

THE MILITANT

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

Vietnam rebel gains: a victory for all humanity



Saigon troops fleeing Hue

By David Frankel

Ten years ago this month Lyndon Johnson began the massive military escalation that ended with 540,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam.

As Johnson crudely put it, Washington was going to "nail the coonskin to the wall."

One U.S. official in Saigon at the time, reacting to the first manifestations of international condemnation of the U.S. aggression, boasted: "We have shown that we are strong enough to do what we want without having to take international opinion into account."

A decade later, it is precisely the deeply felt opposition to U.S. interven-

tion in Indochina—shared by Americans and people throughout the world—that is blocking Washington from taking military action to crush the advancing rebel forces in Vietnam.

As the years of napalm, antipersonnel bombs, defoliation, strategic hamlet concentration camps, and B-52 saturation bombing went on, the whole world recoiled in horror against Washington's bloody war and sided with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination. Vietnam became the central issue of world politics, the burning question for a whole generation.

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In Brief

FREEDOM OF PRESS VICTORY: The *Militant* and *Young Socialist* can now be sold at West Los Angeles College. The administration reversed its previous ban on sales when confronted by a lawsuit filed by Laura Moorhead, organizer of the West Side Los Angeles Young Socialist Alliance, and Omari Musa of the Socialist Workers party.

Their attorney, Herbert Jordan of the Bill of Rights Foundation, had argued that the college's ban was a violation of First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and press. By failing to contest the suit, the administration in effect admitted its previous stand had been unconstitutional. This victory should encourage challenges to similar bans on other campuses.

Chicago: Reid credited with 16,000 votes

CHICAGO, April 2—With virtually all returns in, Socialist Workers party candidate Willie Mae Reid has been officially credited with 16,358 votes for mayor of Chicago. Reid's vote represents 2.4 percent of the total votes cast.

At polling places in the Black community where SWP poll watchers were able to verify the vote totals, Reid received no less than 8 percent and some places 10, 12, or 14 percent.

Mayor Richard Daley won reelection as expected, with 77.7 percent of the total vote. Republican John Hoellen tallied 19.8 percent. Despite the Daley machine's efforts to organize a massive turnout as a show of strength, the voter turnout was the lowest since 1931.

"We socialists have a real victory to celebrate," said Reid. "Despite the generally low interest in this election, fostered by news media that portrayed the campaign as 'over' after the Democratic primary, thousands of working people went to the polls to cast a vote for the socialist alternative.

"Besides," Reid added, "we know our real vote was much higher before Daley's crooks finished juggling the totals. We have proof that in at least four precincts our position on the voting machines was switched so that some of our votes were not counted.

"In some cases people who tried to vote for me found my name had been removed from the ballot. We intend to vigorously investigate all these instances of election fraud.

"And I want 'Boss' Daley to know," Reid said, "that our campaign for socialism is not over—in fact, it's just beginning. We are going to move forward from the support we gained in this election to build an even stronger socialist movement in Chicago."

INDOCHINA FORUM SET IN NEW YORK: The new revolutionary upsurge in Vietnam and Cambodia will be examined at a special Militant Forum in New York City on Friday, April 11, at 8 p.m. The speaker will be Caroline Lund, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, the monthly magazine supplement to the *Militant*. Lund will also look at current developments in Portugal. The place is Workmen's Circle, 45 E. 33 St. For more information call (212) 982-9021.

OREGON DISCLOSURE BILL: A bill that would allow political committees to seek exemption from campaign financial disclosure laws if disclosure would expose contributors to economic reprisals, loss of employment, or threat of physical coercion has been introduced into the Oregon legislature. State Rep. Vera Katz is sponsoring the bill on behalf of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

The recently released FBI Cointelpro files documenting years of harassment of socialists proves the need for such exemption provisions, CoDEL maintains. A hearing on the bill is set for April 10. Olga Rodríguez, youth coordinator of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, is scheduled to testify for the measure, along with representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Eugene McCarthy presidential campaign, and CoDEL.

OPEN-AND-SHUT CASE: Walt Rostow, one of Lyndon Johnson's top advisers on the Vietnam War, has sued the makers of *Hearts and Minds* for causing "irreparable damage" to his reputation. The critically acclaimed new film is a documentary on United States involvement in the war, including the role of politicians such as Rostow.

COAL MINERS STRIKE: At midnight, March 31, 2,300 hard-coal miners in northeastern Pennsylvania walked off their jobs. The strikers, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), are demanding major improvements in their contract. The old contract expired March 31.

UMWA officials, now in negotiations with the anthracite

(hard coal) bosses in Washington, are seeking contract gains similar to those won by the bituminous (soft coal) miners in their three-week strike late last year.

According to UMWA spokesperson Phil Sparks, the chief demands of the union include paid sick leave, a wage increase, a cost-of-living clause, upgrading of medical benefits and coverage, and an improved pension. Retired anthracite miners currently lag far behind the bituminous miners, receiving a mere thirty dollars a month in pension payments. Before their strike the maximum pension of bituminous miners was \$150 a month. That amount was increased in the new contract.

NIGHT FALLS ON DAY: James Day has resigned, effective July 1, as head of the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration.

Mine owners were delighted with Day's credentials to oversee enforcement of safety laws—he has been a CIA employee, a campaign aide of Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater, and chairman of the Arlington, Virginia, Republican party.

But to the coal miners whose lives are endangered every day by unsafe mines, Day symbolized the collusion between government and big coal interests that has killed untold thousands of their brothers, fathers, and friends over the years. The United Mine Workers protested Day's appointment in 1973 and has campaigned for his removal ever since.

A modest proposal: why not put a coal miner in charge?

VICE SQUAD GETS SUED: The Los Angeles Police Department vice squad placed an advertisement for "sexy hostesses" to go on a foreign gambling junket. They set up a fake office and told women who applied that they were hired. The cops then invited all the applicants to a predeparture party at the Sheraton Universal Hotel. The more than fifty women who showed up for the party discovered that all the male "guests" were cops, who arrested them and charged them with prostitution. The charges were later dismissed.

Now, the Women's Rights Litigation Unit of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Southern California has filed suit against the vice squad, demanding \$50,000 each to compensate for humiliation, emotional distress, and loss of personal reputation suffered by two of the women arrested in the entrapment conspiracy. The suit further demands one million dollars in punitive damages to deter the police from future acts of this sort.

"The real importance of the case is to show up the police mentality toward women of the most disadvantaged class," said ACLU women's rights attorney Jill Jakes. "The vice officers' conspiracy reflects a cruel contempt toward women already victimized by the social structure, as well as a deliberate violation of their constitutional right to be free of illegal arrest and to be dealt with fairly by the law enforcement structure."

—Nelson Blackstock

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Boston: proposed new busing plan represents retreat on desegregation

By Peter Seidman

BOSTON—A court-appointed panel has submitted a series of recommendations for Phase Two of public school desegregation here. The racist antibusing forces in the city are loudly opposing the recommendations because they are opposed to any desegregation. But the fact is that if adopted, the plan would constitute a major retreat from the goal of putting an end to the segregation of Boston's schools.

The recommendations, compiled by a panel of educational and legal "masters," have been submitted to Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity. After public hearings, Garrity is expected to rule on the final outlines of Phase Two desegregation by April 11.

On June 21, 1974, Garrity ruled that the Boston schools were segregated as the result of a conscious ten-year effort by the Boston School Committee. Garrity ordered the desegregation of a portion of the city's schools to begin last September.

This Phase One desegregation, involving the busing of Black students into previously white schools in South Boston, Hyde Park, and Roslindale, has been met with violent opposition by racist foes of busing. Mobs of whites stoned school buses bringing Black students into South Boston. On several occasions, Blacks were beaten on the streets of South Boston.

On one occasion, a mob of more than 600 whites surrounded South Boston High School, trapping more than 100 Black students inside.

This violent resistance has been encouraged and even directly organized by reactionary groups in an effort to force the government to back down in its desegregation orders.

In this context, the nature of Phase Two has become the focal point of attention, and both sides see that Garrity's ruling on the matter will set the framework for the busing battle in the coming months. Phase Two will go into effect with the opening of school in the fall.

Garrity's original directives for Phase Two called for the "greatest degree of actual desegregation of all grades in all schools in all parts of the city."

Standards for desegregation

He defined the standard for desegregation to be that the "racial composition of the student body of every school should generally reflect the ratios of white and black students enrolled at

that grade level throughout the system."

The masters' proposals evade Garrity's guidelines by dividing the city into nine geographical districts and one city-wide district. This plan would require the use of busing only *within* each district and would aim at making the racial composition of schools within a district equal to the racial composition of the district as a whole, rather than of the city as a whole.

Given the highly segregated character of housing in Boston, this plan would exempt parts of Boston from the court desegregation order.

For example, schools in East Boston would remain 90 percent white. East Boston has been the scene of violent threats against the extension of busing. Racists have threatened to blow up the tunnels and bridges leading to that part of the city.

The overall racial composition of the city schools is 50 percent white, 35 percent Black, and 15 percent other minorities. But using the district ratio formula, there would be wide variation from district to district. Schools in predominantly white West Roxbury, for example, would remain 70 percent white, while the Burke district (Dorchester, Savin Hill, and Meetinghouse Hill) would be only 25 percent white.

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, which is representing Black parents in the school desegregation suit that led to Garrity's original ruling, said of the proposed plan, "We have problems with the effective exclusion of East Boston [and] the extent to which substantial desegregation will not take place in West Roxbury and in the Burke district. . . ."

Reduction in busing

One measure of the retreat signified by the masters' plan is the reduction in the number of students to be bused. Under the proposal a maximum of 14,900 students would be bused to achieve desegregation. This figure is substantially below the approximately 17,000 students now part of a busing program under Phase One, which applies to only part of the city.

By contrast, the NAACP plan estimated that 28,700 students would have to be bused to achieve full desegregation under Phase Two.

Moreover, the masters' plan calls for the closing of thirty schools, many of which are the poorest in Boston. A disproportionate number of these schools will be in the Black communi-



Mob threatening Black students at South Boston High. 'Phase Two' plan attempts to conciliate racists.

ty, since schools there have suffered from the school committee's ten-year policy of maintaining inferior education for Blacks.

This "inequitable allocation burden," as Atkins calls it, means that a disproportionate number of Black students will have to be bused into formerly predominantly white schools to achieve the racial guidelines in the masters' Phase Two plan.

This disproportionate busing of Black students, moreover, means that white students will not be coming into as many schools in the Black community. Supporters of desegregation have pointed out that one advantage of bringing white students into formerly predominantly Black schools has been that the schools are more likely to be improved if whites have to attend them.

Many features of the masters' Phase Two recommendations remain unclear. The plan calls for an increased participation of universities, business, and labor in the direction of schools and for the creation of community district councils. Exactly what powers these groups will have in relation to Boston's school committee are not spelled out.

Details unclear

The exact allocation of students and therefore the exact figures on busing and racial composition of the schools will not be released until next June. This, along with the obscure language of the proposal, leaves many of the details of the plan unclear.

Should Garrity approve the basic outline of this masters' recommendation, however, it will be a partial victory for the racist mobs. The masters' plan is clearly an attempt to appease the lynch-mob violence of busing foes at the expense of the demands for desegregation by Boston's Black community. In justifying their proposals, the masters rely on a section of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on desegregation guidelines that says a plan must promise "realistically to work and promise realistically to work now."

Far from being mollified by the new busing proposals, however, desegregation foes have found encouragement for their strategy of using force and violence to block busing, and have no

intention of letting up until all busing is ended.

Antibusing leader State Sen. William Bulger (D-South Boston) drew this conclusion from the masters' proposals: "The first plan was horrendous, and this is an attempt to retreat from it. Implicit in that attempt is an admission that the original approach was wrong. . . . [People] have reason to be skeptical . . . until the assumptions of the original plan are repudiated."

In an interview with the *Militant*, Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Boston, explained that "it was the climate of racist hysteria in this city whipped up by the organized mobilizations of the racists that won those concessions embodied in the masters' Phase Two plan."

'Attempt at appeasement'

Oliver doubted that "the racists would accept this attempt at appeasement," however. The socialist candidate said, "I expect the racists to continue their efforts to roll back the original Garrity desegregation order and maintain the formerly segregated character of the Boston schools."

Oliver called upon the Black community and its supporters "to build the national May 17 prodesegregation march on Boston called by the NAACP. Only by outmobilizing the racists will the Black community be able to defend what it has won so far and extend the struggle for equal rights."

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), which is actively building on the campuses for the May 17 march, told the *Militant*, "NSCAR has never organized itself around the specifics of one or another desegregation plan. We are organized to mobilize the student movement in support of the just demand of the Black community in Boston for desegregation now. It is clear that the masters' plan falls far short of this demand. Therefore, our efforts to build May 17 will be redoubled as the best answer to the campaign of racist hysteria which threatens to roll back the gains won so far in the struggle for equal education for Black youth in Boston."



Black students entering Boston school

Answer to YWLL

Where do Stalinists stand on May 17?

By Ginny Hildebrand

(First of a series)

A series of articles by Matty Berkelhammer, the national organizational secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), appeared in the March 13, 14, and 15 issues of the *Daily World*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the Communist party.

Berkelhammer's articles are designed to undercut the May 17 national demonstration in support of school desegregation in Boston, initiated by the NAACP. The form of the attack is

Ginny Hildebrand is the national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

a slanderous red-baiting smear launched against the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) as being "dominated" by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party, which Berkelhammer characterizes as "racist" and "opportunistic" organizations.

Berkelhammer covers his slanders with a few words of support for May 17. He writes, "Building a mass turnout for the national demonstration in Boston May 17... is of utmost importance."

But since Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins announced the May 17 action at an NSCAR rally February 14 and appealed to NSCAR to throw its energies into building it, the YWLL and CP have done virtually nothing to build May 17.

Six weeks after the conference, neither the YWLL nor the CP has endorsed the demonstration. A few individual members of the YWLL have endorsed, but they refuse to identify the YWLL with their endorsement. Angela Davis, the most prominent CPer, who has been speaking to audiences around the country, has refused to endorse.

Some past history

Giving lip service to the importance of the fight against racism in Boston while doing little about it is not new with the Stalinists. The fact is that they refused to back the probusing march there last December 14, which turned out 12,000 people to show the racists that they don't own the streets of Boston. They not only refused to support the action; the YWLL held a convention in competition with the march on the same weekend!

The night before the march, NSCAR sponsored a teach-in, attended by 1,200 people.

There Julian Bond, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Jonathan Kozol, Black high school students, and local de-



Angela Davis, Stalinists' most prominent figure, has been 'not available' to build support for antiracist march.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

National Student Conference Against Racism. Two thousand students, including YWLL, voted to back May 17 and set up student organization to fight racism, but now YWLL is trying to discredit NSCAR.

segregation activists provided an authoritative answer to the racist lies and demagoguery that had dominated the media all fall.

Angela Davis 'not available'

Angela Davis was invited to be among the speakers at this historic teach-in. She was "not available." She was available, however, to speak at a YWLL convention in Philadelphia on December 14.

At that convention, newly elected YWLL National Chairman James Steele arrogantly called the Boston teach-in and freedom march "a routine exercise in left sectarianism."

The YWLL's attitude toward the December actions was matched by its refusal to support the February National Student Conference Against Racism, projected at a student meeting after the December 14 march.

Once again, the *Daily World* did not publicize this important step toward building a broad movement to counter the racists. Once again, Angela Davis refused an invitation to speak in Boston. Once again the league did not help build this event.

Finally, on the day of the conference, the *Daily World* announced that the league was giving its endorsement to the conference.

But this long-awaited information appeared alongside a red-baiting article by CP leader Ed Teixeira. Referring to what he called "the predominance on the steering committee of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) members," Teixeira dredged up some shopworn Stalinist charges about "racism" displayed by the SWP and YSA in the antiwar movement.

Why have the YWLL and CP, despite lip service to the idea of building a broad movement in defense of the embattled Black community in Boston, taken a sectarian stance toward every major opportunity to build such a movement?

Fear Trotskyists

A major reason for the league's sectarianism in the Boston desegregation struggle is their fear of the growing influence of the Trotskyist movement.

During the past several years, the Stalinist leadership has been hard-pressed to explain to their members how the "racist," "counterrevolutionary" YSA has been able to grow. In a

1970 YWLL pamphlet, *Trotskyism, the Inside Job*, a crude fabrication right out of the Stalinist school of falsification, CP leader Mike Zagarell tried to rationalize this.

He "explained" that the YSA has grown because the radicalization on the campuses is fertile ground for "petty-bourgeois" ideas nurtured by the ruling class and propagated by the Trotskyists. But, Zagarell promised, as the social struggles spread to the Black community and the working class, Trotskyist ideas will lose ground and the YSA will disintegrate.

This hope is echoed as fact in the YWLL's Draft Thesis for their December convention, which claimed that there has been a "mass rejection of the deeply opportunist and dishonest splitting and racist policies of the Young Socialist Alliance."

But even by Berkelhammer's own admission, the YSA is playing a big role in the desegregation struggle today. How can a "racist" organization do this? It obviously can't. But the Stalinists' phobia of the increasing influence of the YSA's politics, its impact on militant Black youth, and even on some of the YWLL's own members, knows no bounds.

This is a big factor behind the YWLL's drive to torpedo NSCAR and, indirectly, May 17. Rather than wholeheartedly participating in the efforts to win the broadest possible numbers to join together in action in defense of the Black community in Boston, the YWLL would rather see anything the YSA is involved in fail. They place their hatred for the YSA above the needs of the Black community.

This is why Berkelhammer's articles lie about what happened at the NSCAR conference, red-bait the gathering, and block with forces who are politically opposed to busing and to May 17.

A democratic discussion and at times heated debate took place at the student conference. This discussion was necessary in order to bring diverse political forces together around a common action program to mobilize students in defense of the Black community's right to equal education.

However, at one point the conference was seriously threatened by a group of thirty to forty people who commandeered one of the floor microphones in an attempt to disrupt the conference by demanding that they be allowed to

speak as long as they liked. When it was clear that they were winning no support from the rest of the 2,000 students, they walked out calling for "an end to busing [and] this whole fucked-up reactionary conference."

Berkelhammer tries to pawn these disrupters off as independent Black and Puerto Rican students who were frustrated by "YSA domination" of the conference.

But after the conference, the group that organized the disruption (the Committee for Justice, a Brooklyn College group heavily influenced by the Maoist Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization) wrote an article in the campus newspaper boasting that they went to the conference with the express intent of disrupting it—because they oppose busing.

Berkelhammer knows this. He even quotes from another section of their article! But anything goes in his attempt to smear the conference.

Berkelhammer has another compelling reason for covering up for the disrupters. The YWLL contributed in no small way to whipping up red-baiting that was used by the disrupters. The fact is that the YWLL joined with the disrupters in the opening session of the conference in a red-baiting attack in an attempt to divide the gathering.

An example of their frenzy was indicated on the day the conference opened. Several times when YSA members walked up to the YWLL literature table, their members said, "Get out the pick ax." The "pickax" refers to the murder weapon used by one of Stalin's agents to kill Leon Trotsky in 1940.

YSA role

While forced to admit, at one point, that the vast majority of the students at the conference were unaffiliated to any radical organization, Berkelhammer later falsely claims that the YSA numerically dominated the conference.

The YSA proudly admits that we encouraged our members to go to Boston. What's more we plead "guilty" to going on a campaign to help publicize the conference and organize hundreds of unaffiliated students to attend. Why? Because we think defending the right of the Black community to desegregate schools in Boston is of paramount importance. Apparently the YWLL does not.

Why didn't the YWLL bring more than fifty (Berkelhammer's figure) of its members to the conference? Why were only a handful of Black members of the league at the conference, when the YWLL claims that half of its membership is Black? Why didn't the Stalinists publicize the conference to help ensure the broadest possible turnout?

Is it perhaps because they didn't want their Black members and others to see that the so-called racist YSA is an energetic component of a genuinely broad and militant movement against racism?

What will YWLL do now?

But the league's desperate efforts have not been able to stop NSCAR from getting off the ground and organizing May 17 building activities. The league is left with a thorny problem: Why isn't the YWLL pitching in and building May 17, which they claim to support? And why is the "racist" YSA directing tremendous efforts toward doing just this and working with others to involve more and more organizations and individuals in NSCAR?

Continued on page 26

Racists in D.C.

ROAR rally is a purr

By Al Budka

WASHINGTON—The Boston anti-busing organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) is trying to pull together a nationwide organization of racist groups. A new national group, also called ROAR, was formed at a conference here March 17-18 preceding an antibusing demonstration on March 19. According to reports in the *Washington Post*, the meeting was attended by representatives from some thirty right-wing groups in a dozen states.

The major forces outside of Boston came from antibusing groups in Maryland and the reactionary antitextbook movement in West Virginia. Eli Howell, described by the *Washington Star* as "the point man here for [George] Wallace's presidential campaign," participated in a ROAR news conference.

The demonstration on the nineteenth drew only 1,300 participants. Organizers had previously projected that 45,000 would be in Washington to demand a constitutional amendment to outlaw busing for the purpose of desegregating schools.

One incident, recorded by a reporter for the *Boston Phoenix*, illustrated the character of the demonstration. As the march went up Constitution Avenue a parade marshal suddenly stopped short, pointed to a car, and said, "That nigger just gave us the finger." A

section of the demonstration began to run after the car, which sped away to shouts of "Hey, nigger, get out of the car and do that."

The racists went in for costumes. The lead banner was carried by two men in colonial garb, followed by a fife, drum, and flag trio. They carried signs saying, "The Spirit of Freedom Lives—1775-1975" and "Help Save Boston; The City is Occupied."

Rep. Marjorie Holt (R-Md.) pledged at the rally to continue her fight for federal antibusing legislation. Holt's home territory is Anne Arundel County, where racist bands have freely roamed in recent months, burning crosses on the lawns of Black homes and fire-bombing Black residences.

Also speaking at the rally were Louise Day Hicks, Boston City Council member; John Kerrigan of the Boston School Committee; and other Boston politicians.

The real appeal of the march was indicated by the arrival of a contingent from the National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis). Although prevented by police from joining the other racists, the Nazis picketed with a large swastika flag at the edge of the rally, chanting "White Power!"

After the rally, the Nazis left in their "hate bus," a school bus with darkened windows, a sound system, and "White Power" banners on the side.



Louise Day Hicks, left, at Washington rally against busing.

'Go to Boston May 17'

WASHINGTON—"I urge all of you here to go to Boston on May 17. We've got to go and tell them that fifty years of 'separate but equal' didn't work. We've got to give the Black community the courage to resist the racism in Boston."

This statement by Sylvester Vaughns, president of the NAACP in Prince Georges County, Maryland, opened a recent meeting here on the fight for school desegregation. Activists from high schools, colleges, and the Black community attended the March 18 meeting, which was sponsored by the D.C. Area Student Coalition Against Racism. The coalition is building support for the May 17 march to defend busing in Boston, called by the NAACP.

Vaughns outlined the history of the school desegregation struggle in Prince Georges County, where racist antibusing forces have been active for several years. The main antibusing group there, Citizens for Community Schools, joined with the Boston racist group ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) to cohost a March 19 national antibusing march on Washington.

Vaughns pointed out that the racists are uniting around the country and stressed the need for a united, national defense of the Boston Black communi-

ty. "We may need people from Boston and Washington to come to Prince Georges County some day," he said.

Joette Chancy, a national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, also spoke. She is president of the Black Student Union at Lexington High School in Boston.

Chancy attacked the notion that the antibusing movement is simply for "quality education." "If the people of South Boston weren't against Black people and were ready for quality education for all," she explained, "they wouldn't have written on the walls: 'This is god's white country!' and 'Kill niggers!' and 'Ship the niggers back to Africa!'"

Chancy urged students in particular to help build May 17, pointing out, "If the racists are allowed to function in Boston, they will soon spread to your doorstep. Come to Boston on May 17!"

Other speakers at the meeting included Josephine Butler, delegate to the Greater Washington Central Labor Council from Local 2 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU); Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association; and Patrick Harvin, vice-president of the student government at Cardozo High School here.

'Promise': old word to ex-Navy Yard workers

By Maxine Williams

NEW YORK—There were promises, all right, lots of promises: training programs, jobs for Blacks and Puerto Ricans, maybe even pushing back some of the economic blight that has steadily crept over this part of Brooklyn for years.

That's what the reopening of the Brooklyn Navy Yard in the 1960s was supposed to bring.

