

# THE MILITANT

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

## 'People before profits'

# N.Y. rallies demand: 'Stop cuts, layoffs!'



Militant/Robb Wright

New York, June 4. Students join labor protest against Mayor Beame's plans to slash schools, hospitals, day care. Thousands of city workers are being laid off. See page 6.

## FBI's undercover war against Puerto Rican independence mov't

—See page 8

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## THE MILITANT

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE  
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING  
Washington Bureau: CINDY JAQUITH

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

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# In Brief

**ATTICA FRAME-UPS CONTINUE:** Bernard "Shango" Stroble, a Black participant in the Attica prison rebellion, is standing trial in Buffalo, New York, on charges of kidnapping and murdering white inmates Kenneth Hess and Barry Schwartz during the 1971 rebellion. The judge rejected a defense motion to throw out the indictments against Stroble after it was revealed that the prosecution had suppressed evidence that at least four witnesses had told state investigators that Thomas Hicks—not Stroble—had killed Schwartz. Hicks was murdered in the assault on the prison by state police.

The prosecution suffered a setback when two witnesses failed to link Stroble with Hess and Schwartz. The testimony of a third witness, who testified that Stroble was among a group of prisoners escorting Hess and Schwartz, was discredited when he admitted that he had twice identified a photograph of another prisoner as being that of Stroble. The witness also admitted that he did not even mention Stroble's name to state investigators until October 1974—more than three years after the rebellion—even though he had been interviewed seven times by police and had testified twice before the grand jury.

## Mayor subpoenaed for Camejo trial in Houston

HOUSTON—A dozen city and federal officials, including Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz and Police Chief Carrol Lynn, have been subpoenaed to appear June 10 at the trial set for Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate. Camejo faces trumped-up charges of interfering with a police officer flowing out of a March 11 arrest during a campaign tour through Texas.

Also subpoenaed were FBI agents, Secret Service agents, U.S. Attorney James Gough, Police Criminal Intelligence Division Captain B.G. "Pappy" Bond, an assistant U.S. attorney, and other police officers.

Last March police pulled over a car carrying Camejo and three campaign supporters near the Houston SWP headquarters. When Camejo asked the cops why they had been stopped, one of them grabbed him, twisted his arm behind his back, and said, "So you're the Commie who's running for president." Camejo was then taken to jail, where he was threatened verbally and physically.

When Police Chief Lynn said cops may have been too "diligent" in "enforcing the law," Camejo responded, "The Houston police are notoriously 'diligent' where Blacks, Chicanos, and socialists are concerned. They are notoriously incompetent concerning terrorist attacks by the Ku Klux Klan." The Klan had recently conducted an illegal armed demonstration outside the Houston socialist headquarters. The police, who even admitted prior knowledge of the demonstration, have refused to take any action against the Klan.

**MILITARY GAY BAN FOUGHT:** An air force sergeant—a twelve-year veteran with a perfect service record, three tours of Vietnam, and many decorations, including a Purple Heart—is fighting to stay in the service after declaring his homosexuality. "We have been looking for a very long time for a perfect test case," said gay-rights activist Franklin Kameny. That case appeared when Leonard Matlovich made a decision to challenge the military's long-standing ban on homosexuals. He is being defended by an attorney from the American Civil Liberties Union's military rights project and an assigned military lawyer.

Kameny estimates that as much as 10 percent of the military is actively homosexual, and each year an average of 1,000 are discharged because of alleged homosexuality or homosexual tendencies. Almost all receive a less-than-desirable discharge, which makes it difficult to obtain civilian employment.

"I'm tired of oppression," Matlovich said. "I want to know where I stand."

**AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY:** Six hundred people turned out for May 24 African Liberation Day activities in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the African Liberation Support Committee. Demonstrators marched through the Black community to a rally in Malcolm X Park. Unlike past African Liberation Days, which focused on support for liberation struggles in Africa, this year's demonstration featured a number of slogans, including "Tenants fight rent hikes," "Lower prices at Safeway," "Long live the Vietnam victory," "Victory to the struggle of the African people," and "U.S. out of Africa."

Contingents of about 150 Ethiopian and Eritrean students led the march. Also participating were the Iranian Students Organization, Congress of African People, Student Coalition Against Racism, February First Movement, Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Socialist Workers party.

**'ALIENS' FIND NEW 'FRIEND' . . . :** "This nation is still a land of hope for all the people of the world," said U.S. Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), whose name is affixed to the notorious Rodino Bill. That piece of legislation would bring harsh reprisals against undocumented immigrant workers, particularly those from Mexico. "I am the son of an immigrant," Rodino went on. "We are not going to forget our immigrant heritage."

Rodino hasn't changed his mind on his bill, however. What inspired him to such eloquence was President Ford's request for \$507 million to settle the refugees from South Vietnam.

**. . . AND NEW ENEMY:** Ku Klux Klan Executive Director David Duke says the Klan plans to focus its energies on stopping illegal immigration, especially from Mexico. The KKK is planning a series of demonstrations at the border between San Diego, California, and Tijuana, Mexico.

**JUST DON'T EXERCISE IT:** "First in Freedom" is the slogan on the 1975 North Carolina auto license plate. A Black man who didn't believe it was arrested and fined for placing a piece of tape over the slogan. The North Carolina Civil Liberties Union is now defending Walter Williams, who maintains he was exercising his freedom of speech.

**ASK PROTESTS OF MOSCOW ARRESTS:** In a letter to the May 23 *Los Angeles Times*, Rev. Peter Christiansen, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, appealed for letters to Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev on behalf of several members of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International who have been jailed by Soviet authorities.

He reports that on April 19 two leading members of the chapter, physicist Andre Tverdokhlebov and Ukrainian writer Mikola Rudenko, were arrested. Another member of the group, biologist Serge Kovalev, was arrested last December. Rudenko, he said, has since been released, but there is little hope for freedom for the others "apart from the huge outcry of public opinion in the West."

**FBI HARASSMENT CONTINUES:** After Sherry Dennert, a senior at South Dakota State University in Brookings, arranged for some of the jurors in the Wounded Knee trial to speak on her campus, she was visited by the FBI. Jurors and Others for Reconciliation, an organization of jurors and other people, has been speaking to groups in South Dakota and Minnesota about the trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks.

The sleuths came to Dennert's dorm at 7:00 a.m. and took her to the local police station for questioning, she reported. "They asked me if I knew what I was getting into," Dennert said. "It was like they were saying, 'Look, little girl, these are radicals, subversive people. You don't know what you're getting into.'"

—Nelson Blackstock

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# Argentine socialist leaders arrested in new gov't attack on militant union

From Intercontinental Press

Four national leaders of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina) were arrested at dawn May 17 in Rosario. Silvia Díaz, Eduardo J. Expósito, Alberto Lisandro Pujals, and José Francisco Páez were arrested while holding discussions with party members involved in the strike of metalworkers in Villa Constitución, a nearby city. Páez is a leader of the Córdoba labor movement and was the PST's vice-presidential candidate in the last national elections.

Participating in the discussions on what course of action the party should propose in trying to settle the strike were José Kalauz and Oscar Juárez, two PST members who are part of the strike committee in Villa Constitución. They were also jailed.

Police of the province of Santa Fé raided the private home where the discussions were taking place, arresting these six PST members along with Nilda Carbone, another party member, and Marta Brizzio, owner of the house, who has no political affiliation.

The raid occurred two days after the PST's headquarters in Rosario had been dynamited.

These arrests brought to twenty-one the number of PST and Juventud Socialista members who are being held. Under the state of siege the victim can be held indefinitely without charges or trial.

The majority of the PST members in jail are there because of their involvement in the sixty-one day strike in Villa Constitución. However, the PST has singled out the case of Juan Carlos López Osornio for special attention. López Osornio was arrested and tortured during the federal take-over of the Ledesma sugar workers union in northwest Argentina in March. He is a longtime member of the party.

In addition, four PST members have been kept in jail since shortly after the state of siege was declared in November 1974: Luisa Segura, a student leader at the University of Tucumán; Silvio Dragunsky, a well-known PST representative in Bahía Blanca; and attorneys Juan Llanos and Daniel Veiga.

The full list of PST members in prison as of the May 24 issue of the party's weekly newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*, is as follows:

Gerardo Romagnoli, Guillermo Díaz, Nora Albanesi, Gloria Preiti, José María Fernández, Silvio Dragunsky, José Kalauz, Oscar Juárez, José F. Páez, Alberto L. Pujals, Silvia Díaz, Nilda Carbone, Eduardo J. Expósito, Juan Llanos, Juan Carlos López Osornio, Daniel Veiga, Luisa Segura, Néstor R. Sánchez, Ricardo Siam, Jorge Rodríguez, and Juan Carlos Veiga.

## 'Terrorist plot'

The Peronist regime has done its best to break—or at least tame—the militant leadership of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union) in the industrial belt north of Buenos Aires.

On March 20 the regime announced that it had uncovered a "terrorist plot of vast proportions" in Villa Constitución. This was the pretext for a raid by 4,000 police, in which more than 200 trade unionists were seized in one day. All but one of the UOM's elected officers were jailed. They had won office last November after a four-year



April 1974 meeting in Villa Constitución shows type of working-class militancy that Argentine government is trying to suppress.

struggle to end direct government intervention in the UOM local.

Students, lawyers, political activists, and family members of metalworkers were also arrested in the March 20 raids. Police occupied iron and steel plants throughout the zone and closed down the UOM's headquarters. A federal intervenor and then a national functionary of the UOM were sent in to take over the union.

These steps led to the strike of 6,000 metalworkers—the longest, most important strike waged under the current Peronist regime. The main demands were release of the elected leadership and return of the union to their control.

Trade-union leaders in other plants who expressed solidarity with the strike were also arrested. Carmelo Affatato, a leader at the nearby Indiel metalworks, was arrested along with twelve co-workers after he spoke at a solidarity rally.

## Repressive sweeps

An activist from John Deere, one of the plants in the area, told *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina), that the March 20 repressive sweep was very harsh in some cases. "Armed, hooded civilians carried out some of the raids. They beat the companions of the arrested leaders. In other cases, where the Santa Fé provincial police were operating, they used search warrants and did not destroy things."

The next major crackdown on the metalworkers came April 22, when the strike was a month old.

The strike committee, elected from the rank and file of the Villa Constitución UOM to replace its jailed leadership, had called a city-wide mass demonstration and work stoppage to support the strike. Thousands of persons turned out only to be met by police armed with tear gas and guns. Demonstrators were fired on; three were seriously injured. Three busloads were arrested, and police and civilian harassment in working-class communities was stepped up.

That evening a bomb exploded in front of the Villa Constitución headquarters of the Unión Ferroviaria (Railroad Workers Union.) The Unión Ferroviaria had participated in the

solidarity work stoppage.

Two days later, UOM General Secretary Alberto Piccinini and fourteen other metalworkers were transferred by plane from the nearby Coronda jail to the notorious federal penitentiary in Rawson, in the south of Argentina.

In Rosario, Luis Reinaldo Guzmán, a metalworker, was machine-gunned as he was leaving his home.

On April 25 a bomb was exploded in front of Piccinini's house. The following day another one went off—this time at the home of Raúl Horta, a metalworker who had been on the same slate as Piccinini in the November union elections.

Meanwhile, following the April 22 demonstration, *Avanzada Socialista* reported that working-class neighborhoods in Villa Constitución were being "patrolled" by unmarked cars with masked drivers.

*Strike Bulletin No. 15*, edited by the strike committee, reported a common form of harassment: Five workers were arrested April 29 at a Rosario plant while handing out leaflets on the strike.

"On May 1," reported *Avanzada Socialista*, "the repression struck a new, heavy blow: the charred corpse of Rodolfo Mancini was found and two members of the strike committee—Victorio Paulón and Zenón Sánchez—were arrested as they were entering Villa."

Mancini, twenty five years old, was

a representative of the strike solidarity committee in the Malugani neighborhood of Villa Constitución. He worked at Metcon, one of the striking metal plants, and was president of the Centro de Estudiantes Secundarios (High School Students Center) in Villa.

A few days before his death Mancini had given an interview to *La Chispa*, the newspaper of the Juventud Socialista (JS—Socialist Youth, youth group of the PST). In it he reported that all 200 high-school students in Villa supported the strike. They had called a sympathy school strike. "I think the youth helped a lot to change the atmosphere in the factories in the last four or five years," he said. "Little by little the youth slowed down a killing tempo of production. Now the bosses publish advertisements asking for workers who are 'married with children.'"

*Avanzada Socialista's* correspondent in Villa Constitución reported that Mancini had taken a leading role in building strike support after the April 22 repression. "Before," the correspondent reported, "he had been a conscious striker but not an activist. It speaks very well of him that when the repression began, when things got ugly in the neighborhood, he was nominated as delegate, taking on ever more responsibilities."

## Persecution continues

The strikers won a victory May 2. The Peronist regime released twelve metalworkers who had been held since March 20. None of the central leaders of the local UOM were among them, however. The May 3 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* commented, "Along with the government's retreat and release of prisoners, it now seems to be reverting to the 'hard line' again. As we close this edition, we have learned that in the neighborhoods, arrests and persecution by the police and fascists is continuing."

On May 11, the regime issued its red-baiting report on the Villa Constitución metalworkers. In it, the government admitted having made 307 arrests during the "operation." They had released all but 97 of these individuals.

The metalworkers ended the strike on May 19. They returned to work without having won the release of the leadership or the return of control over their union. However, they faced yet one more reprisal—massive firings. As of May 24, more than 500 strikers had been dismissed and the process was continuing.



This April 22 demonstration called in support of the Villa Constitución strike was broken up by police gunfire. Three marchers were seriously wounded.

Avanzada Socialista

## 120,000 in one-day general strike

# Quebec labor under government attack

By Tony Thomas

MONTREAL—In a one-day general strike called by the Québec Federation of Labor (QFL), 120,000 workers walked off their jobs May 21.

The strike was called in solidarity with the United Auto Workers union, which has waged a seventeen-month-long strike against the United Aircraft plant near Montréal.

Last month the bosses announced that only 250 of the 1,035 strikers would be rehired after the strike. In response to this, 4,000 workers rallied outside the plant on May 12 demanding the rehiring of all the strikers.

Fifty strikers tried to occupy one of the plant buildings after the demonstration. They were savagely beaten and gassed by riot police and now face serious charges.

While the general strike was called in solidarity with the United Aircraft strikers, much of the anger and militancy of the workers here in recent weeks has centered on the report of the Cliche commission.

The Cliche commission was established last year by the Québec government to probe "corruption" in the construction unions affiliated to the QFL. The fruits of this commission were two antilabor measures—Bill 29 and Bill 30—which were adopted by the Québec National Assembly at the end of May.

Under the new laws, three key QFL unions—the heavy-machine operators, plumbers, and electricians—were placed under government trusteeship for three years. A trusteeship over the elevator repairmen's union, which was in effect at the time, was extended.

In addition, under the measures:

- the practice that only union-made materials can be used on job sites is swept away;
- construction workers charged with participating in a slowdown or walk-out during the course of a contract are assumed guilty unless they can prove their innocence; and
- workers convicted of certain offenses are barred from holding office in the construction unions.

The new laws are part of a government campaign to break the increased combativity of the Québec trade



Québec Federation of Labor rally in Montréal suburb

unions. In the past few years Québec has seen a massive public workers' strike (in 1972), a series of militant demonstrations and strikes over the reopening of contracts to implement escalator clauses, and recently a militant strike by 2,500 workers at the site of the 1976 Olympics.

The government's response to the Olympic site workers was to announce that all the workers were dismissed. To be rehired, each worker must pass a police screening process, which includes a system of identity cards linked with police files. It is expected that hundreds of militant workers will lose their jobs.

Announcement of the Cliche commission's proposals in early May brought a rapid response from the Québec labor movement.

Fifteen thousand construction workers walked off their jobs in protest, and QFL leader Louis Laberge announced that the QFL would "fight like dogs" against the trusteeship.

The other two main union federations in Québec—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) and

the Québec Teachers Federation (QTF)—announced their support to the QFL in their fight against the laws.

This was an about-face for both unions. QTF Vice-president Guy Chevette had been a member of the commission. Similarly, the CNTU had not opposed the commission until the report was announced. The CNTU has had a long rivalry with the QFL in the construction trades. In the past they have fought it out with clubs and chains in raiding operations against each other, and each union has supported government intervention into the affairs of the other.

After the commission's report was announced, the teachers' federation called for unity of the three federations "to organize a united resistance against the government."

### Mass action needed

A united massive campaign of direct action was exactly what was needed. But despite militant statements, no united front was forged, and even the QFL leadership backed away from a

confrontation with the government and indicated that they would accept the government trusteeship if QFL members were named as trustees. This position had been put forth by the Parti Québécois, a liberal capitalist party, which supports limited independence from Canada.

On May 20, QFL leader Laberge gave legitimacy to the Cliche proposals by saying, "There was a clean-up to do in the unions and we welcome the aid of the government."

While many workers wanted to use the May 21 strike to protest against the Cliche commission, the QFL leaders limited the demands of the action to solidarity with the United Aircraft strike.

### 'Study sessions'

Instead of organizing massive rallies or demonstrations across Québec, the QFL called for decentralized "study sessions" by each union local on May 21. In Montréal, the QFL did rent a big hall, and several thousand workers spent the day listening to speeches blasting the government's role in the United Aircraft strike.

In interviews, many expressed anger that more action was not being taken against the new antilabor laws.

The CNTU and QTF leaderships aided the QFL bureaucrats in their retreat from militant action by refusing to give full support to May 21, although some locals and regional bodies of these unions did go out. Behind the scenes, the CNTU leaders were demanding concessions in the construction trades in return for active support to the QFL.

