes by public employees.

The court agreed, however, that the 84 Hortonville teachers who were fired by the school board last April for striking had been denied due process and had the right to appeal their case to an "impartial decision-maker."



Students join picket line

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 21, 1975

Inside the CIA. Ex-Agent Philip Agee exposes methods of U.S. subversion abroad

[The following interview with ex-CIA agent Philip Agee is excerpted from the January 1 issue of *Red Weekly*, the newspaper of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.

[Before his resignation in 1969, Agee was a CIA operative for 12 years, working mainly in Latin America. He rose to the rank of colonel.

[A detailed account of Agee's experiences is contained in his book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, published in Britain by Penguin Books. Straight Arrow Press is planning to bring out a United States edition this spring.

[The American Civil Liberties Union has advised Agee not to return to the U. S. until after the book is published here, since the CIA could take the same sort of legal action they took against Victor Marchetti, another former CIA agent, blocking publication of parts of the book on Marchetti's CIA experiences.

[Robin Blackburn and Tariq Ali obtained this interview.]

Question. Could you tell us exactly what you did in the CIA?

Answer. I was recruited originally in 1956, and my career ran until early 1969. I was in training until 1960, then I went to Ecuador where I served under cover of being a diplomat until the end of 1963. From early 1964 to late 1966 I was in Uruguay, and from 1967 till early 1969 I was with the CIA in Mexico City.

During that period I handled, directed, and initiated most of the different types of operations that the CIA undertakes in the third world, including both "collection operations" [information gathering] and "action operations" which involve propaganda, trade-union work, youth and students, etc. This meant I was responsible for directing the work of dozens of agents in each country where I was stationed.

Q. Why did you decide to leave the Agency in 1969?

A. When I first went into the CIA, I really believed what I'd been taught, from a very young age onwards: that there is a "third way" between the traditional imperialism of the nineteenth century and earlier and revolutionary socialism. This is Wilsonian foreign policy [i.e., the "liberal" foreign policy pioneered by U. S. President Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I], the search for a third way in which liberal capitalist nations would seek their self-interests and serve the greatest good of the greatest number.

Little by little as I worked for CIA, I began to question whether we were really promoting the reforms which we preached about. I began to find that the more successful our operations were the further away the reforms got. As a result I began to question the possibility of this so-called "third way" and finally came to the conclusion that there really wasn't one and that what we were promoting around the world was simply a new version of the classic imperialism of the nineteenth century.

Q. When did these doubts begin?

A. A series of factors coincided in mid-1965. The invasion of Santo Domingo was one. There a reformist president—whom the CIA had helped to promote in the early 1960s—was not allowed to come back and play his rightful role in leading his country. I concluded from this that it must have been economic powers in the United States, principally the sugar interests, who wanted to keep him out, as he had developed a program of agrarian reforms which would have affected their interests adversely.

Also there was this incident of torture, which had more of an emotional effect on me than anything else. That happened several months after the Santo Domingo intervention. What

happened was that we were in a "state of siege" in Uruguay and the head of station [top CIA official in a particular country] wanted to help the police look a little better because they hadn't been able to arrest any of the labor leaders. They had been searching for these trade-union leaders and couldn't find them. Two of our agents were in the self-defense squads the Communist party of Uruguay, and we had, of course, the names of the leaders of these squads. The chief of station asked me to give to the police the name of the leader of one of these squads—Oscar Bonaudi. I gave the name for preventive detention, not thinking that anything else would happen.

About four days later, on a Sunday morning, the chief of station (at that time John Horton) and I were sitting in the office of the chief of police, an army general named Ventura Rodrigues. Also at this meeting was a colonel named Roberto Ramirez. He was the chief of the Metropolitan Guard, and antiriot shock force.

We in the CIA had just written a false document in the station that weekend "proving" that certain named officers of the Soviet Embassy were directing the trade unions in their struggles in this period of the state of siege. This document was to allow the government to justify the expulsion of those falsely accused Soviet Em-

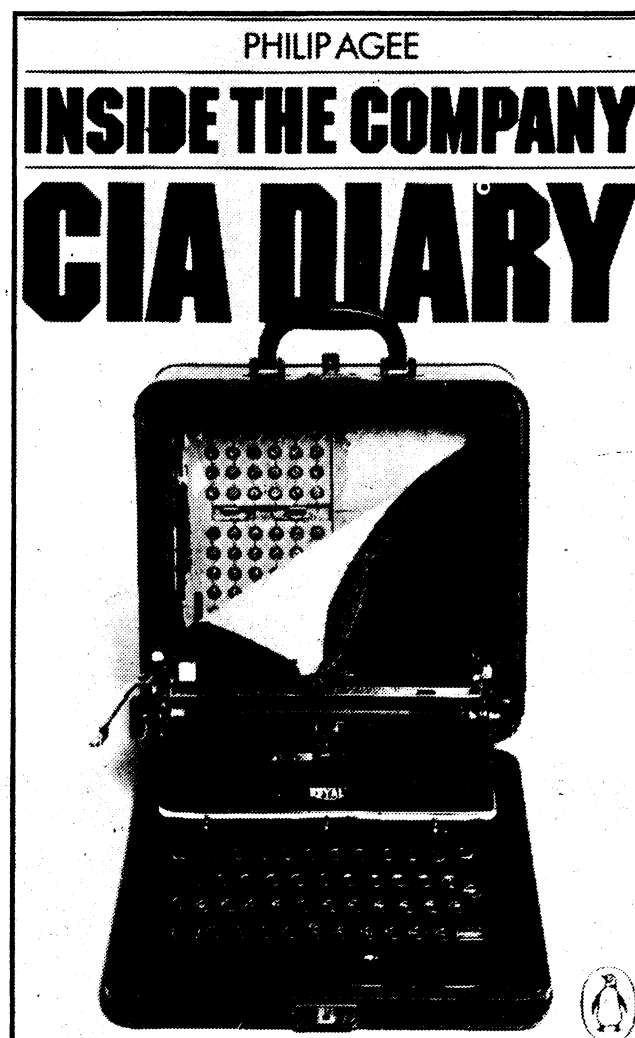
bassy officials. We were showing them the document on the Sunday morning before giving it to the military intelligence people who were going to give it to the president.

While they were reading the false report I began to hear a moaning sound, which sounded like a street vendor outside trying to sell something. Gradually it became louder and louder, and pretty soon I realized that someone was being tortured. (I found out later that the torture room was just above the chief of police's office, on the next floor up.) The screams of this tortured man became louder and louder. The chief of police heard it too, of course, and he kept telling Ramirez to turn up the radio. (Ramirez had a tiny transistor radio and he was listening to the Sunday morning soccer game, while we were having this meeting.) Eventually Rodrigues said the report was good and would do the job and Horton and I left to get the report over to the president.

I haven't forgotten those screams to this very day. It was a case which was never publicized, but Bonaudi would remember it—if he is still alive.

The torture case, the Santo Domingo invasion, and the growing realization that we were really reinforcing all the corruption and injustices in Uruguay brought me to reconsider more and

Continued on next page



Book cover shows Agee's typewriter case in which he discovered CIA-planted bug during book's preparation.

...ex-agent Philip Agee exposes CIA methods of U.S.

Continued from preceding page

more this activity that I was engaged in.

Q. What would you say is the political objective of the CIA in the countries where it operates?

A. The political and economic objectives are virtually identical—the retention of these countries within the capitalist camp. In other words, to ensure that the goods that these particular countries produce are available to the U.S. for the cheapest possible price and that the countries concerned provide a market for the export of American capital and obtain its goods. Essentially it comes down to that. The way the CIA fits into the picture is that it works to prop up local governments that allow the system to continue, and to beat down the people who stand for change on the left. That is what the CIA is doing in most of the third world.

Q. What sort of activities would you be engaged in as a CIA officer?

A. I was engaged in operations of running spies into the left-wing parties in Latin American countries, taking over old cases and developing new cases. For example, recruitment of members of Communist parties in order to obtain intelligence on the capabilities and intentions of these organizations.

Also I worked very closely with local police intelligence services, in Ecuador and in Uruguay, in order to extend the capability of the CIA station beyond what its limited manpower would allow. We used the foreign intelligence service, either military or police, as if it were our own to tap telephones, monitor the comings and goings of certain travelers, check hotels and maritime hostels, obtain files and photographs from the government in order to develop surveillance teams. The most important thing was that these local services would engage in repressive actions when we requested it.