When Hugh Carey, one of those big Democratic "friends of labor," was campaigning for governor last year, he talked a lot about his role in reopening the yard.

You don't see Governor Carey around the Brooklyn Navy Yard nowadays, though. Not since Seatrain Shipbuilding Corporation laid off 2,800 workers—60 percent of all those employed in the yard—at the beginning of this year.

Seatrain said the market for supertankers is depressed right now, so there would be no profit in finishing the two giant ships under construction in the yard.

It was one of the most drastic single shutdowns to hit the city in years. Eighty-five percent of those thrown into the streets were minority workers.

Then there was another promise: that the yard would reopen February 24. Now it's April, and still not a soul has been called back to work.

A twenty-one-year-old Jamaican worker told the *Militant* about his experiences with Seatrain. He had been employed as a welder for a little more than a year when the layoffs hit.

A large portion of Seatrain's employees were recruited in the Caribbean at substandard wages, he said. "For instance, I started out as a third-class welder—the bottom of the scale—despite the fact that I had previous experience in Jamaica." His starting wage was about \$4.20 an hour, far below the scale for a skilled-craft worker.

Working conditions at Seatrain were terrible, he said. "During the winter there is no heat provided for outside work. The employees must work in the freezing cold, forcing illness, which produces extreme hardship because there is no sick leave," he explained. "If I stay out with the flu or a cold, I am not paid."

Those who worked inside were subjected to hazardous conditions as well, because of improper lighting and ventilation for those working with steel.

"Men were injured daily at Seatrain," he said. "We were hurt by flying objects and many men have their hands cut." In the past three years, he added, at least three people were killed at Seatrain because of insufficient safety equipment. Their families got a

lump-sum payment of \$5,000 maximum.

Since the layoffs, many of the Seatrain workers have had trouble getting unemployment compensation. The Jamaican worker said he was told by the unemployment office that Seatrain was late in sending in the forms.

One might think from his description that the Seatrain workers had no union to protect their interests. In fact they were members of the "United Industrial Workers of North America" (UIW), a division of the Seafarers' International Union, AFL-CIO.

The Jamaican worker angrily termed it a "company union" and said it had not lifted a finger to protest the layoffs. "The UIW is a union that the workers are against," he said. "But there is little the worker can do because in order to gain employment from the company, all employees must be a member of that union."

When a new three-year contract was voted on last year, he said, "the workers wanted an open ballot so we could vote down the contract, but it was secret. The majority of the work force didn't get a ballot."

The contract provided a paltry eighty-five-cent total wage increase spread over three years. UIW officials called the contract "one of the best in the shipbuilding industry." One of the "benefits" described in a UIW news bulletin was that "coffee may be had on the job in a thermos bottle."

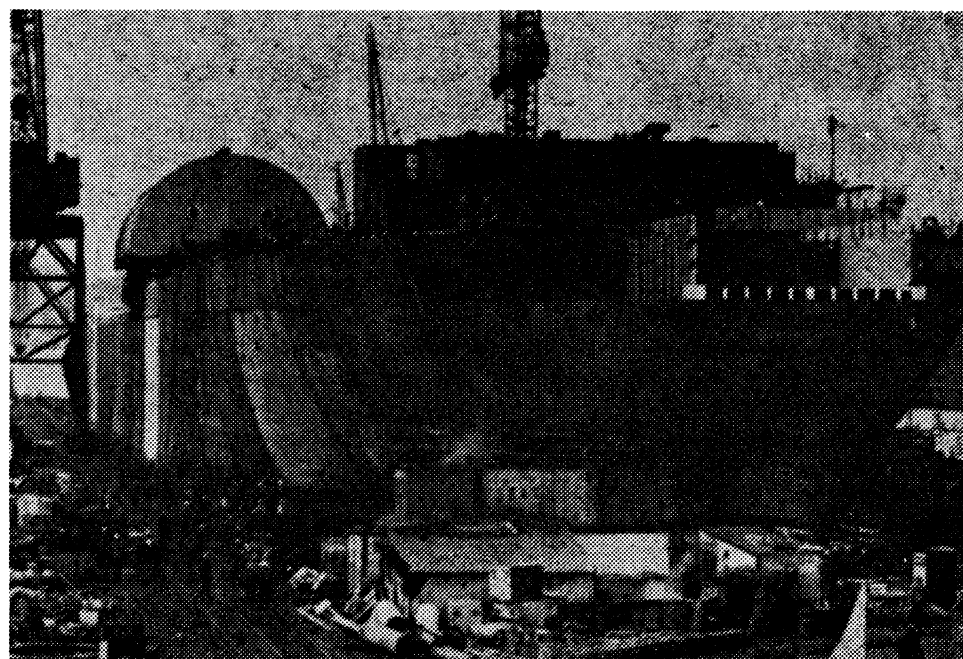
At the last convention of the UIW, the initiation fee was boosted to seventy-five dollars and monthly dues to eight dollars. The membership learned of the convention and the dues increase through the mail in a newsletter.

Seafarers' International Union President Paul Hall is notorious for operating shakedown rackets—even worse than the UIW—on both U.S. and foreign-born sailors, providing him with an ample treasury for payoffs to capitalist politicians.

He is also one of those in the AFL-CIO hierarchy who yaps the loudest about "illegal aliens" being the cause of unemployment. Of course, that didn't stop him from making cozy deals with Seatrain to import Caribbean workers, exploit them at open-shop wages, and charge them exorbitant union fees. Maybe it was all "legal," maybe not.

Without jobs, many of the laid-off Seatrain workers from the Caribbean may soon learn their immigration status is in jeopardy. If they then face deportation as "illegal aliens," they may find themselves back at the Brooklyn Navy Yard after all. The yard is being proposed as a detention center for undocumented workers.

So much for the promises.



Tankers under construction in Brooklyn Navy Yard. Yard is now virtually shut down.

Socialist hits cop infiltration

Reid addresses Operation PUSH meeting

By John Isenhower

CHICAGO—Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, addressed the Saturday morning meeting of Operation PUSH here March 29, just three days before the April 1, election.

PUSH is one of the most influential Black community organizations in Chicago. Its weekly meetings are attended by hundreds of people and heard on the radio by thousands more.

Reid denounced Mayor Richard Daley for ordering police infiltration and harassment of groups such as PUSH and the Socialist Workers party.

Daley, she pointed out, claims the police spying is necessary "to stop groups from being violent."

"The truth is that when the real violence comes, the police can't seem to do anything about it," Reid said.

"Where are they when the Black families on the Southwest Side are attacked by Nazis and other racists?"

"Where are they when a Black church is set on fire by Ku Klux Klanners in Aurora?"

"Where were they when right-wing terrorists of the Legion of Justice attacked our headquarters and beat up on our supporters? They were right there working hand in glove with the attackers."

The final week of the campaign was also highlighted by a rally at the socialist campaign headquarters that evening.

The first speaker was Brenda Eichelberger, chairperson of the Chicago chapter of the National Black Feminist Organization. Eichelberger said Willie Mae Reid should be elected mayor of Chicago because she is a socialist, a Black woman, and a worker.

"She has positive programs that

should be instituted," Eichelberger said.

E. Duke McNeil, a Black attorney and former Democratic candidate for mayor, told the rally that Reid had been out "raising hell and raising issues."

"I personally want to salute you and wish you the best of luck," he said.

Reid, the featured speaker, was loudly applauded by the 140 people present as she explained the accomplishments of the socialist campaign.

"We have gone out all over this city talking with people about real solutions to their problems," she said. "As a result of what we have done during these few months, more people are looking more seriously at the socialist alternative to the Republicans and Democrats."

Because of Reid's persistent campaigning and her achievement of ballot status, the news media have felt compelled to give her more coverage than previous socialist campaigns.

The March 30 *Chicago Tribune*, for example, printed a prelection spread with equal-sized articles on Reid, Daley, and Republican John Hoellen. The *Tribune* also printed a summary of each candidate's position on the major issues. The following are excerpts:

"Crime

"Daley: The cause of rising crime, in part, is the permissiveness of modern society. It is also caused by disrespect for police, violence on television, black exploitation films, and breakdown of the family structure.

"Reid: To solve the problems of crime, we have to solve the causes—unemployment, poor housing, alienation, and racism. The answer is not to hire more police, but to end police brutality in black neighborhoods by



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Willie Mae Reid (right) is interviewed by 'Chicago Sun-Times' while campaigning at unemployment office. Her aggressive campaign has forced news media to take notice.

replacing the present police force with one elected and supervised by community residents.

"Schools

"Daley: Schools should not be a political issue.

"Reid: Class sizes should be reduced thru construction of more classrooms and the hiring of more teachers. The use of racist and sexist textbooks should be eliminated, and bilingual education should be provided for all who need it. Free education should be provided thru college.

"Patronage

"Daley: What some call patronage, we call friendship. If there is a Chicago

machine, it is a machine of neighbors working together.

"Reid: Not only is patronage an abuse of power, but it is racist because minorities are underrepresented in city jobs. People should not have to swear political loyalty to get a city job."

Muhammad Speaks, newspaper of the Nation of Islam and the largest-circulation Black paper in the country, carried an article on Reid in its April 4 issue under the headline, "Independent Black mayoral candidate offers alternatives to plight of poor."

The article focused on the "Bill of Rights for Working People" advocated by the socialist campaign.

'Estudiantes de la Raza' hear Camejo in Mich.

By Ruth Getts

DETROIT—The banner at the front of the meeting hall in St. Vincent De Paul's Catholic Church in Pontiac, Michigan, said, "Welcome Peter Camejo, presidential candidate." An audience of seventy people from the Mexican-American community had come to hear the Socialist Workers party candidate talk about his program.

Students from *Estudiantes de la Raza*, a group at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan, about twenty miles north of Detroit, organized the meeting.

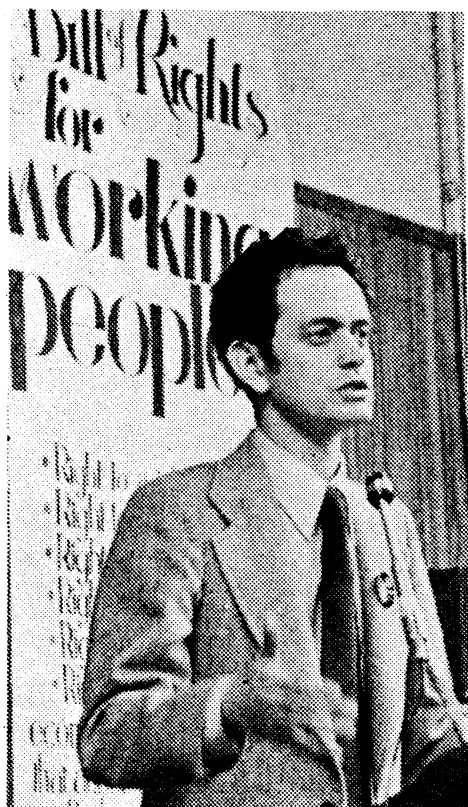
The meeting was held up for a few minutes so that people who had been attending mass could file in. Hugo Aleman, a member of *Estudiantes de la Raza*, chaired the meeting, which was conducted in Spanish. Camejo is the first person of Latin American descent to run for president of the United States.

The audience gave him a warm welcome. Many of those who came to hear him were community leaders in Pontiac. Two had run in local school board elections and have been long-time fighters for bilingual programs in the Pontiac schools. They were particularly interested in Camejo's stand in favor of bilingual education and for community control of the schools in Chicano communities.

Several of those present had been employed at the General Motors assembly plant in Pontiac until they were recently laid off. They were all members of the United Auto Workers (UAW), and they were anxious to hear

Camejo's ideas on how to solve the economic crisis.

One worker with eleven years' seniority protested that while he is out of a job, others, still at work in his plant, are putting in up to seventy hours a week. He and some of his fellow workers pointed out that the UAW should oppose this policy and lead the fight to put those who are laid off back to work instead of extending the hours



Militant/Afrodita Constantinidis

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president.

of those who already have jobs.

"More people should be put back to work even if it means shortening the workweek to spread available jobs around," he said. Many also expressed the need for working people to have an independent political party of their own to fight for such programs.

Camejo discussed the Socialist Workers party's proposed "Bill of Rights for Working People," which calls for organizing to win the right to such things as a job, a secure retirement, free education and medical care, and the right of oppressed nationalities to control their own communities. Many took copies of the "Bill of Rights" in Spanish.

After the meeting a collection was taken, and fifteen copies of the *Militant* and five subscriptions were sold. Eight people endorsed the campaign, expressing interest in doing ongoing work to win others to support Camejo. The campaign committee hopes this will be the beginning of a support group in the area.

Camejo was invited back for the following week to participate in Easter Sunday festivities. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance, who have been traveling with Camejo, were invited by high school students who attended the meeting to speak at a class on social problems. The students wanted to hear about the struggle in Boston to defeat racist attempts to block school desegregation.

The meeting in Pontiac came on the first leg of a two-week tour of Michigan and Indiana. Camejo will be campaigning at plant gates, on unemploy-

ment lines, and on college campuses throughout the two-state region.

So far, the candidate has spoken to students on five campuses and has been received by large and enthusiastic audiences. The campuses include Henry Ford Community College in Detroit, Mott Community College in Flint, Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant, and the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

Seventy-five people at Central Michigan University and ninety at the University of Michigan turned out to hear Camejo speak on the socialist solution to the economic crisis. Thirty-nine people have endorsed the campaign thus far and five have decided to join the YSA.

In the next week, Camejo is scheduled to speak at Oakland Community College in Detroit, Michigan State University in East Lansing, and Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo. In Indiana he will speak at North Manchester College and at Indiana University in Bloomington.

He is also scheduled to appear before American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1880 and will be the featured speaker at a rally at the Detroit socialist campaign headquarters at 3737 Woodward Avenue, Saturday, April 5, at 8:00 p.m. The rally is part of an educational weekend on "Prospects for Socialism in the United States" being sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information, contact the campaign headquarters in Detroit at (313) 831-6135.

Revelations rock Daley machine

Vast spy plot by Chicago police exposed

By Tom O'Brien

CHICAGO—Mounting revelations of police spying have rocked the administration of Mayor Richard Daley in the final week of the municipal election campaign here.

New disclosures about illegal police activities are erupting almost every day.

The life of the Cook County grand jury investigating cop spying has been extended for up to seventeen months so it can continue hearing testimony.

U.S. Rep. Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.), one of the many Black politicians spied on, has called for a federal investigation by the General Accounting Office to determine if federal funds were used by the Chicago cops.

U.S. Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.), ranking Republican on the Senate's Government Operations Committee, announced the committee would send its own investigators to Chicago.

The following are some of the key revelations to date about activities of the Chicago "red squad" and other police units:

- **Infiltration.** Police agents infiltrated such community groups as Operation PUSH, Citizen's Action Program, and the Metropolitan Area Housing Alliance, in some cases worming their way into leadership positions.

- **Spying.** Targets of secret police surveillance included Black leaders, socialists, antiwar activists, journalists, and seven aldermen who have been critical of the Daley machine.

The spy operation was so massive that four to six "analysts" were kept busy just compiling field reports from the "red squad." Daily logs were kept of the activities of groups under surveillance, and every week a fifteen-



Chicago cops in action against antiwar demonstrators in 1968. Their spy operation against dissidents included bugging, burglaries, and infiltration.

to-twenty-page summary was sent to top police officials.

- **Wiretapping, burglaries.** "We have evidence that eavesdropping and a number of burglaries have been illegally conducted by sworn officers of the Chicago Police Department," a source in the state's attorney's office told the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

Among those whose phones were reportedly tapped was the Republican State's Attorney Bernard Carey himself.

The March 24 *Sun-Times* reported that "information in the police files and from reliable sources showed that intelligence agents maintained a regular liaison with the security section of Illinois Bell Telephone Co. and other large corporations."

- **Secret files.** Police spy files contain personal information on thousands of people who have never been accused of any crime. An elaborate indexing system makes the information readily available any time it is requested by Daley, the FBI, or military intelligence.

The March 27 *Daily News* reported how many names were obtained: "In some instances, police agents reportedly canvassed streets for several blocks around a building where radicals were meeting and copied down license numbers of parked cars. . . .

"Other sources of information were mailing lists, contributor lists and membership lists obtained from various organizations by police infiltrators, the *Daily News* learned.

"Sometimes police agents committed break-ins to obtain such information, informants alleged.

"One former police undercover agent who infiltrated a nonviolent antiwar group told The *Daily News* he often gathered names at meetings by circulating petitions.

"I'd announce that we had a ban-the-bomb petition or something that

we wanted to send to the White House and ask everybody to sign it," he said."

Another agent told the *Daily News* that when the number of references on an individual's index card reached a certain point, the person would be classified as a "militant" and copies of the file would be sent to the FBI and military intelligence.

- **Cover-up.** Faced with growing demands to turn these files over to the victims, the "red squad" is destroying or hiding many of them. Key records were destroyed last April after they were requested in a federal court hearing on an antidiscrimination suit brought by the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, a police official admitted in court March 26.

Then, on January 20 a fire was set in a police headquarters file room to make it appear that spy documents had been accidentally destroyed, while the documents were in fact being hidden in another part of the building.

So far Daley's attitude has been, like Richard Nixon's before him, to brazen it out and deny any wrongdoing. He has dismissed the revelations as "political propaganda" and "yellow journalism," insisting that "I will stand behind whatever the police department did." Besides, he added, the Chicago cops were only doing what every police department in the country was doing—"what is outlined in the FBI manual on police operations."

More ties between cops and right-wing terrorists

CHICAGO—The most serious illegal action by Chicago police yet uncovered in the new revelations was their organizing of a terrorist attack against the offices of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance in 1969.

The March 24 *Chicago Daily News* reported that the attack by the right-wing Legion of Justice, in which four people were injured, was carried out "at the behest of" Chicago cops, while police agents in unmarked cars waited outside to protect the attackers.

In its March 29-30 issue, the *Daily News* further revealed that YSA documents stolen in the assault were shared with the Minutemen, a paramilitary right-wing outfit.

The Minutemen "then published the names and addresses of 250 Young Socialists taken from stolen membership lists in its top secret newsletter, 'On Target,'" the *Daily News* reported.

As a result, it said, many YSA

members received mailed death threats and anonymous threatening phone calls.

Daily News columnist Mike Royko provided more details March 25 on the cozy relations between the police and the right-wing terrorists.

The Smokey Hollow Tavern on the Northwest Side was used as Legion of Justice headquarters. Royko was told by tavern owner Steve Telow. Stolen records were kept there for perusal by the "red squad."

In return, police gave the Legion access to their spy files. "Sure, I used to see police records," Telow said. "Why did I get to see them? Why not? I was fighting the powers of the left."

Telow wasn't worried about the use of his basement as a library of stolen goods. "Hell," he said, "we were giving the intelligence unit information while the burglary unit was supposed to be trying to catch the people who stole it."



Chicago Sun-Times/Mauldin
'Dis ain't spyin'—dis is perrecttin' de people'

Election board denies SWP case on disclosure

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—At a March 25 public hearing, the Illinois State Board of Elections denied the Socialist Workers campaign committee exemption from turning over to the government the names and addresses of people who contribute more than \$150 to the campaign.

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, condemned the board's ruling as a "flagrant violation of constitutional rights."

"There is overwhelming evidence that SWP campaign supporters have been the victims of systematic surveillance and harassment by federal and Chicago police agencies," Reid said. "We cannot turn over new names and

addresses to add to this harassment campaign."

Vowing to continue the fight for freedom of political association, Reid said her campaign committee's next step would be to file suit in federal court challenging the constitutionality of the Illinois disclosure law as applied to the SWP.

The board of elections based its decision on a technicality, claiming it did not have the authority to grant such an exemption. Moreover, by scheduling the public hearing in two parts, the first dealing only with this technical question, the board avoided testimony on harassment and thus effectively prohibited any discussion of the real issues.

Lance Haddix, attorney for the Socialist Workers campaign committee, argued against this arbitrary structure of the hearing. He stressed that the key questions were the First Amendment rights of SWP campaign supporters and the right to privacy.

Reid testified about police and right-wing harassment of the SWP and its campaign contributors. She said that the disclosure law, passed with the supposed purpose of curbing the corrupting influence of big money in politics, "has absolutely no relevance to the contributions given to the Socialist Workers campaign."

Attorney John Fletcher, who represented the board of elections, dismissed the documented record of harass-

ment as "trivia." He cynically argued that for the board to grant an exemption would mean going beyond its authority in the same way other government agencies exceed their authority by harassing the SWP.

Reid told news media after the hearing that Fletcher was trying to equate government acts that would protect democratic rights with those that deny democratic rights.

"What lies beneath his twisted logic is the same old double standard," she said. "These agencies are 'flexible' when it comes to bending the laws to suit the rich, but they interpret the law in the most rigid way possible when it comes to protecting a group advocating social change."

Hillery speaks to issues in Mpls. mayor race

By Jane Van Deusen

MINNEAPOLIS—Mary Hillery announced her candidacy for mayor of Minneapolis on the Socialist Workers party ticket, at a rally of 100 people here March 15. She blasted Democratic Mayor Albert Hofstede and the city council for their silence about, and refusal to deal with, the critical problems facing the citizens of this city.

"I challenge Hofstede and all of my opponents to take on the real political issues and tell the voters of Minneapolis where the Democrats and Republicans stand," she said.

"The issues," she continued, "are jobs, high prices, racism, education, and cops."

"By cops I mean the police apparatus which stretches from Vietnam to Palestine to Chile. I also mean cop frame-ups of American Indian Movement leaders and cop brutality in the streets of Minneapolis. And I mean the FBI cops, who read the mail of the SWP, tap our phones, infiltrate our organization, and inspire right-wing groups to harass and terrorize our supporters."

She attacked Hofstede's campaign to spend more taxpayers' money to increase the police force.

"The Minneapolis police are responsible for more cases of police brutality on the streets of this city than are ever brought to the public's attention," she said.



HILLERY: 'The issues are jobs, high prices, racism, education, and cops.'

In her campaign platform, Hillery calls for "replac[ing] the existing police force in the Black and Indian communities with units selected and supervised by the people in these communities."

Hillery's platform also points out that Hofstede has participated in attacking the living standards of the people of Minneapolis. "He, along with

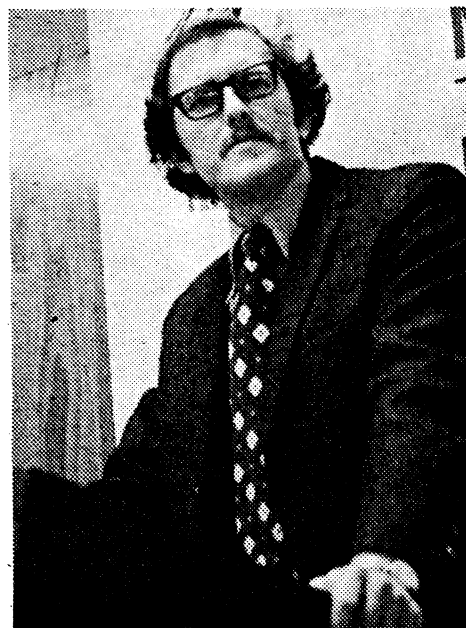
the City Council, has increased the property tax 15%. He has approved appropriations of millions of dollars to beautify the Nicollet Mall, so Daytons and other big businesses can rake in profits, while housing and educational facilities in this city are left to rot."

Hillery stated that more people than ever before are supporting the socialist alternative and that her campaign for mayor will help to bring working people together in "our common fight against the ruling rich."

The SWP also announced its candidates for city council and school board at the rally. Gary Prevost, Joanne Murphy, and Ralph Schwartz will run for city council in the Fifth, Eighth, and Second wards, respectively. Holly Harkness will run for school board.

Prevost spoke to the rally about the SWP's fight for democratic rights. "We will not allow this city government to attack our right to get out our socialist ideas," he said. "We will not allow them to stop the sales of the *Militant* on the streets of this city."

"In 1974 we presented massive evidence to the State Ethics Commission proving our case that our party is harassed by government agencies. We had refused to give the state the names of our campaign contributors, showing that they would only become new targets for FBI harassment. We won that fight. We will be fighting in 1975 to be exempted from the disclosure



PREVOST: Vowed continued struggle against government harassment of socialists.

provisions, and we will fight to win once again."

Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. president, sent greetings to the rally congratulating the Twin Cities SWP on the kickoff of their 1975 campaign.

More than \$1,600 was collected to help launch the socialist campaign. Two people joined the Young Socialist Alliance at the end of the rally.