Moreover, the position taken at different times by the leaders of all three federations that the government has a legitimate right to "clean up" the labor movement helped make the union bureaucrats' retreat easier.

The large turnout for the general strike shows that the labor movement in Québec is far from defeated despite the setback dealt it by the government. An important new test of the relationship of forces is shaping up around the contract negotiations scheduled for this summer for the 250,000 public workers.

## Save Eva Forest from Franco's hangmen

The following article is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

International protest actions are urgently needed to save the lives of Spanish feminist Genoveva (Eva) Forest and three other political prisoners held in Franco's jails. The four are scheduled to go on trial on trumped-up charges of assassination. The prosecu-

tion is demanding the death penalty. Forest has already been brutally tortured.

According to information from lawyers in Spain, proceedings in two separate trials will begin June 20.

• Eva Forest, María Luisa Fernández, and J. Antonio Garmendia face charges of having helped organize the December 1973 assassination of the Spanish premier, Admiral Carrero Blanco. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 9, 1974, p. 1639.)

• Garmendia and another prisoner, Astigarrara (a report in *Le Monde* gives his name as Angel Oteagui), face charges in connection with the assassination of an officer in the Spanish riot police.

Under normal practice in Spain, defense attorneys are given five days to study the prosecution's charges. If that procedure is followed in this case, the trials would actually open June 25.

In an appeal issued May 28, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International urged that wherever possible Spanish embassies and consulates be picketed and solidarity meetings be scheduled before June 25.

Impressive support has already been mobilized for the defendants, particularly for Eva Forest, whose case has received attention in the international press.

In France, more than 500 feminists signed a half-page advertisement in the October 31, 1974, *Le Monde* calling for solidarity with Forest and other women political prisoners in Franco's jails. An international committee organized to defend Forest has been endorsed by a number of French organizations and 200 prominent figures, including Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Françoise Sagan.

The Swedish section of Amnesty International has denounced the flimsiness of the charges against Forest. The International Federation of Human Rights has also protested her arrest to the Spanish authorities.

Exiled Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco has circulated an appeal from Stockholm calling for international support to Forest's defense campaign. Playwright Peter Weiss issued an appeal on her behalf September 26 that was published in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*.

In New York, Congresswoman Bella Abzug and feminist Gloria Steinem denounced the arrest and torture of Forest at a demonstration in front of the United Nations January 24.

In the Basque country, the Workers Commissions (illegal unions) have already called for a day of protest June 11 against the ninety-day suspension of civil liberties decreed there April 25.

The LCR-ETA (VI), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, has urged that the defense of Garmendia, a Basque nationalist, be made a prime focus of these actions. The group has also urged a general strike throughout Spain on the day the trials open.

Telegrams and letters of protest against the frame-up trials of the four defendants should be addressed to F. Ruiz Jarabo, Ministerio de la Justicia, Madrid, Spain.

Expressions of solidarity with the defendants may be sent through the French feminist organization *Librairie "des femmes,"* 68, rue des Saints-Pères, 75007 Paris, France, or through the Swedish section of Amnesty International, Box 79, S-310 15 Ranneslov, Sweden.



Spanish feminist Eva Forest faces death penalty.



## Portugal: new attack on democratic rights

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

Roughly a week and a half after launching the latest and most ambitious offensive to consolidate its bonapartist power, the Portuguese military junta began a tactical retreat on the main front.

The military leaders drew back somewhat from their attack on the Socialist party, on elections, and on freedom of the press. The Socialist party, which proved able to mobilize tens of thousands of supporters in the streets and launch a damaging political counterattack against the antidemocratic policy of the junta, turned out to be too powerful an opponent to cow immediately. However, the military showed—by attacking a far weaker and politically more vulnerable obstacle to its plans for “restoring order”—that it has not changed its objectives.

### Five hundred arrested

In predawn raids May 29, military police seized 500 members of the Movimento Reorganizado do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party). This fanatical Maoist sect has followed a policy of provocation, denouncing the popular reformist regime as “social fascist.” Recently it went so far as to seize and interrogate suspected fascist plotters on its own. However, the raids were obviously designed to crush the organization outright, rather than prevent it from violating the rights of others. A May 28 Reuters dispatch noted:

“An officer leading one of the midnight raids said the party had ‘exceeded itself’ and that it was now time to put an end to its activities.”

In addition to the arrests of what must be a very substantial proportion of the total membership of the organization, at least 10 or 20 percent, the equipment in the offices was confiscated. This was by far the biggest roundup since the April 25 coup that toppled the Salazarist regime, and as a result of these arrests a high percentage of all political prisoners are opponents of the government from the left.

In its campaign against the pro-Moscow Stalinists, the MRPP has made dubious alliances with right-wing opponents of the regime. This, combined with its provocative politics, has opened it to charges of being manipulated by the right.

However, the organization attracts primarily those who want to fight against the capitalist status quo that



Military junta has picked out Maoist sect to attack because it is isolated. But raids on MRPP are aimed at democratic rights of working class as a whole.

the military regime has essentially maintained. Moreover, the immediate reason for the government's move against the MRPP was to stop it from demonstrating against a visit by NATO ships. More generally, although “arrests” made by the MRPP on May 15 led to the discovery of a right-wing terrorist plot, they also embarrassed the military regime and led to a challenging of the hierarchical command in the armed forces.

The MRPP turned over a suspected plotter to the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment, which was the first target of the March 11 rightist coup. The commander of this unit, Dinis de Almeida, has accused the chief of military security forces, Otelo de Carvalho, of naïveté about the intentions of rightist officers. De Almeida said in a May 1 interview with the French magazine *Politique Hebdo* that a majority of the military command were reactionaries.

In the Assembly of the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) that began May 19 in the Alfeite naval base, the military condemned the action of the MRPP in these terms: “The offensive of reaction and of the provocative ultraleft groups is designed primarily to divert the attention of the Portuguese revolutionary authorities from what is going on in Angola.”

### ‘Hysterical campaign’

The Communist party linked the incident involving the MRPP and the Light Artillery Regiment with the SP protests against the closing of the Lisbon daily *República*. On May 23, the CP Central Committee accused the Socialists of initiating a “hysterical” campaign against the MFA and “polarizing the reactionary and conservative forces, starting with the pseudorevolutionary ultraleftist groups.”

Also on May 23, an article in the Lisbon daily *A Capital*, where the CP has strong influence, made an amalgam between the “counterrevolutionary plot” of the MRPP, that is, the turning over of the suspected rightist terrorist to the Light Artillery Regiment, and the protests of the SP in the *República* affair.

“In this context,” Jean-Pierre Clerc wrote from Lisbon in the May 25 *Le Monde*, “the warning by the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] that the Socialist party decision to withdraw from the government could make pointless the Constituent Assembly ‘elected on the basis of the pact between the parties and the MFA’ could not fail to seem very threatening.”

However, tension between the junta and the SP eased May 30 after a meeting between the Conselho da Revolução (Council of the Revolution, the supreme command of the MFA)

and the Socialist leaders. In a joint communiqué, the military publicly admitted that there were “distortions” in Portugal's political structure and promised to correct them. At the same time, the statement indicated, the SP ministers would end the boycott of cabinet meetings, begun by them to protest the closing on May 20 of *República*, the Lisbon daily edited by Socialist party leader Raul Rego.

In the mass demonstration organized by the SP May 22 to protest the closing of *República*, Soares made quite clear that he and his party were making very limited demands on the military government: “We do not want to open up a serious political crisis. But we do not want to play only a symbolic role in the government either. We are the biggest party in Portugal. The Conselho da Revolução must say whether it wants to rule with the support of the majority we represent or in opposition to this majority.”

However, despite the SP's pledge of support for the MFA, the reality of bonapartist military rule had made its position nearly impossible.

“Finally and especially,” Clerc reported in the May 24 *Le Monde*, “the Socialists are demanding a redefinition of the jurisdiction of the Conselho da Revolução and the government. The Socialist ministers complain of being completely bypassed by the military officers. One of them confided in us: ‘At most, I am a supervisor in my ministry. To find out what concerns my department, I am reduced to reading *Le Monde*. Moreover, there have been no real cabinet meetings since the April 25 elections.’”

Inevitably the contradiction has sharpened between the reality of military rule and the appearance of parliamentary government, especially since the pact-program the officers demanded the parties sign before the elections grants formal authority to the Conselho da Revolução on all important questions.

After the overwhelming victory of the SP in the elections, the Socialist leaders pressed for a more substantial, if still subordinate, influence in the political life of the country. But instead of offering them a larger role, in deference to the majority of the Portuguese electorate that voted for the SP, the military tried to minimize the importance of the elections, and at the same time reaffirmed its preference for the CP as its political ally.

The political committee of the Conselho da Revolução made its attitude toward the SP clear in a report presented to the Assembly of the MFA on May 19, shortly before the shutting down of *República*. It rejected the SP's application for a junior partnership and the job of public-relations manager. The party was just not “disciplined” enough.

These charges were echoed May 25

by *Pravda*'s correspondent in Lisbon. The SP was attacked for “failing to honor its preelection agreements”—it had supported strikes. The Soviet Communist party organ said that “true patriots” thought the SP's attitude fitted in with “counterrevolutionary provocations designed to aggravate the economic and social situation.”

The CP has won its gold stars for good conduct precisely by using its apparatus to hold back workers struggles, and when the need arose, actually breaking strikes, as in the case of the postal workers. These examples are odious to the most militant sections of the Portuguese working class. They have in fact enabled the SP to make progress among these layers at the expense of the CP.

If the SP had mentioned this, it would have had to take a position on the demands of the military government in the labor field.

In fact, the SP's National Labor Secretariat responded to charges of “indiscipline” by hurling the same charge back at the CP. In a communiqué in the May 21 issue of *Portugal Socialista*, it said: “It was not the Socialist party that provoked or supported the strikes in the hotel industry, the printing trade, and the electrical and electronics industry, but leaders and shop stewards recognized as supporters of the CP and who are doing party work in the unions. . . .”

### ‘Discipline’ needed

However, Social Democratic unions are ill-adapted to impose the kind of “discipline” needed by a backward capitalism. SPs lack the kind of apparatus, ideological uniformity, and discipline needed for such a task. This is presumably why the SP is not trusted by the military in the trade-union field. The fact is, while the SP has shown itself no less opportunist than the CP, it has proved unable to take the same kind of rigid stand against workers struggles as its Stalinist rival.

The Portuguese SP seems thus both unable to perform the task the military expects of it or to be able to live within the framework of a parliamentary facade without any real participation in the government. Very quickly after the elections, it began to feel the contradictions of the kind of regime it accepted when it signed the pact-program.

However, the military also soon learned that the contradiction was a

Continued on page 26



Paratroopers stand guard outside of closed down Socialist party newspaper.



Socialist party leader Mário Soares leads protest against closing of ‘República.’

# NY rallies demand: 'Stop cutbacks,

By Lee Smith

NEW YORK, June 4—This city is seething with protests against the cutbacks in public services and layoffs of city workers ordered by Mayor Abraham Beame.

At noon today, several thousand union members gathered outside the Wall Street offices of the First National City Bank in a spirited rally sponsored by municipal workers unions.

Yesterday, 2,000 people demonstrated in front of Governor Hugh Carey's office to protest cutbacks in state mental health programs. That action

For editorial on 'Next steps in New York City,' see page 10.

was called by the Citizens' Emergency Committee to Stop the Cuts in N.Y.C. Mental Hygiene Services.

And on Monday, June 9, the United Federation of Teachers will sponsor a demonstration at city hall from 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Also on June 9, the board of education is planning a protest action against cutbacks. Students, teachers, and other school workers will walk out into the streets for "a few minutes of silence."

The predominant union visible at the Wall Street rally today was District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which is the largest city workers union. Most of the crowd that jammed the intersection of Front and Wall streets, overflowing a block in all four directions, sported green paper District Council 37 hats and waved District Council 37 placards.

There were also signs from AFSCME Local 371, Social Service Employees Union, that read simply, "No Layoffs," and from Teamsters Local 237, as well as a number of banners carried by political groups. One banner read: "Money for Jobs & Services, Not for Banks—Vote Socialist Workers in '76."

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, chaired the rally. Sounding a theme that would be frequently repeated, he said, "We represent more than just the 200,000 workers in municipal unions. We represent the citizens of New York who need the services of this great city."

To cheers and applause, Gotbaum told the crowd, "We are here to say that people are more important than profits! We are here to demonstrate that banks cannot put themselves



Militant/Baxter Smith

June 4 protest on Wall Street demands: 'Put people before profits!'

above the interests of the people of the city of New York."

Interest payments to the banks and wealthy bondholders are one of the biggest expenses in the city budget, and have been rising sharply while spending for social services has been cut back. Several union officials announced that their unions' accounts and pension funds were being withdrawn from First National City Bank as a means of pressuring it to "help New York."

The spirit of the rally was perhaps best expressed by the repeated singing of "We Shall Not Be Moved," a traditional union song, with new verses such as: "The banks rob the people," "The workers make your profits," "We need schools and hospitals," "People before profits," and "Tax the bankers' profits."

A number of union officials who spoke stressed the impact Beame's cuts will have on all New York residents.

Richard Vizzini, head of the Union of Firefighters, said that 90 fire victims had died, 481 had been injured, and 1,668 fire fighters had been injured in the past two-and-a-half years in communities affected by the closing or relocation of fire companies during that time.

Frank Sisto of the Sanitation Officers Association told the crowd, "If these layoffs come about, I'm telling you now that instead of getting collec-

tion even one day a week, you will have hundreds of thousands of tons of garbage in the streets!"

Sisto continued, "This is not just a fight of public employees versus the banks. All citizens are concerned!"

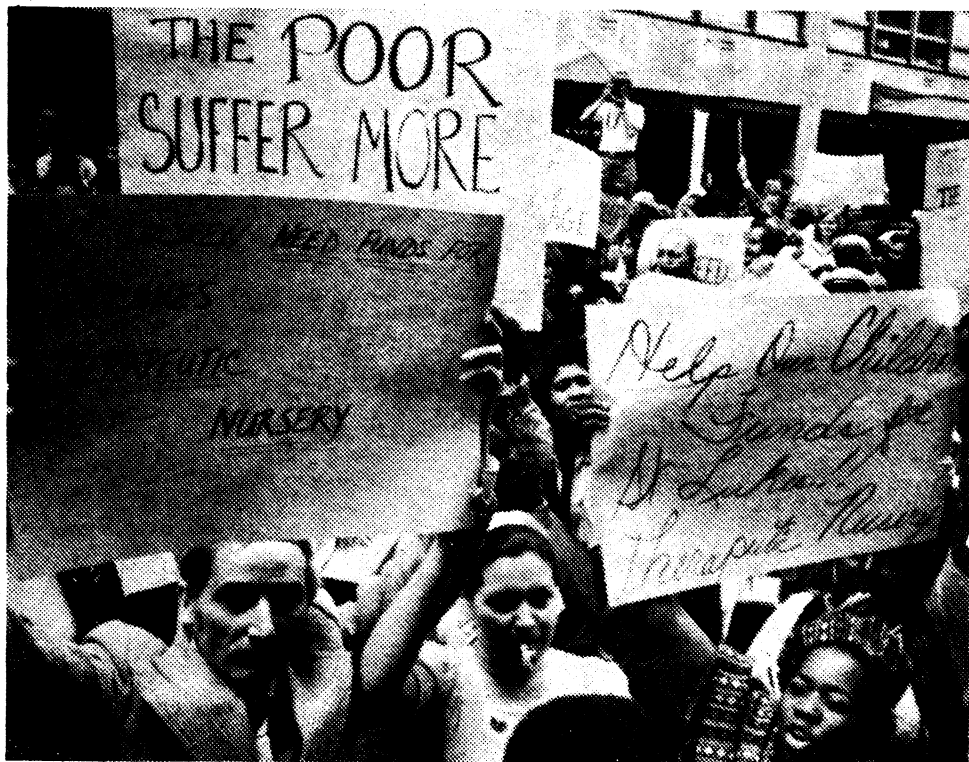
Barry Feinstein, president of Teamsters Local 237, which represents 15,000 city employees in various occupations, declared:

"No matter where we look, no matter where we go, we have one message, and that is to the mayor, to the legislature, to the governor—and, yes, to the banking interests—you cannot take it off the backs of the workers! Without us, the people who make this city go, who make it tick, this town will be destroyed."

"When we stand here and talk about jobs," said Lillian Roberts, associate director of District Council 37, "we're not talking about we want welfare, we're not talking about we want unemployment. We're saying *we want to work!*"

"I feel we're going to have a very difficult time ahead of us as a union," Roberts said, "because they're going to try to pit black against white, male against female, and we can't let them do that!"

Also speaking was George Altomare, a vice-president of the UFT, who announced the June 9 demonstration at city hall and urged everyone to join it.



Demonstration of 2,000 hits state cutbacks in mental health care funds

## Student coalition organizes anticutback

By Baxter Smith

NEW YORK, June 4—Rehearsal for graduation exercises at Central Commercial High School got short shrift this morning, so if some student goofs during the real thing June 20 at Carnegie Hall, everybody'll know why.

Rehearsal was supposed to run until 10:30 a.m., but it only went till 9:30, and you can blame it on those people from the New York Student Coalition Against Racism. They were the ones who came to school earlier this week talking about the rally on Wall Street to protest cutbacks and layoffs. And this morning about sixty of the seniors joined the student coalition's feeder march to the rally.

Instead of marching into the auditorium to "Pomp and Circumstance," Ken Small, William Jackson, Brenda Martin, and all the rest of them went marching into the streets and down Third Avenue protesting city budget cuts and chanting, "The city has money/ We're no fools/ Take it out of the banks and put it in the schools."