In addition, I worked in the trade-

union operations in which we tried to establish and build up the so-called "free" trade-union movement. This was done through the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) and the CIA-controlled trade-union organizations in the third world, ORIT [the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization—a wing of ICFTU] and the ITS's [International Trade Secretariats—international organizations of trade unions within particular industries; most are connected with ICFTU and used by the CIA].

What the CIA does specifically in the trade-union field, is to promote, along with the rest of the U.S. government program in this field, trade unions in the third world which fall into the "Gompers-style" economic trade unionism. They try and keep the trade-union movement co-opted so that they exclude political considerations from their program and are quite happy to gain inch-by-inch rather than calling into question the whole capitalist system, which is certainly within their power.

I also engaged in quite a number of propaganda operations. We falsified lots of documents and attributed them to revolutionary organizations in order to bring discredit upon these organizations and the revolutionary movement as a whole—to discredit the Cubans, the Soviets, and all our enemies.

Q. As well as penetrating left-wing organizations, does the Agency also seek to stimulate and create right-wing organizations?

A. At one stage in Ecuador we were trying to force the president—Arosemena—to take certain policy decisions in relation to the repression of the left, and to break relations with Cuba. What we did was to create a mass hysteria relating to the imminent communist take-over of the country. We acted together with a section of the Catholic church and through the right-wing political parties to encourage mass demonstrations against any relations with Cuba and against the left in the country.

At one point in our campaign, a bomb was thrown by the Social Christian bomb squad into the Cardinal's house as a provocation. We were promoting the right-wing Social Christian movement in all their activities. In fact we eventually brought onto the station payroll the retired army captain who was the leader of these different squads.

We formed what was called the National Defense Front, which grouped in it lots of individuals and the most important political organizations of the center and the right. They were powerful enough to get tens and even hundreds of thousands onto the streets, with the assistance of the church.

The simple bombing of the Cardinal's house—with him, by prior arrangement, conveniently in the Basilica downtown so that he wouldn't be hurt—resulted, a week later, in the largest mass demonstration in the history of Quito to protest this "outrage." The Cardinal, ninety years old, gets up on the platform at this demonstration and gives the principal address in which he says that following the teachings of Christ he is going to forgive the terrorists who tried to kill



Chilean generals review troops. CIA-sponsored subversion, which was instrumental in the overthrow of Allende government, continues daily in Latin America.

him. All this despite the fact that the bombers had been caught in the night by the police and had admitted that they were Social Christians! It didn't matter. The fact that the hysteria had already been generated meant that even though the bombing had been found out it still worked. Finally, through a military ultimatum, which was the culmination of our propaganda and political action efforts, Arosemena was forced to break with Cuba.

Months later, when we felt that his government had been penetrated by leftists and communists, we started up the whole operation all over again. That led to his overthrow.

The important lesson to learn is that the recent revelations of the CIA's efforts to "destabilize" the Allende government in Chile was no isolated case. These activities are taking place day in and day out, all over the world, and sometimes over a period of many years. In Indonesia it took the CIA ten years to bring about the overthrow of Sukarno in 1965. Destabilization operations against him were begun at the time of the Bandung Conference in 1955. It was the same in Ghana to overthrow Nkrumah, and the same in Brazil, although it was a shorter period of time (1961-64). But don't imagine that any of these operations are isolated. They are happening every single day.

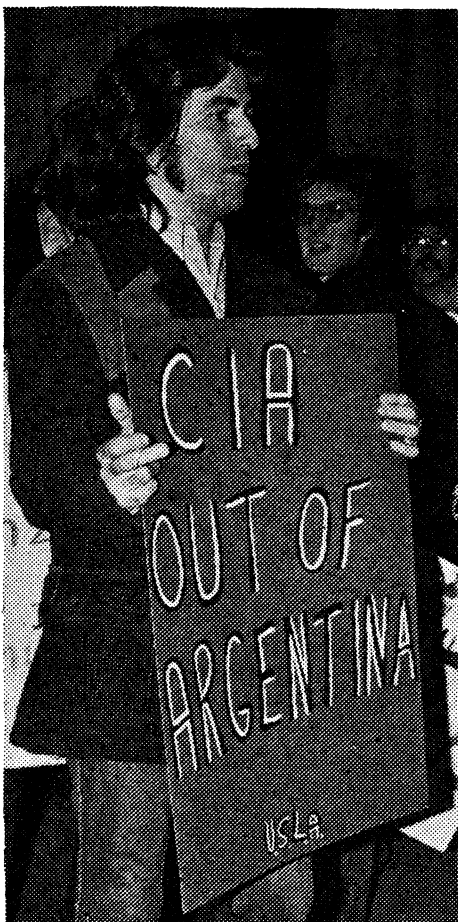
Q. Why do you think it is that the CIA seems able to overthrow people

like Sukarno, Nkrumah, Arosemena, even Allende, but is not able to overthrow Mao Tsetung, Fidel Castro, and leaders of revolutionary movements?

A. Well, certainly they tried. Not only Fidel Castro, but the Soviet Union itself. Even up until the early 1960s CIA were sending saboteurs into the Soviet Union with folding bicycles, or dropping different devices by parachute. This was called the "Red Socks Program." Whenever an émigré with suicidal tendencies could be found he would be sent in, but they failed miserably because they were all picked up and shot.

In the case of Cuba the CIA didn't spare any efforts to try and overthrow the Cuban revolution in its early years. But the difference between Cuba and China—countries which have had socialist revolutions—and these others is that they have the people on their side and you can't defeat them.

The reason that Sukarno was overthrown, the reason that Allende was overthrown, is related to the fact that the class struggle wasn't really entered into in earnest in those countries. It was delayed, delayed and delayed and eventually there was a lurch to the right instead of the left. In addition the army and the police which exist to defend capitalism still existed and were used by the CIA as a base of operation. The security and military forces are primary targets for a large proportion of CIA propaganda, which uses fear by frightening the



subversion abroad

security and military forces that in the event of a socialist revolution they would all be shot, which is, of course, not true. In the Cuban and Chinese revolutions a not unimportant section of these forces came over to the side of the revolution.

Q. You are responsible for overthrowing the Velasco government in Ecuador and "destabilizing" its successor. How much money do you think it cost the Agency to carry out these operations?

A. Not very much actually. Our principal political operation, which involved propaganda, was running at \$50,000 a year and through this operation we promoted lots of demonstrations and propaganda against relations with Cuba and against the Velasco government.

At one stage we had the vice-president on our payroll. He was being paid \$700 a month before he became vice-president, and after we increased his salary to \$1,000 a month.

But it doesn't matter how much a man is being paid. It's what he actually does that's important. In many cases very high government officials will be exceedingly effective without receiving a salary from the CIA. They understand that the interests of the class they belong to are identical with the interests of the CIA, the U. S. government, and U. S. companies. They live from that exploitation. So they don't have to be paid.

Q. Did you ever experience occasions when you thought that an agent was perhaps helping the movement a bit too much?

A. Well, there's sometimes a time when a decision has to be taken about how far an agent should go in developing his own position within the party. For example, it's very important for CIA stations to penetrate the militant action wings of left-wing organizations, so that they can know in advance of any violence that might be planned. If a CIA agent has been able to penetrate one of these organizations, then the decision has to be made as to how far he goes. Whether he should, for example, be allowed to participate in violence which might cost a life, such as the execution of a hated police torturer. The local situation would determine whether he should be allowed to go that far or not. In a serious insurgency situation as in Vietnam, or even in Argentina today, he might be allowed to go through with it despite the costs.

Q. To turn to some wider aspects of the problems we've been discussing, would you agree that there is some connection between the activities of the CIA and the facts which were thrown up by the Watergate affair?

A. I don't think there can be any doubt that Watergate represents the application within the United States of the methods that the CIA has been using abroad for the last twenty-five to thirty years. The penetration operations, i.e., the bugging, the political disruption, the black propaganda operations (e.g., attributing to someone a false document), were all applied in the United States.

Most of the Watergate operations were right out of the CIA textbook.

And now we're beginning to see that the FBI had this COINTEL Program which was their way of penetrating and disrupting everything to the left of the liberal Republicans and Democrats from 1956 onwards. The recent official reports released by the Justice Department show that in that period the FBI engaged in no fewer than 2,300 different operations against the left. This is an average of one new one every other day—not counting Sunday—for the last fifteen years.

These were not one-shot operations that just occurred and then ended. They had a tremendous cumulative effect over the years. They might begin one year and not end till ten years later.

Q. We now hear from Kissinger that the threat to U. S. interests does not merely exist in the third world, but also in the capitalist countries of Western Europe. Does this mean that the CIA will be actively involved and preparing to intervene in Europe?