SWP candidate backs rights of Black students

By Ernest Mailhot

CLEVELAND—At a March 21 news conference in front of Collinwood High School, Christine Gauvreau announced her candidacy for Cleveland School Board on the Socialist Workers party ticket. Gauvreau also disclosed that city police, in complicity with Case Western Reserve University police, had placed an informer in the Young Socialist Alliance.

Robert Denton, a student at Case Western Reserve, recently admitted that while he was working as a building guard at the school, the campus cops suggested his name to the city police, who then recruited him to spy on the YSA. He said that his superiors were most concerned about the YSA's activities in defense of Black students at Collinwood High School.

The school has been the scene of racist violence against Blacks, including the murder of a Black student, David Britton.

"We are serving notice on Mayor

Perk and the city police," said Gauvreau, "that no amount of intimidation, no agents sent into the Young Socialist Alliance, will force us to back down one inch from our support to Collinwood's Black students. My campaign will focus on this issue."

She also declared that she would march in Boston on May 17 in the national demonstration against racism called by the NAACP.

The candidate demanded an end to all illegal attempts by the city administration and campus cops to disrupt the activities of the YSA. She further demanded that the city officials release police files that have been compiled on members of the YSA and other radical organizations.

Gauvreau referred to a recent speech by school board president Arnold Pinkney, in which he presented his plan for the schools. It included a "stop and frisk" policy, the use of expulsions, defending teachers who "discipline" their students, and more police around



School board candidate Christine Gauvreau denounced police brutality against Cleveland Black students.

the schools.

"These steps, if implemented," said Gauvreau, "would be an attack on Cleveland's student population and would serve to foster more racist violence against Black students." She pointed out that last year, when a fight broke out between Black and white students at Collinwood High School, cops removed their badges and joined in beating up Black students.

"The Socialist Workers party calls for extending student rights," she said. "We believe that students should have the same rights as all other American citizens, including the right of free speech and the right to form political organizations in their schools."

The candidate demanded the "removal of cops from Collinwood, the arrest of those guilty of racist crimes against the Black students," and the removal of Collinwood's principal "who should be replaced by someone chosen by the Black students, parents, and faculty."

L.A. socialists vow Nazis won't stop campaign

By John Gattuso

LOS ANGELES—Eighty supporters of the Socialist Workers party election campaign attended a Westside Los Angeles campaign rally and vowed that right-wing terrorism and harassment would not deter them from reaching out to the people of Los Angeles and winning them to the presidential campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

Nazis here have publicly boasted that they bombed the Central-East SWP campaign headquarters and have predicted that police would not arrest them.

Donald Freed, author of *Executive Action*, spoke at the rally, praising the SWP for not knuckling under to the right-wing attack and for being one of



Militant/Al Twiss
Author Donald Freed praised SWP determination to stop right-wing terrorists.

the few groups that put politics in a larger perspective.

John Trudell, national chairperson of the American Indian Movement (AIM), spoke about AIM's struggle to defend the human rights of Native Americans and about the government's attempts to stop this struggle. He pointed to the recent revelation of an FBI informer in the AIM leadership.

Ed Heisler, cochairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, spoke about the deepening economic crisis. He stressed the need to fight for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay as a solution to the problem of unemployment. He urged campaign supporters to join in building a mass socialist

movement that will fight for a society based on human needs instead of the profits of a few.

Laurel Nickel, SWP candidate for Los Angeles City Council Seat Six, discussed the party's proposal for a "Bill of Rights for Working People." She said that the right to such things as a job, free medical care, and a secure retirement would have to be won in struggle just as the original Bill of Rights was won.

"At the very moment that the government is hypocritically eulogizing the rebels of 1776 for the bicentennial," she said, "they are using the FBI and the CIA to take away the rights those revolutionaries fought for."

Campaign supporters pledged \$1,400 to help finance the socialist campaign.

...Vietnam: cities fall without a fight

Continued from page 1

This month is also the tenth anniversary of the first nationwide demonstration in the United States against the Vietnam War, which was held in Washington, D.C., in April 1965. The public opinion that Johnson and his successors had so much contempt and hatred for, combined with the tenacity of the Vietnamese, eventually forced the U.S. rulers to bring the troops home from Vietnam.

Today, as city after city falls to the liberation forces without a fight, the victories being won by the Vietnamese are victories for all humanity.

'A rout'

"A rout beyond our wildest fears" was the way one military analyst in Saigon summed up events in South Vietnam over the past three weeks.

It is estimated that half of the 1.1 million-man Saigon army has either deserted, been captured by the liberation forces, or disintegrated as a fighting force.

"The abandonment of hundreds of artillery pieces, trucks, planes, mortars, tanks, armored personnel carriers, rifles and ammunition—coupled with the rapid retreat of army units—is viewed by Vietnamese and Western sources as a stunning and, quite possibly irreversible military and psychological blow for South Vietnam," wrote Bernard Weinraub in the March 29 *New York Times*.

So thorough has been the collapse and demoralization of the Saigon forces that the liberation fighters have been able to take over three-quarters of South Vietnam, including four of the five largest cities, without a single major battle.

The situation in Da Nang was typical of what happened in other cities further south. Thieu's panic-stricken soldiers opened fire on defenseless refugees in their desperation to get onto evacuation transports. One hundred thousand troops were left behind. Many among them raped, looted, and murdered the civilian population. "Troops in the grip of hysteria opened fire indiscriminately," an *Agence France-Presse* dispatch reported, "and bodies of men, women and children lay sprawled in the streets, killed by random shooting."

Malcolm Browne described in the March 31 *New York Times* how "the commander of the whole northern region, Lieut. Gen. Ngo Quang Truong, spent his final day on a boat off the Da Nang coast, watching helplessly as his renegade army roared through the dying city, waiting for the North

Vietnamese to come in and restore order."

In the meantime, *Nhan Dan*, the Communist party newspaper in Hanoi, published a page of pictures from Hue showing soldiers and civilians casually strolling in the streets. At a March 29 news conference, representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) told reporters that peace and calm have returned to the liberated areas, in sharp contrast to the pandemonium elsewhere. Shops have reopened, and thousands of refugees have returned to their homes.

PRG officials urged all fleeing refugees to return home, and promised "every assistance to these people to earn an honest living."

Saigon hardly seems to be in a position to do the same right now. Weinraub reported April 1 that "the situation in the nation was deteriorating so rapidly that Government troops in Cam Ranh Bay, which was surging with panicky refugees, were firing on American helicopters and chartered aircraft seeking to land."

"Some American and Western officials are terming the overall situation as one of panic and some anarchy, and say that the North Vietnamese are surging through the nation with only sporadic resistance. The Communists are taking areas near Saigon and port enclaves virtually by default."

In other cities, wrote Weinraub, things were no better for the Saigon forces. "Reports from Nha Trang yesterday painted a picture of panic," he said, "with . . . soldiers firing in the air and looting."

U.S. airlift

With the regime that Washington had lavished so much blood and money on in its death throes, the Ford administration found itself with its hands tied. An airlift of military supplies to Saigon was initiated, but as one retired general said, reflecting on the recent performance of Thieu's legions, "We may find out that all we have done is to provide the North Vietnamese with some expensive military hardware."

Equally futile was the dispatch of U.S. ships to Da Nang. Hanoi denounced the operation, saying that Washington's real concern was to try to save government troops along the coast as a means of bolstering Saigon's forces.

The fear of how the American people would react to the renewed use of U.S. military might in Vietnam has forced Ford and Kissinger to stand by while the imperialist base in Indochina

breaks up. On March 26 Kissinger lamented, "We have gone through the experience of Vietnam, through the anguish of Watergate. And I think the cumulative effect of nearly a decade of domestic upheaval is beginning . . . to take its toll."

Power of antiwar movement

Kissinger's reference to "nearly a decade of domestic upheaval" is a grudging admission of the power of the American antiwar movement. The gains currently being made by the Vietnamese revolution are due first of all to the heroism of the Vietnamese people, who have persevered in their struggle for decades in the face of Washington's hellish intervention.

But the fact that the U.S. rulers no longer feel able to use B-52s and napalm, let alone combat troops, to prop up their Vietnamese puppet is also a victory for those millions who marched in antiwar protests in the United States and around the world.

The frustration in ruling circles was indicated by the former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Gen. William Westmoreland, when he said March 28:

"I never recommended it when I was involved, but who knows, when the total history is written it just might show that the use of several small-yield nuclear weapons at some early point conceivably could have put an end to the whole thing and caused less suffering. . . ."

Also peddling a solution was the *New York Times*, whose editors called for the replacement of the Thieu regime and "the re-opening of negotiations within the framework of the Paris accord."

But the disintegration of Saigon's authority in one province after another was not due to the rottenness of Thieu alone. It represented the fact that the Saigon regime as a whole, and all of the politicians who are associated with it, were propped up for years solely by U.S. military might.

The capitalist-landlord clique in Saigon, regardless of who its topmost leaders happen to be, is incapable of solving any of the problems facing the Vietnamese people or of generating any mass support.

The analysts and commentators in the employ of the capitalist media have tried to fix the blame for the Saigon collapse on misleadership. They talk about Thieu's indecisiveness, about the fact that the decision to shorten Saigon's lines of defense was not adequately explained and was carried out too abruptly, and about the corruption and cowardice of the top military leaders.

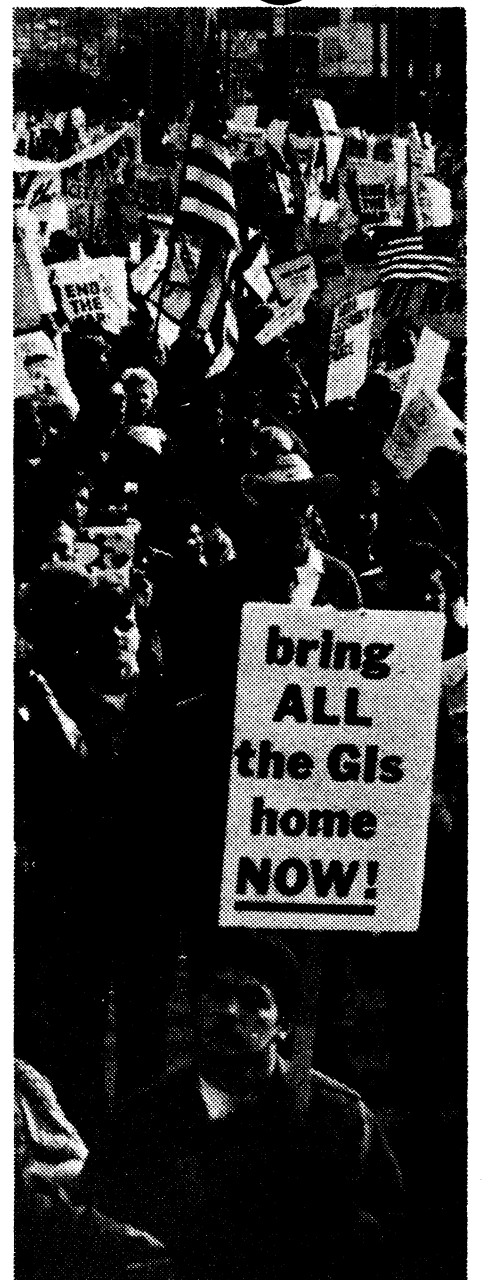
But these are all symptoms of the fact that this regime has no base of support anywhere but in Washington, D.C. Its army is made up of unwilling conscripts and mercenaries; its leaders are for sale to the highest bidder; it rules through terror and coercion. South Vietnam has been preserved as a separate entity for as long as it has only by the grace of the U.S. government.

The rapidly spreading disintegration of the proimperialist government in South Vietnam has been compared to the events in China in 1949, when the Chiang Kai-shek armies collapsed. In the case of Vietnam, however, even more than in China, the capitalist regime has been a creature of imperialism without any social base.

Hanoi surprised

In a dispatch from Hanoi March 31, *Agence France-Presse* correspondent Jean Thoraval noted, "The breathtaking swiftness of the fall of entire South Vietnamese provinces in the past three weeks has been almost as big a surprise to North Vietnamese officials as to strategists in Saigon or Washington. . . ."

"Even the most skeptical officials in



Militant/Ron Payne

Washington has not sent troops and bombers to prop up Saigon regime again because it fears revival of antiwar movement on an even more massive scale than in late 1960s and early 1970s.

Hanoi now admit that the demoralization of the South Vietnamese army was much greater than they expected."

Nevertheless, Hanoi and the PRG continue to call for negotiations with a Saigon government without Thieu, and for the implementation of the Paris accords. These accords, which were signed under the combined pressure of U.S. bombing and political arm-twisting from Moscow and Peking, were designed to maintain a system in which power in South Vietnam was to be shared between the PRG and the capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon.

Drew Middleton, after drawing attention to the lack of major pressure as yet in the Saigon area by PRG and North Vietnamese forces, wrote in the March 28 *New York Times*:

"North Vietnamese tactics in the capital sector may also be influenced by political considerations. Some officers believe that Hanoi, after winning positions from which an assault can be launched and stepping up harassment of the suburbs, will delay in the hope that President Nguyen Van Thieu's Government will be ousted and peace can be made with a caretaker regime."

This view was also taken by Thoraval, who wrote: "It is noteworthy that Hanoi and the Vietcong have stated recently that the last act in the Vietnamese drama would be a political settlement based on the 1973 Paris cease-fire agreements following the departure of President Thieu."

However, even if the PRG and Hanoi would like to reach a new compromise with Saigon, the decomposition of the proimperialist forces and the expansion of territory under PRG control is proceeding at such a rate that their ability to do this is questionable. All indications are that they are being pulled along by events that have resulted in a growing power vacuum that only the PRG and Hanoi can fill.



Thieu's soldiers retreating toward Saigon. Saigon dictatorship has no base of support anywhere but in Washington.

Tax cut fraud: no depression cure

There's nothing wrong with getting back \$100 from the federal government—it doesn't happen very often. A \$50 bonus to older people living on Social Security is even rarer.

But that is all that can be said in favor of the tax bill passed by Congress last week and signed into law by President Ford over the weekend.

The new tax law contains minimal doles for working people. A family with two children making about \$10,000 a year will receive a tax rebate and a cut in 1975 taxes, totaling \$258 altogether.

That won't do much for the family's income. It won't do much to make up lost wages for those who have been laid off. It won't close the gap between income and rising prices.

And it won't do much for the U.S. economy either. The *New York Times* admitted March 30: "The tax reductions of 1946, 1947, 1948 and 1964 were all appreciably larger than the present one, when compared either with the size of the national economy or with the percentage by which Federal tax collections were reduced."

The truth of the matter is that the new tax bill is a political gimmick. Its aim is to fool the American people into believing the government is doing something about the depression.

But the actual effect of this tax bill, amounting to a stimulus of less than \$25 billion, will be almost negligible.

Today the manufacturing economy is operating at only 70 percent of its potential productive capacity. It is producing a Gross National Product of about \$1,400 billion. If manufacturing were up to 100 percent of capacity, total production would be about \$2,000 billion. This means that *the difference between what the economy is producing now and what it could produce if plants were fully operating is some \$600 billion.*

What a terrible waste of human and technical resources!

The pitiful \$22.8 billion tax bill won't close this gap. It shows that the U.S. government *does not* intend to turn the economy around. The rulers of this country believe they can get away with even higher unemployment levels. They are willing to risk a world depression. They think that they can cover their tracks by giving away a couple of hundred dollars here and there.

And President Ford made it crystal clear in his speech on the tax bill that he opposes *any* increases in government spending for job programs or for any other kind of social welfare. "We must move to reduce federal spending in every way we can," the president proclaimed.

It is a cruel and cynical contradiction that at the very time Ford talks about slashing federal spending for human needs, the White House proposes squandering more billions of dollars to salvage the crumbling military dictatorships in Saigon and Pnompenh. Right now Ford has bills before Congress asking for *increases* in U.S. military programs all over the world.

The inadequacy of the tax bill makes it all the more clear that it will take a massive, independent struggle by working people to win jobs for the unemployed.

An immediate focal point for this struggle is the upcoming April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. Every trade unionist who wants to take action against the layoffs should pitch in and work for the largest possible turnout April 26 of union members, the unemployed, and labor's allies who are also suffering from the depression.

Despite the limited program advanced by rally organizers, this demonstration can be a powerful display of opposition to unemployment and the government's failure to act. It can be a way to directly demand that the government halt its program to drive down the standard of living of working people.

What is needed is *jobs now*—it's that simple. Even the most ambitious bills put forward by the Democrats in Congress talk about providing one million jobs at most—that is, less than 10 percent of those unemployed right now. *That's not enough.*

The government should immediately launch an emergency public works program across the land to hire *all* the unemployed and finally start build the homes, schools, hospitals, and mass transportation and other facilities that are so desperately needed.

They have the money. Washington spends it day after day on missiles, bombs, and tanks. People are being killed every day because of these gigantic war expenditures.

End the military spending!

Launch a massive public works program now!

That's the answer to Ford's tax bill, and April 26 provides an excellent opportunity to give it to him.

Right-wing terror

I was alarmed to read of the disruptive and terror tactics used by right-wing elements in an attempt to silence through threat and intimidation Juan Carlos Coral's tour in Chicago. [See the March 21 *Militant*.]

I am appalled by this action and can very much relate with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) in their efforts to defend themselves against such right-wing elements. I have been in the past, and will continue to be in the future, a target of such blind hatred from such reactionary sectors in Chicago and elsewhere.

The sad part about this is that with the present state of the economy, such groups are beginning to grow. But along with that so is the revolutionary commitment of those whose consciousness has undergone a rude awakening during this decade.

It is no nightmare, it is the real thing; and we must begin to mobilize and stand up against these ever-increasing reactionary forces. I pledge my full support to USLA and their struggle for democratic freedom and human rights.

Hasta la Victoria Siempre.
Ricardo Parra
Executive director
Mid-West Council of La Raza
Notre Dame, Indiana

Good perspective

I find that since the *Militant* ceased here, the reporting of news is left to liars. I respect and support your efforts and I need your perspective (truth).

Enclosed is ten dollars for a one-year subscription. Keep the change.
W.P.

Mason, Kentucky

Women's conference

More than 1,000 women participated in a Spring Women's Conference for International Women's Year, held March 20-22 in St. Cloud, Minnesota. The conference was sponsored by a variety of unions, church groups, and community groups.

There were almost forty workshops on a broad variety of topics, such as day care, breast cancer, women's history, women in the labor market, and equal rights in the St. Cloud area.

A group of about twenty "right-to-lifers" protested outside the conference site against the inclusion of the National Organization for Women (NOW). They passed out a leaflet that claimed, "N.O.W. promotes killer mothers." Despite their protest, the banquet room was filled to standing-room-only for the address of NOW's national president, Karen DeCrow.
Elaine Onasch
Minneapolis, Minnesota

May 17 & April 26

Local 590 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) adopted, at its March 25 general membership meeting, resolutions endorsing the May 17 march on Boston for school desegregation and the April 26 march on Washington for jobs.

The May 17 resolution said in part: "As union members we recognize that one of the products of today's economic crisis is the erosion of human rights, whether it be on the job or in the

community at large. The right to an equal education for black people . . . is meeting a serious challenge in Boston today. It is a challenge that must be met and overcome.

"We . . . add our voices to the many around the country who are supporting the struggle for desegregation and equal education. . . . We endorse the call by the NAACP for a massive, peaceful demonstration in Boston on May 17, and we urge other unions to do so as well."

At that same meeting, Local 590 also endorsed the April 26 demonstration for jobs called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

Jon Flanders
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

More May 17 support

The New England Gay Conference, over 600 men and women meeting in Provincetown, Massachusetts, voted on March 16 to endorse the NAACP's call for a national march on Boston on May 17 in support of school desegregation.

The conference also voted to support the defense of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion, and to uphold the rights of those who refuse to testify about their personal life-styles in the FBI's search for alleged bank robbers Susan Saxe and Cathy Powers.

The theme of the weekend conference was "Unity in Action." The program included workshops and seminars on women, the Black and Third World communities, youth and aging, legislation, media action, film, religion, and more.

Ken Withers
Boston, Massachusetts

Red-baiting

I was at the National Student Conference Against Racism in Boston [February 14-16], and I witnessed the unsuccessful attempts by certain groups to disrupt the proceedings.

The tactic of red-baiting, used by these groups, has been thoroughly discredited both on the conference floor and in the pages of the *Militant*. If the explanations there are not enough, the new Cointelpro documents should convince anyone of who it is that benefits from red-baiting.

Bill Robinson
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Just didn't know it

Please renew my subscription. I hope that I may be able to contribute something for this service in the near future. I enjoy the *Militant* very much, and, as I am the only one in this jail to receive it, I make it my business to pass it onward after I read it.

In the one-and-one-half years that I have been receiving the *Militant*, I have not been converted to socialism. I have always been a socialist and didn't know it—until the *Militant* revealed it to me.

A prisoner
Kentucky

Thanks

I would like to renew my subscription for the *Militant* immediately. You have my gratitude for making it possible for a prisoner who's not financially able to obtain your interesting intellectual



International abortion fight

newspaper. And I hope one day I'm able to contribute some funds to expanding the success of this beautiful educating paper.

If possible, will you publish this letter? I would like others to know your concern for unfortunate prisoners. It's certainly a great newspaper.

A prisoner
Missouri

[The *Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

Yes, SIR

A group of GIs here have formed a GI-rights group called Soldiers for Individual Rights (SIR), and we've begun to organize ourselves in order to defend our rights.

All members of the armed forces, as citizens of the United States, are guaranteed the right to freedom of speech and assembly. The army has no right to take away these civil liberties or to victimize GIs for exercising them. As soldiers defending the Constitution with our very lives, we have more of a right than anyone to discuss war, racism, and the military in general.

Our civilian working-class counterparts can form unions and go on strike to better their standard of living. Yet the minute we entered the military, we forfeited all the rights that most people have come to expect.

Washington can send us halfway around the globe to fight and die in their dirty, undeclared wars. Yet we, the people doing the fighting, aren't even allowed to get together and discuss the reasons for that war.

Instead of taking the army's intimidating tactics on our knees, we've decided to fight back on our feet.

We would like to get together with other GIs and concerned civilians. Anyone who wants to know more about SIR can contact us at P.O. Box 400, Killeen, Texas 76545.

A GI
Texas

The big bite

My son's fourth-grade social studies textbook has a passage about fishing in a chapter on natural resources. The teacher asked the following set question, based on the book: "Why do most people fish?" My son, a great fishing enthusiast, answered—naturally enough—"for food." Wrong! The correct answer, "For profit."

It might be called "hooking them young."

T.F.
Evansville, Indiana

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.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Canadian physician who has been the focus of the fight for abortion rights in Canada for almost two years, lost his appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada and is expected to begin serving an eighteen-month prison sentence. Morgentaler, an outspoken defender of women's right to choose abortion, was convicted for performing an abortion in September 1973.

Prior to his conviction, Morgentaler operated an abortion clinic in Montréal where he performed thousands of abortions. His case has been a battle between the abortion-rights movement on one hand, and the reactionary "right-to-life" movement and the Canadian government on the other.

The March 26 decision by the Canadian court, which upheld Morgentaler's conviction, is a setback for the Canadian abortion-rights movement. The decision essentially upholds the conservative interpretation of Canada's abortion law, which permits a doctor to perform an abortion only in a licensed hospital and only after a special committee of doctors has agreed that "the continuation of the pregnancy would be likely to endanger" the woman's "life or health."

Following on the heels of the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician in Boston, for performing a legal abortion, the ruling in Morgentaler's case emphasizes the international character of the offensive by the "right-to-life" movement. It also emphasizes the need for an international response by supporters of abortion rights.

Women in countries around the world are centering their efforts on the fight to win, or to defend, their right to abortion.

• In February, the West German Constitutional Court overturned a law permitting abortion on demand during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. Although 59 percent of the West German population had in a recent poll declared themselves in favor of the law permitting abortion, the court ruled that "every-one [fetus] shall have the right to life and inviolability of person."

The court's ruling was met with large protests throughout West Germany.

• In spite of a new law legalizing abortions in the first ten weeks of pregnancy in France, many French doctors still refuse to perform abortions.

On March 7, a group of doctors, along with 150 women from the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception (MLAC), confronted doctors at a Paris hospital who refused to perform abortions. The abortion-rights doctors took over two rooms and performed abortions for seven women who had been refused abortions by the hospitals.

• In Switzerland on March 8, 900 people marched in Tessin and 300 in Bern demanding that the Swiss government change the anti-abortion laws in that country.