Student coalition activists handed out hundreds of leaflets headlined "Stop the Racist Cutbacks" that stated:

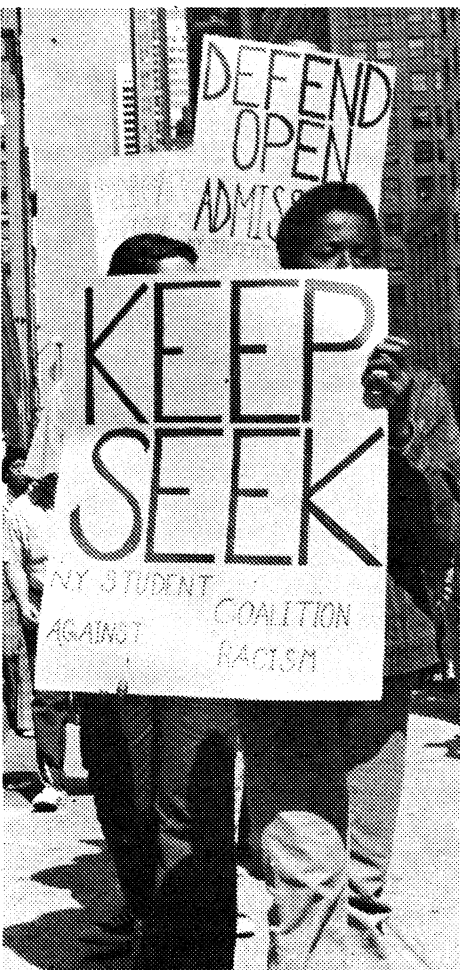
"We must answer Beame and the banks with a united action. The June 4th rally called by the Municipal Labor

Committee is a good beginning. We must continue to demonstrate against these cuts by reaching out and involving everyone affected. We can stop the banks from profiting off the city's misery. We must say: *Not one cent to the banks* at the expense of the Black, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and working people of the city!"

If the mayor's massive budget cutbacks go through, Sam Manuel, a New York student coalition coordinator pointed out, "there will be about 20,000 students unable to attend the CUNY [City University of New York] schools. Twenty grade schools will close next year, class sizes will increase, and 5,000 school personnel will be eliminated."

Just the other day the Beame administration announced there would be only about 110,000 summer jobs for young people in the city, while there are about 500,000 youngsters who need them. And "extra pressure" from those "that have not suffered [from unemployment] in the past," a Beame representative said, may mean that many of these jobs will not go to needy Black and Puerto Rican youth.

Some of those needy Black and Puerto Rican youth were right outside the three-story, red-brick school building on busy Forty-Second Street this



Militant/Baxter Smith

morning, and a grave outlook was detected in their remarks.

"A whole lot of us don't have no money. And a high school education is not enough, so we have to go to college, but we can't without the SEEK program," young Brenda Martin said.

She was marching along with her schoolmates to protest Beame's intention to eliminate the SEEK higher education program that enables Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority students to attend the CUNY schools. She was carrying a placard that read "Hands off CUNY." It had a pair of hands drawn on it.

Just about all the students on the feeder march were Black or Puerto Rican, and at least three-quarters of them were young women.

Ken Small is a senior and is vice-president of the student body. He said he was marching chiefly to preserve the SEEK program. He was accepted at Medgar Evers College, but if they cut out SEEK he doesn't know whether he'll be able to attend.

"Look," he said, "I'm from East Harlem, and 90 percent of the people there have an elementary-school reading level. That's like living in a country where the literacy rate is 20 to 25 percent. So there's got to be free



# layoffs!

If the cuts go through, Altomare said, "there will be 14,000 teachers who will be fired, who will not be in the classroom to teach your kids."

A few days before the rally, on May 29, Mayor Beame unveiled two "alternative" city budgets for the fiscal year beginning July 1. Either one will mean drastic reductions in city services.

Beame's "austerity" budget, which is based on receiving \$641 million in new state aid, calls for eliminating 30,032 city jobs through layoffs and attrition.

If the new aid is not granted, Beame says, he will resort to a "crisis" budget with an additional 37,315 layoffs. The biggest cuts come in education (down \$125.7 million from the previous year) and health services (down \$110.7 million).

In the next few weeks, public hearings must be held on the budget, and the city council must discuss and approve it. Meanwhile, thousands of city workers are already getting pink slips.

The cutbacks come from all levels of government. The June 3 demonstration protested state cuts in mental health programs. Dr. June Christmas, city commissioner of mental health, retardation, and alcoholism, told the crowd that the cuts mean close to 200,000 city residents will lose services they are now receiving.

"Speaking above a din of whistles heard by employees in the Governor's office behind closed windows 10 flights up," the June 4 *New York Times* reported, "Dr. Christmas said the cutback in state appropriations from \$78-million to \$50-million would produce a 35 per cent cut in the outpatient clinical services of the municipal hospitals and would eliminate the services performed on a community level by 35 voluntary agencies while reducing similar services performed by 106 others."

Many people at both the June 3 and June 4 protests expressed the idea that more such demonstrations would be needed. "You got to keep protesting to keep the pressure up," said James McMillon, a staff worker at Sydenham Hospital and a member of AFSCME, at the Wall Street rally.

"If you don't protest," McMillon told the *Militant*, "you won't get anything."

## actions

education through college for these type of people."

The idea for the feeder march came from a Central alumnus, Nate Copeland, a supporter of the student coalition who worked on the May 17 March on Boston. Copeland now attends Medgar Evers College, but he still has some friends at Central, and he arranged for student coalition representatives to get into the school and discuss the march with student leaders and administrators.

He was heartened at the reception and the turnout the students gave to the feeder march. "We overcame the difficulties of the administration, and I think everybody's spirits are high because of the turnout," he remarked at the march's conclusion.

Well, almost everybody had high spirits—as they trekked over rough, bumpy New York streets, chanting slogans that caromed off the tall buildings, and drawing curious looks, friendly waves, and greetings from people along the way—everybody but one young woman in a green pantsuit, who arrived at the Wall Street rally tired and hobbling.

"Whew! I need to sit down," she exclaimed. Her feet, planted in four-inch-high platform shoes, were killing her.

# Beame's budget: day-care children and staff face axe

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—The cruelty and irrationality of Mayor Abraham Beame's "austerity program" for this city is nowhere more evident than in the cutbacks in day care.

The threatened closing of day-care centers will force thousands of working mothers to quit their jobs and stay home. Many will have to go on welfare, worsening the city's economic slide.

On the surface, day care comes out better than many other vital city services in Beame's budget figures. The bulk of the money for the program comes from federal grants, which are matched by city and state funds. All of these are slated to remain the same.

## Rising costs

What hasn't stayed the same is the cost of the program—which has been rising sharply along with all other prices. So budget allocations that stay the same in dollar amounts really mean cuts in services.

Nobody seems to know exactly how many centers will be closed, how many staff workers will be laid off, or how many more children will have to go on the already crowded waiting lists.

Officials at the Agency for Child Development told the *Militant* less than four weeks before the new city budget was to go into effect that figures "are not yet available."

They admitted that past funding levels have been inadequate. Only 52,000 children participate in the three programs administered by the ACD. According to the ACD, based on the 1970 census there are an additional 200,000 children who should be served under these programs.

A survey two years ago found that almost half of the parents served by the day-care program were on welfare—many of them in training programs or looking for jobs. The rest were working, especially women heads of households. The median income of those working was only \$5,500.

One of the centers where parents and staff are worrying about the effect of cutbacks is Our Children's Center on the New York City Community College campus in Brooklyn.

Like many others throughout the city, it was set up in the early 1970s in response to repeated protests by women, particularly Black and Puerto Rican women, demanding expanded child care.

Although the capacity of the centers has tripled since 1970, they are seriously overcrowded. Our Children's Center, with an official capacity of 45, actually has almost 60 children enrolled. The waiting list, currently 100, keeps growing.

The families who use the NYCCC center, like the population of the college as a whole, are almost all Black or Puerto Rican and poor.

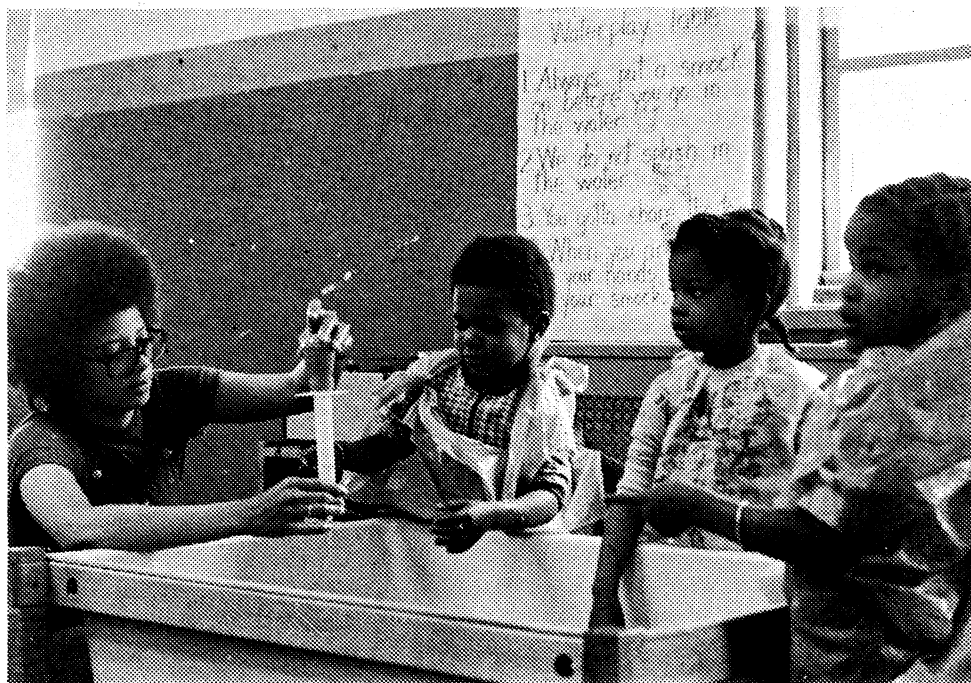
## 'Outraged' by cuts

With this great need for more child care, not less, "We've been outraged by the number of cuts we'll be forced to make," Lenore Skoble, director of Our Children's Center, told the *Militant*.

"This budget just does not keep pace with inflation," she said. "In the last year just our paper goods have almost doubled in price, but that's not reflected in our budget."

Aside from staff salaries, major expenses of a center like this are rent, insurance, and other fixed costs. "As a result," Skoble explained, "the only way to close the \$9,000 deficit we'll have because of rising costs is to lay off some of our classroom staff."

The center now has nine people on classroom staff, three per room as required by city regulations. Beame wants to "consolidate" the teaching



Pat Wright, AFSCME shop steward, with preschoolers at 'Our Children's Center.'

positions. Skoble warned that this would change the program from a learning experience for the children to a "custodial"—in other words, baby-sitting—operation.

Bobbie Sweeting, chairperson of the all-parent board of directors of the center, explained some of the other ways the ACD is chipping away at the quality of the day-care program.

"We've gotten the word, though not officially in writing, to stop admissions of two-year-olds," she said. City officials are allocating funds to the centers on the basis of the number of children enrolled. Since regulations allow only twelve children per room at the two-year-old level, but eighteen at three or more, the message is obvious.

The centers are also being pushed to lay off some of the family counselors, who handle liaison with the parents and help obtain other services the children may need, such as medical attention.

## 'Vital for children'

"Day care is a vital service that people absolutely need in order to have a job or go to school," Sweeting told the *Militant*.

"It is a vital need for the children, too. By the time children with the day-care experience have reached grammar school they know the alphabet, they know numbers, colors, concepts like left and right and up and down. Studies have shown that children who have this experience achieve more when they go on to public school."

"I think they're cutting what's most necessary—fire department, schools—because of politics," she added with some bitterness. "I think the money is there. They're just trying to hide it or not find it."

Pat Wright is the shop steward at Our Children's Center for American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 205. She said the "budget crisis" had already been used by the city administration to drive down the real wages of day-care workers.

"We just signed a new one-year contract with the city and got a 5 percent raise," she said angrily. "Take home, that's an increase of two or three dollars every two weeks, definitely not enough to keep up with the way prices are going."

Contrary to all the propaganda about exorbitant salaries of city workers, Wright said, the average day-care worker makes about \$8,000 a year.

## 'Have to stop them'

Interviewed shortly before the June 4 labor rally against cutbacks and layoffs, all three women were enthusiastic about the upcoming demonstration.

Sweeting thought it was timely, "because when these cuts start, you know they will spread, and we have to put a stop to them."

A united, city-wide demonstration was appropriate, she pointed out, because the cutbacks are all interrelated. For example, slashes in the city's health budget will mean reductions, if not elimination, of the medical attention now given to children in day-care programs.

Wright said she thought the April 26 march for jobs in Washington, D.C., and the June 4 rally were "good first steps," but that a sustained action campaign would be needed to stop Beame's cuts. Her own union, she pointed out, could have done much more to publicize the June 4 rally among parents and union members, and to inform them about what is really going on with the city budget.

Parents and day-care workers are natural allies, she said, and have fought side by side in the past against similar attacks, such as when the government tried to raise day-care fees two years ago.

"And when our union demonstrated at city hall this spring to force them to bargain seriously with us," Wright said, "many parents joined in."

"Our local by itself may not be strong enough to stop the cuts," she said. "But together with other unions, with the parents, with the communities, women's groups, and everyone who supports day care, we can have a real impact."



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
Delafield Hospital workers dramatize impending health care cuts at Wall Street rally.

## Independence groups targeted

# FBI discloses Puerto Rican Cointelpro

By Beverly Crain

The U.S. Justice Department revealed May 23 the existence of Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") operations that targeted the Puerto Rican independence movement for an extensive FBI disruption program from 1960 through 1971.

Like the previously disclosed Cointelpros against the "New Left," the antiwar movement, Black groups, the Socialist Workers party, and others, the operation against the Puerto Rican independence movement was aimed at disrupting and destroying a force the government feared could win mass support.

The Puerto Rican operation was one of five previously undisclosed Cointelpros. The others included programs to put "organized crime elements in competition with the Communist Party USA" and "foreign intelligence" operations aimed at groups in the United States and abroad.

This new information—released in a letter from U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi to Rep. Peter Rodino, head of the House Judiciary Committee—contradicts the testimony of former attorney general William Saxbe in November. Saxbe claimed then that the seven Cointelpro operations released at that time were the only ones conducted.

"After Attorney General Saxbe announced the existence of COINTELPRO," Levi wrote to Rodino, "... the FBI sent a message to its field offices advising them to go through their files on the seven COINTELPRO operations to classify material which was properly classifiable.

"In response to that message, one field office replied that the list of seven programs was incomplete. A search of FBI files ensued, along with interviews with FBI personnel who might have known of other programs. The file search and interviews turned up five programs."

"I'm not sure there's anybody in the FBI who can tell you how we missed these things," one FBI official commented.

A Justice Department official said that Levi could not be sure that the FBI had not conducted even more programs.

The FBI has refused to release the files on these operations or to identify the groups and individuals involved, but Levi's letter gives a description of what at least some of these activities entailed.

### 'Violence-prone' groups

The largest program, thirty-seven separate actions, was—in Levi's words—"aimed at militant and violence-prone groups" that sought Puerto Rican independence. This is a classic example of making the victim look like the criminal, as Puerto Rican independence groups have been among the most prominent targets for acts of violence by right-wingers and cops.

The program began in August 1960, a year after the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI—Proindependence Movement, predecessor of the Puerto Rican Socialist party) was founded in Puerto Rico and shortly after the 1959 victory of the Cuban Revolution. The fear that Puerto Rican militants might find the victorious revolution an attractive model for their own U.S.-dominated island must have been one motive that prompted the FBI program.

According to Levi's account:

"Three thousand copies of an article published in a Cuban youth publication were mailed to students in Puerto Rico. The article indicated friendship between the Cuban communist move-



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

Demonstrations demanding independence, such as one above in San Juan, prompted FBI to institute operation aimed at militant Puerto Rican groups.

ment and a Puerto Rican independence group. The aim of the mailing was to discourage noncommunist students from supporting the independence group."

The only student group in Puerto Rico at that time favoring independence was the Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI—Proindependence University Federation), and the action was clearly aimed at members of that group.

Thirty of the other actions directed against the Puerto Rican groups were of a similar "anonymous mailing" type. The mailings ranged from those passing along "embarrassing" information on members of the group to those charging the groups' leaders with mishandling of funds.

The other six actions included furnishing FBI-fabricated information to the news media:

"An editorial linking a student independence group with a communist controlled organization was sent to a newspaper. On another occasion, an article was furnished to a newspaper. An anonymous telephone call was made to news media informing them that an official of the Communist Party USA was arriving in Puerto Rico. A copy of a joint statement by the Communist Party USA leader and an independence group leader was later furnished to media."

While the thirty-seven actions described are pernicious enough, it is only part of the story of FBI attempts to disrupt and harass the proindependence movement.

In December 1974, a former secretary for the San Juan FBI office revealed at

a news conference called by the Puerto Rican Socialist party that during the time she worked for the bureau, from 1969 through 1971, the FBI maintained 160 agents in Puerto Rico whose sole responsibility was to persecute the independence groups there.

Some of the bureau's activities involved approaching students to infiltrate FUPI, illegal mail tampering, and inspection of bank records of proindependence groups.

The program disclosed by Levi supposedly ended in 1971. However, harassment by the FBI and other government agencies has not abated since that time. In December of last year the PSP filed a complaint with the Civil Rights Commission of Puerto Rico charging the U.S. and Puerto Rican governments with a conspiracy to outlaw, disrupt, and discredit the party.

In response to the latest revelations, PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás wrote in the May 26 *Claridad*, the PSP daily:

"Evidently, the focus of the program to which Levi refers in his letters was the Movimiento Pro Independencia of Puerto Rico, although it also included the PIP [Puerto Rican Independence party] and other patriotic organizations.