A. Well, yes. You must understand that it is a corollary of Wilsonian foreign policy that any government, no matter how bad, is better than a communist government. It follows that



anything which suggests the emergence of an anticapitalist government anywhere in the world (not just the third world), is "incompatible with the United States security interests," in other words the security of the ruling capitalist minority of the United States, because it certainly isn't in the interests of the Chicanos [Mexican-Americans], Puerto Ricans, Indians, most women, Blacks, or the workers to see capitalist rule extended or continued.

I would say that Portugal, Greece, and Italy must be the top priorities of the CIA at the moment. Wherever the legitimacy of capitalist democracy is challenged by the masses, the challenge posed by the CIA increases accordingly. In Portugal, in particular, given the importance of the Cape Verde Islands and Angola, the CIA must be in there working very hard indeed.

Q. One got the impression that when
Continued on next page

World news notes

Upsurge in Italian abortion struggle

Women of Italy are rising up against the suffering and humiliation caused by the necessity of illegal, back-alley abortions. Abortion has become a major national political issue, as the government has attempted to repress the women's protests.

On January 26 one of the leaders of the abortion-rights movement, Adele Faccio, was arrested in Rome while addressing the country's first national abortion congress, attended by 3,500 people, according to an Associated Press dispatch.

The AP report said that as two cops strode up to the presiding table, Faccio "asked for the arrest warrant, then read it into the microphone and said: 'I am proud to enter those prisons where so many companions are pining.'"

Faccio, a 52-year-old teacher, is president of the Committee for Sterilization and Abortion.

Earlier in January the government carried out a raid on a Florence abortion clinic, arresting six staff members. Warrants were issued for the arrest of other staff members, as well as for forty women who had allegedly obtained abortions at the clinic.

Following the arrests, the Movimento di Liberazione della Donna (MLD)—Women's Liberation Movement) called for a mobilization "to bring onto the piazzas of Italy the thousands of women who have abortions every day and who directly feel the violence of a system that forces them to undergo the terror of clandestine abortions."

On January 12 hundreds of persons marched through Florence. Mainly women, they came from Rome, Milan, Padua, Bologna, and other cities. Signs described the Vatican's campaign to make 1975 a "Holy Year" as a "Holy crusade against women." The Italian weekly *L'Espresso* reported: "Many persons followed the cortege, some applauded. The atmosphere was one of sympathetic interest and participation."



'These are the doctors against abortion,' says sign showing doctor taking thousands of lira for clandestine abortions.

Semicolonial countries demand fairer prices

The economic confrontation between the advanced capitalist countries and the semicolonial world is spreading from the issue of oil prices to the area of other raw materials.

On February 5 the United States presented its proposal on oil pricing to its imperialist partners in the newly formed International Energy Agency. The aim of the plan is to keep oil prices high within the imperialist countries so as to guarantee the profitability of new energy sources, and thus break the semimonopoly on energy resources held by members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

On the same day, ministers from 110 semicolonial countries were meeting in Dakar, Senegal. They decided unanimously to apply the tactic of the Arab oil-producing countries to other raw materials such as aluminum, bananas, peanuts, and zinc. The conference established a commission to work out higher price guidelines for these products, to be adhered to by all the participating countries.

According to a United Press International report on the gathering, "speaker after speaker . . . denounced the advanced nations for paying too little for raw materials while charging too much for their manufactured goods."

Britain: victory for immigrant workers

A victory has been won in Britain for the rights of immigrant workers. The Italian worker Franco Caprino has been released from jail, where he had been confined without trial since December 16, and a deportation order against him has been lifted. He was released only after repeated protests and demonstrations by radical groups, Labour party chapters, and trade unionists.

Caprino was originally ordered deported by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins under a provision of the racist 1971 Immigration Act introduced by the Tories. It allows the government to deport anyone for "the public good" or "for reasons of a political nature," with no right to appeal.

The obvious reason for the persecution of Caprino was that he was a member of the International Branch of the Transport and General Workers Union and was involved in organizing workers in the catering industry, many of whom are Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Arabs, Iranians, Turks, and other immigrant workers.

Int'l protests: 'Free the political prisoners!'

Spain shaken by strikes, demands for civil liberties

By Caroline Lund

"Spain's 12-million-strong labor force is a 'sleeping giant' no longer. It is awake and stirring. . . ."

Thus began an article in the December 17 *Christian Science Monitor* on the recent upsurge of strikes, political protests, and demands for release of political prisoners that is shaking the Franco regime.

The ferment is not limited to the factories, but has extended to the universities and into the prisons. Attempts by the regime to crack down on the growing social unrest have filled the jails with political prisoners. Spain has become the focus of international protests against the repression and torture.

The strike upsurge referred to in the *Monitor* is continuing. The January 31 *Washington Post* reported that during the first month of 1975, "an unprecedented number of strikes have further shaken the nation's already weak economy."

Spain is suffering its highest unemployment rate since the 1940s, and the greatest inflation since the civil war of the 1930s.

One of the largest struggles is at the SEAT automobile works, which employs 26,000 workers, centered in the key industrial city of Barcelona. On January 13, some 5,000 workers and student supporters took to the streets in support of a struggle against victimizations that the SEAT workers have been waging since November.

In the latest development, the company had locked out almost the entire work force for five days and fired 400 of the most militant workers. A program of layoffs was announced, using as a pretext the international crisis in the automobile industry.

Another major struggle took place in northern Spain, where forty-five

potash miners struck for fifteen days against a government-owned mine. In the city of Pamplona, reported the *Washington Post*, "more than 20,000 other workers walked out to show solidarity with the miners, and 30 Roman Catholic priests invaded the Pamplona bishop's office in a sympathy hunger strike."

An Associated Press dispatch printed in the February 4 *New York Post* reported that more than 5,000 miners had gone out on strike in both government-owned and private mines near the city of Oviedo.

Meanwhile, a wave of student protests has paralleled the strike upsurge. "In increasing numbers," stated the *Washington Post*, "students [are] staging demonstrations to demand more freedom, education reform and amnesty of political prisoners, and to express support for striking industrial workers."

One of the things that most worries the Franco regime is the fact that the current workers' struggles are not only around economic demands, but are increasingly political.

One issue has been the workers' opposition to the government-controlled "unions," which are the only bodies that can legally speak for the workers. In the SEAT struggle, for example, the workers had refused to accept an agreement worked out between the official "union" and the government. They organized demonstrations outside the union headquarters demanding new elections for representatives in the factory.

Other major issues have been the demands for release of political prisoners and for democratic rights. Last December 200,000 workers in the four Basque provinces staged a two-day political strike demanding release of the prisoners, many of whom are in jail for supporting the national rights of the Basque people.

According to the *Christian Science*



Genoveva Forest and Antonio Duran face possible death sentence.

Monitor, there are about 450 political prisoners in Spanish jails, probably a conservative figure. Of these, says the *Monitor*, 144 have launched hunger strikes in ten different prisons, protesting their confinement and conditions in the prisons.

To deal with the growing struggles of the past few years, the Spanish dictatorship set up a "Public Order Tribunal" to prosecute social and political "offenders." The French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* reported December 20 that, according to official sources, in 1973 alone the tribunal heard 2,065 cases concerning more than 8,000 persons.

One of the frame-ups that has gained international attention is the arrest of a group of Spain's leading intellectuals in connection with the assassination in December 1973 of premier

Carrero Blanco. Those arrested are: psychiatrist and noted feminist Genoveva Forest; the famous playwright Alfonso Sastre; labor attorney Lydia Falcón; the writer Eliseo Bayo Pobalador; labor leader Antonio Durán Velasco; television actress Maria Paz Ballesteros; producer Vicente Sains de la Pena; teacher Maria del Carmen Nadal; and airline pilot Bernardo Vaded Carreras. All have been tortured.

Two of them—Genoveva Forest and Antonio Durán—have been formally charged with the assassination of Carrero Blanco. They are expected to come to trial soon in a military court, and face a possible death sentence.

The frame-up character of the case is revealed by the fact that Forest is accused by the witch-hunters of being a member of both the Communist Party and the ETA (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom). This is clearly a fabrication, since these groups have widely differing political views.

An international defense committee has been established to defend Genoveva Forest. More than 500 French feminists signed a half-page appeal in the French daily *Le Monde* last October for support to Forest and the other women in Franco's jails. A protest meeting of 2,500 persons was held in December in Paris.

In New York City, seventy people held a rally across the street from the United Nations on January 24 to denounce the political repression and torture in Spain.