• Women trade unionists in Britain have added their voices to those protesting attempts by the British government to restrict abortion rights. Two hundred fifty delegates to the Trades Union Congress (TUC) women's conference on March 14 voted overwhelmingly in favor of a resolution calling for abortion on demand.

• Major battles over the right to abortion are also either under way or developing in Italy, Portugal, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

The international aspect of the abortion-rights struggle makes the week of protests called in this country to "Defend Dr. Edelin, Defend Abortion Rights" set for April 27-May 3 all the more important.

The "right-to-life" movement, led by the Catholic church hierarchy, is an international one, and our response must be international too.

The April 27-May 3 activities—teach-ins, panels, debates, rallies, and marches—can help educate Americans about the international struggle, and at the same time show women in other countries that American women do not plan to retreat one inch. In particular, the American abortion-rights movement should join with our Canadian neighbors in demanding that Dr. Henry Morgentaler be set free.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Once again the brass is worried

Moping 'n' fretting—that evil ole ailment has got the military brass under the weather again.

The navy caught it a couple years back and they were really in a fix. You see, somebody got mad because the navy's enlisted ranks in 1970 had only 6 percent Blacks and Annapolis was still using two cups of concentrated All, with three magic brighteners, on its graduating class.

So the brass hung out a shiny new sign, "You can be Black and Navy too," and tried on a fancy program to recruit Blacks.

It seemed to work—at least they were signing up more Black recruits. But some of those recruits must not have understood English too well, because by 1972 they were revolting against what they swore were the navy's anti-Black practices aboard the *Constellation* and *Kitty Hawk*.

The program got such an ugly mess spilled on it that in 1973 the navy had to take it off. Besides, it didn't fit very well anyway.

Now, the army didn't catch moping 'n' fretting as bad as the navy did, but its brass is fidgety, nonetheless, because criticism has recently swooped down on the generals' heads like a wild dive bomber.

You see, Black faces, the kind the navy about-faced from, were the only faces some people could see in the combat units of the two-year-old volunteer army, and so they complained to the brass.

Those characters marching around under tin hats with tommy guns down at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, were just masquerading as an army. Because you can't have an all-Black army. In white racist America? "It's a contradiction in terms," they were griping in private.

So Gordon Hill, the army's information officer, had to respond in public.

He dropped a note to the *New York Times* admitting

that rising unemployment was producing a disproportionate number of Black enlistees. But "as for the Army becoming all-black," he wrote, "these fears have proved unfounded, although total black enlisted content has increased to about 22.5 per cent."

Black reenlistment is 52.2 percent, Hill says, while white reenlistment is 30.9 percent.

But that's okay—and maybe even an asset, according to Hill. "While black content of the Army is higher than in the general population, this is probably a reflection of that group's awareness of the fairness and equal opportunities available in the Army." Ahem.

Now, newspaper people like those at the *Times* are often a cagey lot and if the part calls for a tragedy mask, they surely won't don a comedy mask. Obviously the *Times* didn't think Hill's letter was sufficient, because they did a column-length article on the subject and put it on a page facing a story quoting FBI chief Clarence Kelley on the problem of ensuring domestic order.

Considering the situation in Cambodia, the Middle East, Portugal, and South Vietnam, and considering rising prices, mounting layoffs, and growing labor unrest, maybe the editors at the *Times* are getting a little jumpy.

Maybe they don't think a Black army will want to fight in Cambodia, the Middle East, Portugal, or again in South Vietnam.

Maybe they don't think a Black army will want to put down unrest at home.

Maybe they don't think a Black army will want to keep putting up with racist discrimination.

Maybe they don't think a Black army will want to follow any orders at all that don't sound okay.

Maybe they're right.

'Everyone is welcome'

Nat'l march for jobs wins growing support

By Gene Anderson

Support is growing nationally for the April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C., called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

International Association of Machinists (IAM) President Floyd Smith has called on all IAM districts and locals in the eastern United States to "take part in a massive bus-in to Washington, D.C., next month to demonstrate labor's demand for emergency action to provide Jobs Now," reports the latest issue of the machinists' newspaper.

"We need a big turnout to dramatize to the American people, the White House and Congress the urgency we feel about the nation's economic plight with more than 10% of blue collar workers unemployed," Smith stated.

Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), has sent a message to every AFSCME local urging them to turn out for April 26. AFSCME District Council 37 in New York was the main initiator of the labor march on Washington.

The executive council of the American Federation of Teachers has voted to support the action, and the United Federation of Teachers (AFT Local 2) in New York is reportedly chartering dozens of buses.

Although the building-trades wing of the AFL-CIO officialdom has for the most part stayed aloof from the demonstration, Painters President S. Frank Raftery is supporting it, so painters' locals around the country may be open to joining in.

Except for New York City, where preparations for the march have gone furthest, the official endorsements of the April 26 action are just beginning to be translated into actual mobilization of union members to attend. In some areas local union members have been able to get the ball rolling.

In Chicago, a meeting of trade unionists, consumer groups, and com-



Public Employee Press
New York City unions are preparing buttons, leaflets, and advertisements in major daily newspapers to mobilize participation in April 26 march.

munity organizations was held March 24, called by the Ad Hoc Committee for April 26. Seventy-five people attended at the headquarters of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, including members of the United Auto Workers, AFSCME, United Steelworkers, United Electrical Workers, and the Textile Workers Union.

Sylvia Kushner of the Chicago Peace Council announced that four or five buses have already been reserved from Chicago.

A representative of Operation PUSH

also took part in the meeting. The April 26 demonstration has been announced by Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH, over the group's radio program.

Also on March 24, the Boston chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women voted to endorse the rally and "work with local union committees to organize support from this area."

In Philadelphia, the executive board of AFSCME Local 590, meeting April 1, decided to set up a committee to build participation in the rally. It also

agreed to help pay for the cost of buses to Washington.

Plans are well under way in New York City to turn out thousands of union members on April 26. Four hundred buses, each seating an average of forty-five people, and four special trains, each with a capacity of 900, have already been reserved.

Some of the biggest locals in District Council 37 have decided to pay the transportation costs for all of their members who want to attend. According to the March 28 issue of *Public Employee Press*, newspaper of District Council 37, the New York unions are preparing advertisements for the major daily papers, buttons, and thousands of leaflets.

Officials of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, have set a goal of bringing 10 percent of the union's 60,000 New York members to Washington. Tables are being set up in the hospital cafeterias to sign up District 1199 members for tickets.

A "March on Washington" leaflet printed by the New York unions states: "Everyone is welcome—if you're working or unemployed, Democrat or Republican, union member or not, businessman, housewife, student, retired, or whatever—come with us."

The leaflet calls on the government to act immediately to "Provide real jobs at real pay for the unemployed. Jobs to meet needs that are not being met now—in health, housing, education, environment, child-care, etc."

Public Employee Press also reports that the New York and New Jersey union contingents will stage a march down Independence Avenue from the Capitol to Robert F. Kennedy Stadium, where the AFL-CIO sponsored rally will be held.

In New York, further information is available from New York Coalition to Support the March on Washington, 140 Park Place, New York, New York 10007; telephone (212) 766-1993.

L.A. unions demonstrate against unemployment

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—About a thousand unionists participated in a jobs demonstration here March 26. The march and rally were organized by the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor and supported by several independent unions, including the United Auto Workers and the United Electrical Workers.

The demonstration was intended as a follow-up to a similar action held by the California Labor Federation at the state capitol in Sacramento March 8. As with that demonstration, the union officialdom here did little to effectively

build the action, accounting for the relatively small turnout.

But the significance of the action was pointed up by *Los Angeles Times* labor writer Harry Bernstein in a March 25 article announcing the demonstration.

"For decades," Bernstein wrote, "Establishment unions have scorned demonstrations dealing with issues such as jobs, but growing unemployment rates generally have reversed that policy."

Bernstein added: "Unions have long put on picket line protests in labor

disputes and held rallies for political candidates. But the concept of calling thousands of workers to take to the streets in support of generalized political demands has not won formal labor federation backing since the 1930s."

Los Angeles has never been a strong union town and the union bureaucrats here are somewhat more conservative than average. This was apparent from the speeches, which in most cases offered virtually nothing in the way of meaningful, specific action to combat unemployment.

A variety of union officials and politicians, including Mayor Tom Bradley, addressed the rally. They favored full employment.

Among the speakers was Ruth Miller, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who spoke on behalf of the contingent from the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

With the official jobless rate for Los Angeles near 10 percent, the demands that evoked the most response were those focusing on federal aid to the unemployed.

One rather dismal note was struck by Sigmund Arywitz, executive secretary of the County Federation of Labor, who chaired the rally.

Apparently still living in the 1950s, Arywitz, who is reputed to have been a socialist in his youth, advised the audience:

"I understand there is some litera-

ture being distributed here that does not reflect the views of the Los Angeles labor movement. We have no common cause with Trotskyites, Maoists, or the supporters of the Soviet Union. I should make it clear that this does not belong to us, and we have nothing to do with it."

Despite the dim view taken by Arywitz, some seventy-five copies of the *Militant* were sold at the rally, along with five subscriptions. Hundreds of copies of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers platform were distributed, along with the SWP national election brochure, "A Bill of Rights for Working People." As at other labor gatherings, this was received with particular interest.

While Bradley was addressing the rally, members of the Socialist Workers party passed out copies of an open letter to him concerning the February 4 bombing of the SWP campaign headquarters.

The letter noted that in an interview in the March 21 *Los Angeles Free Press*, a Nazi boasted that his group had done the bombing. A week later the police still had not taken any action.

The open letter asked the mayor if he intended to permit Nazi bombers to have open season in Los Angeles. It urged the assembled unionists to contact the mayor to demand that he act.



One thousand rallied in Los Angeles March 26

Militant/Dave Wulp

New, bloodier war threatens Mideast

By David Frankel

Any hopes Henry Kissinger had of winning a second Nobel peace prize collapsed March 22 along with his attempt to engineer a new Egyptian-Israeli deal in the Sinai.

Israeli troops are concentrating along Arab borders, especially on the Israeli-Lebanon frontier. The *Washington Post* reported March 28 that the Israeli armed forces have been placed on alert.

Washington, too, expects another war, the *Post* reported. "The Air Force is prepared to fly its giant C-5 transport planes from the United States to Israel in one hop if that should become necessary during another Mideast crisis."

The *Post* added: "Ever since last summer the Air Force's Military Airlift Command has been practicing the refueling of the C-5 in mid-air in case foreign nations should refuse to let the plane land en route to the Mideast."

The military situation in the area was described in a House Armed Services Committee report in the March 12 *Congressional Record*:

"The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), largely as a result of the \$2.2 billion aid program voted by Congress last year, have more than made up their losses in the October War of 1973. They now have more aircraft than on October 6, 1973; more tanks; more armored personnel carriers; and a substantial increase in the number of artillery pieces. The Arab forces on the borders of Israel have, as a whole, also increased their strength; but they have not improved their posture to the extent of the IDF."

Nuclear Bomb Threat

One aspect of the situation not mentioned in the congressional report is the growing nuclear bomb threat in the Arab East—a peril that Washington has recently increased. On January 23 the Pentagon announced that it would sell Israel 200 Lance missiles.

"Thus far," *New York Times* reporter John Finney said at the time of the announcement, "the missile has been regarded by the United States army as primarily a nuclear weapon, largely because of Congressional doubts that the weapon would be effective, in terms of its cost, with a conventional warhead."

"... According to weapons experts, it would not be too difficult for Israel to develop an atomic warhead to fit into the relatively small Lance missile."

Even if Israel decides that it is unnecessary to use its nuclear capabilities, a new war in the Middle East is likely to be even more bloody and destructive than those that have already taken place.

The failure of Kissinger's mission was a substantial blow to the resurgence of Washington's influence in the

Arab capitals following the October 1973 War, and the Ford administration made no secret of its annoyance with its Israeli clients.

Even before the negotiations broke off, Ford had sent a letter to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin criticizing his "stubborn" position. On March 24 Ford ordered a review of U.S. policy in the region, including "all aspects and all countries." And in an interview made public March 27, Ford complained, "If they [the Israelis] had been a bit more flexible, you can say a greater risk, I think in the longer run it would have been the best insurance for peace."

While indicating that the amount of military aid going to Israel was to be reviewed to ensure greater responsiveness, the Ford administration made clear that the disagreement with Tel Aviv was only tactical. As Kissinger explained at a closed hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee March 25, Washington would not let Israel "go down the drain."

Kissinger said further that "talk about reducing aid to Israel was nonsense." In a news conference the following day, he said again, "The United States remains fully committed to the survival of Israel."

Indeed, in view of the economic and strategic importance of the Arab East for American imperialism, and the continuing threat of the Arab revolution, Washington is hardly inclined to reject the services of the Israeli colonial-settler state. The one constant in the region's politics is the sinister alliance between Tel Aviv and Washington, since the continued existence of the Zionist state hinges on the fragmentation and weakness of the Arab world.

Washington's need for a stable counterrevolutionary base in the Arab East was highlighted by the assassination of King Faisal in Saudi Arabia, and the accompanying period of uncertainty. Although little change is likely to occur in the policies of that monarchy, the new king will not be able to play the same role internationally that Faisal did on behalf of Washington.

Search for a 'Miracle'

Nevertheless, as much as Washington needs Israel as a praetorian guard for its interests in the Arab East, the presence of the Zionist state in the region also generates new instability and is a factor in preventing the long-term stabilization that Washington would like to see.

As *Business Week* noted April 7, a new Middle East war over the territories seized by Israel would probably result in a new oil embargo, and "a new oil embargo would no doubt trigger demands in the U.S. for military action against the oil producers. Some Washington officials hint that



Israeli tank in the Sinai. Israel's determination to hold onto occupied Arab territory is hastening onset of new Mideast war.

the Administration would equate an embargo with the 'strangulation' that Kissinger said, in an interview with *Business Week* last January, would be grounds for U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf. Such intervention, in turn, would inflame the entire Arab world. . . .

Kissinger explained his approach to these problems as he was beginning his ill-fated attempt to negotiate a new Israeli-Egyptian agreement: "The basic mood is hoping for a miracle—that we'll come up with something undefinable that will solve all the problems."

By wheedling Sadat in the so-called step-by-step negotiations, Kissinger hoped to at least set up a situation in which Israel could fight Syria without Egyptian intervention, and perhaps, without any oil embargo.

Thus, the fact that a new war is expected to follow the breakdown in negotiations does not mean that Kissinger's trip would have secured peace had it been successful. It would have resulted merely in a different type of war threat.

What is most significant about the course of the Israeli-Egyptian talks is the renewed confirmation they gave of the impossibility of any compromise between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Sadat was clearly willing to make a separate peace with Israel so long as a face-saving formula was provided. His servility was limited only by his fear of his own people's reaction.

New York Times columnist James Reston reported March 26 that in Kissinger's view, "he had persuaded President Sadat of Egypt to agree (1) that the problems of the Middle East could be settled only by negotiations; (2) that there would be no recourse to force to settle the political differences; (3) that para-military operations by Arab guerrillas against Israel would not be defended by Egypt; and (4) that a compromise agreement between Israel and Egypt on these terms could not be replaced unless Israel agreed. In other words, that Israel could determine the length of the agreement. . . .

"In short, Mr. Kissinger apparently believes that Mr. Sadat offered the 'functional or practical equivalent' of non-belligerency toward Israel, but that the Israeli Government rejected this semantic compromise, and on the assumption that time was on its side, decided to go to Geneva and count on the support of the United States Government."

Israeli Strategy

Since any Arab government that publicly agreed to a state of "nonbelligerency" with Israel while Israel continued to occupy its land—even leaving aside the question of the Palestinians—would suffer an im-

mense loss of prestige, it is clear that no agreement was possible on Israeli terms.

Whether the Israeli regime decides to go to Geneva and play a game of stalling remains to be seen. A section of the Israeli leadership holds the view, as described by Harvard professor Stanley Hoffmann in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs*, that "Israel would benefit from dragging out matters until the time when Kissinger's common front of the consumer countries, set up to deal both with the problem of energy independence and with the problem of recycling the petrodollars, had restored the broken world balance."

However, others in Israel are pushing openly for a surprise attack against the Arab states like that of the June 1967 War, in hope of "teaching the Arabs a lesson" and restoring Israel's formerly unchallenged military supremacy.

Washington, having failed in its search for a miracle, apparently will now go to Geneva counting on a helping hand from Moscow. Kissinger had sought to keep the Soviet government out of the picture, calculating that the more Washington could achieve on its own, the stronger would be its position in later negotiations with Moscow.

Readings on the Mideast

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism by Gus Horowitz, an EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS publication, 8x11 format, \$1.00

MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. CAPITALISM by Dick Roberts, \$.35

ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST War Anthology, taken from the pages of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 8x11 format, \$.75

SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE MIDEAST: A Debate from the pages of THE MILITANT and DAILY WORLD, Dave Frankel versus Tom Foley, \$.60

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: The Socialist View by Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas, \$.60

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014



KISSINGER & SADAT: Neither one is so happy anymore

Police charge 'terror plot'

Cops arrest union militants in Argentina

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

Argentine Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora announced March 20 the discovery of a "terrorist plot of vast proportions" to sabotage heavy industry in the industrial belt north of Buenos Aires. The "plot" was the pretext for raids by 4,000 federal and provincial police.

The cops cordoned off the Acindar and Metcon steel plants, closed the headquarters of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union), searched homes and factories, and arrested about 200 trade unionists. Among those arrested was Alberto Piccinini, the general secretary of the Villa Constitución section of the UOM.

Metalworkers at Acindar and Metcon responded immediately. Five thousand workers downed tools to protest the arrests. Within hours they were joined by railroad workers, textile workers at the Silsa plant, and workers in the grain-processing industry.

On March 21 most stores in Villa Constitución were closed and all urban transport was stopped in further acts of solidarity.

The March 23 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* listed new metal, textile, and tire plants that had joined the strike, bringing the total number of workers involved to 20,000.

The Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) dissociated itself totally from the work stoppages. The Labor Ministry declared the occupations illegal and threatened to apply the harsh terms of the National Security Law if the strikers did not resume work.

The UOM in Villa Constitución is headed by a class-struggle leadership known as Lista Marrón, the name taken from the slate elected by a large margin in last November's union elections. Lista Marrón was voted into office after a strike led by Piccinini forced the government to end four years of direct intervention in the local union.



Workers rally last year in Villa Constitución. Last month four thousand police swept through factories and homes in the area, which has been center of trade-union militancy.

In a background article the March 22 *La Opinión* said:

"As a result of these elections held last November, the control of the local UOM passed into the hands of a group of radicalized trade-union forces, including the class-struggle tendency, the Communists, the Juventud Trabajadora Peronista [Peronist Worker Youth], and others. Newspaper reports yesterday that credited the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] with a major role in the zone were termed exaggerated by union circles, although the group is also part of the trade-union scene in Villa Constitución."

The PST has actively supported the struggle in Villa Constitución. Moreover, during a subscription drive to *Avanzada Socialista* last fall, the

party sold more than seventy subscriptions in the Acindar plant alone.

Last fall the government cracked down on the class-struggle tendencies in the auto workers and light and power unions in Córdoba, and the militant Buenos Aires printers union was placed under direct government control. Warrants are out for the arrest of leaders of the Córdoba unions, and Raimundo Ongaro of the Buenos Aires printers union is already behind bars.

That left the UOM in Villa Constitución, the sugar workers union at Ledesma (the plant with the largest number of workers in the country) in northwestern Argentina, and the teachers union as the main strongholds of opposition to the Peronist regime's efforts to hold the line on wages.

The sugar workers union at Ledesma has also been taken over by the

government. The March 23 *La Opinión* reported that four persons were shot when federal intervenor Oscar Guarduoli attempted to take over the union's Jujuy headquarters. Labeling the incident "subversive," local police issued a warrant for the arrest of union head Melitón Vázquez on the pretext that he had violated the National Security Law.

These latest moves are part of an almost year-long campaign to intimidate worker militants and others who criticize the Peronist regime. In addition to attacks on the unions' right to function independently, the campaign has been marked by assassinations of trade-union militants and leftists by the parapolice AAA (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticomunist Alliance). The AAA killed twenty-four persons in Argentina between March 20 and March 22 alone.

The immediate motive behind the Peronist regime's moves against the class-struggle leaderships in Villa Constitución and Ledesma is suggested in part by a headline in *La Opinión* March 23: "After Confirming the Arrest of UOM Leaders, the Demand for a Wage Increase of 100,000 Pesos [US\$67.50] Was Made Public."

This wage demand came on the heels of an offer by the Gran Paritaria (Great Parity Commission, a body of top representatives of big business, the regime, and the CGT) of an emergency wage increase of 40,000 pesos. The offer is totally inadequate in the face of an inflation rate that has hit 50 percent in the last twelve months and has been met by a wave of strikes across the country.

In an editorial in the March 12 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST commented:

"In general, these struggles are the response to the bosses' and government's plans for exploitation. They testify to the rejection of the 40,000-peso joke, which would fix wages at 200,000 pesos when a worker's family needs almost three times that amount to live."

Warm response in Crystal City

Coral tour stirs interest among Chicanos

By Manuel Fuentes

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—As terror continued to mount against leftists and trade unionists in Argentina, the U.S. speaking tour by Argentine socialist Juan Carlos Coral proceeded with successful meetings in the San Francisco Bay Area and in Texas.

Coral's tour is being sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) in an effort to inform the American people about and mobilize public opinion against the escalation of rightist terror and government repression in Argentina.

Coral, a leader of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) of Argentina, has himself been marked for death by the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA), the ultraright gang that has taken credit for most of the assassinations that have taken place.

During a week-long tour of the San Francisco Bay Area, Coral spoke to 300 in Berkeley, as well as to smaller audiences at California State University at San Francisco, San Jose State College, Laney College, and Stanford University.

A March 20 meeting at St. Peter's Church in San Francisco's Latino



Juan Carlos Coral

Militant/Howard Petrick

community drew 250 persons, most of them Latinos. This meeting reflected not only the great interest in what Coral has to say, but also the success of the unified efforts to defend his meetings.

A speech by Coral at the University of Chicago March 9 had been disrupted by a gang of fifty counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, who injured several defense monitors.

USLA has taken special steps since then to insure that the tour will go on without disruption. Among the organizations that provided monitors for the defense effort at St. Peter's Church were Teamsters Local 888, the Central American Civic Committee, and the Chile Solidarity Committee.

The executive committee of Local 34 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union cosponsored the meeting, and a representative of the Olga Talamante Defense Committee brought greetings. Talamante is a Chicana from the Bay Area who has been imprisoned in Argentina under the state of siege.

Coral was also interviewed on several radio stations. KRON, Channel 4, filmed a half-hour interview to be aired April 13 on the program "Alma de Bronce," and KPIX, Channel 5, inter-

viewed the Argentine socialist for a Latino program.

After leaving California, Coral came to Texas. One of the high points of his tour here was an assembly at Crystal City High School in South Texas. More than 500 students and teachers heard Coral speak and gave him an enthusiastic reception. Shortly afterwards, he was interviewed on the local educational TV station, which is run by the high school students.

The city and county government as well as the school board in that 90 percent Chicano town are run by the Raza Unida party. As a result, the students are more politicized and interested in Latin America than is typical of U.S. high schools as a whole. Several teachers and students expressed an interest in forming a chapter of USLA in Crystal City.

Chicanos also formed a significant part of the audiences at a meeting of 80 at San Antonio College and one of 135 at the University of Houston, as well as a meeting in Dallas cosponsored by Amnesty International and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

In San Antonio, Coral spoke to a meeting of seventy-five Chicanos and Mexicanos organized by TU CASA, an antideportation organization.

The Cointelpro Papers (Part 3)

Sabotage of socialist election campaigns

By Nelson Blackstock

In late 1971 Donald Segretti was discharged from the army, where he had served as an attorney. He had a friend in the White House and he quickly landed a new job.

In the next few months strange things began to happen to some of the candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination. During the New Hampshire primary the state's major newspaper printed a letter accusing Edmund Muskie of making derogatory statements about French-Americans. Sometime later it would be discovered that the letter was a phony, but two weeks before election day it sparked quite a stir.

Later, there were fake press releases issued on the stationery of Muskie and Hubert Humphrey.

Then, on June 17, 1972, five men were discovered breaking into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. The story that eventually unraveled—including spying and political sabotage—had an unprecedented impact on American political life. It eventually forced the resignation of the president of the United States.

The Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") papers are secret FBI files turned over to the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance by the FBI under federal court order. What these documents reveal is that none of the Watergate crimes were original. The FBI has for years been doing the same thing—and worse—to the Socialist Workers party. Every one of the plumbers' "dirty tricks" had been used for years by the FBI against the SWP, civil rights leaders, and others on the government's "enemies list."

Cointelpro begins

J. Edgar Hoover first officially initiated the Cointelpro conspiracy against the SWP in 1961. His main motivation for the program, as outlined in the memo announcing its beginning, was that the SWP "has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South."

This memo and later documents illustrating how the plan was used to sabotage socialist campaigns are printed on the following pages.

The Cointelpro plot to disrupt socialist election campaigns was concocted not because of any illegal activities by the SWP, but because socialist candidates were getting on the ballot and "openly" talking to people about their ideas.

As this country's political police, the FBI has been assigned the role of determining what ideas are fit for the American people to hear and what ideas are not. Socialism, in their opinion, is not fit.

The ruling class, which runs the government, is convinced that it would be better for them if socialism is considered illegitimate or "subversive." The idea that the working people

of this country should take over its wealth and resources and use them for their own welfare is a subversive idea—if you are a capitalist.

Beginnings of radicalization

In the early 1960s the witch-hunt that had dominated American politics during the 1950s was giving way to a greater openness to radical ideas. When the FBI began to see socialists winning a place on the ballot—and more and more being treated as legitimate candidates with a particular point of view—they decided that they had a problem. Cointelpro was their solution.

The documents reproduced on the following pages are by no means the whole record of FBI sabotage against socialist candidates. Previously the *Militant* printed documents showing how the FBI attempted to wreck the 1961 campaign of a Black socialist for Manhattan borough president. We described the sustained campaign of harassment against Clifton DeBerry, the SWP's presidential candidate in 1964. We have also printed files on the FBI's attempt to have socialists excluded from supporting an independent Black candidate in San Francisco in 1963.

In a future issue we will reproduce Cointelpro files documenting an attack against Fred Halstead when he was the presidential candidate of the SWP in 1968.

Furthermore, there are operations against election campaigns that remain hidden in the many files the FBI is refusing to disclose.

On the next page is printed Hoover's 1961 memo that started Cointelpro and some suggestions from the Detroit FBI office on how to disrupt socialist election campaigns and other political activities.

The second set of documents concerns the 1966 campaign of Judy White for governor of New York. This was

during the period when the antiwar movement was beginning to have a major impact on the thinking of the American people. White was a leader of the antiwar movement.

A broad layer of opponents of the war—including many radicals who were not particularly close to the SWP—had endorsed White as the only antiwar candidate in the race.

Campaign supporters worked hard to get the signatures necessary to obtain ballot status, which brought a significant amount of attention from the media.

The FBI looked for a way to sabotage this campaign. They noticed that according to New York law White was not formally old enough to hold the office of governor. The FBI tried to get this fact reported in the media in an attempt to discredit the campaign.

According to the documents, the FBI decided to rely on the *Daily News* to do the job for them, but the New York City CBS television affiliate did it instead. A copy of the transcript of the editorial broadcast by the station immediately following the election is reproduced in the files.

'Anti-Judy White law'

White recently read the Cointelpro papers relating to her campaign. "It was the CBS editorial that started the whole controversy that led to the passage of what was called the 'anti-Judy White law,'" she recalled.

As the following documents show, the state legislature soon passed a law altering the election code to require that a candidate be old enough to assume an office in order to run for it.

"Even before the election, CBS was making effective use of the charge that I wasn't 'old enough.' I'm sure the FBI must have planted this idea," White said.

"We were getting many hours of broadcast time, which was uncommon then. But a few days before the elections it abruptly stopped," she remembered.

"I was scheduled to go on CBS with the other candidates for governor on a special one-hour program. Suddenly, CBS informed us that my appearance was canceled. They said I was not a legally qualified candidate because of my age."

Of course, White was legally qualified to run for office; that was why the law was changed. Today people under thirty are legally ineligible to run for governor of New York.

These documents indicate that the FBI may have been responsible for getting this legislation on the books.

The next set of documents concerns an FBI undercover plot implemented the previous year. The city was Denver, where the Socialist Workers party

was fielding candidates in the elections for school board.

"In an effort to prevent these people from being elected," the Denver office proposed to FBI headquarters that a letter be sent to the president of the Denver school board to "alert" him to the fact that socialists were running for positions on the board.

The Denver FBI included in its proposal to Washington an article about the SWP that had appeared in the *Denver Post* the previous year. That article branded the SWP "as both subversive and on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations." The FBI likes the media to refer to the SWP in this fashion, and there is every reason to believe that the FBI was involved in writing that story.



'You don't make ME feel secure'

(The attorney general's list, a McCarthy-era compilation of "subversive" organizations, was officially abolished by Nixon during his last days in office. However, the government still maintains a secret list of "subversive organizations" for use by government agencies.)

The FBI seemed to be irritated because the Denver press had failed to label the SWP as subversive when the party announced its school board candidates.

Washington gave the go-ahead for a letter from "a concerned mother."

Boutelle campaign

The last group of documents exposes another FBI operation aimed at a Black socialist. The FBI tried to ruin Paul Boutelle's campaign for mayor of New York in 1969 and to drive him and other Blacks out of the SWP.

The FBI discovered through its surveillance of the SWP that Boutelle had been arrested in New Jersey and falsely charged with possession of stolen property while he was helping a friend to move. The FBI sought to exploit this by circulating information on the arrest to the press.

While no New York newspaper ever printed the story, the FBI indicates in a document printed here that the information might have been passed on to supporters of Mayor John Lindsay, who was running for reelection, thus encouraging them to challenge the petitions the SWP had submitted in order to obtain ballot status.

This challenge resulted in the board of elections ruling the SWP off the ballot, and the party was forced to run a write-in campaign. If this was caused by the FBI, as they suggest, that makes this part of the 1969 plot one of the more successful Cointelpro operations.

The second part of the plot was less successful. The FBI followed up by mailing Boutelle a racist letter, purportedly from a white member of the SWP, attacking him for both the arrest and remarks Boutelle had made at an earlier SWP convention.

The effect of this letter, as recorded

Continued on page 26



Paul Boutelle's campaign for mayor of New York was target of FBI plot. Black socialists and civil rights leaders have been most frequent victims of FBI disruption program.

The Cointelpro Papers

Documents 1-3: First document is initial Hoover memo launching program against SWP. Main motivation was that SWP was "running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South." Next two pages are initial suggestions for disruption submitted by Detroit FBI.

SAC, New York October 12, 1961

Director, FBI

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. The SWP has also been in frequent contact with international Trotskyite groups stopping short of open and direct contact with these groups. The youth group of the SWP has also been operating on this basis in connection with SWP policies.

Offices receiving copies of this letter are participating in the Bureau's Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program. It is felt that a disruption program along similar lines could be initiated against the SWP on a very selective basis. One of the purposes of this program would be to alert the public to the fact that the SWP is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky.

It is pointed out, however, that this program is not intended to be a "crash" program. Only carefully thought-out operations with the widest possible effect and benefit to the nation should be submitted. It may be desirable to expand the program after the effects have been evaluated.

Each office is, therefore, requested to carefully evaluate such a program and submit their views to the Bureau regarding initiating a SWP disruption program on a limited basis.

1

Documents 4-7: FBI attempted to disrupt 1966 Judy White campaign by getting press to publicize fact that candidate's age did not meet requirements for holding office of governor of New York. John Clarence Franklin was Black socialist candidate who was victim of earlier FBI attack. Documents indicate that FBI disruption attempt against White campaign might have been key factor leading to passage of "anti-Judy White law."

left at polling places. The information could be forwarded to newspaper reporters, radio and television stations, always taking necessary precautions so that the identity of the FBI as the source would not be disclosed.

2. With regard to the SWP supporting causes such as CASTRO'S Cuba and groups concerned with integration problems in the south, it is known that the SWP to a certain extent dominates the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, is attempting to dominate and control the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants and is seeking sponsors for this latter organization. The following ideas ~~could be utilized~~:

a. Letters could be mailed to the sponsors of such organizations outlining the subversive connections of the officers of the organizations and advising them as to the nature of the organization that they are sponsoring. This might cause sponsors to publicly withdraw their support.

b. When organizations such as above rent halls for meetings and so forth, information regarding the real nature of the organization and the subversive connections of its leaders could by various means be channeled to the management of the halls so that they will refuse to rent the hall to the organization. This could be repeated causing the disruption of proposed meetings.

c. Reporters, newspapers and other media could be informed regarding the subversive affiliations of the leaders of these organizations with the hope that they will publicize this information (for example ED SHAW, Midwest Regional Director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is a SWP member).

Locally the Detroit Office will use the ideas and methods ~~outlined above~~ fitted to and implemented by ideas and methods appropriate for the limited SWP membership. However, prior Bureau approval will be obtained by any new counter-intelligence operations.

- 2 -

3



FBI disrupted Judy White's campaign for governor of New York.

The following example is submitted for the Bureau's consideration in furnishing this information to the friendly writer of the NYC newspaper which previously published the attached article:

"HER SLIP IS SHOWING..."

Proud of my reputation as an independent thinker, I may once again hop, skip and jump over the voting machine. My choice for Governor, as leader of the ticket, should reflect the utmost consideration as to which candidate will do the best job. The choice, however, is made a little easier by the presence on the ballot of JUDY WHITE, candidate for Governor on the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party.

JUDY's platform indicates that, if elected, she will crusade for a voting age of 18; however, her own age of 28 would preclude her serving, even if elected. Seems there are only three requirements for this job in the State Constitution; to wit: a U.S. citizen, attainment of 30 years of age, residency in New York for five years immediately preceding election. Her residency in New York for less than six months also appears to leave something to be desired. The Socialist Workers Party seems to have a flair for running curious candidates as evidenced by JOHN CLARENCE FRANKLIN, its 1961 candidate for president of the borough of Manhattan. JOHN's arrest record ran from petty larceny to first degree murder and later received free room and board in Clinton Prison. How such candidates manage a spot on the ballot is interesting speculation. Do you get the impression its leg-pulling time?"

The NYO feels that publication of the above information, in the manner recommended, would seriously and effectively embarrass the SWP. It would, furthermore, spotlight another example of the Party's ineptness and lack of serious-mindedness in its efforts to influence others. It is, therefore, felt that this latest exposure could result in another "nail in the coffin" of the Party in the eyes of other radical groups, together with unaffiliated individuals who might be swayed by the Party line.

-2-

5

Re Bureau letter to New York, October 12, 1961, captioned as above.

The following are suggestions regarding initiating a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Disruption Program on a limited basis:

1. Referenced Bureau letter states the SWP has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office. Letters to newspaper editors and other various columns in newspapers publishing letters from subscribers could be mailed to newspapers, signed by fictitious names, and pointing out that at the same time these individuals are candidates for political office in the United States they are members of the SWP, an organization dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of the United States Government. The fact that they are SWP candidates indicates that they are SWP members. Information from public sources could be pooled from all offices indicating the anarchist and revolutionary basis of the SWP. The fact that the SWP has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization could be fully outlined. This fact is probably not as generally known as it should be. This procedure would alert the public to the fact that in voting for a SWP candidate they are not voting for an innocuous "Socialist" candidate or a "labor" candidate but for a candidate dedicated to the overthrow of the United States Government.

The above idea of labeling the SWP as a subversive organization, which it is, could be expanded upon and other means of adequately publishing this fact utilized. Leaflets outlining the above could be mimeographed and surreptitiously

2

DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: 10/24/66

SAC, NEW YORK

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

As the Bureau is aware, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is currently running candidates in the forthcoming election in the State of New York. JUDY WHITE heads the SWP ticket as candidate for Governor.

It is known that WHITE was chosen for this role since the Party desired a youthful candidate who had participated in the anti-war movement, and who would campaign on this issue and appeal to individuals of this ilk.

It is further known that the Party, in choosing WHITE, was aware that she did not meet the residency requirement for holding such office, however, felt that if this was challenged the Party would compare WHITE's New York residency status with that of ROBERT KENNEDY, and the resultant publicity would outweigh any turn of events including WHITE's removal from the ballot. The Party had an old time member standing in the wings to replace WHITE if such occurred.

Therefore, to date, utilization of this information has not been recommended under this program.

It appears at this time, however, that a good possibility for disruption exists if this information was publicly released at election time making a comparison with JOHN CLARENCE FRANKLIN, a previous Party candidate. It is believed this could be accomplished in a humorous vein and released at the time of election when Party rebuttal would be useless.

A Xerox copy of a public release concerning FRANKLIN, effected under this program, is attached.

4

Editorial 02

WCPS-TV Editorial expresses the views of the station's management. Important community issues. Enclosed opinions on these issues are offered. WCPS-TV will make every effort to present a fair and balanced representation of differing views. CHUCK B. ECKHART, Vice President, CBS Television Stations Division and Editorial Manager, WCPS-TV.

SUBJECT: ELECTION LAW REFORM

SPOKESMAN: Michael P. Keating

BROADCAST: November 18, 1966
6 PM Evening Report
November 21, 1966
7 AM Morning Report

In covering the recent elections in New York, we discovered what we consider to be a serious flaw in our election law, a flaw that should be corrected immediately. And the flaw is that, under the present system, a person can run for governor or other state offices even though that person may not be eligible to serve if elected, according to the provisions of our state Constitution.

For example, the state Constitution says that in order to serve as governor, a person must be 30 years old, a resident of the state for the five years preceding the election, and a United States citizen. But, the Secretary of State tells us, there is no procedure that calls for an automatic check to determine that a candidate nominated for governor meets those qualifications.

Now, in the past election, the Socialist Worker Party candidate for governor was a woman named Judith White. But if she had been elected, according to the Constitution she could not have served, because she is 28 years old. And, as I mentioned, the state Constitution says that the governor must be at least 30.

Since the Constitution does contain certain qualifications for the office of governor, then the same qualifications should apply to the people who run for that office. It doesn't make sense to have a candidate running for an office that the Constitution says he is not eligible to fill. Everyone who votes for that candidate throws his vote away, and, in a tight race, those votes could be crucial. If that candidate should happen to win election, it could result in a breakdown of our government.

In our opinion, the law should ensure that candidates on the ballot are eligible to serve in the office for which they are running.

We would like to remind our viewers that WCPS-TV will consider requests for time for the presentation of views differing from those expressed in our editorials.

6

The Cointelpro Papers

Documents 8-9: In 1965, Denver FBI proposed to FBI director that fake letter from "a concerned mother" be sent to president of the Denver school board "to prevent these people from being elected." Plan to wreck socialist campaign was approved.

Memorandum

DATE: 5/5/67

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlets to Director, 10/24/66 and 1/20/67.

Relets concerned the suggested disruptive tactic of publicizing the ineligibility of the SWP's candidate for Governor of New York State during 1966, which suggestion was accepted by the Bureau and furnished to the "New York Daily News" by Crime Record Division. No subsequent publication of this information was noted in this New York City newspaper, however, a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) editorial subsequently appeared on television on 11/18/66, which contained allegations similar to those furnished New York City newspapers. Although it has not been definitely established it is suspected by the New York Office CBS may have received this information from the "New York Daily News." For the information of the Bureau the State of New York recently passed a law which would nullify any future instance of ineligible candidates running for public office.

It is noted that "New York Times," 4/23/67, contained an article on page 75, which stated that the "anti-Judy White bill" which barred an ineligible person from being nominated for public office has been signed by New York State Governor NELSON ROCKWELLER. It was disclosed that New York State Attorney General LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ drafted this bill which was sponsored by New York State Senator EDWARD J. SPENO, Nassau County Republican chairman. The article noted that WHITE running as gubernatorial candidate for the SWP received 12,506 votes out of 6.1 million cast.

FBI

Date: 5/4/65

Transmit the following:

Via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, DENVER

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)

Re Denver letter 4/20/65 and Bureau letter 4/28/65 captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy each of articles appearing in the 4/25/65 issue of the "Denver Post" and 5/4/65 issue of the "Rocky Mountain News" concerning upcoming Denver school board election.

Referenced Denver letter contained information that ALLEN TAPLIN, Branch Organizer of the Denver Branch, SWP, was running for the Denver School Board, which election is being held 5/18/65. However, BARBARA TAPLIN and HOWARD WALLACE, both members of the Denver Branch, SWP, have filed their candidacy for election to the school board instead of ALLEN TAPLIN as previously reported.

Bureau authority is requested prior to 5/11/65 for Denver to send the revised suggested letter and enclosed newspaper clippings to the President of the Denver School Board in an effort to prevent these people from being elected.

The suggested letter is as follows:

Documents 10-12: FBI discovered that Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for New York mayor in 1969, had been arrested. Their efforts to get this publicized in press were not successful, but document 10 (first pages of this memo are omitted) indicates FBI's actions may have led to party being thrown off ballot. FBI then proposed mailing anonymous racist letter, purportedly from an SWP member, to Boutelle. Document 12 is memo from Washington granting approval for racist letter. Note that letter characterizes the SWP as "growing rapidly." FBI says in document 5 that purpose of 1966 disruption was to drive "another nail in the coffin" of the Party in the eyes of other radical groups."

"Dear Sir:

"Recently while discussing with a friend the various candidates for the upcoming Denver School Board Election, I observed the names of Mrs. Barbara Taplin, 1631 Pearl Street, and Howard Wallace, 1860 Race Street, Denver, Colorado as candidates for the Denver School Board with their political parties listed as SWP.

"I vividly recall that Mr. Allen Taplin who is listed in the 'Post' article dated 4/25/65 as the husband of Mrs. Barbara Taplin, as the unsuccessful Socialist Workers Party candidate for the United States House of Representatives in 1964. In an article of the 'Denver Post' which I am enclosing for your information, this organization is listed as both subversive and on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. The article also hints that Mr. Taplin is a communist.

"Being a conscientious voter and mother of school age children, I feel that someone should do something to prevent persons of this sort from being elected to the school board.

"Although I am much in favor of publicly opposing these people, I feel it best for my family's sake that I withhold my name and leave this situation in your capable hands.

"A Concerned Mother"

If authority is granted to mail this letter, Bureau instructions concerning previous approved letter will be followed.

of the SWP signatures were invalid. According to the "Daily News", because the SWP had filed before LINDSAY's Independent Party, it won a top-line position on the ballot. Thus LINDSAY, the Liberal Party nominee, by challenging the SWP petition was making "a bid to win a second top line on the Nov. 4 ballot".

On 9/19/69, "The New York Times" reported that, "The Socialist Workers Party was removed yesterday from the ballot in the city-wide November elections when the Board of Elections ruled that most of the signatures on its petition were invalid" and this action "virtually assured Mayor LINDSAY a second top spot on the voting machines for his Independent Party".

It is not known to what extent the information regarding BOUTELLE's arrest, if known to LINDSAY supporters, encouraged them to challenge the SWP petition. In any event, the SWP political campaign has been disrupted in New York.

In an effort to further polarize blacks and whites within the SWP, and particularly to further irritate BOUTELLE over the "racism" within the Party, Bureau authority is requested to prepare the following anonymous letter on commercial stationery for transmittal to BOUTELLE at his home address, 2159 Davidson Ave., Bronx, NY:

"Comrade Paul"

"Some of us within the Party are fed up with the subversive effect you are having on the Party, but since a few see your presence as an asset (because of your color only) not much can be said openly.

"Your racist remarks at the Convention show you to be utterly useless to the revolution to come. And then, as could have been expected, you and your friends have put the Party in a position of possibly having to defend a common thief.

"Why don't you and the rest of your fellow party monkeys hook up with the Panthers where you'd feel at home?"



Agents sent anonymous racist letters to Paul Boutelle.

"Maybe then we could get on with the job Trotsky had in mind for us.

"Your 'nasty' friends".

Since confidential sources feel that BOUTELLE is merely being "used" because of his color, and his Convention remarks indicate he might be aware of this fact, it is expected that BOUTELLE may become more outspoken regarding racism within the Party, all of which would create some diversion within its ranks, and could result in BOUTELLE's resignation and conceivably other Negroes with whom BOUTELLE is friendly.

If authority is granted to prepare and mail the above letter, all precautions will be taken to insure the mailing cannot be associated with the FBI.

SAC, New York

Director, FBI

10/8/69

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - DISRUPTION PROGRAM
IS - SWP

Rourlet 9/30/69.

Authority granted to prepare and mail anonymous letter set forth in relet.

Insure usual precaution taken in order that the letter cannot be traced back to the Bureau. Advise the Bureau of the results.

NOTE:

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is a militant communist splinter organization which is growing rapidly. Members of the SWP are running for the office of mayor in New York City and Atlanta, Georgia. Candidate for mayor in New York City is Paul Boutelle, who is a Negro and who is a national leader of the SWP. At the SWP National Convention in August, 1969, Boutelle criticized "racism" existing in the SWP. He proposed to exploit this issue by sending an anon letter to Boutelle in the expectation that Boutelle, who is quick tempered, will become even more outspoken on this issue. This will thus create a divisive split within the SWP. Such action may well result in Boutelle's resignation from the SWP along with other members who support him, thus crippling the SWP in its march for expansion. The proposed letter starts page three of the attached incoming communication.

Socialist demands St. Louis cop spy files

By Tom Moriarty

ST. LOUIS—The police department here has recently joined the growing list of police departments in cities around the country that have been caught spying on individuals and organizations who have never committed any crime.

In an interview with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Police Chief Eugene Camp admitted that the cops maintain "confidential bulletins and known police character files on persons of interest to the department." Those of "interest to the department" include "persons noted for their appearance at demonstrations."

Barbara Bowman, Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the board of aldermen, and a group of her campaign supporters went to the police headquarters on March 27 to demand complete disclosure of the illegal files. "Time and time again," Bowman

told reporters, "I have witnessed members of the St. Louis 'red squad' in plain clothes, in unmarked cars—secretly taking down license plate numbers of cars parked outside socialist campaign events. I have seen them spy on and photograph legal, peaceful demonstrations and meetings."

"I demand to see with my own eyes the results of this illegal activity, which is being directed by the mayor and the police department of this city. I demand to see these files, which have been kept secretly on the people of St. Louis yet being paid for by their taxes!"

Refusing to hand over the files, Earl Haveland, commander of the police department's intelligence unit, told Bowman, "About you, about files, I have no comment."

When questioned by reporters, Haveland said, "The information is not for public use. It is for other members of

the Police Department on a need-to-know basis," according to the *Post-Dispatch*.

Bowman responded, "When the SWP filed suit over a year ago against spying and harassment by the federal government, their response was 'no comment.' But last week, over 3,000 pages of FBI documents were disclosed, which proved that a campaign of secret surveillance, slander, and harassment against us was in fact official government policy. We are confident that similar disclosures will result when the full story of St. Louis police political surveillance is revealed."

Bowman said that the police activity that she and her supporters had observed "coupled now with admissions that dossiers are kept on political activists, proves that the police have followed a well-planned, secret program aimed at violating the First

Amendment rights of all citizens of St. Louis."

"The Socialist Workers party will continue its efforts to force a full disclosure of all secret police files on political activists," she said. "We do this because we have nothing to hide. It is the St. Louis police who have everything to hide. I urge all St. Louisans who share my concern over these blatant attacks on our democratic rights to join us in demanding full disclosure of all St. Louis police files."

The candidate said she intends to "subpoena the files and exhaust every procedure we can afford" to force their disclosure.

Smarting from the publicity, Chief Camp complained to the *Post-Dispatch*, "I don't understand the upsurge of interest. Just because there are abuses doesn't mean the whole system is bad."

Court condemns firing of socialist professor

By Phil Lehrer

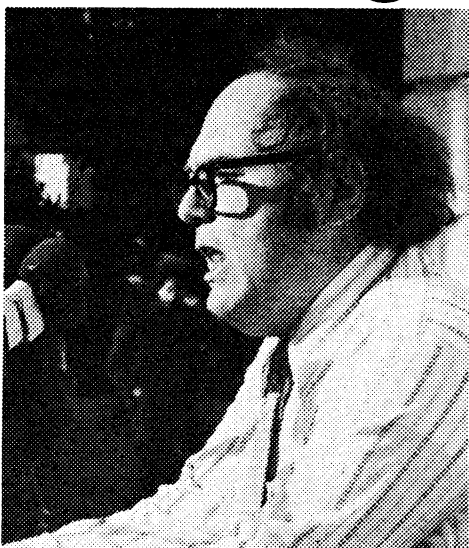
LOS ANGELES—Morris Starsky's five-year academic-freedom fight may now be nearing a final victory. On February 26 the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a 1972 district court ruling that Starsky's dismissal from Arizona State University (ASU) by the board of regents was constitutionally invalid.