"Now when the Puerto Rican Socialist party has been able to substantially increase the activity and influence reached by the MPI in the previous decade, and when we have seen a greater involvement of the FBI in the continuous persecution of our leaders and members, there can be no doubt whatsoever that these repressive pro-

grams have been intensified."

In an attempt to provoke organized crime into violent attacks on the Communist party, the FBI instituted "Operation Hoodwink" in October 1966. Reportedly terminated in July 1968, the operation, according to Levi, consisted of four anonymous mailings.

The first letter sent to an organized-crime figure enclosed an article written as though it were by the CP. The article attacked labor practices at the crime figure's business.

Another letter was mailed to three organized crime leaders, denouncing them for their alleged part in a bombing of the CP headquarters in New York.

The third action involved a letter criticizing organized crime sent to the editor of the *Worker*, the CP's newspaper at that time. Apparently it was never printed.

And the last FBI letter to a union local, ostensibly from the CP, vowed to eliminate organized crime in that union.

While it is not known for sure whether the program brought any results—there have been unsolved bombings of the CP's headquarters since that time—Attorney General Levi now brands the operation as "foolish."

"I think they were foolish because I think the sending of anonymous letters, false letters, trying to get the organized crime people angry at the Communists doesn't work very well, and therefore it's foolish," he told reporters on May 29.

### 'Foreign intelligence'

The remaining three programs were classified as "secret" because they were in the area of "foreign intelligence."

Program number one, in existence from June through August 1961, included an anonymous letter charging that one member of a "foreign-dominated" group was disloyal. In another case, a letter was sent to a leader of a group outside the United States raising questions about how its support group in this country managed its funds.

Program number two ran from January 1969 through March 1971 and consisted of mailings of flyers to members of a "foreign nationality" group in the United States.

Seven of the twelve foreign intelligence actions make up program number three, spanning the years 1961 through 1968. Levi's letter provides the most detailed description of foreign FBI activity yet disclosed, including FBI collaboration with foreign police agencies.

The following are some of these activities:

- The wife of a member of a foreign Communist party was interviewed and her visa revoked to discourage the political activities of her husband.

- Information was furnished to police authorities in another country regarding contacts between U.S. Communist party members and Communist party members in that country.

- The FBI was behind the preparation of legal charges of illegal land deals against a person reportedly working with a foreign Communist party.

- The FBI provided "support" to two foreign organizations attempting to oust Communists from the leadership of those organizations.

In what must be the biggest task they ever tackled, Levi has asked the Justice Department Civil Rights Division to determine whether these operations involved the "violation of any person's civil rights by the FBI."



## CoDEL lends support

# Campaign finance law under 'all-out' challenge

By Nancy Cole

"Not only is the law, which restructures the entire system of financing Federal campaigns, full of ambiguities and even contradictions; it is also under all-out legal challenge, and no one is sure whether it will survive long enough for the 1976 voting."

That is the opinion of *New York Times* reporter R. W. Apple, who recently wrote a three-part series on the new federal campaign finance law, the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974. The law went into effect in January and was immediately challenged in the courts by a coalition of groups and individuals. The challenges range from left-liberal Eugene McCarthy, who is running for president as an "independent," to New York Conservative-Republican Sen. James Buckley. The New York Civil Liberties Union is also a plaintiff.

In a joint statement prior to filing the lawsuit, they said, "The end result [of the law], we fear, will not be fairer elections but rather a restriction of dissenting points of view that will make it harder for independent candidates and small political parties to make themselves heard in the marketplace of ideas."

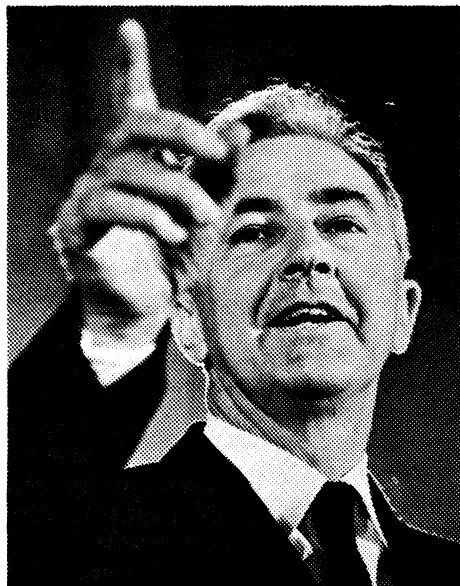
Heralded by its backers as the most sweeping set of political reforms in the nation's history, the finance law was Congress's response to the massive distrust generated by Watergate. "We couldn't go back to the American people and tell them that we had no answer to the abuses that they had seen," says Rep. William Frenzel (R-Minn.).

Thus emerged the 1974 law, which not only provided an "answer" for the American people, but gave the Democratic and Republican lawmakers another opportunity to reinforce the two parties' monopoly on electoral politics.

### 'Anticorruption' laws

Laws claiming to end corruption in political campaigns are nothing new. Such laws were enacted in 1925 and in 1972 (just before Watergate).

The new law, however, is touted as more likely to solve the problem because of its more stringent requirements. Here are some of the major new provisions:



McCarthy: 'End result will be restriction of dissenting points of view.'

- Individuals may now contribute no more than \$1,000 to any one candidate in a federal election and no more than a total of \$25,000 to all candidates.

- Spending limits are imposed, with the limit for presidential campaigns set at \$10 million per candidate for the primaries and \$20 million for the general election.

- Public financing is provided for the Democrats and Republicans through a matching fund of up to \$5 million in the primaries and an outright grant of \$20 million for each candidate in the general election.

Smaller parties, such as the Socialist Workers party, are effectively excluded from this government handout. "Mi-

nor" parties need 5 percent of the vote to qualify, and none of the existing smaller parties can meet that criterion.

The provisions requiring the disclosure of the names, addresses, and occupations of all those contributing more than \$100 to a candidate remain the same as in the 1972 law.

The McCarthy-Buckley lawsuit challenges the constitutionality of nearly every provision of the act, directing its main fire at the contribution and spending limits and the public financing. They argue that these provisions deny candidates and their supporters their freedom of speech and association and discriminate against independent and smaller party candidates in violation of the First Amendment.

Oral arguments on the case will begin before the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., on June 13.

For a while it looked as though even the Justice Department was unwilling to defend the law. On May 23, the department announced that doubts about the constitutionality of several provisions—the contribution limits and the broad powers of the Federal Elections Commission established to administer the law—were causing it to reconsider an all-out legal defense.

This would have been only the second time in history that the Justice Department failed to defend a federal law. But by May 29 the government had smoothed over its interagency differences and announced that it would defend the entire law. The only concession to department skeptics will be a separate brief defining the government's limited view of the commission's authority.

Even without the Justice Department's full participation, the law's defenders would not have been "lacking for troops, resources, or legal talent," according to a private lawyer working on the defense. Intervening in support of the law are Common Cause, the self-styled citizens' lobby, which has made a crusade of promoting and defending the federal law and similar state acts; the League of Women Voters; and the Center for Public Financing of Elections.

These defenders of the law willingly concede that it discriminates against parties other than the Democrats and Republicans, but contend that these two parties are entitled to favored treatment. After all, they argue, the courts have allowed other discriminatory laws to stand, such as those requiring huge numbers of signatures to qualify smaller parties for the ballot.

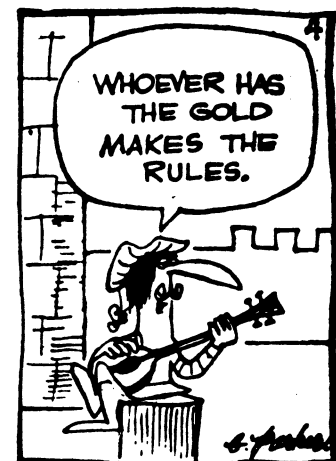
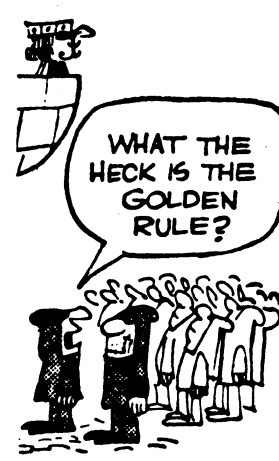
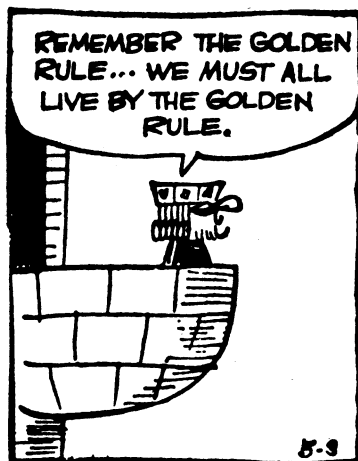
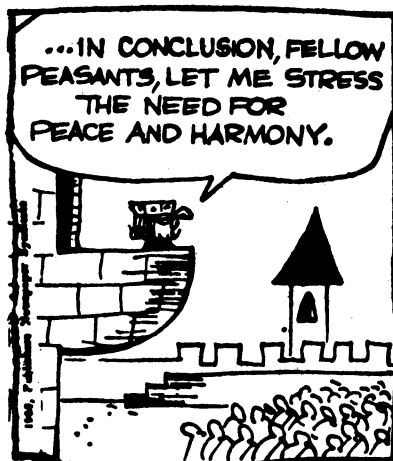
"There is nothing in the Constitution," says Common Cause Associate General Counsel Kenneth Guido, "that says you cannot by law focus the energies of the nation into two political parties."

### Obstacle to dissident parties

This blunt admission of the law's real intent and effect reinforces the position of those who have opposed these campaign "reform" laws on the basis that they are undemocratic obstacles to the development of dissident political parties.

One group opposing these laws is the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, a national organization whose purpose is to initiate and support legal

*Continued on page 26*



## Denver RSB defends political ideas with clubs

By Ruth Kean

DENVER—On two recent occasions here the Revolutionary Student Brigade has engaged in physical intimidation against the Young Socialist Alliance.

On April 12, two YSAers were excluded from a public meeting sponsored by the RSB at Metropolitan State College. One of the YSAers was threatened with physical violence by RSB members.

Another YSA member was ordered to leave during the discussion period after she asked a question about RSB's opposition to busing to desegregate the schools in Boston.

The campus newspaper, the *Transcript*, covered the incident, interviewing YSA and RSB members, as well as others present at the meeting. The RSB tried to defend itself by claiming that YSAers are "disruptive." Students who are unaffiliated to either organization told the *Transcript* that the YSA had done nothing disruptive.

The next issue carried a letter signed by several students calling on the RSB to repudiate the use of violent and exclusionary tactics.

The following week RSB member Pat Neil wrote a letter inviting students to

upcoming RSB events. In it she stated, "Please note: Future open meetings of the RSB Organizing Committee will be open to ALL. However, people who attempt to disrupt these meetings will not be permitted to do so."

It looked as if the RSB might be backing off a bit under the pressure of the opposition to their intimidation tactics. However, in the next issue of the *Transcript*, RSBer Frank Chavez again accused the YSA of being "disruptive" and added a new charge—that the YSA is a "good friend of the ruling class." Declaring that the RSB does "not uphold the YSA's 'right' to disrupt," he implied that the RSB would continue to ban YSAers from public meetings.

A few days later, on May 18, seven YSA members went to an RSB-sponsored concert at a bookstore near campus. They stood outside the store selling the *Militant* and passing out Socialist Workers party election campaign material. When a member of the RSB told them to stop, they insisted on their right to sell papers and distribute literature on a public sidewalk.

The RSBer returned to the bookstore and came back a few minutes later

with seven others, each armed with two-by-fours. They told the YSAers that they could attend the concert if they "put that shit away" (the literature) and did not take part in the discussion that was to follow the music.

It is clear that the RSB feels threatened by open political discussion and that it is such discussion that they consider "disruptive." Their positions are not strong enough to stand on their own, and they apparently think they need to be defended with clubs. As one YSA member who was present at the bookstore remarked, "The *Militant* is just as threatening to them as one of those clubs."

A letter condemning this new act of intimidation on the part of the RSB was circulated on campus. Among the signers of the letter were Ricky Kemm, president of MECHA; Jessie Corona of Chicana Welfare Rights Organization; John Morgan and Ginny Calloway, president and vice-president of the Associated Students at Metropolitan State College; Elise Clark of the All-African Student Union; and Dave Cooper, the owner of the bookstore where the incident occurred.



Militant/Janice Cline

RSB thinks disrupting sales of *Militant* will silence criticism of its political positions.

## Next steps in NYC

Where do we go from here? That is the question facing the unionists, students, and other New York residents who have marched and rallied against city hall's plans to slash social services and lay off city workers.

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate for 1976, joined the June 4 demonstration on Wall Street. His supporters distributed 9,000 copies of the SWP platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People" (7,000 in English and 2,000 in Spanish), and 14,000 copies of a statement by Camejo. It said, in part:

"There are really only two proposals for ending the New York City budget crisis—making working people pay, or placing the burden on the banks and those who can afford it. Mayor Beame has chosen to safeguard the profits of the rich. How can we force city hall to reverse its priorities?

"Today's action, and the April 26 rally for jobs, are good beginnings. But we must continue. It will take a massive social movement, made up of all the victims of Beame's cutbacks.

"Those in unions must unite with organizations of Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chinese; with community groups; high school and college students; welfare recipients; parents' associations; the unemployed.

"As a first step, a conference of representatives from these groups should be held, to plan ongoing action against the cutbacks. Such a meeting could call for a united march on city hall of hundreds of thousands of victims of the cutbacks. We can be sure that such a show of strength would be a powerful step toward forcing Mayor Beame and the bankers to pull back from their callous attacks.

"Mayor Beame blames the Republicans for the crisis. The Republicans blame the Democrats. Both place the blame on working people for their refusal to relinquish their already inadequate wages. Meanwhile 16,000 city workers receive their pink slips. The fact is both parties are to blame. Both place the profit demands of the banks ahead of the human needs of New York City workers and residents.

"The Socialist Workers party has a different alternative. I am campaigning for the following measures:

"Place a moratorium on interest payments to the rich.

"End all U.S. military spending.

"Launch a massive public works program.

"For a shorter workweek with no cut back in pay."

## Disarm war makers

Washington keeps 7,000 nuclear warheads in Europe. On May 29 it made explicit its willingness to use them.

In a censored version of a report given to Congress, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger insisted that it is "impossible to rule out NATO first use of theater nuclear forces. . . . If the alternative is, for example, major loss of NATO territory or forces, NATO political leaders may choose to accept the risks of first use."

Schlesinger's statement, timed to coincide with President Ford's talks with NATO leaders in Europe, was not an isolated aberration. It came within weeks of the *Mayaguez* affair and on the heels of a series of threats against North Korea—including statements about the U.S. readiness to use nuclear weapons.

Just as every aggressor in history, the U.S. imperialists claim that they are only trying to defend themselves. Whether in Taiwan, Korea, the Middle East, Berlin, or Panama, they claim to be guarding against foreign aggression.

But the real role of U.S. military forces abroad was summed up in *Time* magazine May 12. Commenting on the naval forces in the Mediterranean, *Time* wrote, ". . . the Soviet fleet, powerful as it is, is still regarded as basically defensive; its main weapons are the surface-to-surface missiles targeted on the U.S. carriers. The Sixth Fleet's two carriers—at present the *Forrestal* and the *Roosevelt*—are decidedly offensive weapons, with aircraft that, from positions in the eastern Mediterranean, could penetrate the Soviet heartland."

The rulers in Washington know that new wars will be necessary to maintain their worldwide financial empire. That is why they keep 300,000 troops in Europe, and their floating arsenals in the oceans of the world.

Humanity has already paid too dearly for the illusion that peace pacts, *détentes* between governments, or "wars to end all war" could stop the capitalist system from plunging the world into new, far more ghastly slaughter. The current *détente* between the bureaucrats in Moscow and the U.S. imperialists will not stop a new war. Only a socialist revolution in America, by disarming the war makers, can do that.

### Setting an example

I have just read the letter in the May 23 issue of the *Militant* from our brother in prison in Illinois. I would like to make this contribution [to the Militant Prisoner Fund] on his behalf so that he may have the opportunity to read the *Militant*.

I know that this contribution is small, but it is all I can afford now as I am suffering from the capitalists' inflation-recession games, as is the entire working class in America.

I hope that others will also contribute to insure that our brothers and sisters in the prisons and jails across the nation are kept informed, because they are with us in our struggle against capitalist oppression.

Jeffrey Van Ness

San Diego, California

### Good case

I would like very much to contribute to the *Militant*, but having been out of work for six months all I can give is my good will and moral support.

Anything we can do to get these lying, murdering, cheating crooks out of power is surely worth the effort.

A government that can't turn over a little college (Colegio Chávez) to a minority from whom it stole a third of the country deserves to be replaced. The Vietnamese quislings get hundreds of millions when they should be home standing trial as the scum they are.

We have been trespassing upon the Native American's land for 500 years and to him we owe nearly everything.

A.C.H.

Eagle Creek, Oregon

### Double standard

The hypocrisy and stupidity of the American capitalist media has been revealed more blatantly in reportage of the attacks on Cambodia than is usually the case.

While blaring out the American "victory" in front-page headlines, the *Milwaukee Journal* has carried smaller articles near the front page covering the seizure by the U.S. Coast Guard of the Polish fishing trawler *Kalmar* 10.8 miles from San Francisco.

Was this ship carrying military cargo as the United States admits the *Mayaguez* was? No. Has Poland recently been at war with the United States, as Washington has been with Cambodia? No.