The protesters, organized by the Ad Hoc Coalition for Spanish Political Prisoners, heard speeches by Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; Jacqueline Ceballos of the National Organization for Women; U. S. Representative Bella Abzug; Roger Baldwin of the International League for the Rights of Man; Allard Lowenstein; Joel Carlson, president of Amnesty International; and writer Sol Yurick.

...CIA

Continued from preceding page

there was a big general strike in Uruguay, at one time bringing the whole economy to a halt and really confronting the government with the power of the workers, it seemed as though the Agency didn't have too many things it could really do, despite all its penetration.

A. Yes. The march of events in Uruguay shows us just what the Agency could and couldn't do. It couldn't break the trade unions. The only alternative eventually was a fascist-type dictatorship. That's what they have right now—the most terrible, unspeakable repression that anyone could ever imagine. So all the penetration of the CIA in the left-wing organizations, the trade unions and the student movement, and the government, can't solve the problem—it can only make it much worse. This is what has happened in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Bolivia.

Q. Why did you decide to write a book about what you'd done in the CIA?

A. There were a whole series of reasons for this. I would like, if nothing else, to prick the conscience of Americans and try to bring them along the same political trajectory as I experienced since I went into the CIA, quit, and then decided to write a book about it. In other words to try and open some minds to the reality that there isn't a "third way" and that the U. S. is merely trying to disguise the old imperialism with a new cloak.

I hope to contribute to the growing campaign in the United States to call into question these activities, and to work for the eventual abolition of the CIA as part of the overall process of weakening and finally defeating the ruling capitalist minority in the United States.

Most importantly, I want to show the methodology that lies behind the CIA's operations which is true not just for Latin America, but the entire world. This is so that the revolutionary movement can understand better the nature of the enemy and learn to spot and combat it better. They

will be able to take countermeasures and reduce the impact of these operations in their own countries.

Another purpose is to encourage former and current officers in the CIA who may be working in the kind of job that I had to do the very same thing that I did. They could make public the documents they have access to and write their own diaries, because there are many more CIA books to be written. There's one to be written on Brazil, on Chile, on Iran, on Indonesia, on the Phoenix program in Vietnam [a CIA-initiated program involving the systematic murder of all suspected supporters of the National Liberation Front; resulted in tens of thousands of deaths].

I want to encourage all former and current employees of the Agency to tell the world the truth. It's not difficult. For instance, when I was working on this book I was going through back files of newspapers of the countries where I'd been working and it was like looking through CIA files themselves. Because practically everything the CIA does has a visible effect. The trouble is that most people don't realize that the hand of the CIA is behind many incidents.

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...ten years later: who killed Malcolm X?

Continued from back page

feud between the Muslims and Malcolm's movement. How could they know so fast?

Although the official story is full of holes, that doesn't necessarily prove that government agents killed Malcolm. But there are plenty of other facts that point in that direction.

The New York Journal-American of Feb. 22, 1965, said, "According to the police spokesman, the department knew in mid-January that an attempt was to be made on Malcolm's life." How did they know?

Malcolm's fears

Just 12 days before his assassination, Malcolm planned to speak in Paris. But the French government, in an unusual move, barred him from the country. Officials said that Malcolm's speech could have "provoked demonstrations that would trouble the public order."

But Malcolm's associates later said the real reason was that the French government feared Malcolm would be assassinated while in France. Why?

Malcolm's home was bombed the week before he was gunned down, and he publicly accused the Muslims. But in the days before his murder he began to doubt this. He said that he was "not at all sure that it's the Muslims."

As he was waiting to speak at the Audubon, he told people that he was going to say publicly that he had doubts about the Muslims' responsibility for the bombing. He had become convinced that there was a plot to kill him bigger than the Muslims were capable of.

Did government agents use Malcolm's own public accusation against the Muslims as a cover for their assassination plot?

Role of 'BOSS'

The police admitted that "several" members of the "BOSS" unit were in the audience at the Audubon. BOSS is the super-secret Bureau of Special Services, the "red squad" of the New York police department.

After talking to one high-ranking cop, Milton Lewis wrote in the Feb. 23, 1965, *Herald Tribune*, "It is no secret that BOSS police—who never wear uniforms—have credentials to cover almost any situation, so that if they were required to have a card or emblem of the Black Nationalist sect it is a safe bet that they had them."

In 1970, during the New York Panther 21 trial, a police agent surfaced—Gene Roberts, who had been in the Panthers since 1968 and in Malcolm's organization before that.

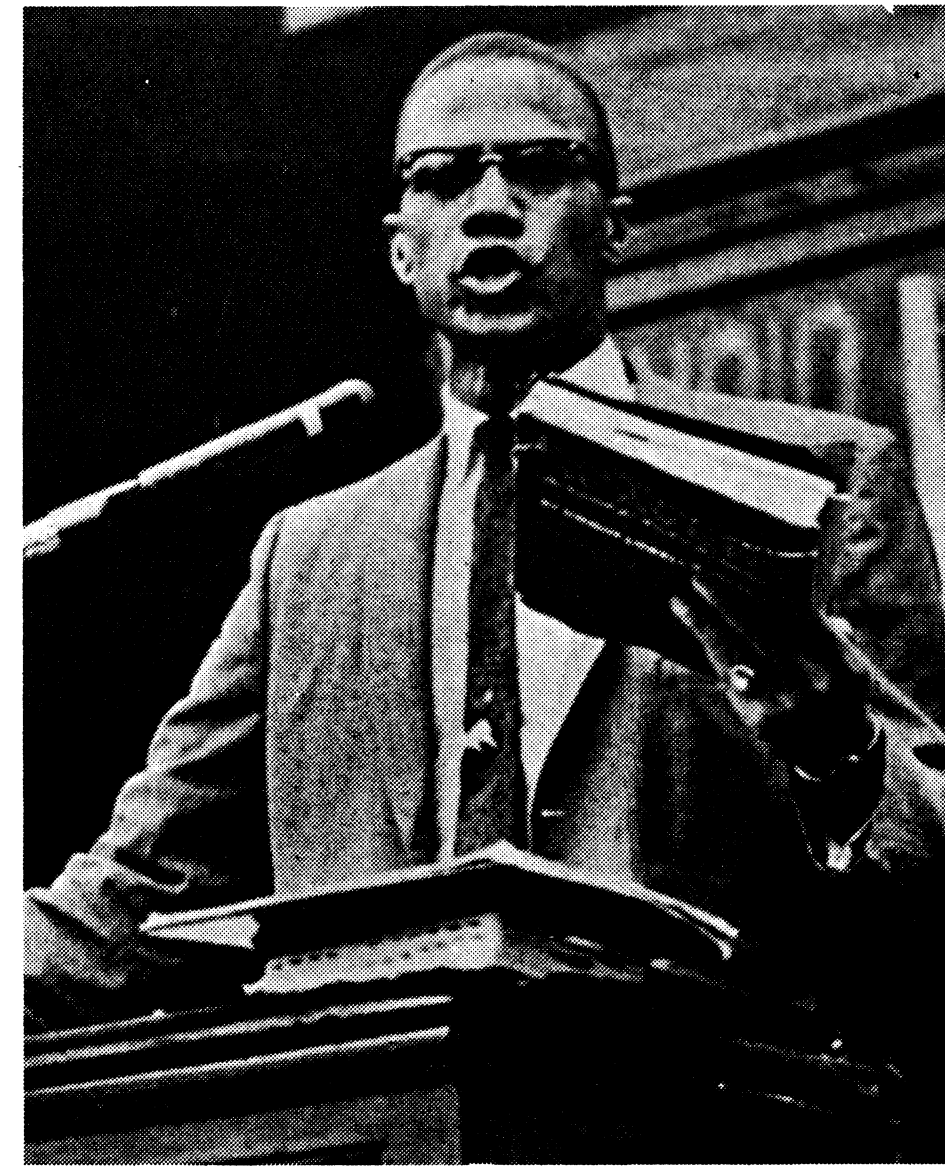
Roberts was a member of BOSS. Although he had wormed his way into a position of trust in Malcolm's organization, he was never called during the trial to testify on his activities.

To this day Roberts has never made public his police work in Malcolm's group. How many other police or FBI agents were inside the group, and what were they doing? Were they at the Audubon?

The cop who led the murder investigation, Joseph Coyle, told author Peter Goldman, "When you got undercover people, you don't like to reveal 'em. You don't want to throw out the whale to catch a fish."

Goldman is a senior editor at *Newsweek* magazine who became a cop hanger-on while gathering materials for his 1973 book, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*. The book backs the police version that the Muslims were responsible for Malcolm's murder.

Goldman's theory on the second sus-



pect is that it was a reporters' mix-up and that two cops on the scene who had grabbed the same suspect each told reporters about it separately. Goldman, however, got this version from the police department itself.