In his 1972 ruling Judge Carl Muecke rejected the contention of the regents that Starsky had been terminated for unprofessional conduct and violations of discipline. Muecke declared that the evidence made it clear Starsky had been ousted for his beliefs and activities—a violation of his constitutional rights.

The appeals court declared:

"Faced with a mélange of reasons for the discharge . . . the judge concluded that Starsky's termination was predicated primarily or substantially on [constitutionally] protected activity . . . We affirm Judge Muecke's decision on this issue for the reasons stated in his careful opinion."

"Judge Muecke examined in detail the evidence submitted to the court," the Ninth Circuit Court decision continued. "He found that the record showed Starsky to be an excellent teacher with unusually good rapport with students. The judge also found that while Starsky vigorously expounded his views on political issues, including his belief in the need for



Militant/Walter Lippmann
Morris Starsky is spreading word of his free-speech fight in PRDF-sponsored tour.

revolutionary change, he had not reduced his opposition to the social system to mindless defiance of university rules."

Charges of unprofessional conduct, including "disrespect for the regents" and "disloyalty to the administration," were brought against Starsky in the wake of an incident in which he canceled a class in order to accept an invitation to address a rally at the nearby University of Arizona in Tucson.

More than a hundred hours of public hearings were held by the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, during which time Starsky had the opportunity to spell out his political views, including his views on what a university should be and how it should be run. Based on the transcripts of these hearings, Muecke decided that the "core of the charges" against Starsky was based on the professor's political ideas.

Starsky had been in the center of political activity at ASU since 1965, when he helped initiate the antiwar movement on campus by organizing a teach-in. Over the years he helped lead a free-speech fight, organized campus support for striking city sanitation workers, backed struggles by Chicanos, spearheaded the formation of an American Federation of Teachers local, and encouraged the organization of a Young Socialist Alliance chapter on campus.

Starsky's activity did not go unnoticed. The news media made Starsky a well-known figure throughout the state. Phoenix FBI agents began to pay close attention to the professor and decided to make him a target of their illegal Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence program").

Secret FBI files released to Starsky under the Freedom of Information Act contain a copy of an anonymous letter sent in 1970 by the Phoenix FBI to members of the committee then con-

ducting hearings on the charges against Starsky.

Whether FBI involvement in the Starsky case was a key factor in his dismissal by the regents has not been proven. However, in his 1972 opinion Muecke said that a review of the entire record and evidence could "find no credible basis for the board's rejection

The Political Rights Defense Fund is currently organizing a tour for Morris Starsky, who is speaking about his battle for academic freedom and against FBI harassment.

The first stop is Chicago, followed by Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, and Minneapolis in the month of April. The tour will wind up in New York and Atlanta in early May.

To find out more about the tour write: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

of the committee's findings."

While the appeals court agreed that Starsky should be reinstated and a trial for damages held, it returned the case to the district court for a ruling on a technical matter. The regents are now arguing that by accepting a paid sabbatical leave owed to him at the time of his dismissal, Starsky forfeited any claim for damages. Starsky's attorney is confident of a decision favorable to his client.

PRDF offers Levine drawings in fund appeal



David Levine, the well-known artist, has made available to the Political Rights Defense Fund a selection of three of his famous drawings. The

PRDF is offering a choice of one of the drawings shown here to each contributor of twenty-five dollars or more.

The PRDF is playing an indispensable role in the struggle to put a stop to illegal police spying and harassment. The fund is organizing support for the suit filed by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In a major victory for this suit, which is expected to come to trial next year, the government was forced to turn over some of the secret Cointelpro documents.

Help the PRDF and receive one of these fine drawings (ten-by-twelve inches, suitable for framing). Send your contributions to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

World Outlook

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

APRIL 11, 1975

After March 11--new stage in mobilization of Portuguese workers



[The following article, signed by D.B., appeared in the March 21 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. *Rouge* indicated that the article was written following a visit to Portugal by the author. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The response to the abortive coup of March 11 has produced a new leap forward in the consciousness and organization of the working class. Something irreversible has occurred, which the bourgeois journalists, attracted by the personal aspect of political intrigues, seem not to have grasped. This awakening, this rapid progress of the Portuguese workers toward independent organization, self-defense, and workers control, is especially impressive in view of the fact that it comes after forty years of obscurantism, silence, and dictatorship.

In the wake of the attempted coup, the workers and office employees in the banks and insurance companies formed picket lines, demanded immediate nationalization of these establishments, and hung hastily made banners reading "People's Bank" and "The Bank Belongs to the People" across the fronts of the buildings.

The nationalization of the banks and insurance companies decreed by the High Council of the Revolution constitutes a victory for the workers' mobilization. While it had in fact been demanded by the Communist party, the nationalization was not part of the

emergency economic plan recently drawn up by the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement].

Of course, this measure is not in itself a revolutionary one. For the Communist party, the objective is above all to centralize credit and slow down speculation in order to neutralize the power of the big monopolies and provide effective aid to small and medium-sized companies, which are regarded as favored allies within the framework of national reconstruction. But these nationalizations occur in the context of an extraordinary mass mobilization, which gives them quite another dynamic and puts them in a completely different light.

Call for Nationalizations

In many companies workers commissions or trade unions are already calling for new nationalizations. Even before March 11, the general assembly of the workers at CUF [Companhia União Fabril], the chemical trust, were demanding that their company be nationalized immediately. Following their example, the employees of Eurofil, an advertising agency, raised the same demand.

After March 11, the movement increased in pace. The workers of the merged gas and electricity companies, the CRGE, decided on March 17 to organize pickets to keep check. They had noticed that an abnormal amount of filed material was being destroyed in the administrative offices and concluded that the employers, threat-

ened with nationalization, were in a hurry to get rid of certain documents. "In view of this situation, we have decided to set up pickets to keep check and prevent the removal and destruction of documents," a union delegate explained.

But in this company the union delegates are still moderate; while they think nationalization is desirable, they do not think it is possible in the immediate future, because foreign capital, in this case Belgian, owns 20 percent of the company's shares.

On the other hand, the unions of the CTT [Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones—Mail, Telegraph, and Telephone, the state postal system] are demanding nationalization, as are those in the transport industry. And they have gone further.

Workers Control

The transportation industry is the linchpin of the national economy, they explain. Since September 28* the truck owners association has been sabotaging the industry, as their counterparts did in Chile, and has refused to meet the demands of the workers. So the unions have issued an ultimatum and have asked transport workers whose demands are not met within one month to take their vehicles to the union headquarters, which will then operate them itself.

* The date of Spínola's first attempt to carry out a right-wing mobilization.—IP

There are also many examples of factory occupations and experiments in workers control. The workers commission in the Ormis packaging plant, concluding "that successive administrators have committed serious errors in management," decided to carry out a "productive occupation" of the factory.

The paper workers union in the Santarém district observed that the cellulose industries were no longer furnishing the necessary raw materials to the paper manufacturing industries, while at the same time they were exporting 80 percent of their production. So the union decided that the orders of Portuguese firms would be filled on a priority basis and called on the workers in the cellulose companies to organize pickets to keep a check on inventories and shipments as an act of solidarity.

In Figueira, the workers at Alufeco, a modern metal-products plant in the Setúbal district, voted unanimously in a meeting to occupy the premises and set up pickets under the control of a democratically elected workers commission. They had noticed irregularities in the company's accounting procedures designed to bring about a phony bankruptcy through fixing the books for the previous year's operations. They also found evidence of tax evasion and falsified inventories.

Another development is the creation of emergency hospitals, people's emergency dispensaries, and child-care centers, often on the initiative of far-left groups. The clinic at Santa Cruz, in Carnaxide, was nationalized on March 17 and its direction turned over to the Santa Maria hospital. That decision was the result of a three-month struggle by the workers of the clinic, who had shut it down and occupied it, later forming a joint commission with the workers at Santa Cruz in order to initiate a national health service. As part of this project, they had already drawn up a practical program to meet the needs of the population.

At Belém, the Amadeu Duarte hospital has been occupied since March 4 by cells of the Popular Socialist Front [FSP]. It has been renamed the People's Hospital. At Aveiro, the deluxe Santa Joana clinic was also occupied by the populace and transformed into a "center for rest and support of temporary and permanent invalids." The people of the neighborhood provided supplies to the workers occupying the clinic.

In the Corroios region, the Do Muxito combination motel and hotel, owned by an émigré Yugoslav capitalist and known to be a hangout of ill repute for well-heeled bourgeois elements, was occupied on March 7 by the people of the area. They decided to make it into a combined senior citizen's rest center, festival center, people's soup kitchen, and child-care center, equipped with a playing field, swimming pools, and such things.

Immediately after the occupation, 4,000 persons lined up to pay a visit.

Continued on next page

...new stage in mobilization of Portuguese workers

Continued from preceding page

The canteen, which can serve between 300 and 400 persons, is about to be opened. The head of the occupation committee comments: "In this way the working people will devote their struggles to transforming this luxurious hotel complex of the bourgeoisie into a place for the less well-off workers to enjoy themselves—into a people's canteen, a child-care center, and a center for aid to senior citizens. The working class and all working people want to show the exploiters and prove to themselves that they are capable of resolving their own problems."

Almost every day various social centers are requisitioned or created in this way. As for the clinics, the scenario is often similar. A group of militants takes over a sizable building that is unoccupied or belongs to a fascist or capitalist. It gets in touch with doctors, asking them for a list of needed supplies. It asks the workers commissions in the pharmaceutical companies for contributions. Then it conducts an occupation.

The population soon flocks to these dispensaries, where the management is in the hands of a committee, appointed by the inhabitants of the neighborhood, which takes charge of maintaining and improving the building. The doctors and hospital personnel collaborate willingly. In fact, the contributions and concern of these personnel don't stop there. When it was learned that the Portuguese government had requested health-care assistance from the United States, workers in the psychiatric field, meeting in a general assembly, sent a letter to the minister of social affairs. The letter called attention to the fact that this supposed aid, whether in health care or other fields, is carried out through the Inter-American Development Agency. It pointed out that this

organization is known to be an instrument of the CIA, which had been involved in engineering coups in Chile, Santo Domingo, Bolivia, and Guatemala.

Beyond the Factories

The workers movement to organize and take over society is not limited to the factories. It has affected to a greater or lesser extent the most diverse aspects of social activity, including housing, health, education, transportation, and prices.

For example, the workers in Vila Real de Santo António decided to organize civic-action groups to fight fascism. The groups were divided into four commissions to deal with housing, health and hygiene, checking prices, employment, and "purging."

The housing commission is supposed to control rents and see to it that speculation is stopped. It takes a census of unoccupied houses in order to turn them over to the most underprivileged layers.

The commission on health and hygiene is supposed "to put an end to bureaucracy in medical and social services," "to step up efforts to establish day nurseries, child-care centers, and kindergartens," "to inform the population about the general rules of hygiene and prevention of illness," and "to oversee hygienic and health-care assistance in the factories."

The commission to check prices is supposed "to fight the rampant speculation afflicting the people, and to help expose merchants who fail to abide by the laws," as well as "to keep watch on market prices by acquainting people with the maximum authorized prices."

The purge commission is aimed at "exposing and cleaning out all persons linked with the fascist regime," and "compiling a list of those on the local

council who were involved with the fascist regime."

Thanks to this organized vigilance, the people of Labradio in the Setúbal district, for example, noticed a lack of sugar in the supermarket for several days. They concluded that the supermarket owner was hoarding stocks in expectation of a price increase. The people went to demonstrate at the store, shouting, "We're fed up with being robbed." They forced the owner to give in.

In general there is an increase in the number of district or neighborhood mass assemblies bringing together the major workers parties, the Intersindical [the national trade-union federation], and the various democratic associations. These assemblies, which are in fact coalitions of organizations, are often bureaucratically controlled by the Communist party; the people of the neighborhood or the district can attend but they do not elect delegates.

Despite these limitations, the mass assemblies encourage the workers to discuss and debate many problems that concern them, especially housing, transportation, health, and education. With the increasing occupations of empty houses by the inhabitants of shantytowns, it is often the commissions established by these assemblies that register and authorize in their own fashion these seizures of apartments.

Control Without Collaboration

This many-sided and varied wave of mobilization of the workers and the populace still has a confused character. However, it registers a fundamental modification in the relationship of forces since March 11—a firmer desire to take control of things. Now it is a question of clearly formulating the demands of the workers, particularly regarding nationalizations.

The government has continued to be

evasive on the question of compensation for the nationalized banks and insurance companies. At the same time, it is proposing a system of comanagement involving the unions but not the workers commissions (the trade-union law rejects recognizing the representative character of the commissions). The situation at Garantia Funchalense, where a representative of the bosses participates in the appointed management commission, does not sound good.

To prevent the nationalizations from being transformed into a rationalization of the capitalist system, and to advance along the lines of workers control of production, our comrades of the LCI [Liga Comunista Internacionalista, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] are putting forward the following demands:

1. No compensation for the bosses.
2. Workers control over nationalized companies; refusal to participate in the management commissions; election of workers commissions that will carry out a thorough purge of the old management and enforce the right of the workers to remove the state-appointed administrators; reduction in the hours of work and the holding of general assemblies during working hours to discuss the situation in the company, to comb through the books and expose all maneuvers and irregularities; workers' veto over layoffs as enforced by the workers in the CAF, who have refused to participate in the management commission.
3. The right of the workers to demand immediate nationalization without compensation of their factory, as the workers at Eurofil and CUF have already done; the nationalization of all companies receiving state assistance and of all companies whose owners collaborated with the reactionary forces involved in the attempted coups of September 28 and March 11.

Rallies mark Int'l Women's Day around the world

Britain:

Four thousand persons marched through London March 8 demanding equal pay for equal work, equal education and job opportunities, free contraception and abortion on demand from the National Health Service, and twenty-four-hour child-care centers.

The actions had been preceded by a rally of more than 500 persons on February 28, called by the International Marxist Group. Women from several European countries and Chile reported on the oppression of women in their countries and stressed the need for an international struggle for women's rights.

More than 100 women at a meeting held March 3 set up the National Abortion Campaign to fight against attempts to restrict the right to abortion in Britain.

Canada:

Meeting and rallies held across Canada to celebrate International Women's Day drew hundreds of women.

In Toronto a conference initiated by the Mayor's Task Force on the Status of Women drew 650 persons to plan alternative actions to Prime Minister Trudeau's do-nothing campaign for International Women's Year. After a

full day of discussion, the conference voted to call a demonstration May 10 to advance the fight for the right to abortion, for child care, equality on the job, and more humane divorce laws.

The largest response to International Women's Day came from Québec, where activities were held throughout the province. One thousand persons attended two rallies in Montréal and called a demonstration for March 20 in response to government attempts to cut spending on the meager child-care facilities now available.

Australia:

Marches and festivals marked International Women's Day around Australia. More than 5,000 women took part in the Sydney march, which included a significant contingent of trade-union women. More than 5,000 women marched in Melbourne, and about 1,000 marched in the biggest women's liberation demonstration yet held in Adelaide. Actions were also held in Brisbane and Perth.

Japan:

Rallies involving a total of more than 10,000 women were held in Tokyo, Osaka, and other major Japanese cities March 8.

The Tokyo meeting, which drew

about 5,000 women, was sponsored by Sohyo (Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai—General Council of Japanese Trade Unions), other trade unions, and women's groups. Speakers demanded that the government overhaul traditional employment policy, which discriminates against women, and that it take steps to halt inflation.

France:

In Paris, 3,000 women chanting, "Out of the kitchens, into the streets," marched to protest unemployment and wage discrimination. The demonstration was called by a broad range of groups in the women's liberation movement.

Italy:

Demonstrations brought more than 25,000 persons into the streets of Italy March 8. The largest turnout was in Milan, where more than 10,000 persons marched. Several thousand persons demonstrated in Rome; 6,000 in Turin; 3,000 in Naples; and 2,000 in Rimini. A day-long student strike was held in Pescara.

Spain:

As part of International Women's Year, a series of teach-ins on women's oppression have been held in Valencia.

At one organized by the sociology

department at the University of Valencia, department head Amando de Miguel spoke on birth control and women's liberation, maintaining that women should have the right to decide when they want to have children.

In a presentation on the capitalist system and women's liberation, Professor Josep Vicent Marqués stated that "nothing about women's bodies shows a special aptitude for cleaning, washing, etc."

Professor Damià Mollà spoke about discrimination against women workers:

"What does the system do with female labor? It constitutes a kind of reserve army of labor, which can be manipulated at will and made use of or gotten rid of at any time."

Switzerland:

On March 8, 900 persons demonstrated in Tessin and 300 in Bern as part of a campaign protesting the Swiss government's refusal to change anti-abortion legislation.

The Tessin demonstration was called by the Mouvement de Libération de la Femme (Women's Liberation Movement) and was supported by a number of other groups, including the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League).

Shah halts aid, seals border

Iraqi regime in new offensive against Kurds

By Dave Frankel

The long drawn-out conflict between the Iraqi regime and the Kurdish rebels fighting for autonomy took a new turn March 5. An agreement signed that day in Algiers between the shah of Iran and the ruling Baathist junta in Baghdad was the signal for a new Iraqi offensive against the rebels. On March 7 six Iraqi divisions—almost the entire Baghdad army—began the attack.

Open warfare between the Baghdad regime and the Kurds resumed last spring after a four-year truce. The fighting reopened because the regime refused to implement the terms of an autonomy agreement announced in March 1970.

The Kurds—numbering between two and three million in northern Iraq and representing a quarter of the country's population—have been subjected to a campaign of systematic terror. An estimated 400,000 Kurds have been forced from their homes, mainly by the bombing of their villages by the Iraqi air force. About 130,000 have fled to refugee camps across the border in Iran.



Kurdish refugees. Some 400,000 have been forced from their homes by Iraqi bombs.

Until the signing of the March 5 agreement the Iranian regime had been giving the Kurdish fighters military supplies and, in some cases, artillery and antiaircraft support. The shah saw aid to the Kurdish rebellion as an easy way to weaken a rival power.

With the signing of the March 5 agreement, Iranian aid to the Kurds was abruptly halted and the border was sealed. The essence of the deal was that in return for a halt to Tehran's aid to the Kurds, Baghdad would agree to a settlement of a boundary dispute over the strategic Shatt al Arab waterway favorable to the shah.

The *New York Times* reported March 7 that "Iraq was also said to have agreed to suspend propaganda attacks and support for exiled opponents of the Shah, such as the Tudeh (Communist) party of Iran, now based in Baghdad."

The March 12 *Times* reported, "Iraqi Government broadcasts were said to have almost entirely eliminated hostile statements about Iran since the Algiers accord."

In addition to what the shah was promised in the Algiers agreement, other considerations no doubt played a

role in the decision to end aid to the Kurds. Escalation of border clashes between the two countries made the policy increasingly dangerous. Furthermore, there are between four and five million Kurds in Iran. Although Iraqi Kurdish leader Mustafa al-Barzani has fore sworn any claims on Iranian territory, encouragement of a Kurdish nationalist movement is clearly a two-edged sword from the shah's point of view.

A Reactionary Movement?

Supporters of the Baathist regime in Iraq have characterized the Kurdish rebellion as a reactionary, proimperialist movement. In the past they were able to point to Iranian aid for the rebels and to al-Barzani's appeals to Washington for military supplies.

This argument is refuted by the history of the Kurdish struggle. In the first place, the basis for Kurdish discontent is not imperialist agitation but the fact that they are an oppressed nationality. In addition to the Kurds in Iran and Iraq, there are more than five million in Turkey, 300,000 in Syria, and 200,000 in the Soviet Union. This oppressed population, with its own

language, customs, history, and territory, has been prevented from exercising its right to self-determination.

In Turkey, the very existence of the Kurdish nationality is denied. The Kurds are called "mountain Turks," and the use of their language is illegal. In Iran the teaching of Kurdish is also illegal, as is its use in publications. This was the case in Iraq as well until the 1970 autonomy agreement.

The Kurds have fought for their rights whenever the opportunity offered, and against whoever stood in their way at any given time. In 1925 they rebelled against the Turks. In 1945-46 they fought against British, Iranian, and Iraqi forces. In 1958 the Kurdish movement in Iraq, led by al-Barzani, joined in the overthrow of the reactionary Hashemite monarchy. And in 1961 they began fighting the monarchy's successors. They fought not because they were agents of imperialism, but because their rights were being denied.

The very methods being used by the Iraqi armed forces—bombing of villages, use of napalm, wholesale deportations—are ample testimony to the nature of the war Baghdad is carrying out. In the face of such

actions, those who argue that the Kurdish revolt is illegitimate because it has not drawn 100 percent of the oppressed population to its side are only apologizing for the results of Iraqi terrorism.

Stalinists Join In

When the Kurds fought for their rights against a regime that was hostile to the Soviet government, the Stalinist bureaucrats applauded them as freedom fighters and gave al-Barzani refuge in the Soviet Union. Now, however, the Stalinist line has changed. The Baathist regime is on friendly terms with Moscow, and Soviet advisers are helping Baghdad carry out the war against the Kurds.

But the attitude of genuine revolutionists toward struggles for national liberation is not dependent on the character of their leadership at any particular time, nor on the diplomatic stance of the governments that are trying to suppress them. Oppressed nationalities have the *unconditional* right to self-determination.

It can be argued that a national liberation struggle should not be supported because of the character of the forces trying to use it for their own ends. The argument is easily answered. In the American struggle for independence, the colonial rebels accepted aid from feudalistic France. Irish freedom fighters got guns from the German imperialists during World War I. Lenin accepted the use of a sealed train from the German government to cross from Switzerland to Russia when the 1917 revolution broke out. The Palestinian resistance movement had obtained arms and money from King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. In all these instances, the decisive question is the program of the insurgent forces and whether the material aid is used to advance that program.

Kurds and the Arab World

Another of the most common arguments used to justify opposition to the Kurdish struggle is that it weakens the unity of the Arab people in their battle against Israel and imperialism. The division of the Arab world into separate states was consciously fostered by imperialism as a means of enabling it to dominate the area more easily. Israel today reinforces this fragmentation. Thus, the aspiration of Arab nationalists—and the masses of Arab people—to unify the Arab world is something that revolutionists wholeheartedly support.

But Kurdistan is not part of the Arab world. It is the country of another nationality that happens to be ruled partly by Arabs. When the nationalist sentiment of the Arab masses is turned against the Kurdish people instead of against their real enemies—the imperialist powers and the regimes that collaborate with them—this does nothing to help solve the problems facing the Arab world.

The responsibility for weakening the Arab cause in this case does not belong with the Kurds, who are demanding their rights, but with the Iraqi regime. Baghdad refuses to grant the Kurds' just demands and uses anti-imperialist and Arab nationalist rhetoric to justify its reactionary policy.

The hypocrisy of the Baghdad regime is demonstrated by its refusal to honor the 1970 compromise agreement on autonomy for the Kurds within the



Iraqi state. While announcing the establishment of Kurdish autonomy on March 11, 1974, the Baathist regime gutted the original agreement. It refused to define the borders of the Kurdish region through a census, as demanded by the Kurds. Baghdad wanted to make sure that the oil-producing areas of Kirkuk would not be included in the Kurdish region. The Kurds charged, even before the fighting was renewed, that 50,000 Kurds had been deported from the Kirkuk region and replaced with southern Arabs.

Baghdad's proposed "autonomy" included the right of the central government to select the head of the proposed Kurdish executive council, as well as the right to dissolve the proposed legislative council. Furthermore, this legislative body would not be allowed to actually legislate but only to play an "advisory" role. The only purpose of such a proposal was that it could be used as a propaganda ploy for the benefit of the gullible.

Baghdad's aggression against the Kurdish people has already cost thousands of casualties and millions of dollars. With the stab in the back from the shah, the Kurds now face still greater odds. But this does not mean that the Kurdish movement faces liquidation. The Kurds have suffered setbacks before. Short of actual genocide, there will be no long-term solution of the conflict without the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people.

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New publication defends Iranian political prisoners

The *CAIFI Newsletter*, a new publication put out by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran,* represents an encouraging step forward in the effort to defend Iranian political prisoners. The first issue, published in March, contains reports on the cases of a number of political prisoners, previously unpublished facts on little-known cases of repression, and news of defense activities being organized throughout the United States.