Maybe it's a good thing the Polish government doesn't operate on the Kissinger-Ford law of the sea, or San Francisco would have been bombed and Polish marines would be occupying Canada.

Bob Schwarz

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

### Black men equally oppressed?

I am writing in response to Linda Jenness's statements concerning liberation of Black women. [See *Militant*, May 16.] As a Black student and a product of a broken home, I must say that I disagree with Ms. Jenness.

I went to an all-Black college in the South, and the ratio of Black women students was greater than the ratio of Black male students.

As far as employment goes, Ms. Jenness's statement does have some validity. But what she fails to see is that there are many times a Black woman can find employment when a

Black man can't. Consequently, this makes the Black woman lose respect for the Black man, and the Black man out of disgust and frustration leaves the home and many times turns to alcohol.

As for white women's liberation, I feel that there is a legitimate gripe, but both white and Black women have a better chance of advancing than Black men. In fact, there was a time not too long ago that even if a Black man looked at a white woman the wrong way, he would have been lynched without a trial.

The white man puts the Black man on the lowest level so that he will not have any opposition, and in the process makes the Black women disrespect him because of his lack of influence.

Ms. Jenness's statement about employment of Black women can also apply to Black men. Outside of a few strategic positions, there aren't any Black men in positions of influence.

M.M.

St. Louis, Missouri

### Logic of history

All over this world are broken bones and bloody tears. For all over this world are thousands of prisons and millions of heroes. In the name of "Security" they fill frightful dungeons to protect the security of a few. In the name of the "Law," the people are robbed and drugged. With shouts of "Democracy," all over this world these so-called heroes start wars, build prisons to intimidate.

Yet all over the world, once the people speak and act—nothing can withstand the waves of the people's logic, the logic of history.

A prisoner

Michigan

### Equal right to pay

Going back through some bound volumes of the *Militant* I came across a small item in the issue dated August 10, 1953, which struck me as an appropriate comment for today as well.

In a ruling against housing segregation, Judge William Steckler of Indiana said, "The right to lease property is a civil right. The government does not segregate its tax receipts."

Ruth Querio

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

### Detroit cop riot

This letter concerns your lack of coverage of a major political event that occurred in Detroit two weeks ago concerning the Detroit police. A month ago, Mayor Coleman Young announced there would be layoffs of a few hundred cops. There was no immediate reaction from the cops since most of the white ones had all the seniority and felt they wouldn't be affected.

Then a federal judge ruled that no recently hired women or Blacks could be laid off since the police department was under order to hire those people under an affirmative-action program.

This was too much for the white blue knights to swallow. Several attempts were made by the DPOA (Detroit Police Officers Association) to have the layoffs reversed by the courts. Meanwhile, fights between Black and white police were escalating.

Then a federal judge ruled that the layoffs could proceed, and women and



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## In time of trouble...

Blacks would not be laid off. There were 1,200 white cops demonstrating outside the Federal Building while the judge was delivering his ruling. When the ruling was read to the cops, they began throwing beer cans, whose contents they had been consuming all morning, at the building.

Then a few cops went out onto a street and began stopping traffic and pounding on cars. A Black off-duty policeman was attacked by the white mob. One TV reporter and two cameramen were thrown to the ground.

The police commissioner promised an investigation of the "incident" and action against the cops involved. (Needless to say, no action has taken place.)

There has been a virtual press blackout concerning the riot since the day after it occurred. Lo and behold, the *Militant*, the one voice I was anxiously waiting to hear comment about the situation, remains silent.

As the situation stands now, there is limited debate in this city between Black liberal Democrats and the cops. The Black Democrats daringly fight hand over foot to jump on the bandwagon of "effective law enforcement."

So far the people of Detroit have heard no perspective to combat the police terror. Certainly the Black Democrats have failed to expose the cops for what they really are.

Bob Brenner  
Detroit, Michigan

### Sub spying

How can you carry out secret spy operations if the submarines you're using keep on having collisions with the spyees?

The question has apparently begun to bother some of the more perspicacious elements in Washington. "What bothers me," one official told *New York Times* reporter Seymour Hersh, "is the fact that the Soviets know we're there."

Hersh revealed in the May 25 *Times* that U.S. submarines have been spying within the three-mile limit of the Soviet Union and other countries for nearly fifteen years. "This is provocative," noted his worried informant.

Among the accomplishments chalked up by the underwater 007s have been at least two collisions with Soviet submarines and the damaging of a submarine when it surfaced underneath one of the ships it was spying on in the midst of a Soviet naval exercise.

Hersh reports that one official told of a proposal that operation Holystone, as the spy program was named, be publicly disclosed, since it was well known to the Soviet government anyway. "The Navy declined the suggestion, the official said, in what was interpreted to be an admission that not all the Holystone operations could stand up to public scrutiny."

D.F.  
New York, New York

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.

The worldwide economic crisis of the capitalist system has disturbed many cozy labor-management relations that were established by unions in this country during the more tranquil period of the long post-World War II economic boom.

Most union officials are trying to maintain or restore their old friendly relationship with the employers, hoping the sick economy will soon recover and eagerly believing every optimistic report of government soothsayers. But the signs of an early rise in employment are slim, and the employers are no longer friendly.

Eleven million workers are out of jobs. At least two million of them were working on union jobs a year ago, about 300,000 of them in the auto industry alone. The American Federation of Teachers announces that in the schools "an estimated 100,000 to 150,000 face layoffs." Private employers and public agencies vie for the dubious distinction of getting by with fewer workers "for the duration of the economic emergency."

A standard plea of the bosses is, "Sorry fellows, business is bad, money is scarce, and we have to let some workers go; and maybe we will be forced to close down, at least temporarily." What does the union do in such cases?

Usually not much.

In Southern California members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have accepted "temporarily" a maximum thirty-hour workweek with a cut in weekly pay to minimize layoffs.

The business and editorial staff of the *Washington Star* has been working a four-day week since last December to forestall layoffs of about 100 workers. This arrangement, which amounts to a 20 percent loss in take-home pay, was negotiated by Local 35 of the Newspaper Guild.

Local 66 of the International Union of Operating Engineers in Youngstown, Ohio, negotiated a one-dollar-an-hour cut and made other concessions, hoping to stimulate the construction industry.

United Auto Workers Vice-president Douglas Fraser, speaking from experience, says some companies can

get in such bad shape that it is pointless for a union to make concessions. "You can't get to a point where rather than sharing the wealth, you're sharing the misery," he says. The alternative, if you want to promote good relations with the boss, is take the layoffs—which is what the UAW has done.

All these "solutions" have one thing in common: all presume that it is the workers who must bear whatever sacrifices are necessary to keep the company afloat. The boss's right to the customary profit is for some reason considered more sacrosanct than the worker's right to a job and a living wage.

There is another approach, more in keeping with the purpose of the union, which is supposed to defend the workers *against* the avaricious maneuvers of the employers. That approach is to mobilize the power of the union and to demand that workers not suffer from an economic crisis they did not create.

The companies of course claim poverty—in good times as well as bad—when suggestions arise like a cost-of-living raise or a shorter workweek with no reduction in weekly pay. The unions ought to demand the right to examine their account books and find out what their hidden profits are, what salaries the executives are collecting, how much goes to pay off capitalist politicians, and other crucial matters about how the business is run.

The same applies to the cities and their budgets. While laying off thousands of workers in essential services, the cities are paying lavish interest rates for bank loans. A closer look at the manipulations of city financing is needed by the public employee unions, with the aim of forcing the bankers to pull their snouts out of the public trough.

This country is not "too poor" to provide jobs for all doing useful work at union wages. But under the present private-profit system, this measure of simple justice is made to appear impossible. Opening the books of the owners of industry will prove otherwise. It would be a good first step toward a rational reorganization of our economy.

## Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



## The media & political censorship

In last week's column, I described the strong antiwar sentiment at the recent convention of journalists sponsored by the newspaper [MORE].

One of the places where the sentiment was expressed was at the panel on "Covering the 'Enemy'—The Press in Indochina." The panelists, who ranged from the *Washington Post's* editorial-page editor, Philip Geyelin, to Frances Fitzgerald, author of *Fire in the Lake*, all agreed that the mass media had suppressed the truth during the war in Vietnam. Geyelin went so far as to say that the real enemy in Vietnam had been the U.S. government all along.

The Vietnam cover-up did not just involve hiding the facts about the liberation struggle there, but also involved the capitalist media's blackout of the U.S. antiwar movement. "I must know a hundred people who tried to get stories on the antiwar movement into the papers in 1965, but couldn't," commented columnist Sidney Zion at the panel on "Self-Censorship." Even in the late 1960s, when the antiwar demonstrations grew too big for the press to ignore, it did its best to discredit the peace protests.

Zion was the only person on the panel who was willing to concede that there is such a thing as political censorship by the corporate owners of the newspapers, TV, and radio. Ironically, he found himself in a heated debate with another panelist on this point—Carol Bernstein, the *Washington Post* reporter who broke many of the big Watergate stories. To the amazement of many in the audience, Bernstein stubbornly denied that political censorship exists in the major newspaper offices.

Another packed panel discussion was the session on "The Media and Working People." Growing labor

militancy, combined with the depression, has sharpened interest in this subject among reporters.

Most of the panelists, unfortunately, presented a patronizing view of workers as a species distinctly lower than the "specialists" of the press. "Let them read the *Daily News*," summed up the attitude particularly of the representatives from the *Village Voice* and *Rolling Stone*. True to form, those expressing the deepest contempt for working people and unions in general were at the same time capable of identifying with the most backward, racist elements in the working class. *Village Voice* reporter Paul Cowan, for example, informed the audience that he had found the book-burners of West Virginia and the segregationists of South Boston "affable."

(Cowan is the reporter who managed to do a feature story on the Boston school fight without bothering to interview any of the Blacks involved. I guess he didn't find them "affable" enough.)

But there were people in the audience who had come to hear a genuine discussion of changing moods among workers and how working reporters should relate to the union movement. After the panel presentations, a lively discussion ensued, with the room divided roughly in half over the issue of whether reporters are "professionals" or "workers."

This discussion reflected another change going on in the consciousness of the working press—the growing recognition that they must organize to defend their standard of living and their rights on the job. As one young man said, "Most of us really work on assembly lines. We should stop disdaining unionism. Working journalists have to gain some say in the way the newspaper is produced."

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Colonel Kojak's fast fry**—Researchers are weighing the virtues of a recently developed featherless chicken. The advantage is that none of the food consumed by a bald chicken is wasted in the production of feathers. On the minus side, they die easier and stay thinner because of the energy expended trying to keep warm. But since a quarter of the protein consumed goes into making feathers, the bald look may prevail.

**Where we came in**—Survivors of the Great Depression may experience a touch of nostalgia on learning that the Senate, in a moment of true compassion, adopted a resolution urging the Department of Agriculture to distribute surplus potatoes to the needy.

**Progress report**—Coffin-nail consumption dropped slightly in the Netherlands for the first time in several years. In 1973, 1,742 cigarettes per capita were consumed. Last year it dropped down to 1,727 per capita.

**The winner, man**—Estelle Holzer, one of a handful of insurance saleswomen, sold \$2.4 million worth last year, so Prudential named her "Man of the Year." Her prize was a silver trophy in the shape of a man carrying a briefcase. She also received a man's two-suit, two tie tacks, and a pair of men's cuff links.

**Short on crowds?**—As part of its "crowd-control" experiments, the army has been firing hard rubber balls at



'Yes, Mr. and Mrs. America—this is your life'

the heads and bodies of monkeys, baboons, and pigs. Some 500 animals have been killed or maimed. Rep. William Roth (R-Del.) called the experiments "unnecessarily cruel and barbaric."

**Rebate suggestion(I)**—Rep. William Ketchum of California wants people to send back their tax rebate to help balance the budget. (If you feel yours isn't sufficient to help accomplish that, you might instead contribute it to the SWP Party Building Fund.)

**Rebate suggestion (II)**—Tax officials said a "handful" of rebates have been returned. One was for two dollars and included the suggestion, "Stuff it."

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### U.S. uses double standard for refugees

The following is a guest column by a Haitian exile living in the United States, who, for security reasons, can only be identified as M.A.

In the weeks since the fall of South Vietnam, the United States government and its news media have been telling lies and half-truths, whatever suits best, about the so-called Vietnamese refugees.

All these stories and editorials about humanitarian aid, and expressing sympathy for "refugees," are not genuine. Stories about orphans and refugees fleeing to save their lives are being used by the government to oil its propaganda machine.

The plight of real refugees, the Haitian refugees in Miami, clearly illustrates this hypocrisy and heartlessness.

While Vietnamese children have been kidnapped and the act is described in the press as "philanthropy," about 700 Haitians are awaiting deportation to Haiti, where they will surely face imprisonment or death by the *tonton macoutes* or the "Leopards," police forces trained and equipped by the United

States military.

We have to ask where is the government's "humanity" when it comes to Haitian refugees?

Privileged before they got here, many of the Vietnamese were officials in the Thieu government and military apparatus. They were the exploiters. Some still have American "aid" dollars in foreign banks.

Deprived before they got here, the Haitian refugees were exploited, lived in inhuman conditions and now face being sent back to a place that means misery, oppression, and death to them.

The Vietnamese arrived here in United States planes or boats, and Congress is okaying millions of dollars to take care of them.

The Haitians risked their lives to get here in tiny, crowded, and flimsy boats. Some didn't make it across the open sea. And there is no congressional money for them, either.

Even now, after the death of Turenne Deville—a Haitian refugee who hanged himself in his cell after learning that the Immigration Service wanted to send him back—the Immigration Service still

argues that Haitians are economic, not political refugees, and therefore cannot stay.

We know it is very hard to draw a line between strictly economic problems and political ones. In Haiti, for instance, complaining about unemployment means taking a political stand, because asking for a job, medical care, or schooling for your children can cost you your life. And any opposition to the Duvalier regime is treason.

The United States appears to have no interest in exposing the Duvalier government that gives foreign businessmen advantages from tax-free investments, the right to repatriate profits without control, and the right to pay out starvation wages.

But still, under Duvalier, Haiti has become one of the world's ten hungriest nations. Its annual per capita income is about seventy-five dollars, its illiteracy rate is between 80 and 90 percent of the population, and it has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world.

And so we have to ask again, where is the United States government's "humanity" when it comes to Haitian refugees?

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



### Black women and the ERA

The following is a guest column by Nan Bailey, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, who has been active in the Black liberation and feminist movements.

Is the Equal Rights Amendment a "booby prize" that would cause Black women to lose rather than gain ground in our fight for freedom? This is one of the arguments offered by Mattie Trent, a Black columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, in her recent indictment of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Trent maintains that the ERA is not relevant to the needs of Black women. She writes, "[Though] Black women staunchly believe in equal pay for equal work and progressing as high and as far as you can go, they have a little different goal than white women."

That different goal, according to Trent, is this: while white housewives want to get "out of the house" and go out and get jobs, Black women want to get back "into the house" and break out of the bind of nine-to-five jobs.

Trent implies that the ERA will force Black women to work against their will. "It is one thing to be 'out there' because you want to be; and quite another thing to be 'out there' because you have to

be," she states. But if Trent would examine the situations of the overwhelming majority of Black working women today, she would find that they're not "out there" because any Equal Rights Amendment is forcing them to work.

Inflation and recession, which are hurting Blacks most severely, are forcing Black women along with everyone else to seek work.

The problem is that both Black and white women who are fortunate enough to have jobs today are getting paid less than their white male counterparts for doing the same work. The ERA can help alleviate the undue and unequal hardships that women, especially Black women, have been forced to put up with. It can aid women in winning more equal hiring practices, equal treatment, and equal pay on the job.

As the poorest women with the worst and lowest-paying jobs, Black women will benefit most from an ERA victory.

Trent contends that Black women have always been liberated—that, in fact, our liberation began with our introduction into slavery! She writes, "Black women were introduced to liberation—working, leading, and the two-job system—on their forced landing in the states."

That was liberation? I doubt that most Black women in this country would agree. And if Black women are already free today, why did they die in the highest proportions at the hands of butcher abortionists when abortions were illegal in this country? Why have Black women been victims of forced sterilizations?

Why are Black mothers joining and organizing protests for child-care funding and increased welfare payments? Why are so many Black women active today in the Coalition of Labor Union Women, fighting for their rights as women and as working people?

We are involved in these fights because we are not yet free. And if we are ever going to be, we have to fight for our rights as women, as Blacks, and as working people. And that fight includes supporting laws like the ERA, which would represent a step forward in our struggle for equal rights.

A recent Harris poll shows that while an even 50 percent of whites support the ERA, a big majority—65 percent—of Black people support it.

Rather than attacking the ERA, Trent would do better by joining with the majority and using her column to explain why Black women have a special stake in seeing the ERA ratified.



## CBTU meets in Atlanta

# Black trade unionists discuss economic crisis

By John Hawkins

ATLANTA—How the current depression affects the Black community and what Black trade unionists can do about it dominated the discussion at the fourth annual convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, May 23-26.

The gathering drew 900 Black unionists from twenty-two chapters of the CBTU and from forty unions.

The growth of the CBTU since its last convention in Detroit was reflected on the opening day when six new chapters were awarded charters. Plans were made to establish new CBTU chapters in New Orleans and Houston.

The composition of the delegates reflected the serious impact of the economic crisis on young workers and women workers in the Black community. Close to 40 percent of the delegates were women, and, according to participants in previous CBTU conventions, the delegates on the whole were younger.

A theme that ran through nearly all the speeches at the general sessions and through the workshops was the need for action to end unemployment.

Guest speakers and panelists stressed the disproportionate rate of layoffs Black workers are suffering. Several pointed to the rapid erosion of gains won through affirmative action by Blacks and women because of discriminatory layoffs.

More than sixty resolutions were placed before the resolutions committee for action, but only a few of them got through the committee and to the convention floor for adoption.