About Malcolm, Goldman admits, though, that the cops "tapped his telephones; they bugged his office, his meetings, even the tiny dressing cubicle just offstage at the Audubon; they shadowed him; they taped and transcribed his speeches; they bought fact and gossip from informers. . . ."

Although Coyle led the murder investigation, he was responsible to Sanford Garelik, the assistant chief inspector in charge of the police department's Central Office Bureau and Squads.

Garelik was formerly head of the BOSS unit. He rose in the department, before retiring to the highest position for a uniformed cop, chief inspector.

(In July 1970, as city council president, Garelik tried to block creation of the Knapp Commission on police corruption, declaring, "this is one of the most important votes I'll ever cast in city government.")

Since 1965, Malcolm's tombstone has cast a long shadow over the development of Black leadership, and the government has benefited the most from this. It is no secret that the U. S. rulers despised Malcolm and wasted no tears at his passing.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial the day after his assassination, reflected this hatred:

"Malcolm X had the ingredients for leadership, but his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence not only set him apart from the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement and the overwhelming majority of Negroes. It also marked him for notoriety, and for a violent end. . . ."

"Malcolm X's life was strangely and pitifully wasted. But this was because he did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his people. He could not even come to terms with his fellow black extremists. The world he saw through those horn-rimmed

glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism.

"Yesterday someone came out of that darkness that he spawned, and killed him."

'Cointelpro'

Last March evidence of a massive government operation to destroy the Black liberation movement came to light in once-secret FBI memos code-named "Cointelpro" ("Counterintelligence program").

These documents call on FBI agents "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters. . . ."

The FBI's goal, according to one memo, is to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement."

The memos also reveal how the FBI tries to foment division among Black organizations, which they no doubt did with Malcolm's organization and the Muslims.

One memo says: "No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and

where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

One unexplained event that smells like a cop or FBI operation was the burglary of Percy Sutton's law office on the night of March 1, 1965. Sutton had been one of Malcolm's lawyers.

Someone rooted through Sutton's files and took three affidavits of Malcolm's. They were signed by women who had worked for Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad and swore to improprieties committed by him.

New inquiry needed

There are plenty more questions than there are answers about the assassination of Malcolm X. Black people, especially, want to know the truth about what happened in the Audubon Ballroom that day a decade ago.

The multitude of inquiries by congressional committees into FBI and CIA crimes haven't even touched on this case. The ruling class that wanted Malcolm dead, and possibly arranged his murder, can hardly be relied on to uncover the truth.

What is needed now is an independent commission of inquiry, responsible to the Black community, that could demand access to the still-secret files on the assassination.

A Black commission was set up in Detroit in the early part of 1973 to look into police terror against Blacks by the self-styled "anti-grime" STRESS unit ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") of the Detroit police department. The commission's findings and community protests soon prompted police officials to dismantle STRESS.

Another Black commission was created after the police slaughter of Black students at Southern University in Louisiana in 1972. That 14-member body found solid evidence of police guilt and even prompted the Louisiana governor to testify before it.

The mystery murder of Malcolm X, however, remains unsolved. One detective on the case told Goldman, "I'm satisfied we had the three gunmen. I'm not satisfied that we had everybody involved."

The police and government consider the case closed. And we are left with "objective" treatments like Goldman's, which reject from the outset a government conspiracy.

The hidden facts are there to be exposed. Hayer, the one man with key information, is now at Napanoch Prison and is an Attica defendant. He knows more than he has yet said.

The files of BOSS are in New York City; the FBI files are in Washington, D. C.; the CIA files are in Langley, Va.

Open up those files! Let the truth come out; it's on our side. The decade since Malcolm's death has been too long.

Malcolm X books

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY by Malcolm X. Edited by George Breitman. 192 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95.

THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X by George Breitman. 169 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95.

MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY. 74 pp., \$1.25.

THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X by George Breitman and Herman Porter. 60 cents.

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS by George Breitman. 50 cents.

MYTHS ABOUT MALCOLM X: TWO VIEWS by Reverend Albert Cleage and George Breitman. 50 cents.

TWO SPEECHES BY MALCOLM X. 50 cents.

Order from:

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Marxist analysis of civil rights struggle

Who Killed Jim Crow? by Peter Camejo. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. New York, 1975. 32 pp., \$.60

The Racist Offensive Against Busing by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1974. 32 pp., \$.50

From Mississippi to Boston: The demand for troops to enforce civil rights. An Education for Socialists bulletin issued by the national education department, Socialist Workers Party. Distributed by Pathfinder Press. New York, 1975. 32 pp., \$.75.

A new civil rights movement. That's the perspective that has been projected by militant Black students and others who have organized the National Student Conference Against Racism to take place in Boston Feb. 14-16.

Unlike the movement of the 1960s, this time the struggle is arising in the North. This time it is the big northern cities where racist mobs, together with Democratic and Republican politicians, are trying to halt the drive of Black people toward equal rights.

And this time the issue is not Jim Crow laws, but the de facto segregation of schools and housing—a problem that goes to the racist foundations of the American capitalist system itself.

Pamphlets

It is fortunate that these three pamphlets are available so soon after the outbreak of the struggle in Boston. The continuing confrontation in Boston calls for action by the Black community and its allies. These pamphlets can help orient those interested in building an effective movement to defeat the racists.

The Racist Offensive Against Busing presents a vivid picture of the scene in Boston last fall when the conflict over busing exploded. Willie Mae Reid, who served as a monitor on one of the buses transporting Black students to South Boston High, describes the racist indignities and threats that the students face every day. Elizabeth Stone gives a flavor of the virulence of racism unleashed in Boston with an account of a Ku Klux Klan rally held at the height of the antibusing campaign.



College student being arrested in 1960 sit-in at segregated lunch counter. Civil rights struggles of 1950s and '60s have many lessons for student activists today.

Fred Halstead explains the history of segregation in Boston, the reasons for the strength of the racists in the Boston school committee, and the situation of the white working class of South Boston.

Peter Camejo's pamphlet *Who Killed Jim Crow?* explains what the current antiracist movement can learn from the mass-action strategy of the earlier civil rights movement.

This pamphlet will be especially appreciated by young activists who are not familiar with the history of the civil rights movement.

Readers can find out how the Montgomery bus boycott, the Woolworth picketing movement, the freedom rides, and the sit-ins all won their victories through massive direct action, and how the civil rights forces were later divided, sold out, and repressed by the actions of Democratic Party politicians.

The Education for Socialists bulletin *From Mississippi to Boston: The demand for troops to enforce civil rights* deals with questions of revolutionary tactics and principles in relation to the demand for federal troops.

The first part of the pamphlet explains the appropriateness of this demand as it has been raised

in the Boston struggle. The articles, taken from *The Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*, defend the position of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in favor of the troops slogan, as against the various positions taken by Revolutionary Union, the *Guardian* newspaper, the Spartacist League, the Communist Party, and others.

The second section shows how *The Militant* and the SWP approached the question when it arose during the struggles in Little Rock, Ark., and Selma, Ala., in the 1960s and around the lynching of Emmett Till in 1955.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this bulletin is the excerpts from a discussion by the SWP political committee on the troops slogan in 1957. The discussion reflects the rich experience of such veterans of the labor, socialist, and Black liberation movements as Clifton DeBerry, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, and George Weissman.

Their discussion of the troops slogan leads into a rich exposition of the Marxist method of political analysis. It is an illuminating lesson in how a revolutionary leadership comes to grips with the actual level of mass consciousness and develops a program and set of demands that can advance that consciousness. — CAROLINE LUND

'Love and Anarchy': passion vs. politics

Love and Anarchy. Directed by Lina Wertmüller.

A small boy, Tunin, wonders what the word *anarchist* means. "An anarchist is somebody who shoots a king and then is hanged," he is told. When he grows up, he becomes one.

Enraged by the murder of an anarchist friend by Mussolini's fascist thugs, Tunin vows to carry out the dead man's mission—the assassination of the dictator.

Love and Anarchy is the work of Lina Wert-

Film

müller, an enormously talented and politically knowledgeable Italian writer-director. This film ranks her with the best in the movie world—a world where a woman director of any kind is a rarity.

Tunin is as naïve, quiet, and honest as his straw-colored beard, mournful eyes, and cracked voice. For him, anarchism is an impassioned response to tyranny and injustice rather than an ideology.

He makes his way to Rome where he is to contact a more experienced anarchist, Salome. She turns out to be the star attraction of the fanciest whorehouse in town. Here the shy country boy is

introduced to the raucous life of the bordello, where the residents copy the hairdos of Hollywood stars and keep shrines to the virgin Mary on their dressers.