A news release on March 26 from the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran reports: "Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, the greatest Iranian playwright, has finally been released from jail in Iran." It concludes: "We will follow the cases of Dr. Ali Shariatti and Ms. Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi with great perseverance until they too are released from the jails of the Shah."

One feature of special interest is a detailed account of prison conditions under the shah's regime. The report is printed in the form of extensive excerpts from a speech given recently by Dr. Reza Baraheni, a prominent poet and literary critic formerly imprisoned for his political views. Baraheni was

*156 Fifth Avenue, Room 600, New York, New York 10010. Copies of the first issue of the *Newsletter* can be obtained for 25 cents each.

accused of radicalizing Iranian youth. His specific "crime" was demanding that his nationality of ten million people—the Azerbaijani—be given the right to use their own language.

Baraheni was imprisoned for 102 days in 1974 in a prison called the "Joint Committee of the Campaign Against Terrorism in Iran." "But this is only a station on the way to the other prisons," Baraheni said. "It is a torture house in which confessions are extracted under torture."

In a section called "News of Repression" the *Newsletter* provides information on a number of cases of imprisonment, censorship, and purges of the press. Many of the events and incidents covered in this section have never been reported in English before.

In a column devoted to specific defense cases, the *Newsletter* focuses on the cases of three political prisoners:

- Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a sociologist and translator who was arrested in 1972 while doing research on the living conditions of Iranian peasants. She has been sadistically tortured.

- Dr. Ali Shariatti, a prominent theologian and writer who has been held without charges since 1973. His father, who is more than seventy years old, has also been arrested. Both have been tortured.

- Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi (Goharmorad), Iran's leading modern playwright, who has been held since June 1974 on unspecified charges. He has developed a heart condition since being imprisoned and has been tortured.

Paris rally in defense of immigrant workers

By Malik Miah

Paris
More than 1,300 African immigrant workers, French students, and supporters of African liberation held a rally in Paris at the Mutualité hall February 27. The meeting was sponsored by the Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France (UGT-SF—General Union of Senegalese Workers in France).

The theme of the meeting was indicated by the banner, "Qui est responsable? Chassons les" (Who is responsible? Let's drive them out).

The remarks of the dozen speakers ranged from specific problems of African immigrant workers in France to strategy and tactics to end imperialist domination of both colonial and neocolonial Africa. All the speakers agreed that European and American imperialism were responsible for the exploitation and underdevelopment of the African countries and the oppression suffered by people of African descent.

Pierre Jalée, author of several books and articles on Africa including *Pillage of the Third World*, spoke on the role of French imperialism in the present exploitation of France's former colonies. He said superprofits are still being reaped by the French bourgeoisie as in the days of direct imperialist domination. He pointed out that the change from direct rule to neocolonial rule did not solve the basic problems of the African masses.

Other speakers developed these points further. For example, Doudou Siné, a Senegalese professor of philosophy, described how imperialism exploits Africa. He held that only a socialist revolution in both colonial and "independent" Africa could completely liberate the African peoples. He said that struggling for national liberation means fighting for a socialist revolution.

Representing the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party of the United States, I spoke on the special problems faced by Afro-Americans and the struggle of Blacks to end their national oppression. I also reported on the current struggle in Boston to desegregate the schools and gain equality in education for the Black community.

Sally N'Dongo, the president of the UGT-SF, who chaired the meeting, scored the policies of the French ruling class toward immigrant workers. His organization, which has more than 8,000 members in France, and contacts in Senegal and other African countries, is involved in organizing and fighting for the needs of African immigrant workers in jobs, education, and housing.

N'Dongo also attacked the rulers for their stepped-up harassment of immigrant workers. He said that this gathering marked the launching of a campaign to defend the rights of immigrant workers.

World news notes

Appeal from Spanish political prisoners

Members of the LCR-ETA (VI) [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI)—Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom (VI)] who are imprisoned in Franco's Segovia jail have issued an appeal for international solidarity with Spanish political prisoners. The LCR-ETA (VI) is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

In addition, the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International has appealed for a campaign "of broad united actions with the goal of demanding the immediate release of all the political prisoners of the Spanish state."

The LCR-ETA (VI) prisoners' appeal reads in part:

"To meet the increasingly numerous struggles of the Spanish working class, the dictatorship has resorted to an ever more ferocious repression. Today hundreds and hundreds of militants are being held in the Franco regime's jails.

"In many of Franco's prisons, the political prisoners held a hunger strike during October to struggle against the system of physical and mental destruction they are subjected to. The gags and chains the dictatorship has used to try to silence revolutionists have instead been used to denounce a regime that bases its rule on naked repression.

"This protest has had results: work stoppages in the CAF, Bilore, and Palmera factories; workers demonstrations at General Electric and Babcock-Wilcox; demonstrations also in Renteria and Saragosse; factory assemblies in the Madrid steel plants. These actions all testify to the determination with which the working class and popular layers have participated in the defense of the political prisoners, in the struggle to win their freedom. At the same time they are proof of the workers' own desire to free themselves from a totalitarian capitalist regime. . . .

"Parallel with this offensive by the working class, other popular layers are expressing more clearly their position toward the dictatorship. The oppressed nationalities are stepping up their struggle against the oppression of centralization. In Euzkadi, this struggle has a particularly dramatic character because of the ferocity with which the dictatorship is repressing their aspirations for national liberation.

"University and high-school students are fighting the plans designed to make them unsalaried workers during their studies, to the profit of the capitalists. The liberal professions, doctors and young lawyers in particular, are refusing to permit their activities to be subjected to political control. The peasants have shown, through the 'milk war' and the 'pimento war,' what they think about a regime that condemned them to neglect and refused to show the slightest concern for their problems. . . .

"The role of the dictatorship is shown by the execution of Salvador Puig Antich, the murder of revolutionary nationalists in Euzkadi, and the armed attacks against popular demonstrations at SEAT, Ferrol, and Carmona, for example. The aim is to stamp out any response to the arbitrary dictates of the capitalists, to liquidate all those who oppose the domination of the bourgeoisie.

"... We Trotskyists of the LCR-ETA (VI) imprisoned in Segovia jail call on our comrades of the Fourth International in Europe to build—through meetings, assemblies, and demonstrations—a campaign of solidarity by the workers of Europe with the working class of Spain. Such a concrete campaign would extend the tradition of the International Brigades, of the mobilizations around the Burgos trials, and would give support to the struggle to overthrow the regime that was born under the protection of Hitler and Mussolini."

Echeverría chased from National University

For eight years no Mexican president has been allowed to visit the campus of the National University in Mexico City. On March 14 President Luis Echeverría made an attempt to speak there, opening the new school year. His attempted visit, reported the March 15 *New York Times*, was "aimed at burying the memories of the 1968 student protest movement that was crushed by the army. . . ."

But students were far from ready to "bury the memory" of the Tlatelolco massacre of 1968, in which some 300 unarmed students were shot down, and hundreds wounded, at a peaceful demonstration in connection with a student strike. Ten thousand students gathered to protest Echeverría's appearance. Shouting, "Out, out!" they made it impossible for him to say very much. He had to leave the auditorium by a side door under a barrage of flying objects.

Shah declares one-party state

In a March 2 decree Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran dissolved all the existing legal parties in the country and announced the formation of a new party, the National Resurrection party. The dissolved parties were all capitalist parties, since the Iranian constitution prohibits the formation of workers parties.

The shah declared that "those who believe in the Iranian constitution, the monarchical regime, and the principles of the White Revolution [the shah's 'reform' movement, initiated in 1963] must join the new party." He concluded, "Those who don't believe in these principles are traitors who must either go to prison or leave the country."

Parents mobilize for Dist. 1 school election

By Cliff Conner

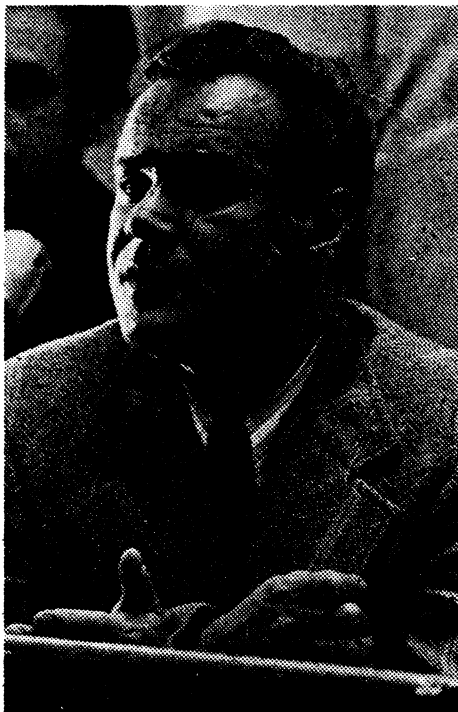
The Por los Niños/Save the Children campaign for community school board in New York City's District One has registered more than 2,000 new voters for the May 6 elections. The registration drive was concentrated in the district's Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities, and almost all of those registered expressed support for the pro-community-control slate.

The petitioning campaign to place the Por los Niños candidates on the ballot has also been successfully completed. Between 500 and 700 signatures have been collected for each candidate, far exceeding the required 200 apiece.

The principal opponents of the Por los Niños slate in the contest for a majority of the board's nine seats is a slate of candidates hand-picked by and loyal to Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers.

Although 95 percent of the school district's students are Puerto Rican, Black, or Chinese, Shanker's forces have been able to win community school board elections in the past through demagogic appeals to the racist fears of white voters, who constitute a slim majority of the district's electorate. If Shanker's candidates are victorious on May 6, District One's schools will remain under the control of a force alien to the community they are supposed to serve.

In a related development, on March 18 a federal court judge ruled against a



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Parent-supported superintendent Luis Fuentes. Court has upheld his suspension by school board racists.

lawsuit filed by suspended District One School Superintendent Luis Fuentes. Fuentes had been appointed superintendent by a parent-supported school board in 1972, but after elections in May 1974 gave Shanker's candidates a 5-to-4 majority, Fuentes was suspended. Since his suspension was

carried out illegally, Fuentes sued for reinstatement. The March 18 decision upholds the Shankerite majority's arbitrary action.

Behind Fuentes's leadership, educational facilities for the children of the oppressed communities began to improve. A comprehensive reading program was introduced that had begun to upgrade reading levels. One hundred Spanish and Chinese bilingual teachers were hired, and Black and Puerto Rican studies programs were initiated. Free breakfast and lunch programs were expanded.

When Fuentes was suspended on August 8, 1974, all of these gains began to unravel. The board majority appointed Anne Mersereau, a Black woman, to replace Fuentes. By using Mersereau as their spokesperson, the five white Shankerites hoped to make their racist policies appear more palatable to at least some of District One's parents, and thus to dilute the struggle for community control.

Mersereau, at Shanker's direction, dismantled the bilingual and bicultural programs instituted by Fuentes. Then, once she had exhausted her usefulness to him, in February 1975 Shanker had Mersereau dismissed and replaced by Leonard Lurie, who is white. This time the action was taken in such a blatantly illegal way that even one of the Shanker-backed board members revolted and joined with procommunity board members in an

attempt to return Fuentes to the superintendency.

In essence, Lurie was "appointed" by a single Shanker lieutenant, Adolph Roher, to administer District One's schools. Roher's action was taken without a vote of the school board—he failed to consult even with the other Shanker-backed board members—and without involving parents in the selection process as required by the school board decentralization law.

Roher again tried to disguise the racist nature of the forces he represents by simultaneously naming Tulio Rodríguez, a Puerto Rican, as deputy superintendent. The activists and supporters of the Por los Niños campaign, however, know Rodríguez to be no friend of the Puerto Rican community. Two years earlier, parents directed Fuentes to fire Rodríguez as principal of Public School 15 when it was learned that he was collaborating with racist teachers in illegally assigning "problem" students to special schools for emotionally disturbed children.

Meanwhile, Leonard Lurie is continuing to perform the duties of District One school superintendent at Shanker's behest. The Por los Niños campaign intends to expose the facts of the illegal Lurie appointment to all of the district's parents and other voters in order to emphasize the need to elect a pro-community-control majority on May 6.

Phila. transit workers strike for cost-of-living

By Bill Robinson

PHILADELPHIA—A strike by Transport Workers Union Local 234 effectively shut down all bus, subway, and trolley service here for a week and a half in March.

The 5,500 operators, mechanics, and cashiers of Local 234 won some improvements over an earlier contract offer. That offer included a \$1.06 an hour wage increase spread out over two years and a cost-of-living increase only in the last three months of the contract.

"We need the money to catch up with inflation. The way prices are rising, we can't afford to take what they're offering us," one young Black driver told the *Militant* on the first day of the strike.

Another added, "That one dollar per hour raise has to be protected by a cost-of-living clause like some of those

other unions have."

In the new settlement, the workers will receive an immediate sixty-cents-an-hour raise and fifty cents more over the next two years. The cost-of-living clause will go into effect in September 1976, six months before the end of the contract.

When the workers hit the picket line, the response of Democratic Governor Milton Shapp was to ask them to go back to work under the old contract until July 1. The workers didn't buy it.

"They had nine months to come up with something," said one trolley driver, "and now they want us to wait ninety more days? No way!"

Terry Ann Hardy, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, declared her full support for the striking transit workers.

"Every worker should have the right to a decent wage and full cost-of-

living increases to protect that wage against inflation," she declared.

"Public transportation should be free," Hardy stated. "The Socialist Workers party calls for complete renovation and expansion of public transit systems. New vehicles should be purchased to replace the twenty- and thirty-year-old subways and streetcars now in use. New routes and services should be established.

"Democrats like Shapp and [Philadelphia Mayor Frank] Rizzo claim they don't have the money to pay decent wages to transportation workers and provide such programs, but the money is there.

"If government spending for war was abolished and corporate profits were seriously taxed," Hardy explained, "there could be more than adequate funds for transportation and other services."



Militant/Jon Flanders

Socialist candidate Terry Ann Hardy declared full support to strikers.

Portland Blacks protest cop terror

By John Lemon

PORTLAND, Ore.—Portland's Black community boiled over in anger at the brutal slaying of seventeen-year-old Ricky Johnson March 14 by Portland police.

Johnson was the fourth youth—all Black—to die under police gunfire since October.

One hundred fifty people picketed the Portland police station March 22 in pouring rain, demanding the firing of Kenneth Sanford, the officer responsible for the killing, and the removal of Police Chief Bruce Baker. The picket line and rally had been organized on short notice by the Black Student Union (BSU) at Portland State University. Several BSU members are relatives of the slain youths.

Other groups present included the NAACP, Black Education Center, United Minority Workers, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Socialist Workers party.

The demonstrators circled the build-

ings several times chanting "Fire killer Sanford!" "Police child killers!" and "Who's next, Baker, who's next?" Young Blacks carried signs reading "Don't shoot me in the back of the head!" After a brief rally on the steps of the station, the marchers proceeded through downtown to a rally at the city hall.

While the picket line was in progress, a delegation of community leaders, students, and relatives of Ricky Johnson presented a series of demands to Police Chief Baker.

Among their demands were:

- That Sanford be expelled from the police force and brought to trial for murder.

- That an open hearing be conducted to investigate Johnson's death.

- That undercover police agents be withdrawn from the Black community. Earlier in the week the Portland chapter of the NAACP and the Albina Ministerial Alliance had also requested an open hearing.

Just prior to the demonstration, the district attorney agreed to convene a jury of inquest into the killing. Students and community leaders were adamant about having an open hearing, since grand jury investigations are kept secret. Many felt such an investigation would be a whitewash.

Sanford, posing as a cab driver, had entered a vacant house where Johnson allegedly tried to rob him. The cop shot Johnson in the back of the head.

Many felt that this tactic constituted entrapment, since the police themselves admitted that if Sanford had not entered the house, no crime would have been committed.

Portland cops have staunchly defended the procedure followed, and both the police and Mayor Neil Goldschmidt have refused to suspend Sanford. One police official stated that "the March 14 incident," as they politely call it, was "consistent with bureau policy of taking aggressive action in response to crime."

'AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM'

America's Road to Socialism by James P. Cannon, with an introduction by George Novack. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. New York, 1975. 124 pp., \$1.95 paper.

A couple of months ago the *Village Voice*, a New York weekly, featured a "socialist manifesto" by Pete Hamill, formerly a columnist for the *New York Post*. Headlined "Socialism: America's Great Fear May be Our Only Hope," the document describes what Hamill thinks a socialist government would do to develop a rational economic plan to serve human needs.

Hamill's manifesto is symptomatic of the growing disgust with capitalism and increasing openness to socialism of tens of thousands of people. Not since the big depression of the 1930s and the massive labor upsurge from which the CIO emerged has there been as much interest in socialism.

Like others, Hamill is grappling with the questions of what a socialist America will be like and how to accomplish that goal. He recognizes the need for abolishing private ownership of industry, banks, and transportation and for establishing a planned economy with workers democracy. A weakness of his manifesto, however, is that it fails to show how this will come about.

This is a decisive question. Few will commit themselves to a utopian ideal that has little or no chance of being realized. They want to be shown it's possible.

This is what *America's Road to Socialism* by James P. Cannon does. Cannon, a founder and longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party who died last year, first presented the speeches contained in this book at a Los Angeles forum series in the early 1950s.

The book was first published in 1953 and reprinted in 1965, but it's been out of print for several years. Its republication now, with a new introduction by George Novack, will be welcomed by all those who are seriously considering the prospects for socialism in America. Although these lectures were given more than twenty years ago, they are in some respects even more timely today than they were then.

Capitalist crises

The road to a workers government as presented by Cannon includes the following steps: deepening internal crises of the capitalist system; sharpening attacks by the capitalist rulers against the living conditions and the organizations of the workers; a massive upsurge of the workers in response to these attacks; the rejection by the workers of class-collaborationist leaders in favor of militant, uncompromising leaders; the emergence of a mass revolutionary socialist party; and a showdown struggle for power.

Drawing together some important facts about the situation facing capitalism internationally and in the United States, Cannon shows that capitalism is



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Unemployment, inflation, and social crises will become even more serious than what we are experiencing today, giving rise to strikes and workers' actions whose logic will be a struggle for power.

indeed its own gravedigger. The heart of the problem for the capitalists is that their system produces more than can be sold profitably, and therefore they have difficulty finding outlets for surplus goods and capital. This problem is increased by the shrinking size of the world market and the sharpening competition among the major capitalist countries.

This situation is the source of wars, such as those against Korea and Vietnam. It also drives the capitalists to slash the living standards of workers at home in order to maintain their profits.

Workers' response

Working people, battered by these attacks, will struggle to defend themselves. As unemployment, inflation, and economic and environmental breakdowns become even more serious than what we are experiencing today, this can be expected to provoke unprecedented strikes and other actions by workers.

"It will be a fight to the finish," Cannon writes, "and it will be fought on all fronts, from election campaigns to strikes and fights with fascist gangsters in the streets. Under the powerful impulsion of the social crisis which American capitalism cannot avoid, and which is already ripening within its body, all these developments predicted here, and many more, will erupt spontaneously, simultaneously, in one general process which cannot be arrested by any device. The irrepressible conflict will lead inexorably to a showdown in the United States of America, which will bear the name: The Struggle for Power."

In this showdown, all those who want only to reform capitalism and make it work will find little room for their tinkering. And those who believe that the rulers will allow socialism to be won peacefully,

through elections, will be shoved aside by the hard realities of the struggle.

Cannon argues that it is not sufficient, however, to have a massive upsurge of the working class in order to have a victorious battle for power. A mass revolutionary party must be organized that can help lead this struggle.

Following his analysis of how the workers will take power, Cannon describes what a workers government would do. It would immediately abolish private ownership of industry and use the tremendous productive capacity of the country to improve the health, housing, culture, and general welfare of people both here and in other countries. It would make all forms of racial and sexual discrimination illegal and would throw violators into jail.

In answer to those who fear that a totalitarian bureaucracy will emerge as occurred in the Soviet Union, Cannon argues that this is unlikely because of America's wealth. The usurpation of power by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was the direct result of economic scarcity and technological backwardness. A workers government in the United States can immediately provide a substantially better way of life for all its citizens.

Socialist America

The final chapter of this book is an inspiring description of what socialist America could look like. Socialism, Cannon explains, will be a stage of social evolution that will grow out of conditions prepared by the workers government.

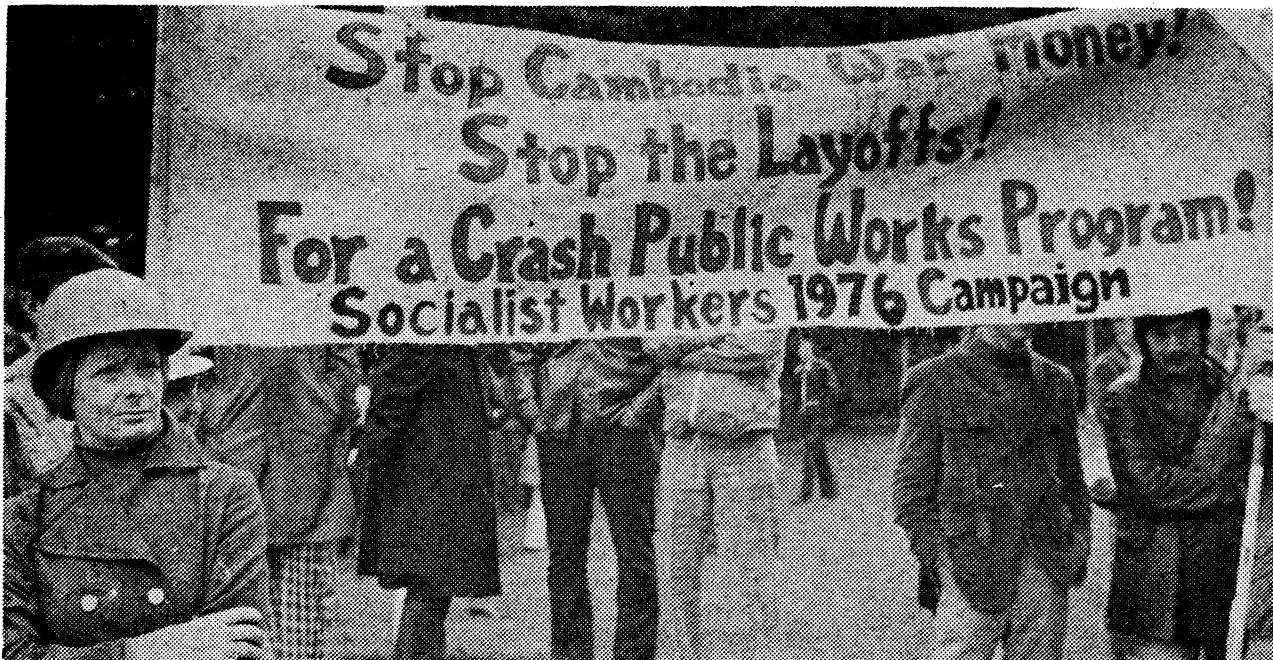
The vistas he outlines of a society cleansed of violence and greed, where classes have been abolished and racism and sexism eliminated, stagger the imagination. "Under socialism," Cannon says, "all will share in the benefits of abundance, not merely a favored few at the top. All the people will have time and be secure for an ever higher development."

Although only a forecast of a society to be built by future generations, it is a realizable goal and one that will inspire thousands of young people who are sick and tired of the nickel-and-dime perspectives offered them by the present system.

It is appropriate that *America's Road to Socialism* has been republished at the same time as the launching of the Socialist Workers party's 1976 presidential campaign. The book will become one of the central pieces of literature for this extensive national effort to win thousands of people to the fight for socialism. It will go hand in hand with the party's action program, the "Bill of Rights for Working People," which is being distributed by the thousands to workers and students across the country.

This national campaign for socialism, with Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid as its standard-bearers, is guided by Cannon's estimation that "the victory of socialism in the United States is not an ultimate goal of the far-off misty future. It is the perspective of the present epoch."

--Doug Jenness



Militant/Harry Ring

As workers rise up in response to attacks against them, they will look for militant, uncompromising leadership. Mass revolutionary socialist party will emerge.

FBI memo reprints spark 'Militant' sales

By Pat Galligan

"SECRET FBI FILES—Read them in this week's *Militant*!" Even amid the bustling activity on Brooklyn's Fulton Street, Saturday shoppers were attracted to the socialist literature table by the March 28 *Militant*'s banner headline.

Fulton Street is a major shopping center for the area's Black and Puerto Rican residents. Brooklyn socialists sell *Militants*, books, and pamphlets, and distribute campaign material there each Saturday.