### Affirmative action

A resolution was presented to a resolutions committee on affirmative action by the twenty-one-member executive council of the CBTU, the group's highest body. The CBTU leadership, however, backed away from pushing the resolution through, and it was not adopted.

Appropriately titled "Last In, First Out," the resolution said, "As black trade unionists in the first deep recession since the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act we are now experiencing disproportionate layoffs of black and women workers. . . ."

"Employers continue to use seniority as the sole yardstick," the resolution continued, and "the hard won rights of black and women workers are being seriously jeopardized. . . ."

"Therefore Be It Resolved: that the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists advocates:

"1. the establishment of procedures for allocating reduced work such as work sharing, elimination of overtime,

voluntary early retirement, reduction in hours or rotation of layoffs to avoid making the majority of cuts in the ranks of the black community and women and

"2. the granting of constructive seniority to individuals previously discriminated against due to race or sex."

In speaking on the resolution committee's decision not to approve this resolution, Charles Hayes, executive vice-president of the CBTU and a Meat Cutters union official from Chicago, said that the committee had reached a general consensus that it had to find a position both supporting affirmative action and preserving the principle of seniority.

Hayes noted that the committee was in opposition to seniority "that is manipulative and discriminatory against Black workers." He also said it was aware of the attacks on affirmative action and the necessity of defending those gains won through it.

### Meany's arguments

Unfortunately, Hayes echoed in his explanation some of the arguments of the Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy, who oppose affirmative action by claiming it would destroy the seniority system and divide the working class.

This argument is used by those who either honestly misunderstand the modifications in the seniority system required to prevent Blacks and women from taking the full brunt of the depression, or by those—like Meany—who opposed affirmative action and preferential treatment before the economic crisis and who oppose it even more vigorously now.

To the Meanyites, the seniority issue



CBTU Vice-president Charles Hayes



Militant/Dennis Scarla

CBTU placards at January jobs protest in Washington, D.C. Convention discussed how to prevent job crisis from wiping out gains of affirmative-action plans.

is simply a cover for their willingness to see Blacks and women excluded from certain jobs, and to see their gains of recent years wiped out by the economic decline. Their super-concern for seniority rights is invariably coupled with inaction on their part to fight for full employment.

The "granting of constructive seniority to individuals previously discriminated against due to race or sex," as the executive committee resolution is formulated, is one step toward easing the burden of layoffs on Blacks and women.

Another method of preventing a widening of the gap caused by past discrimination in hiring is to demand that layoffs not be used to reduce the percentage of Blacks or women on a job site.

The resolution on protecting affirmative-action gains, it was reported, will be referred to the CBTU Executive Council for further study and for gathering of information and facts before a decision is made.

### Support Joan Little

Among the resolutions that were approved by the convention was one expressing support for Joan Little, a young Black woman who will soon stand trial for slaying a white prison guard who tried to rape her. Another resolution adopted stated support for Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Ten of Wilmington, North Carolina. Still another called for extension of the

1965 Voting Rights Act, which will be up for congressional treatment soon.

Noting the upsurge of racist and right-wing terrorist activities, the convention adopted a resolution urging chapters to support activities against the actions of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, Nazis, and ROAR, the antibusing group headquartered in Boston.

A resolution on unemployment compensation was adopted, calling for uniform unemployment benefits, with payments at 75 percent of a worker's former wage. The envisioned plan would also provide unemployment insurance for jobless individuals sixteen years and older whether or not they were previously employed, and it would extend coverage to fifty-two weeks.

Workshops at the convention included one on "The Economy and the Black Worker"—at which delegates posed questions ranging from stopping runaway shops to forcing the government to tax large corporations—and "Political Action."

At the last convention the CBTU went on record "in support of independent political action by labor and the election of trade union members to public office." But no mention was made of this at the political action workshop. Instead, delegates were given in their kits the Democratic party charter and rules and regulations for delegate selection to the Democratic national convention.

## Black postal workers hit bias in Denver

By Rich Feigenberg

DENVER—The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees picketed the Denver Post Office on Friday, May 23, to protest discriminatory practices.

NAPFE is a predominantly Black union with a largely Black leadership. J.J. Jones, the local president, is convinced that the Black composition of NAPFE is a major factor in the unwillingness of the Denver Post Office, and other post offices around the country, to recognize NAPFE as a bargaining agent for postal employees.

The major grievances of the seventy-five demonstrators were: the Postal Service has refused to bargain collectively with NAPFE; NAPFE has been denied the right of addressing new employees, while the craft unions within the post office have been given that right; the post office has provided names and addresses of postal workers to the craft unions and has denied

those names and addresses to NAPFE; the post office has violated the right of privacy of its employees by allowing the craft unions to post lists of employees who do not have membership in the craft unions.

Jones has filed a suit with the National Labor Relations Board with the above grievances and demanding that NAPFE be recognized as a bargaining agent for its members.

According to Fred Hogan, NAPFE District 9 president, no post office in the country to his knowledge has held elections to determine the collective bargaining agent for employees. Yet in most post offices the craft unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO are recognized.

One of the major problems, according to Jones, is that the AFL-CIO unions are led by white males, while large numbers of postal employees are Black, Chicano, or Puerto Rican, and

many are women. "The people who run these unions do not understand Black problems. Ours is a majority Black union that can understand and deal with the racism faced by Black workers."

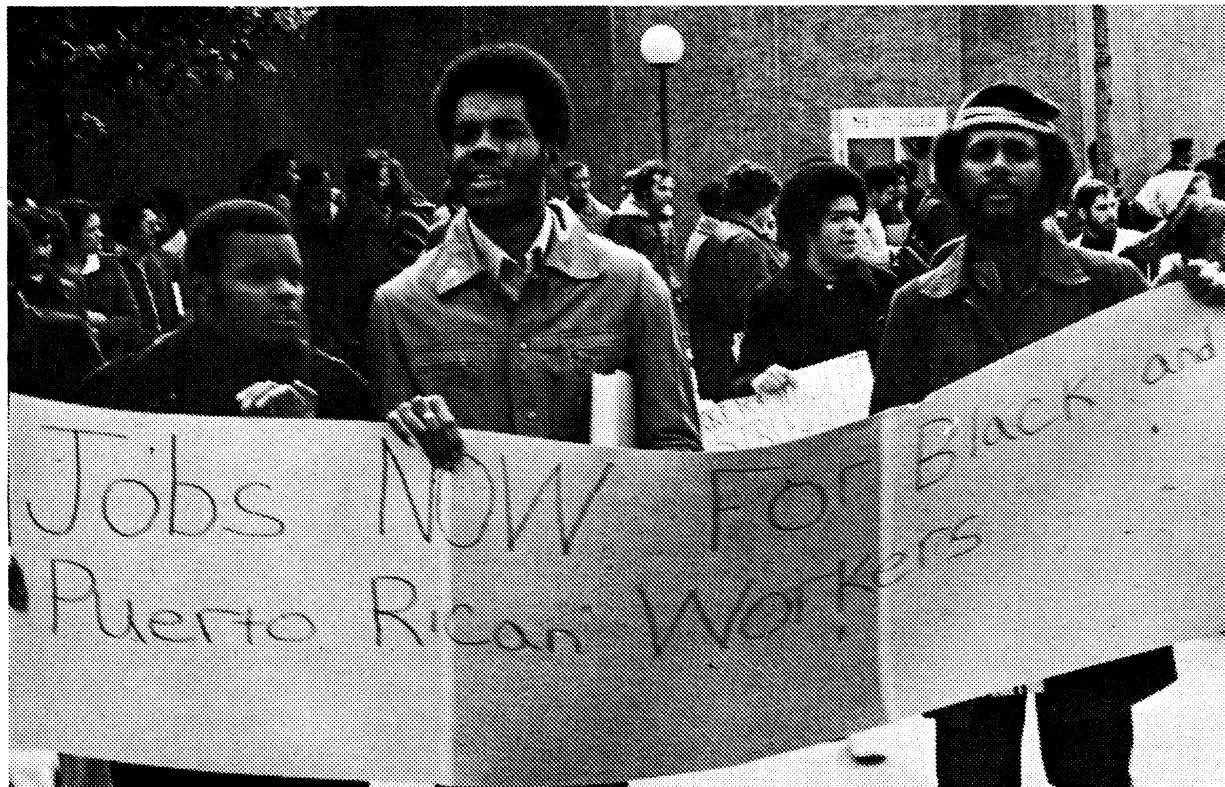
Jones pointed out that the actions of the post office violate the rights of all postal workers by denying them the right to choose their collective bargaining agent. "All postal employees must have the freedom of choice."

The next step for NAPFE is to appeal for a favorable ruling on their right to organize from the postmaster general.

The union is also supporting a bill in Congress that would amend the 1970 law that recognizes the craft unions as the sole collective bargaining representatives. The bill, HR 5023, is now before a House committee. The action in Denver may help prompt some action on this legislation.

## A crucial debate

# Seniority, jobs & affirmative action



Militant/Arthur Hughes

By Frank Lovell

The AFL-CIO Executive Council issued an official statement in May on "Seniority and Layoffs." As expected, the statement insists that the seniority system is "a cornerstone of the American labor movement" and rejects out of hand any allowances "to prevent the disproportionate layoff of minority employees."

This stance is a thinly disguised attack on the gains of the civil rights movement and the women's liberation movement in their fight against discriminatory hiring.

Under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, employers have in recent years been forced to hire some women and some Blacks and other minority workers for previously all-male or all-white posts. These newly hired workers are now the first fired in the wave of layoffs caused by the worldwide capitalist depression, and they are demanding some protection against being disproportionately victimized.

The basic issue is *defending the equal right to a job for women and minorities*. In the past, preferential hiring, affirmative action, and quotas were the necessary means to begin to compensate for discrimination and move toward equality. In this period of drastic layoffs, it is also a question of affording some special protection so that these workers are not subjected to discriminatory layoffs.

### Broadening debate

The issue of jobs, seniority, and discrimination is being hotly debated at all levels of the labor and Black movements and in women's organizations. It is of crucial importance for the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, organizations formed for the express purpose of defending the interests of these most oppressed workers.

At a recent national conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, held in Baltimore, Bayard Rustin, president of the institute, led off a drive to win Black support for the position of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Rustin also traveled to a National Urban League meeting May 23 in Los Angeles, where he "harshly attacked those civil rights groups which have filed legal actions to protect recently-hired blacks and other minorities and women from being fired because of the current recession," according to a report in the *Los Angeles Times*.

This attack is certain to be a central issue at the upcoming convention of the NAACP, which will take place in Washington, D.C., June 30-July 4. The AFL-CIO tops have decided to promote a witch-hunt

against Herbert Hill, the NAACP's labor director, who has been outspoken in criticizing the union bureaucracy's dismal record on job discrimination.

At the Randolph Institute meeting, William Pollard of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department denounced Hill as "irresponsible" and urged union officials to join the NAACP, "get elected to office, go to conventions, and challenge his irresponsibility."

### Fact and fancy

The AFL-CIO statement aims to conceal its reactionary apology for discrimination through several debater's tricks. First, it claims that "the seniority system is being blamed for social conditions, particularly discrimination in hiring, that it did not cause."

Who blames the seniority system for discrimination in hiring? This is not specified. Discriminatory hiring is a long-established practice by the employers, going back centuries in fact, and union officials have done little or nothing to correct it.

This false posing of the question dodges the real problem: In those cases where years of discrimination have maintained all-white or all-male departments and job classifications, with a few women and Blacks recently hired, layoffs by strict seniority will serve to *reestablish the discriminatory pattern*.

Seniority does not *cause* discriminatory hiring, but it can *perpetuate its effects*. This obvious fact is resolutely ignored by the AFL-CIO apologists.

"We reject the spurious notion that the seniority system must be destroyed," declares the AFL-CIO top officialdom, "just when it is needed most to protect all workers, without regard to race or sex."

Retention of affirmative-action programs that attack discriminatory hiring and require women and minority workers on all jobs does not destroy the seniority system, and fighters for Black and women's rights have never demanded its destruction.

They *do* call for adjustments so that those who have been hired under these affirmative-action plans (who would never have been hired otherwise) will retain their jobs in direct proportion to the total number of workers employed on any job site.

Contrary to the AFL-CIO portrayal of seniority as a miracle cure for all ills, the seniority system does not and was never intended to "protect all workers." It *sometimes* protects *some* workers, those who have been longest on the job. Even this is by no means strictly enforced. The employers have always devised ways of circumventing the seniority system, creating exceptions, when it served their purposes to do so—usually with the approval and collabora-

tion of union officials.

In cases where "strict seniority" is applied, the "last hired is first fired." As a general rule this applies to women, Blacks, and others who were discriminated against in the hiring process. So most of these workers have *no* protection under the seniority system.

There are hardly any instances where Blacks or women have top seniority. In some work departments that hire only women or Blacks (the dirtiest, lowest-paying, and most menial), seniority provides no more protection against layoffs than anywhere else. Often whole departments are closed, and those workers with high seniority cannot carry their seniority to other departments of the plant unless they are protected by an affirmative-action program that requires the employer to transfer them out of their previous segregated positions.

Far from protecting "all workers," the seniority system as it has operated in the past is a way of determining *preferential treatment*. This is defended by Meany and his cohorts in the AFL-CIO statement. "The American workers," it says, "regardless of race, do not think it inequitable that the more senior workers are protected in times of layoff, nor would they think it equitable that those workers be forced to surrender a portion of work to junior employees whose needs may be less, whose opportunities for securing other employment are greater, and whose investment of labor in the enterprise has been shorter."

### 'Equitable'?

There is nothing "equitable" about mass layoffs, and the AFL-CIO hierarchy will never convince the American workers that there is. Workers who are laid off—young and old alike—find nothing "fair" about it.

Nor is it possible to convince Blacks and women that they are suddenly, in the economic crisis, receiving "equal treatment" because, as the labor skates assert, "according to Commissioner of Labor Statistics Julius Shiskin, the best evidence available is that white male workers and black male workers have been hit by layoffs about the same in the current recession, and that men have been hit harder by layoffs than women."

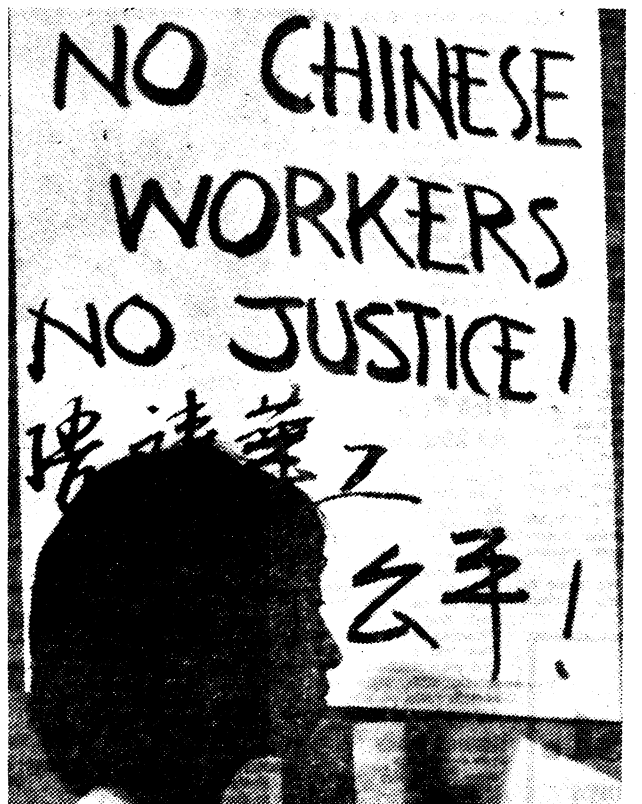
That is certainly no consolation to laid-off white workers. And try telling it to those women and Blacks who have lost their jobs and have no prospect of finding any!

"We repeat," concludes the AFL-CIO argument for seniority, "what we have often said: Full employment is the only solution to unemployment and to discrimination. And we will not stand idly by while a few would pit worker against worker for the right to be employed."

The right to be employed! This right to employment is what is under attack, not the seniority system. Every worker has the right to a job, but the fact is that more than 11 million are deprived of that right today by the capitalist system.

This right should be championed by the union movement, not in pious truisms like "full employment is the only solution to unemployment" (anybody knows that), but in organized struggle against the employers and their hired politicians, who are handing out the dismissal slips.

In the absence of such a fight, all talk about full employment being the answer to discrimination is a



To wage effective fight for jobs, unions must win support of the most oppressed workers by championing their demands for equality.



shabby cover-up for acceptance of the racism and sexism of discriminatory firing.

A massive federal public works program is surely necessary to "put America back to work." There is no lack of work to be done to build mass-transit systems, low-cost public housing, hospitals, schools, and libraries. Huge projects ought to be undertaken to clean up the polluted streams and lakes, reclaim vast reaches of destroyed land, and reforest barren hillsides.

All this is a far cry from the piddling one million "make work" public service jobs the AFL-CIO lobbyists are asking Congress to provide with a \$10 billion appropriation.

What about the other ten million unemployed workers? Don't they have enough seniority to qualify for jobs? What hiring system will determine who deserves the one million public service jobs, if and when Congress appropriates the money for them? Will not this "pit worker against worker for the right to be employed?"

There is an additional way the AFL-CIO could create jobs for millions now out of work if it were serious about the fight. In 1932 a bill was introduced in Congress by Senator Hugo Black for a thirty-hour workweek. It was passed by the U.S. Senate.

Technological advances and greatly increased labor productivity during the intervening forty-three years make the thirty-hour workweek with no reduction in pay a social and economic necessity today. Why is it that not one of the many "friends of labor," elected with union money, has yet thought to introduce legislation in the present Congress for a thirty-hour workweek?

The hours of work can be shortened with no reduction in pay.