As in Wertmüller's later film, *The Seduction of Mimi*, the female characters in *Love and Anarchy* are more stable, perceptive, and conscious individuals, although a man is the central figure.

Like Tunin, Salome is consumed with a desire for revenge against the thugs who killed her boyfriend. It is she who conceives the assassination plan, and she props up Tunin when he begins to waver.

Salome turns her profession to good account by prying information from one of her customers—the head of security for a big public rally at which Mussolini is scheduled to speak.

Through the character of the security chief, Wertmüller insightfully reveals the psychological and social makeup of fascism. Mussolini's man is an arrogant, backslapping, self-proclaimed stud who can't stop bragging about the superiority of fascists over the rest of the human race. At the same time it becomes rather obvious that all the bravado is a result of a neurotic obsession about his masculinity.

The situation gets more complicated when the bordello's youngest resident, Tripolina, and Tunin fall in love with each other. As the day of the assassination attempt approaches, the fact that he will probably die begins to have an impact on Tunin.

He becomes preoccupied with the grisly stories he has heard about the sadistic tortures the fascists save for their most hated enemies—the anarchists.

In his moment of truth, Tunin is forced to consider what he is about to do more consciously than anything he has ever done before. He decides to go through with it.

Tripolina, who is not concerned with politics, begs him not to do it. She tries to save his life by preventing him from reaching the rally.

Salome, at first enraged at Tripolina for wanting to keep Tunin from his mission, admits in the end that she doesn't want him to die either. She sees it as a matter of human consciousness admitting defeat by human passion. We are all slaves to our emotions, she says.

One of Wertmüller's stated aims is to demonstrate that anarchism and political assassination are not viable methods to end the tyranny and injustice that her films so eloquently protest.

Love and Anarchy is a fast-paced, agitated, and emotionally charged virtuoso piece of film making, made possible to a large extent by the performances of Giancarlo Gianinni (Tunin) and Mariangela Melato (Salome). But it is also a reflection of Wertmüller's abilities that extremes of passion and sentiment, which could easily degenerate into melodrama, are convincingly portrayed.

The film concludes powerfully, demonstrating at once the barbarism of Italian fascism and the heroism of its opponents. — MIGUEL PENDAS

'Woman's Evolution' wins wide acclaim

By JON BRITTON

"Vast and impressive scholarship. . . . Reed's harvest of 20 years research has paid off handsomely in a fresh view of women's history that will be difficult for other scholars to refute. . . . Certain to become a classic text in women's history, her book is lucid and absorbing reading." This is part of what *Publishers Weekly*, the most widely read and influential trade journal of the publishing industry, said about Evelyn Reed's new book, *Woman's Evolution*, in its Jan. 27 issue.

This review follows on the heels of a number of favorable comments on the book by prominent feminists. Just prior to its appearance, Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics* and *Flying* stated, "How long this needed doing. And how important to women today that the myth of eternal and preordained patriarchy be exploded. And at last we have a good solid real woman anthropologist to do it. I look forward to a landmark book."

And Elizabeth Fisher, editor of *Aphra* magazine, calls *Woman's Evolution* "A provocative book containing much valuable information."

The fact that *Woman's Evolution* is now going into its second printing, prior to the formal publication date of March 8, is a further measure of the positive response this book has elicited. It bodes well for the aggressive sales and promotion campaign being carried out by Pathfinder Press with the help of hundreds of feminist and socialist activists throughout the country.

Most of the copies of the first print-



EVELYN REED: Her new book has gone into second printing before publication.

ing of 5,000 have already been distributed:

- Three hundred review copies have been distributed. This is the best response from review media that Pathfinder Press has ever experienced.

- Nine hundred copies of *Woman's Evolution* have been ordered by branches of the Socialist Workers Party and locals of the Young Socialist Alliance. Most areas received their initial orders around the end of January. Seventeen areas have reordered once, and five have reordered twice.

- One thousand copies of the new book have been sent abroad, particularly to England, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

One German publisher has requested

an option on the book to translate and publish it in German.

- More than 1,200 copies of the book have gone to retail bookstores.

A celebration of the book's publication is being sponsored by Pathfinder Press on March 9 in New York. Evelyn Reed will be the featured speaker at a program on "Woman's Part in History" in Tishman Auditorium, New York University. Other speakers include Ana Rivera, editor of *El Tacón de la Chancleta*; Myrna Lamb, playwright; Joan Mellen, film critic; and Dr. Barbara Roberts, a leader of the abortion rights movement. Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, will chair the meeting.

The program will be followed by a reception. For more information call Pathfinder Press at (212) 741-0692.

Maria Barreno on tour in U.S.

By EMMA JACKSON

Maria Isabel Barreno addressed audiences of more than 200 people at Rice University and the University of Houston while on tour in Houston Jan. 27-30.

Barreno is one of three Portuguese women who wrote *New Portuguese Letters*, a book banned by the Portuguese dictatorship before the coup last April. The "Three Marias," as the women became known, were put on trial for "abusing freedom of the press." International protests helped win their freedom.

"The Portuguese government," Barreno told a reporter from the *Houston Post*, "began to know, began to hear of the [international] effort. From every part of the world they called Lisbon, some diplomat asking, 'But what can I do? Women here are demonstrating, passing petitions for the three Marias.' The government became very upset."

Barreno is currently on an eight-city tour of the United States. Her meetings across the country are being sponsored by a variety of organizations. While traveling in this country, she is gathering information on American feminism, which she will use in a book she is writing on male-dominated culture.

While in Texas, Barreno also spoke to students at College of the Mainland and at the University of Texas in Austin.

In her talks Barreno stresses the need to defend Inez Romeo, a Brazilian woman condemned to life imprisonment for political activity. Romeo has been brutally tortured. More than 400 signatures were collected on petitions on Romeo's behalf by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) during Barreno's tour in Texas.

Barreno held several newspaper and television interviews during her stay in Houston. One of these was an interview with Elma Barrera on "News in Spanish," and another was an interview as part of a pilot series on notable women.

She also attended an autograph party to celebrate the recent release of her book by Doubleday & Co., Inc., and attended a wine-and-cheese party to raise funds for International Women's Year.

Barreno arrived in Houston from a



MARIA BARRENO: Portuguese feminist is touring eight U. S. cities.

short stay in Atlanta, Ga., where in addition to news interviews, campus meetings, and an autograph party hosted by the National Organization for Women, she addressed 100 people at a meeting sponsored by USLA in defense of women political prisoners.

Continuing on to Los Angeles, Barreno spoke to large audiences at the University of California at Los Angeles, California State University, and San Diego State University.

In Los Angeles USLA sponsored a meeting around the theme of "Women Political Prisoners" at which Barreno was the featured speaker. Other speakers included Professor Norma Chinchilla of the University of California at Irvine and Sharon D'Aliello of the City Terrace chapter of the Raza Unida Party. One hundred thirty five people attended this USLA defense meeting.

Barreno's tour will continue in San Francisco, Seattle, New York, and Boston during coming weeks.

RUers attack 'Militant' sellers

PORTLAND, Ore. — *Militant* salesperson Fred White was physically attacked here Jan. 27 by members of the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB)

White, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was selling *The Militant* outside of a forum at Portland State University (PSU) sponsored by the RSB. When he got to the forum he was told that he would not be allowed to sell the paper. Epithets were screamed at him and he was told that "the people will annihilate fascist scum like you."

The RUers then tried to take away White's newspapers. When this failed, the Maoists decided to call the campus police. However, before the cops got there, seven or eight more members of the RU and the RSB arrived. Emboldened by their numbers, they ripped White's papers from his hands, grabbed him, and punched and kicked him.

This was the second incident of this type in Portland. In December a member of the PSU Young Socialist Alliance, Judy Stranahan, was confronted by three members of RU while selling *The Militant* outside a supermarket. The three, including the RU's chairperson, threatened to beat her up and forcibly took her papers away.

The RSB has repeatedly stated that it intends to continue this kind of phys-

ical harassment. The YSA, in response, has initiated a campaign to force the RSB on campus to repudiate such attacks. A statement published in the student newspaper and widely circulated on campus reads, in part:

"This kind of violence must be condemned! . . . Calm political discussion and debate involving an exchange of ideas is the correct method for resolving disagreements. The violence perpetrated by the RSB against the YSA Jan. 27 represents a dangerous precedent for the left as a whole."