Last Saturday, fifty-six single copies of the *Militant* and two subscriptions were sold. Literature sales for the afternoon totalled forty-five dollars.

Marcia Gallo, who helped staff the table that day, comments: "Although there have been stories about the FBI

documents in other newspapers, the *Militant* is the only paper to reproduce them. People here bought the *Militant* so they could see for themselves how the FBI sabotaged the civil rights movement."

Local areas sold 8,850 copies of the March 28 *Militant*, and twenty-one of twenty-nine areas reporting reached their weekly sales goals. An additional 1,529 *Militants* were sold by the traveling Young Socialist teams.

Wherever our supporters sold the *Militant*, they found that people were interested in seeing first-hand the methods used by the FBI.

"Students here were really amazed at the volume of the documents released," notes Philadelphia Young Socialist Alliance member Sam Jarosh.

Jarosh, whose weekly sales range from thirty to sixty papers, attends Philadelphia Community College. Because of Jarosh's regular sales on the campus, many students are following the progress of the Socialist Workers party and YSA suit against the government with interest.

The *Militant*'s weekly installments of the FBI Cointelpro papers is one feature convincing more students to buy subscriptions. Wayne Hieber, captain of the New York/New Jersey/Connecticut YS team tells us that the twenty-one subscriptions obtained during their visit to Yale University were sold on this basis.

Last week, 716 subscriptions were sent in, bringing the total to 5,489—only six percentage points behind where we should be.

Pittsburgh has already sent in 213 subscriptions, surpassing their quota of 200. Supporters there have decided to raise their quota and aim for 250 subscriptions.

The *Militant*'s sales campaign and subscription drive will be boosted by the special week of campaigning slated for April 12-19.

Most cities will take on a higher *Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales goal that week. All subscriptions sold during that week will be included in the final scoreboard.

Our supporters will be talking to people at plant gates, unemployment lines, high school and college campuses, and in Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

Besides selling the *Militant* and the YS, socialists around the country are distributing copies of the reprint of Fred Halstead's article "Why can't everyone have a job?" along with the "Bill of Rights for Working People," the action program of the 1976 SWP campaign. All supporters are urged to join us in this effort.

The fifteen YS teams have already distributed thousands of copies of the Bill of Rights. Northern California team member Greg Hollenbeck reports: "We give copies to every student we talk to, explaining that it is the socialist program for working people in this country to fight inflation and unemployment."

"Then we show them the *Militant*," Hollenbeck explained, "and they

immediately know what the paper stands for."

In their first four weeks on the road, the Northern California team has sold 591 copies of the *Militant*. Team captain Robert Matson sums it up: "The truth is easy to sell."

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%
Pittsburgh	375	443	118
Baltimore	75	85	113
Nashville, Tenn.	30	34	113
Cleveland	350	389	111
Ellsworth, S.D.	10	11	110
Denver	350	380	109
Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	461	108
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	426	107
Milwaukee	200	213	107
Oakland/Berkeley	600	637	106
Seattle	275	290	105
L.A. (West Side)	375	385	103
San Francisco	450	461	102
St. Louis	400	407	102
Washington, D.C.	400	405	101
Philadelphia	200	201	101
Detroit	600	601	100
Chicago	400	400	100
Bloomington, Ind.	100	100	100
Amarillo, Tex.	10	10	100
Champaign, Ill.	5	5	100
L.A. (Central-East)	375	347	93
Boston	400	359	90
Atlanta	475	405	85
Brooklyn	400	334	84
San Diego	275	228	83
Twin Cities	300	240	80
Houston	500	376	75
Portland, Ore.	325	217	67
Total	9,300	8,850	95

Young Socialist teams

	Goal	Sold last week	%
Southeast	100	150	150
Illinois/Wisconsin	100	148	148
Missouri/Kansas	100	140	140
Ohio/Kentucky	100	132	132
Northwest	100	123	123
Michigan/Indiana	100	109	109
Mid-Atlantic	100	108	108
N.Y./N.J./Conn.	100	104	104
Rocky Mountain	100	101	101
New England	100	100	100
Pennsylvania	100	100	100
Upper Midwest	100	96	96
Texas	100	93	93
Southern Calif.	100	25	25
Total	1,400	1,529	109



'Militant' got an enthusiastic response at March 26 demonstration for jobs in Los Angeles.

Art Fox: lifelong union militant & socialist

By Frank Lovell

Art Fox died in Detroit on March 10 at the age of fifty-four of lung cancer. He had been active in the United Auto Workers (UAW) and in radical politics for most of his adult life, and will be best remembered in the union—and in UAW Ford Local 600 especially—as a champion of union democracy and of the rights of Black and women workers, and as an opponent of the corporations and the union bureaucracy.

As a student in Philadelphia, he joined the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International), a youth group that supported the positions of the Socialist Workers party. He disagreed with the SWP position of defense of the Soviet Union in the imperialist war that began in Europe in 1939.

In the dispute within the SWP over this question, Fox followed the Shachtman-Burnham faction, which split to form the Workers party.

While a member of the Workers party he came to believe that capitalist property relations had been restored in the Soviet Union and that "state capitalism" was the dominant mode of production there. He was a member of the Johnson-Forest faction, which broke with the Shachtman leadership,

left the Workers party, and rejoined the SWP in 1947.

Art never abandoned his belief that the accomplishments of the Russian Revolution had been irretrievably lost and that the Soviet Union was no longer a workers state. He regarded this as a serious disagreement with the SWP, but he remained a loyal member of the party for more than eighteen years, from 1947 through 1965, and publicly defended the SWP position on all issues.

He served as a member of the National Committee of the SWP during most of this period and in pre-convention discussions attempted to convince the party of his position on the class nature of the Soviet state.

He failed in this. But he often said that the fact that he was able to participate freely in the affairs of the party at all levels was testimony to the democratic norms inherent in the SWP organizational structure and its Leninist concept of democratic centralism.

Art was constantly on the lookout for militant workers at the giant Ford Rouge plant in Dearborn where he worked, and he never missed an opportunity to sell a *Militant* subscription. He contributed articles to the *Militant* on union issues and reported for the paper on strike developments

and demonstrations of unemployed workers during the 1950s.

An able speaker, he often participated in debates and symposiums at the Friday Night Socialist Forum on Woodward Avenue in Detroit.

Art was always, during those years, an active campaigner for the candidates of the Socialist Workers party. He worked hard to gather petitions to



Art Fox

Workers' Power

put the party on the ballot and then took on the job of a volunteer one-member campaign committee to see that party candidates spoke at union meetings to explain the socialist program.

His main interest was in the union movement. While a member of Local 600 he was president of the apprentices' committee, a longtime member of the Ford Local 600 Council, and an official, at different times and in various capacities, of the Tool and Die Unit.

He was continuously active in opposition caucuses within the local. He was a founding member of the UAW United National Caucus, and he ran against Walter Reuther for the post of president at the union's 1970 convention.

Art sometimes disagreed with SWP tactics in the unions, and he became increasingly dissatisfied with the attention the party paid to the youth, Black, and antiwar movements that developed out of the radicalization of the early 1960s. No longer able to support the SWP's policies in its many areas of activity, he left the party in 1965. In recent years, before his illness disabled him completely, he collaborated with the International Socialist group.

Calendar

ATLANTA
THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE. Speaker: John Hawkins, National Committee member, Socialist Workers party. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON
POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE USSR AND YUGOSLAVIA. Speakers: Boris Shragin, exiled Soviet dissident; Matthew Dumont, assistant commissioner, Massachusetts Mental Health Department; Bogdan Denich, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, former Yugoslav citizen; Oleh Illytzyk, writer on Ukrainian dissent. Thursday, April 10, 8 p.m. Mezzanine Lounge, Third Floor, MIT Student Center, Cambridge. Ausp: Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; American Friends Service Committee; Friends of Czechoslovakia; Socialist Workers party; Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Americans for Democratic Action. For more information call (617) 354-6687 or 491-1056.

CLEVELAND
CAN SOCIALISM SOLVE AMERICA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS? Speaker: Linda Jenness, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT
FBI THREAT TO ACADEMIC FREEDOM. Speaker: Morris Starsky, victim of FBI harassment. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) TE1-6135.

HOUSTON
RACISM IN TEXAS UNIVERSITIES. Speakers: Gary Wilkerson, president, St. Thomas University Black Student Union; a representative from University of Texas United Students Against Racism; Bill Rayson, University of Houston Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

HISTORY OF SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. Part of weekly socialist class series. Sat., April 12, 4 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Admission free. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST
LOS ANGELES WATERGATING: SECRET-POLICE FILES AND SURVEILLANCE. Speakers: Howard Burns, professor of history, Los Angeles Trade Technical College; Donald Freed, author of *Executive Action*; Art Kunkin, former editor, *Los Angeles Free Press*; Jeff Berchenko, Socialist Workers party candidate for city council, 13th district. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

NEW YORK CITY
INDOCHINA: THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE TODAY. Speaker: Caroline Lund, editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. Workmen's Circle, 45 E. 33rd St. (corner Park Ave. & 33rd). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-9021.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN
THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL

OF SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT ONE. Speakers: candidates of the Por los Niños/Save the Children slate. Thurs., April 10, 7:30 p.m. St. Marks Church, Second Ave. & 10th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist* newspapers. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PORTLAND
CONFERENCE ON PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m.: **The socialist program for the 1976 elections.** Speaker: George Kontanis, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor. Sat., April 12, 1:00 and 3:30 p.m. (two-part classes): **The economic crisis: a Marxist view.** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, former editor, *International Socialist Review*. **The hidden history of racism in Oregon.** Speaker: John Studer, chairperson, SWP 1976 Campaign Committee. **Feminism and Socialism.** Speaker: Robin Mace, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., April 12, 6 p.m.: dinner and rally featuring Olga Rodriguez, youth director, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$4 for entire conference; \$3 for dinner and rally only; \$1 per class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

ST. LOUIS
WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM. Speaker: Tom Moriarty, antiwar activist, Socialist Workers party. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m.: **Can capitalism solve America's economic crisis?** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*, author, *Mideast Oil and U.S. Imperialism*. 112 Wilson Hall, Washington University. Donation: \$1. Sat., April 19, 12 noon: **FBI plot against the Black and socialist movements.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, former national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. 102 Eads Hall. 3:30 p.m.: workshops on **Petrodollars and world inflation; What is socialism; Marxism and the feminist movement; and The revolutionary potential of the working class.** Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO
THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN CALIFORNIA. Speakers: Rich Winger, Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL); Ken Stahl, attorney for CoDEL suit. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES
IQ, HEREDITY, AND THE LIE OF RACIAL INFERIORITY. Speaker: Val Woodward, professor of cell biology and genetics, University of Minnesota, Committee Against Racism. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...YWLL

Continued from page 4
Berkelhammer attempts to cover this base by insisting that the YSA just wants to "get into" the Black movement and "use it." Thus, he implies that building May 17 and participating in NSCAR would just help the Trotskyists.

And to quell the fears of other members of the YWLL that while the league abstains from this struggle the YSA will grow in influence and gain respect in the desegregation struggle, Berkelhammer tries to update the promise that Zagerell offered in 1970.

"For them [the YSA]," he writes, "the struggle against racism is obviously not a principled question either. They can be expected to drop the desegregation issue also when it no longer suits their sectarian aims and their ability to dominate."

But the real question today is not if and when the YSA will drop out of the desegregation movement, but when will the YWLL drop in. Will the Stalinists endorse May 17? Will the YWLL join with the NAACP, NSCAR, the YSA, and many others to build a truly broad movement in support of busing and desegregation that can mobilize a powerful response to the racists on May 17?

...FBI

Continued from page 15
in FBI files not printed here and as remembered by members of the SWP who were in New York in 1969, is instructive.

The FBI has made other political organizations the target of this type of disruption with some success, but these tactics do not prove very useful against a politically seasoned and experienced organization like the SWP.

Boutelle brought the letter directly to the attention of a meeting of the New York SWP, where it could be openly discussed. Party members immediately spotted the letter as the work of police. "We've been through this before," the FBI quotes one member as saying. "No one in the SWP wrote that."

There are those who are horrified by the Watergate crimes, yet feel that the use of the same tactics against socialists is excusable in the name of "national security." They accept the notion that certain ideas and the advocates of those ideas are beyond the pale.

One of the main lessons of both Watergate and the Cointelpro papers is that the use of such illegal methods against political opponents cannot remain limited to socialists. If tolerated, they will inevitably be aimed at other forces in this society who run into conflict with the powers that be.

This is an important conclusion to be drawn by the labor movement and others. Watergate demonstrated that even Democratic party politicians are not immune to this style of political warfare.

...Jackson

Continued from page 28

ly Bingham was tricked into smuggling in the dummy gun.

Cox charges that the police arranged to have an inoperable gun and window putty—which resembles plastic explosives—smuggled in to Jackson. He says he has the name of a member of the prison staff who was party to the gun-smuggling operation.

Declaring that the CCS and other police agencies were party to the entrapment operation, the Cox affidavit declares:

"This was *NOT* an attempt by these agencies to monitor an ongoing conspiracy to obtain evidence for use in prosecution. Such evidence was already massed through legal and illegal means. This was an attempt to kill George Jackson by a preemptive first strike."

Eight months after Jackson's murder, on April 6, 1972, James Carr was shot to death. Two men were later tried and convicted of the assassination. No attempt was made at their brief trial to establish motive or determine who, if anyone, had assigned them to the killing.

Cox's charges shed much light on the contradictions that were apparent at the time in the official and often contradictory accounts of the attempted Jackson escape.

It also confirms that in their determination to wipe out Black liberation fighters, the CCS and other police conspirators were willing to see a judge and several prison guards die along with the Black targets of their murderous schemes.

Contacted by this reporter, Frank Cox said that he and other San Quentin Six attorneys were under court order not to discuss the case. However, he noted, the facts are contained in the affidavit cited in this story. That affidavit constitutes major new evidence of the need to build massive public opposition to the increasingly sinister secret police activities in this country.

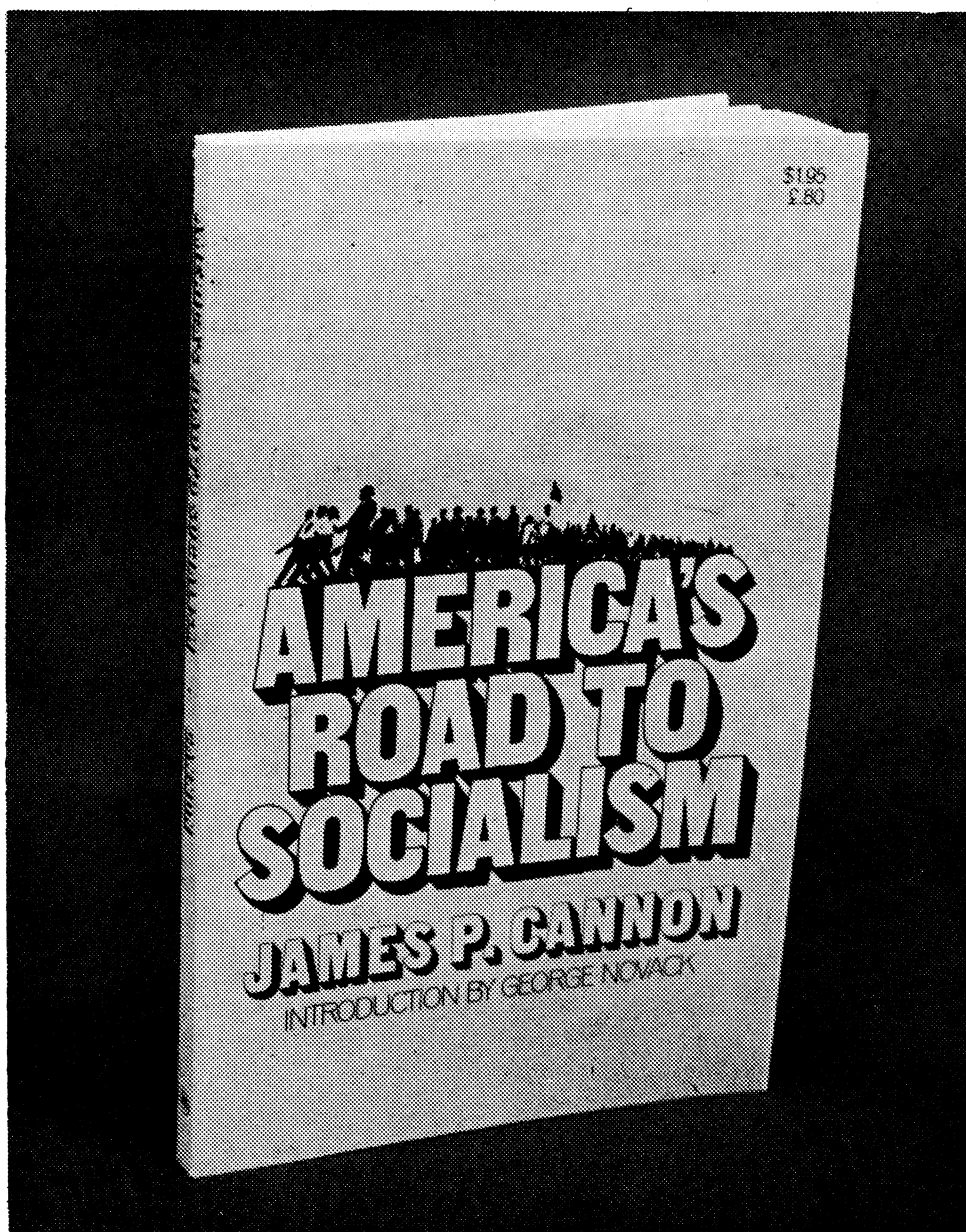
Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.
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.
Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.
Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.
Sacramento: YSA, c/o Marlene Metcalf, P.O. Box 2061, Sacramento, Calif. 95810.
San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.
San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.
San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.
Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.
COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.
Greeley: YSA, c/o Barbara Jaeger, 712 15th Ave. Court, Greeley, Colo. 80631.
FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box U-6350, Tallahassee, Fla. 32313.
GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.
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Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Carole McKee, 1309 E. Vermont St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.
KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.
KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.
MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.
MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.
Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.
Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.
East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.
MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.
MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books,

4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.
NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (201) 828-4710.
NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.
Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.
New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.
Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books (212) 982-5940.
Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.
Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.
NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, c/o Susan Love, 924 James, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514. Tel: (919) 933-4902.
Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.
OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, P.O. Box 27, University Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43401.
Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.
Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.
Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.
OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.
Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.
Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.
Shippensburg: YSA, c/o Mark Dressler, Box 214 Lackhove Hall, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pa. 17257.
State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.
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.
Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.
Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.
San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy Gonzalez, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Tex. 78207.
UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.
WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.
Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.
WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 801 E. Eagle Hts., Madison, Wis. 53705. Tel: (608) 238-6224.
Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan St., Mitchell Bldg. Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 963-5551.



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THE MILITANT

Dramatic revelations

Did cops set up George Jackson 'escape' try?

By Harry Ring

SAN FRANCISCO—Startling new revelations have been made by a Bay Area public defender concerning police involvement in the 1970 Marin County Courthouse shoot-out and the 1971 San Quentin "escape" attempt in which George Jackson died.

It is now charged that police officials had advance knowledge of the courthouse kidnap-escape plan in which four people died, and permitted it to occur. It is also charged that police officials conspired to set up the George Jackson San Quentin escape attempt in such a way as to ensure his death. They allegedly sent in an inoperable gun and fake explosives.

The dramatic charges are contained in an affidavit filed with the California Supreme Court by Frank Cox, Marin County chief deputy public defender. Cox is serving as attorney for David Johnson, one of the San Quentin Six. The six are now being tried for alleged participation in the "escape" attempt, in which Jackson, two other prisoners, and three guards died.

A central target of the charges by Cox in both the courthouse shoot-out and the San Quentin incident is the sinister Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) of the Los Angeles Police Department.

In the affidavit Cox cited unnamed confidential sources and Louis Tackwood, a former Los Angeles police informer and provocateur. Tackwood publicly disclosed his role as a CCS operative in November of 1971. He charged at that time that the CCS had advance knowledge of the Marin courthouse shoot-out and the Jackson escape attempt. (Much of Tackwood's disclosures appear in the book *The Glass House Tapes*, edited by Donald Freed.)

The present charges by attorney Cox came as part of an effort to win a court order for the release of relevant police reports and tape recordings.

Cox charges that the CCS learned through an agent of a plan by Black



New revelations point to cop role in planning 1970 Marin County Courthouse shoot-out (above), and 1971 San Quentin 'escape' attempt in which George Jackson was killed.

Panther activists to seize hostages at the courthouse in order to win the release of George Jackson. Jackson was then being held in San Quentin along with Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette—the Soledad Brothers—on trumped-up charges of killing a Soledad prison guard. After Jackson was killed, Drumgo and Cluchette were acquitted of this charge.

Cox said the CCS learned of the courthouse plan from Melvin "Cotton" Smith, a leading Los Angeles Panther who later testified for the prosecution in the Los Angeles trial of the Panther Thirteen. (At that trial Louis Tackwood testified that Cotton Smith had not simply turned state's evidence but had been an agent of the CCS from the outset.)

Cox told the court, as Tackwood had asserted earlier, that two CCS cops, Don Mahoney and Robert Sherritt, arrived in the Bay Area the day before the Marin shoot-out and predicted to Cox's informants exactly what was going to happen.

According to Cox, George Jackson's younger brother, Jonathan Jackson, was recruited to carry weapons into the courthouse where the others would take them and seize hostages.

At the very last minute, Cox says, a number of people, sensing a police setup, withdrew from participation. Jonathan Jackson, Ruchell Magee, and two others went ahead, seizing Judge Harold Haley.

As they sought to flee with their hostages, police opened a barrage of

fire. Jonathan Jackson, two prisoners, and Haley were killed. Magee still faces a murder charge in the case.

The case of Angela Davis also stemmed from this. She was tried—and acquitted—of charges of conspiring with Magee to plan the incident.

Cops were 'participants'

According to Cox, Sherritt and Mahoney of the CCS were present when the police gunned down the participants in the aborted plan. And, his affidavit asserts, both cops were "participants in the incident."

Thereafter, Cox states, police surveillance and infiltration of those involved was intensified. Among those under surveillance was James Carr, a lead-

ing Panther in Northern California. At one time he had reportedly served as prison bodyguard for Huey Newton. He was also a brother-in-law of CCS informer Tackwood.

After the Marin County Courthouse shoot-out, Cox says, police found a letter in Carr's possession from George Jackson, allegedly discussing the possibility of escaping from San Quentin.

Even though he was on parole from a robbery conviction, police did not arrest Carr until April 6, 1971, when he was jailed on an assault charge after a courtroom fracas with cops during a Soledad Brothers pretrial hearing in San Francisco.

After his arrest, Cox continues, Carr was interrogated by police officials who let him know that they had obtained information that he had embezzled large sums of money from the Angela Davis and Soledad Brothers defense funds. This was used as a club to force Carr to participate in setting Jackson up for a doomed escape attempt.

Escape plot

"Carr was persuaded," Cox declares, "to feign participation in the plot to free George Jackson, under threat of probable death, by covert leaking of information to revolutionary cadres."

The Cox affidavit states that in the spring and summer of 1971, Carr began sending Jackson coded messages through Stephen Bingham, who was Carr's attorney at the time. These messages, Cox states, were monitored by state police and the Los Angeles CCS and "were to some degree designed by these covert agencies."

Cox further asserts that information in his possession "specifically exonerates Stephen Bingham from knowledge of the coded nature of these messages."

Bingham was charged at the time of the prison shoot-out with having smuggled a gun to Jackson, and he disappeared. Cox suggests that actual-

Continued on page 26



George Jackson

Group seeks secret files

SAN FRANCISCO—In a telephone interview, Donald Freed, of the Citizens Research and Investigative Committee in Los Angeles, said that since the disclosure of the court affidavit by Frank Cox, Louis Tackwood has received death threats, forcing him into hiding.

Freed also recalled the recent disclosures in Los Angeles that for forty years the Los Angeles Police Department has been maintaining secret dossiers on thousands of citizens and numerous organizations. He noted that immediately after these disclosures the police

began a massive destruction of the files.

Freed charged that one reason for their haste in doing so was that they feared disclosure of the role of the Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) in the bloody Marin County courthouse shoot-out and the equally bloody police-engineered Jackson "escape."

Freed said that he and other concerned Los Angeles citizens were planning court action to block further destruction of police files and to win the opening of these files.