A massive public works program can be started.

The union movement ought to champion these demands and mobilize the working class—the unorganized, the unemployed, the youth, all the poor—to win them.

### Against discrimination

This would require a serious effort and *demonstrated good intentions* to unite all workers behind these demands. Right now it is the reactionary position of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in defending the status quo of discrimination that pits worker against worker and cripples the fight for jobs, not the just demands of the oppressed for equality.

The union movement badly needs to show that it is able and willing to defend the rights—especially the "right to be employed"—of those most cruelly discriminated against and most vulnerable to victimization and exploitation.

There is no better time and no better place to start than now in support of the affirmative-action programs that have been won. These affirmative-action programs, which make room in the work force for women, Blacks, and others previously excluded from many jobs, are big gains for the union movement and should be defended and extended.

There are several instances where these gains are challenged and are in danger of being wiped out. A few examples will suffice:

- **AT&T:** The Bell System telephone companies failed to comply with the agreement they signed in 1973 to end their employment discrimination. The government has now brought action against these companies and the parent American Telephone and Telegraph Company to force them to compensate victimized workers to the tune of around \$2.5 million.

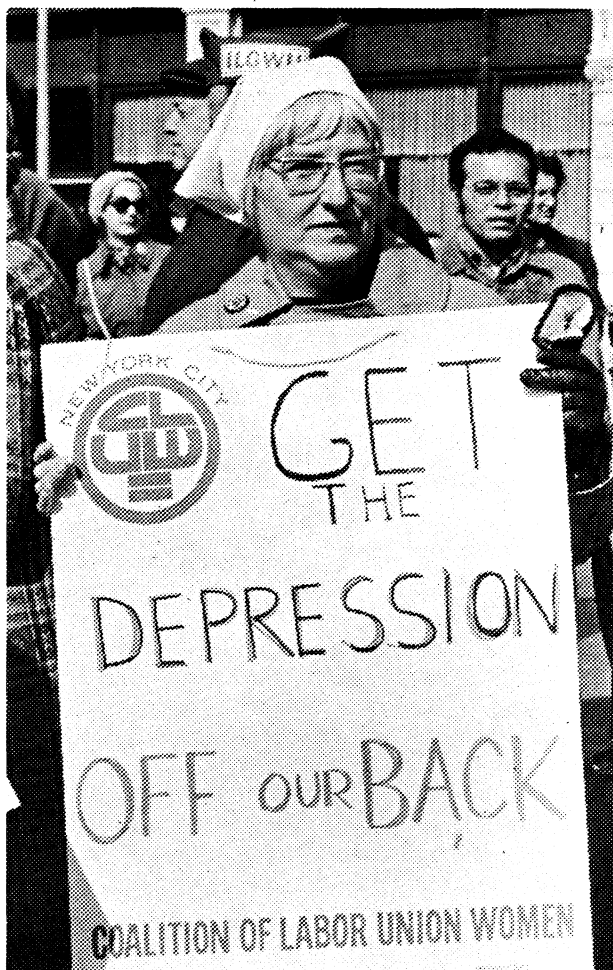
They were discovered to have given 10,000 fewer new jobs and promotions to previously discriminated-against groups than they should have if they had lived up to their 1973 affirmative-action agreement.

The discovery of AT&T's discriminatory practices was made by government agencies, not the Communication Workers of America, which is the union involved and is partly responsible for the discrimination.

The corporation has agreed to new antidiscrimination standards and procedures.

The court order putting the new standards into effect was held up by a challenge by the CWA, which claims its contracts are being violated. These contracts were written in compliance with company discrimination, and in this case the union is simply fronting for the company to maintain the discriminatory practices. This is a repeat of the disgraceful CWA challenge to the 1973 affirmative-action agreement, which it lost, although AT&T continued to violate the agreement anyway.

- **The Steel trust:** Another highly publicized case is in the steel industry, which discriminated against Blacks by assigning them to the dirtiest,



Militant/Fran Collet

AFL-CIO bureaucracy aims to impose its position of de facto acceptance of discriminatory firings on Coalition of Labor Union Women, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

most hazardous jobs, and kept them in those positions through a system of departmental seniority. The result was all-Black and all-white units, and no crossing of departmental lines. This "seniority system" was written into the union contract.

Nearly all jobs in the mills were closed to women workers until Blacks and women forced the Justice Department to bring legal action. The Steelworkers union did not support these actions, but last year after the case was won, Steelworkers President I.W. Abel and the nine major steel companies signed a consent decree allowing "plantwide seniority."

This permits many Black workers to move up into classifications that were previously closed to them. The decree also protects the steel companies by limiting back pay for the years of discrimination. Here, again, the union served the needs of the employers and did nothing either to protect or unite the workers on this issue.

- **Jersey Central Power and Light Co.:** The recent case of the Jersey Central Power and Light Company is a clear example of how discrimination is used to divide the workers and weaken the union. This company was found guilty of discriminatory hiring and was forced to comply with an affirmative-action program, which resulted in the placement of women and some minorities.

When the company decided to lay off about 10 percent of its total 3,850-member work force, it went to the courts for guidance. A federal judge ordered a reduction of the work force in a way that would not disproportionately victimize the newly hired minorities.

In other words, two categories of workers would be recognized: those hired as a result of the court-ordered affirmative actions, and those previously hired under *discriminatory* company practices.

If the total work force were to be reduced by one-tenth, then one of every ten workers in each group would be laid off in line of group seniority. A formula like this does not stop the layoffs. But it does guarantee equal treatment to victims of previous discrimination.

This ruling was overturned last January by an appeals court in Philadelphia, which ruled that "the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement must govern."

The appeal was brought by bureaucrats of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, which had not done much to halt the layoffs but was quick to enter the case in order to scuttle the gains against discrimination.

### Working-class unity

The long-term effects of intervention by unions like those cited will deepen the existing divisions within the working class and render these unions powerless to protect the privileges of their remaining members, much less wage the more difficult fight for full employment.

The real meaning of the statement of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on seniority is clearly a

declaration in support of discrimination against women and Black workers as practiced by most corporations, having nothing to do with protection of jobs or working-class solidarity.

The statement can have no other purpose, in view of the council's record against affirmative-action programs and the failure of the union movement to organize and educate against discrimination in employment.

At the previously mentioned conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Baltimore, May 17-19, Bayard Rustin said that he was opposed to "gimmicks" in attempting to deal with "real economic questions affecting the majority of Blacks." He added that "this effort to tamper with our seniority system is also a gimmick."

This conference was one of seven similar meetings that have been held recently under the auspices of the AFL-CIO-subsidized Randolph Institute. The announced purposes of these conferences are to train Blacks in voter registration and to recruit Blacks for government-financed apprenticeship programs. The problems they encounter are: no suitable candidates for Blacks to vote for, no jobs for Black apprentices in the skilled trades, and discrimination against Blacks in jobs and training wherever they turn.

In the face of these facts, Rustin's defense of "seniority" in relation to the "real economic questions" has all the earmarks of gimmickry—in addition to the more sinister intent behind it.

The gains for the AFL-CIO position against the fight to eliminate discrimination in employment are that these conferences always turn up a few Blacks who are willing to put themselves on record for "seniority" without realizing that this issue is being used to scuttle affirmative-action programs. Rustin and others like him then report this as the representative opinion of "Black workers"—all of them solidly in support of "strict seniority."

### Dissenting voice

Of course, there are always some dissenters, even at the carefully organized conferences of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. A twenty-four-year-old Baltimore carpenter, George Jones, who must have been invited by accident, said at the local conference there that he is "a militant getting more militant as things get worse."

Rustin's response to this was to say that such feelings will abate as the economy improves.

There are a few million young Black workers like George Jones who see no sign of improvement, not for them anyway. Those without jobs or just hired because of the Civil Rights Act see no advantage in "seniority." They need jobs now, and seniority does not create jobs.

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is maneuvering to impose its narrow-minded and reactionary position on the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and other Black and union organizations. An endorsement of the AFL-CIO statement on the false issue of "strict seniority"—"in principle," of course—by these organizations would have some short-range propaganda value for the bureaucracy in its present attack on affirmative-action programs.

But that would be a blow to the interests of the union movement and of all workers. The unions will never succeed in organizing the unorganized, or in leading a powerful movement against unemployment, inflation, and the other evils of this system, so long as their leaders allow themselves to be used to keep women and minorities down.



Recently hired steelworkers. Layoffs by strict 'last hired, first fired' rule will restore patterns of racist and sexist discrimination in the mills.

# The Cointelpro Papers (Part 9)

## FBI conspiracy to disrupt antiwar fight

By Nelson Blackstock

It was not inevitable that a mass movement against the war in Vietnam would develop in this country. In fact, the life of the organized antiwar movement was characterized by frequent reevaluations of perspectives. On more than one occasion questions of strategy were posed that had life-and-death implications for the movement.

Their opponents within the antiwar movement would sometimes accuse members of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance of possessing limited imagination. This charge stemmed from the socialists' continuing insistence on mass demonstrations as the way to end the war.

In the end, however, it turned out not to be the socialists who were short on imagination, but those who lacked confidence in the possibility of the American people taking to the streets in large numbers to demand an end to the war.

It is now clear that the rulers of this country watched all this very closely. We have direct evidence that on at least several occasions the FBI sought to intervene in the political life of the movement in order to widen splits and to further trends that were harmful to the movement's development.

This was brought to light with the recent court-ordered release of the Cointelpro papers, FBI files on the "Counterintelligence Program" to disrupt the Left.

In the previous articles in this series we examined how the FBI tried to cause the SWP and YSA to pull out of the movement in its early days. This week we will look at two subsequent episodes in the movement when the FBI tried to sow disunity, to encourage the exclusion of socialists, and to promote opposition within the movement to their mass-action perspectives.

### Exclude YSA members

During August 1968 the FBI mailed out an anonymous leaflet purporting to be from a supporter of the Radical Organizing Committee. The ROC was a short-lived organization formed by Communist party members and others who, after unsuccessfully attempting to exclude members of the YSA from the national staff of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, themselves left the SMC.



Militant/Brian Shannon

Kipp Dawson addresses nearly 75,000 in San Francisco on April 15, 1967. Communist party hoped to channel movement into Democratic party. FBI sought to exploit dispute between opponents of war.

The leaflet praises those who split from the SMC and red-baits the YSA for "committee packing and other high handed crap so neatly done by the Trotskyites."

At the center of this controversy were Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, two YSA members on the SMC staff. Dawson now works as a printer, and Stapleton is national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is sponsoring the suit that pried loose the evidence of FBI intrigue. I recently discussed with them the 1968 dispute in light of the news about the FBI's role.

The SMC had been established in the fall of 1966 by a variety of forces, among them members of the Young Socialist Alliance, radical pacifists, and members of the Communist party and of its youth group at the time—the DuBois Clubs. The CP had from the beginning been a reluctant partner in the coalition, in part because its participation violated its traditional sectarian taboo against working with "Trotskyites." (That same destructive attitude was visible in the recent departure of the Young Workers Liberation League, successor to the DuBois Clubs, from the National Student Coalition Against Racism.)

By 1968 the SMC had already established itself as a major organization, with chapters on many campuses. It had brought out thousands of young people on the day of the largest demonstration held up to that time—April 15, 1967.

"Where the CP was headed didn't come out in a clear way until the 1967 year-end SMC convention in Chicago," Stapleton remembered. "They put forward a number of proposals that would have shifted the emphasis of the SMC away from the war. The effect would have been to turn it into a liberal youth group that dealt with many issues. During the approaching election campaign, such a group could easily swing into supporting liberal Democrats."

Things didn't come to a head until after the successful SMC-sponsored student strike against the war in April 1968. The election pressure was building, and the Eugene McCarthy presidential campaign was beginning to attract some antiwar activists. At the same time, the United States opened peace talks with the Vietnamese in Paris as part of a move to diffuse antiwar sentiment. Some opponents of

the war thought negotiations would bring a rapid end to the fighting.

"A controversy broke out in the 'working committee,' which was a semiofficial body of SMC members living in New York," Dawson recalled. "It was decided that no member of any political 'tendency' or group would be allowed on the SMC staff. That meant Syd and I were fired."

The antiwar movement had been based on "nonexclusion," the idea that all opponents of the war were welcome regardless of their political affiliation. The Stalinists of the Communist party defended this new step, which reversed that policy, in a variety of ways, often contradictory or illogical. For example, Mike Zagarell said YSAers should be excluded because their work had succeeded in "narrowing" the coalition.

What was really happening, of course, was that the CP was trying to transform the SMC into a support group for liberal Democratic "peace candidates," as they were called. They needed to get rid of the YSA to make that possible.

"The working committee resolution was adopted with the backing of

new organization." Phyllis Kalb of the CP summed up the mood there. "I'm against the YSA concept of mass demonstrations. I'm just tired of them." They finally decided to form the Radical Organizing Committee.

"The last I heard of ROC was during the demonstrations at the Democratic party convention in Chicago that summer," Stapleton said. "I spotted two people passing out a ROC leaflet."

Stapleton recalled a later incident. "I was in Washington earlier this year at a picket line demanding an end to continued funding for the fighting in Vietnam. A person I didn't know walked up to me and said, 'I just wanted to let you know that you were right.' 'Right about what?' I asked. 'You were right about the war in 1968,' he replied. 'You see, those of us who set up ROC really thought the war was over. I thought it had ended and it was time to go on to other issues. But it turned out you were correct.'"

"He was a high school student in 1968 who had gotten drawn into the fight," Stapleton continued. "He is now a reader of the *Militant*."

Immediately prior to the April 5,



Militant/Dave Warren

Entry of GLs into antiwar movement brought dynamic new element. They were among the 50,000 who marched in San Francisco April 5, 1969. SDS leaders refused to back demonstration.

pacifists, the Communist party, and their supporters," Stapleton said. "They had a mechanical majority."

### Politics submerged

This action brought a wave of protests from SMC members around the country. The CP and the rest of the exclusionists had opened the fight on a narrow organizational level, with the political differences submerged. They continued this by refusing to schedule an SMC convention in the Midwest, which had been mandated by the previous SMC convention. Finally, an SMC Continuations Committee meeting was set in New York—the main base of the exclusionists.

"They had tried in every way imaginable to avoid an open political discussion of the issues," Dawson said. "Now 400 people were gathered at the continuations committee meeting. The discussion was at last beginning. Suddenly, a thirty-three-year-old public relations man named Art Goldberg, who had somehow gotten himself on the SMC working committee, jumped up on a table and shouted, 'This is a Trotskyite-dominated conference! All the independents are leaving!'"

A minority began walking out chanting "Up against the wall!" They were met by a counter-chant of "Bring the troops home now!"

"The whole fight was summed up by the chants that came from the two sides," Stapleton remarked. "The FBI's leaflet was definitely in their style."

The SMC went on to become bigger than ever. In the fall of 1969, then in the spring of 1971, it was the co-organizer of the biggest antiwar demonstrations in American history. Its February 1970 conference drew almost 4,000.

What happened to those who walked out? Sixty of them met at a New York church to discuss what to do. As one of them aptly put it, "Although we all feel like brothers because we all hate the trots, that isn't enough of a basis for a

1969, antiwar demonstrations, the FBI mailed out another leaflet to an unknown number of individuals and groups that were opposed to the war. "Notes from the Sand Castle," as it was titled, red-baited the YSA and SWP and criticized them for failing to take on the "pigs."

Would such a leaflet have had any credibility? Unfortunately, it probably would because in it the FBI advocated a viewpoint that enjoyed some support at the time, primarily in circles around Students for a Democratic Society. The anonymous author claimed to be an SDS member.

In the leaflet the FBI argued in favor of violent confrontations. The following June SDS would break up, and the strongest advocates of these tactics would become the Weathermen.

When the SDS National Council opened its March 28-30 meeting in Austin, Texas, that year, the 200 delegates and several hundred more observers were handed an open letter from the YSA. "The central task of revolutionary youth right now," the YSA wrote, "is to build the April 5-6 demonstrations [against the war] as large and as militant as possible."

This was precisely what YSA members around the country were doing. But the SDS gathering had what they considered to be more important business before them.

The Austin meeting marked a turning point for SDS. For several years, the Progressive Labor party, then the country's largest Maoist group, had been an increasingly important factor in the political life of SDS. With the deepening radicalization on campus, the grouping around the SDS national office was having more and more trouble responding to the political questions raised by the PLP.

At Austin they were ready to unveil the weapon they hoped would meet the PLP's challenge. They unexpectedly emerged as full-fledged followers of

Continued on page 26



# The Cointelpro Papers

Documents 1-2: FBI circulated leaflet encouraging split in antiwar forces. It red-baited YSA and denounced its advocacy of street demonstrations. Leaflet also attacks the CP, although its members participated in ROC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ( )

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK ( )

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

DATE: 9/26/68

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an unsigned letter sent to 68 peace groups, new left groups and selected individuals, during 9/68, under the COINTELPRO at NY, with prior Bureau authority.

It is to be noted that the SMC is presently under the domination of the SWP and YSA.

1

**WHO BUSTED SIG'S ASS?**

Events since the disaster on June 20-30, have again demonstrated that everything the YSA teaches turns to pure horseshit. Kipp Dawson and her gang of hypocrites took poor old SIG apart, changed all the pieces around, and put it back in the form of a sterile YSA group. Useless talk and parliamentary procedure is the new name of the game.

We who had served SIG from the beginning shed a few bitter tears, packed our bags and left. Linda Morse had the vision too. She saw through the Trotskyite shit and followed her nose through the door. She wasn't alone either. Many others, including Resistance, WRL, SDS and the Du Bois Clubs, followed her into the clear. So, we formed the Radical Organizing Committee to deal with issues related to the dirty war in Vietnam, the draft, racism and campus complicity. No wonder how long it will be before YSA takes a load on the ROCT.