The statement had broad endorsement and was also published in the *Portland Scribe*, a local alternative newspaper. Among the signers of the statement was Professor Frank Giese. A prominent radical in the Portland area, Giese is a founder and staff member of the United Front Bookstore and is sympathetic to the views expressed in the *Guardian* newspaper.

Other endorsers are: Linda Para, member of the Chicano Student Union; Bruce Baye, member of the Progressive Arts Board; Hooshang Sepehri, officer of cultural affairs of the Iranian Student Association; and John Seymour, member of the Chiron Committee.

Frame-up trial of 'Houston 12' opens

By TOM VERNIER

HOUSTON — Five of the Houston 12 went on trial here Feb. 3. The five—Miguel Trujillo, José Barriga, Alex Rodriguez, William Christiansen, and Bartee Haile—face charges that could mean life imprisonment.

The charges stem from a picket line called by Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) on Oct. 9, 1973, to protest U. S. involvement in the Arab-Israeli war. The protest was held outside a large indoor rally organized to raise money and support for the Zionist war machine. The YAWF demonstrators were attacked and beaten by Houston police, who were armed with blackjacks and had dogs. Twelve of the picketers were arrested and charged with "assault on a police officer." Five of the 12 also face the more serious charge of "assault with intent to murder a police officer." The maximum sentence for this offense is life.

The original indictment against the five was thrown out last May by Harris County Judge Andrew Jefferson. Jefferson agreed with defense arguments that the grand jury indictments were invalid because the panel was not representative of the defendants' peers. The ruling forced the district attorney to obtain new indictments from a more "representative" grand jury.

A statement released by Pedro Vázquez, a Chicano activist and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in Houston, pointed out that "the case of the Houston 12 is a classic example of making the victim look like the criminal. For merely using their constitutionally protected right to protest government policies, members of YAWF were beaten and arrested by Houston police."

"With its record of surveillance, intimidation, and collaboration with right-wing terrorists, the Houston police department is the real criminal. The Socialist Workers Party calls on all who support civil liberties and democratic rights to join us in demanding: Drop all the charges now—Free the Houston 12!"

Calendar

ATLANTA

MALCOLM X: THE RELEVANCE OF HIS IDEAS TODAY. Speaker: Vince Eagan, staff coordinator, National Student Conference Against Racism. Film: *Malcolm X*. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

DENVER

STEWARDESSES AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers: Nan Welmers, a national coordinator of Stewardesses for Women's Rights; Sharon Noelke, Denver coordinator, Stewardesses for Women's Rights. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

HOUSTON

MALCOLM X: THE MEANING OF HIS WORDS AND DEEDS FOR TODAY'S BLACK MOVEMENT. Speakers: Ovide Duncantelle, Black activist; Sara Johnston, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

CLASSES IN MARXISM. Learn basics of socialism from writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. Saturdays at 4 p.m. Address: same as above.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

MALCOLM X'S LEGACY FOR THE BLACK STRUGGLE. Speaker: Willie Petty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of education; excerpts from taped speeches by Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

REOPENING THE ROSENBERG CASE. Speaker and videotape film on frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westside Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

PHILADELPHIA

LAYOFFS AND UNEMPLOYMENT: WHO'S NEXT? Speakers: Howard Deck, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 590; Caroline Rich, Operation PUSH; Bessie Shute, president, Teamsters Local 474; Dick Osborne, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA 5-4316.

PORTLAND

HOW TO FIGHT RACISM: A REPORT FROM BOSTON. Speakers: a panel of participants in the National Student Conference Against Racism held at Boston University. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

ST. LOUIS

TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY—THE NEW WORKER MILITANCY. Speaker: Ed Heisler, former international secretary, United Transportation Union Right to Vote Committee, and cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 national campaign committee. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

MALCOLM X: 1925-1965. Speakers: Dr. Robert Johns; Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 21,

8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Ed Heisler, cochairperson, SWP 1976 national campaign committee; Stephanie Coontz, contributor to *International Socialist Review*. Sat., March 1, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL: REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS IN AFRICA. Speakers: Roger Morris, ex-aide to Henry Kissinger; others. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...Camejo

Continued from page 6

ers, raised \$1,100 for the socialist campaign.

Joining Camejo on the platform was Mary Jo Vogel, the Young Socialist candidate for student body president at GSU; Vince Eagan, the 1974 socialist gubernatorial candidate; and James Harris, the 1974 Georgia SWP candidate for Congress. Greetings were presented by Lilly Correa, a leader of the GSU Women for the Equal Rights Amendment.

The socialist campaign has received extensive media coverage in Atlanta. Camejo was on television news for the first three days of his tour there. His news conference Feb. 5, where he presented a socialist alternative to Ford's budget, was featured for several minutes on Channel 2 TV.

The socialist presidential candidate also traveled to Nashville, Tenn., where he spoke to meetings at Vanderbilt University and Fisk University, a mostly Black school.

Camejo held a news conference in Nashville with Ben Harris, Tennessee ballot coordinator for the SWP. Harris told the media that a major effort would be made in 1976 to secure Tennessee ballot status for the socialist ticket. In 1972, the SWP candidates were undemocratically ruled off the ballot although they met all the petition requirements.

...assembly

Continued from page 13

kins was leaving the hall and said he was sorry Atkins had left, but asked, to sustained applause from the audience:

"I want to know why these people can be in the Democratic Party when George Wallace is in the Democratic

Party and they can't be in here with me?"

Atkins's departure marked the continuing withdrawal of Black elected officials from the assembly. Many Black Democrats were present at the Gary convention, but their number was substantially reduced by the time of the Little Rock gathering. Since then the exodus has continued.

Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, head of the assembly's political council and one of the few remaining prominent elected officials in the assembly, was visibly uncomfortable during much of the meeting and left the gathering early.

...files

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Tres del Barrio. Lawton, a Riverside, Calif., Black activist, is currently being tried for the third time on a frame-up charge of killing a policeman. Los Tres were convicted after being entrapped into shooting a federal narcotics agent posing as a drug pusher.

Lawton was one of the speakers at the rally, as was Isabel Chávez, a representative of the Los Tres defense committee.

Both Meeropol brothers emphasized that the demand to reopen the Rosenberg case was not simply a matter of vindicating their parents, but would contribute to today's fight against political frame-ups and repression. They pointed out that the witch-hunt atmosphere of the 1950s no longer holds sway, and that in the wake of the Watergate revelations it is particularly opportune to strike blows against the witch-hunters.

...SWP

Continued from page 17

president of the Berkeley High School Parent-Teacher Association, and Avis Worthington, educational writer for the *Berkeley Barb*, in discussing "The Crisis in Education." DeBerry called for an end to the High Potential Program in the Berkeley school system. "This program helps maintain the tracking system by the use of culturally biased tests," he said. "The funds for this program should be used for education for all, instead of a privileged few."

Cooper called the program "inhuman" and said she had asked her children to withdraw from it. She also

protested the increasing harassment of Black youth by the Berkeley police.

Reiko Obata, a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695, participated in a panel on "New Trends in the Labor Movement." She discussed unemployment among youth.

Carole Seligman focused on the progress of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in aiding women in their struggle for equality. She is vice-president of the San Francisco chapter of CLUW.

Walter Johnson, head of Retail Clerks Local 1100, called for a deepening of unified efforts to aid labor against the mounting onslaught of the employers. He pointed to the solidarity shown around the San Francisco Sears strike last year as an example of the type of action needed.

A panel on "The Crisis in the Economy" featured Gaile Wixson; Jack Rasmus, an organizer for the Communication Workers of America; and a representative of the Union of Radical Political Economists.

...Peru

Continued from page 15

come to bring it down. In the eyes of the poor masses it has become a repressive government, a defender of privilege. And the impoverished masses of Peru are apparently unwilling to wait any longer for the promised improvements in their standard of living. The left demagoguery and bureaucratic "mass organization," largely copied from the Stalinists, no longer seems to have any effect in rallying support for what has become international Stalinism's main model of a "progressive, democratic revolution."

Only genuinely revolutionary forces that have remained loyal to the working class and the poor masses of Peru are likely to be able to convince the people to mobilize against a rightist coup.

If the government and the left really want to block imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of Peru, they ought to at once rescind the expulsion of Hugo Blanco. He is the one leader the most oppressed and exploited masses of the Peruvian people still trust, the one who personifies their hopes for a "new Peru," and who is able to mobilize them, independently of the government, against the forces of reaction.

Socialist Directory

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

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Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

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TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Arnold Rodriguez, 901 Morrow, Apt. 303, Austin, Tex. 78757.

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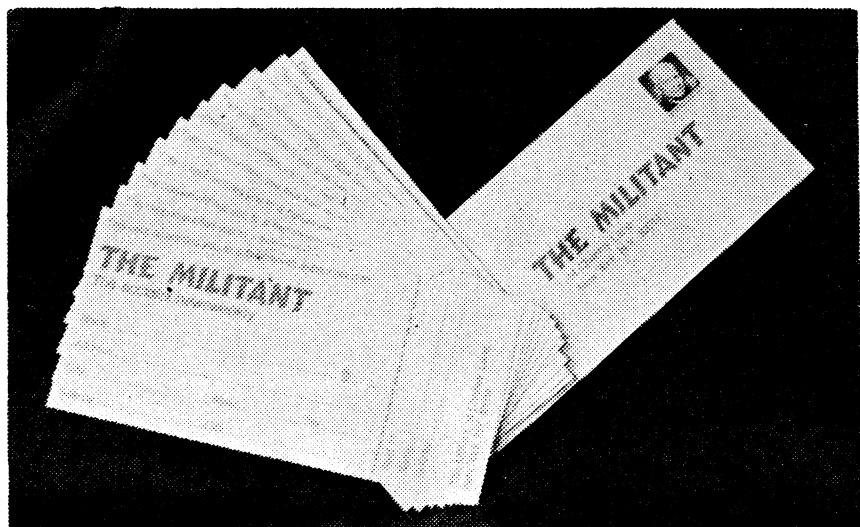
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PITTSBURGH

Socialist campaign reception & rally

SATURDAY, FEB. 22. Pittsburgh Socialist Workers Party campaign rally. Speaker: PETER CAMEJO, SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 3400 FIFTH AVE., PITTSBURGH. Aisp: Pittsburgh Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

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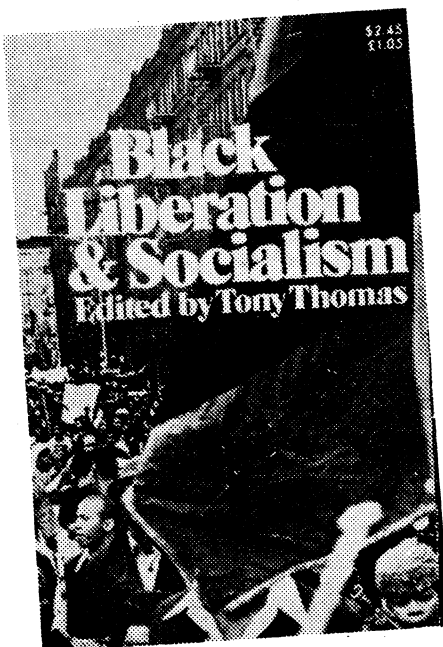
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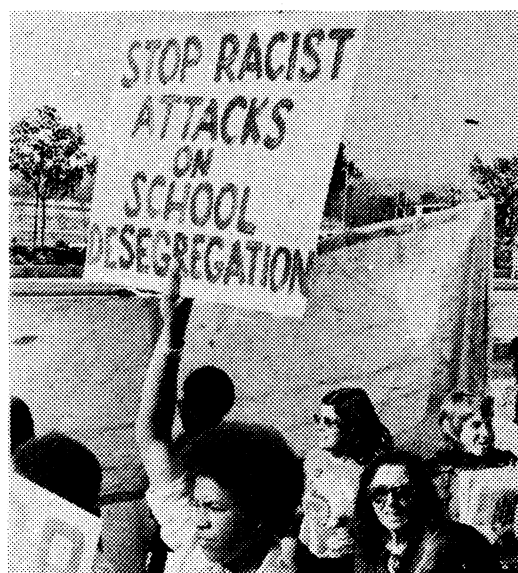
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10 years later: who killed Malcolm X?

By BAXTER SMITH

He came out the jail that they put him in. And now they have to bow down to him. Because the one thing he had on his side was truth and time.

Truth is on the side of the oppressed today. It's against the oppressor. And time is on the side of the oppressed today. It's against the oppressor. —Malcolm X speaking of Ben Bella, the Algerian revolutionary.

Big Red came out of the jail that they put him in too. Not as the reefer-smoking, zoot-suited, women-running hustler he was when he went in. But as Malcolm X: Muslim, unswervingly opposed to white society's values, and destined to become the most capable revolutionary leader of Black people in the twentieth century.

And now, in a sense and begrudgingly, they have to bow down to him.

Malcolm did not have time. His life ran out too fast. But he did have the truth. Malcolm told us that "the oppressor always tries to make the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim."

He told us that the oppressor "robs us of our African identity." He told us that "this system is not designed to produce freedom for the Afro-American." He told us that "it doesn't matter whether you live on the boulevard or in the alley, you're going to catch hell just like I am. From the same man. He just happens to be the white man." And they killed him for it.

But who are "they"?

Unanswered questions

On Feb. 21, 1965, three men rose from the crowded audience at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, guns ablaze, to take away Malcolm's life.

Today, 10 years later, however,

there are as many unanswered questions about his death and the ensuing trial of three men charged with the crime as Malcolm had questions about the society he was born in.

After the assassination, *The Militant*—which published Malcolm's speeches at a time when others were ignoring or vilifying him, and which sponsored several meetings where Malcolm spoke—published many articles exposing the contradictions in the official police version of the killing. (These articles are in a pamphlet entitled *The Assassination of Malcolm X*, which is available from Pathfinder Press for 60 cents.)

The Militant pointed to the possible role of the New York City police, the FBI, and the CIA in the killing. To many, these questions seemed farfetched. There was no hard evidence. There is none today.

But the questions that seemed outlandish a decade ago—before the American people learned about the "Cointelpro" plot to crush the Black movement, the CIA domestic operation, and other government dirty tricks—today seem more reasonable than ever.

Most accounts agree that just as Malcolm was beginning to speak to the crowd at the Audubon Ballroom, two men began to scuffle to draw away the attention of his guards.

One man rushed the stage, fired both loads of a double-barreled sawed-off shotgun, wheeled around, and raced for the exit, bowling over shocked spectators. Two other men whipped out pistols, fired at Malcolm's prone body, then bolted, covering their trail with gunfire.

But that is where the agreement ends.

The cops said only *one man* was colared at the scene: Talmadge Hayer.



Malcolm X addressing a rally in Harlem in June 1963. Questions about government role in his assassination remain unanswered.

Hayer was shot and wounded by one of Malcolm's guards as he tried to escape and was grabbed outside the building by people chasing him.

According to the account in the Feb. 22, 1965, New York *Daily News*, Hayer and *two other suspects* were taken into police custody. The first editions of the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* said that Hayer and *one other suspect* were taken into custody.

But the other suspect or suspects were never identified or heard of again.

The *Time*'s first edition on Feb. 22 ran a subhead, "Police Hold Two for Questioning." In a later edition, however, this was changed without explanation to "One Is Held in Killing."

The *Herald Tribune* early edition said: "Police Rescue Two Suspects." In a later edition, however, this also was changed, to "Police Rescue One Suspect."

What happened to the other two suspects?

The cops usually had scores of uniformed men at Malcolm's meetings. That day there were hardly any, despite earlier attempts on Malcolm's life. Why?

Several days later, the police arrested Norman Butler and Thomas Johnson for the murder of Malcolm X. They said that these men were Muslims following orders to eliminate Malcolm because he had become a "hypocrite." Butler, Johnson, and Hayer were all tried and convicted for the assassination.

The confession

Butler and Johnson pleaded innocent. But Hayer, the only man caught at the scene, confessed during the trial. He insisted that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with the shooting. He said neither he nor his accomplices had ever been Muslims, admitted they were hired for the assassination, but said the man who hired them was not a Muslim either.

Hayer's story, however, was never pursued by the defense attorneys, the prosecution, or the police.

Thomas Hoy, the cop identified in early press accounts as having arrested a second suspect, was never called to testify at the trial. Why not?

According to the Feb. 25, 1965, *Daily News*, the police had taken films of the Audubon events. But these films were never shown at the trial. Why not?

Less than two hours after the shooting, a top police official announced that the killing was the result of a

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Malcolm X said *The Militant* was "one of the best."

Malcolm X spoke several times at the Militant Labor Forum in New York City. In one speech, on Jan. 7, 1965, Malcolm began by saying:

"It's the third time that I've had the opportunity to be a guest of the Militant Labor Forum. I always feel that it is an honor, and every time that they open the door for me to do so, I will be right here. The *Militant* newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today, because everywhere I go I see it. I saw it even in Paris about a month ago; they were reading it over there. And I saw it in some parts of Africa where I was during the summer. I don't know how it gets there. But if you put the right things in it, what you put in it will see that it gets around."

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