We admit to a few hangups - mostly financial - but the Trotskyites have had many for years. There's the street-meeting hangup. We suspect that any SIG activity in the future will be in the form of YSA street meetings - zero contributions to the ending of the Johnson war. While the Trotskyites talk and talk, the war goes on and on.

All of which builds to a fine point - known to most of the independents in SIG for a long time. The old-line organizations have completely dried up....nothing but dust between the ears. Let's face it, the contributions of the SWP, YSA and FL to the movement have been minimal to say the least. The CP died of old age several decades ago, although we understand Gus is living real well.

We think ROC has something new to offer - a new approach to the problems of our times, a new light on the rise of radical consciousness within the student movement. This time, baby, the fascist tactics of the YSA are not going to get the chance to wreck the organization. No more committee packing and other high handed crap so neatly done by the Trotskyites. YSA can stick with its own hangups. We don't want 'em!

With it all, you have to admire the way YSA operated. Kipp and Syd were beautiful....just beautiful. They stuffed their platform up our collective asses smiling all the while. They were pained when we left. Kipp still looks pained.

We'll work for ROC now. Let's see what happens. A final word for YSA. "You busted our ass. You and you alone. Good luck mothers."

- Peace

2

Documents 3-4: Leaflet purports to be from SDS member. FBI encouraged disunity, violent tactics by movement (last paragraph), and opposition to YSA's GI work during time of defense of eight GIs who faced prison at Ft. Jackson. Documents 5-6: FBI also released this scurrilous personal attack on antiwar leader Dave Dellinger. It was mailed out in 1969 to create distrust among antiwar forces.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ( )

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK ( )

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
(DISRUPTION PROGRAM)

DATE: 4/24/69

Attached is a copy of an anonymous mailing leaflet entitled "NOTES FROM THE SAND CASTLE" sent to individuals and organizations just prior to their participation in the jointly sponsored YSA, SWP, SMC and Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee "peace" demonstration in NY, 4/5/69. The Bureau approved leaflet, handled under the COINTELPRO caption, was designed to disrupt plans for the demonstration and create ill-will between SWP-YSA and other participating non-Trotskyist groups and individuals.

Though there are no known tangible results to date, it is known from a Parade Committee source that the Parade Committee's New York Office is in possession of the leaflet.

3

**NOTES FROM THE SAND CASTLE**

ITEM: Mark well the date April 5th. Kiddies. That's the day our old pals in the YSA-SWP-SMC coalition fall flat on their hard-worn asses. Any demonstration planned by the young Socialist Alliance is had ahead, but when they are joined by their fellow "kids" in the Student Movement and Socialist Workers, we develop a strong urge to vomit into the wind. In any event, April 5th promises to be a genuine "peace dud" to be salted away with the YSA collection of duds. Our fair city may be waist high in dog shit now, but on April 6th you'll be swimming in bull shit.

ITEM: Speaking of April 6th, the original plans of SWP-YSA called for the "peace march" to be held on that date - the same date on which the Christian world celebrates Easter. The master plan was presented to the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee by Rick Adsworth, Joanna Misnick and several other "kids" a few weeks ago. Stout hearts on the Committee turned to jelly when they visualized movement people being massacred by irate Christians dressed in Easter finery. "Let's make it April 5th," whined Fifth Avenue. "We don't want the plastic society too pissed off!" That was that. Now!

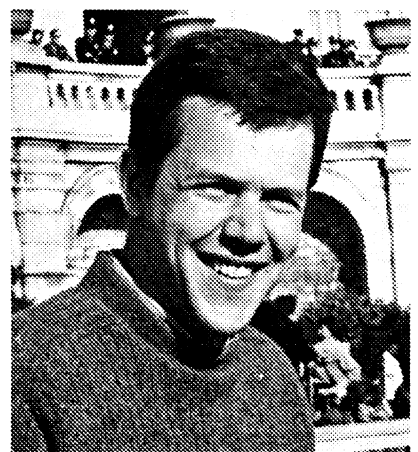
ITEM: Chicago's "Vietnam GI" takes a rather dim view of the whole bit. Their opposition is natural when you figure the YSA'ers are trying to take the starch out of the GI movement. Other organizations have split from the April 5th extravaganza which, like most SWP operations, was formulated and put into motion with no consideration for other groups which might be interested. Take SDS for example. We're doing our thing April 12th. Even shaky Dave Dellinger is lending vocal support to the SDS scene. Don't look for us on the 5th, pals.

ITEM: The truth of the matter is that the SWP-YSA-SMC coalition has never had the guts to play it like it really is. They march to confront the establishment and find the landscape crawling with pigs. Since you can't sell the "Militant" to pigs, they cut and run. You'll never see Matilda Zimmerman with battle wounds, chums.

- Peace

Bernie  
(Sand Castle Class of '71)

4



Militant/Harry Ring

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ( )

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK ( )

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

DATE: 1/21/69

Enclosed herewith are two copies of a suggested "news-letter", designed to ridicule the inaugural activities of the National Mobilization Committee and the work of its Chairman, DAVE DELLINGER.

Enclosed was written in the jargon of the New Left, necessitating the use of a certain amount of profanity.

Bureau authority is requested to prepare and mail (anonymously) above mentioned "news-letter" to selected individuals and/or organizations active in the New Left movement.

5

**DESPERATE DAVE DANGLES DINGUS**  
**Murderously Mangles MOBE**

Washington, D. C. Jan. 20 - Speaking in his usual high pitched voice, Dave Dellinger, National Chairman of the National Mobilization Committee (MOBE), today claimed that the anti-inaugural demonstrations called by his organization had been responsible in getting the Paris peace talks going again.

Dellinger made this startling disclosure before an audience of newsmen in the dingy Hawthorne School which housed many of his followers. A cluster of the latter stood behind their guru sniffing and frowning wilted flowers. Dellinger, looking pale - more fairy-like than ever - tried to control the squeals in his voice to no avail. "How many demonstrators did MOBE bring to the inaugural?", he was asked.

"At least 10,000," he answered.

"Bullshit," was heard in several sections of the room.

Dellinger shuffled his notes. "Let's make that 5,000."

"Bullshit."

"Would you believe 3,000?" Silence. Dave rolled his eyes at the ceiling. "I'm not going to play at numbers," he chirped. "What matters is that MOBE accomplished so much. We did get the peace talks going. We did break some windows in the National Geographic Society building. Despite police brutality, our brave people managed to throw cans and sticks at the President." His voice went higher - sounding like glass bells in a soft summer breeze. "We shook the establishment, gentlemen."

Associated Press stood up. "We understand MOBE is broke. That you lost control of the thing. That SDS and many other organizations in the peace movement refused to back you. That you have no idea how MOBE funds were spent."

Dellinger put a finger in his mouth and sucked it reflectively. Some minutes passed before he spoke. "MOBE is solvent, boys. As of this morning, we have \$1.54 in the treasury. The price of peace is high." He tried to look grim. "SDS, of course, is just a bunch of dirty college kids with grass for brains. We didn't want them or need them." He formed his lips into a cute bow. "I must go now. We're hitching a ride back to New York today unless we can raise bus fare."

He shoved four fingers into his mouth and was led slowly from the room humming "We Shall Overcome."

6



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Syd Stapleton (above) and Kipp Dawson. Stalinists and others tried to exclude them from staff of SMC.

## Profits versus health

# Growing epidemic of 'blue collar' cancer

By Marvel Scholl

Twenty years ago a young man went to work in a B.F. Goodrich plant in Louisville, Kentucky, where a gas called vinyl chloride is processed into a basic component of plastics.

The smell of vinyl chloride was always heavy in the air. At times, he would have to climb down into the huge vats for hours at a time, with no special protective clothing, to scrape off the chemical residue.

On March 11, that man, aged forty-three and the father of six, died of angiosarcoma, a formerly rare cancer of the liver. In that one plant alone, nine workers have been discovered to have the disease. Around the country, where 300,000 workers handle the slow-killer chemical, new cases are turning up almost every month.

### Cancer epidemic

These workers are among the hundreds of thousands of victims in a mind-blasting new epidemic: industrially caused cancer.

One normally thinks of an epidemic as an areawide germ-spread contagious disease. Before the discovery of antitoxins and immunizations, epidemics of diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, and polio killed millions, mostly children.

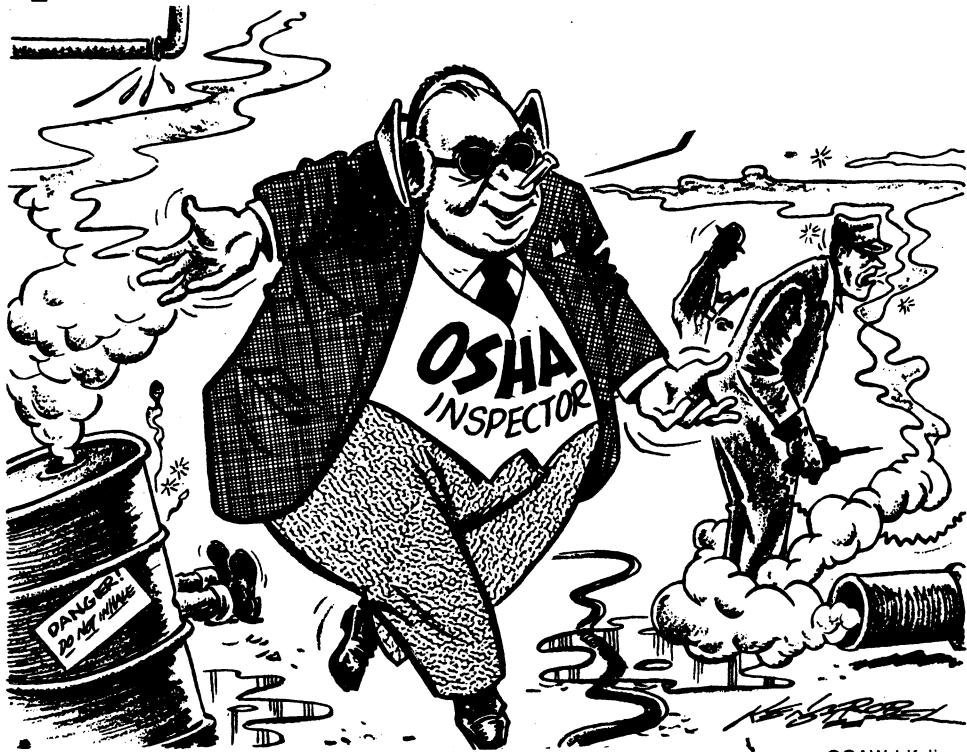
Today the incidence of these killers is almost nil in this country. And for those unfortunates who do contract a contagious disease, there are the wonder drugs to cure them quickly.

Today's epidemic is far more deadly than any of the former "children's diseases." Malignant tumors that appear in the lungs, stomachs, livers, and blood and lymph systems take anywhere from one to three decades to develop. By the time they become apparent on an X-ray they are almost always inoperable.

One out of every four Americans will develop cancer of one form or another. Ninety percent of these cancers will have been caused by a chemical.

Larry Agran, a Los Angeles attorney and a faculty member at the University of California-Los Angeles Law School, tells the gruesome story in an article in the *Nation* magazine of April 12.

Agran says that in 1942, more than thirty years ago, Dr. Wilhelm Hueper, a research pathologist, wrote a monumental text on *Occupational Tumors and Allied Diseases*. Hueper drew on



Problems? I don't see any problems at this plant!

studies of workers both in America and abroad and convincingly established the relationship between on-the-job contact with certain chemicals, metals, and minerals and a high rate of cancer.

In his book he urged adoption of comprehensive preventive measures to minimize the cancer hazards faced by the industrial work force.

### Evidence ignored

Hueper's book was ignored by the government and fought against by the industrialists. Both were afraid that if the facts came out it would "frighten" workers and impair production. So the bosses and their government deliberately and callously left these workers unaware of the dangers they faced.

Dr. Hueper, who later became chief of the National Cancer Institute's Environmental Cancer Section, has warned that we are entering an "epidemic in slow motion."

Agran cites some of the evidence:

- Rubber workers are dying of certain cancers at rates from 50 to 300 percent greater than in the general population.

- Coke-oven workers get lung cancer at seven times the normal rate.

- Mesothelioma, a fatal malignancy that used to be rare, has become

relatively commonplace among asbestos workers.

- More than half of all deaths among uranium miners come from lung cancer.

- Some two million workers are exposed to benzene, a known leukemia-producing agent.

The list goes on and on. They call it "blue-collar cancer."

On April 28, 1971, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Act took effect. It is "enforced" through the Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Investigative research work on suspected carcinogens is done by the National Institute on Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), which operates under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Both of these agencies are sabotaged through lack of funds and personnel. In 1974-75, NIOSH received a miserly \$1.8 million for occupational cancer research. This cancer research arm has only twenty-eight staff positions.

It takes six full-time researchers at least a year, and costs \$250,000, to carry out a study of a single suspected cancer-causing chemical. Thus the backlog of suspected but unstudied carcinogens mounts every day: commercial talc, mineral wool, antimony,

wood dust, phosphoric acid, benzidine, and scores of others.

And every year industry pours thousands of new and untested chemicals into industrial and commercial channels.

There is only one bright side to this dark picture. Since the reluctant admission by the B.F. Goodrich Company that three of its workers had already died of angiosarcoma, some unions have taken steps toward fighting for the strengthening and enforcement of OSHA standards.

### Union campaign

Led by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW), which has many members in chemical plants and oil refineries, growing numbers of unions are teaming up with medical groups to determine the present health of their members and retirees, and to launch a concerted campaign to force industries to install air-pollution controls to keep deadly fumes and dust at safe levels in each plant.

About one out of five unions in this country is participating with medical and research groups to investigate health hazards. These include unions in roofing, rubber, paint, printing, oil, chemical, atomic, paper, shipbuilding, steel, auto, and boilermaking.

Agran states that "in response to the vinyl chloride disaster, and to similar but less publicized cancer episodes over the years," Congress will "almost certainly" adopt legislation to require animal testing of specified chemical compounds for their toxic and carcinogenic properties.

This previously unheard-of law would be called the "Toxic Substances Control Act."

Agran also predicts that Congress will give the Environmental Protection Agency director authority to require testing of any substance that he or she "has reason to believe may pose an unreasonable threat to human health or the environment."

This is a subject far too important to leave to any government agency—especially when that government is a tool of industrial capitalism, which values the extra profits it reaps by not controlling cancer hazards higher than the lives of the workers.

There is no hope that the current blue-collar cancer epidemic can be

*Continued on page 26*

## New roundup of undocumented workers in L.A.

By Miguel Pendás

LOS ANGELES—More than 500 "illegal aliens" were seized at a purse factory here May 16 in what immigration officials say is the biggest single raid in U.S. history.

Within hours after the raid, several busloads had already been deported to Mexico.

Immigration official Joseph Dernetz claimed to reporters that he was "surprised" to find so many "illegals" and that his twenty-five officers were unprepared to deal with so many people. However, from all other accounts of the raid, it appears that *la migra* was prepared for a major operation. Some media reported that as many as seventy-five *migra* officers were involved in the raid. A number of Los Angeles police cars were on hand as well.

Workers leaving the factory at closing time told this reporter that the raid began at 8:45 a.m., as a number of border patrol vans and buses surrounded the building. Some officers blockaded the entrances while others

went inside and told everybody who did not have papers to come outside.

"About half the workers left on their own," said one woman. "Then they came in after the rest."

Other witnesses interviewed by *La Opinion*, the Spanish-language daily, saw several officers brandish guns to force unwilling workers to come along. According to other sources, some workers had to be chased down and dragged away.

"The whole thing was over by about 11:30," the woman continued. She estimated that about 90 percent of the work force was hauled away.

Another woman who had worked at the factory for fourteen years said that most of the workers had been working there for some time and were established residents with families. Most of them were earning the minimum wage, a miserable two dollars an hour.

"Those poor people," said another woman who was waiting outside the door. She explained that she worked at the factory but had to miss work that

day because her child was sick. But when she heard about the raid, she rushed down to the factory to see if her sister, who also works there, was all right. At closing time, her sister was not among those leaving the building.

"They let in those Cubans," she said in reference to the hundreds of thousands of anti-Castro exiles in the United States, "but then they throw the Mexicans out."

Another woman waiting outside had come in response to a phone call from a friend inside the factory while the raid was still under way. "She was being arrested and wanted me to pick up her children at the babysitter," the woman said.

At a May 20 picket line called to protest the raids, FBI agents arrested Raul Rodriguez, a member of the antideportation organization CASA. He was charged with "illegal entry" and is being held without bail by immigration authorities, who claim that he is a "clear and present danger" to the national security of the United

States.

Rodriguez is a veteran activist of the Mexican student movement, and he served time as a political prisoner in Lecumberri prison after the massive 1968 student protests, which were murderously repressed by the Diaz Ordaz regime.

There is a striking irony in the deportations coming on the heels of the hypocritical phrases mouthed by President Ford in recent days to justify the massive influx of Vietnamese "refugees."

One of the largest relaxation centers for these corrupt puppet officials, torturers, pimps, and prostitutes of the Thieu regime, Camp Pendleton, is located not far south of Los Angeles. It is not too unlikely that a busload of Thieu's friends would be on the way up to Los Angeles at the same time the deported *mexicanos* were on their way down to Tijuana. There was probably still enough daylight to see each other and wave as they crossed paths on the freeway.



# World Outlook

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

JUNE 13, 1975

## Is dictatorship in Iran 'anti-imperialist'?

# Maoists twist & turn over Peking's support to shah

By Parviz Nia

A debate is being carried out by the major Maoist groupings in the United States, with the participation of Iranian Maoists, in the pages of the *Call*, monthly newspaper of the October League (Marxist-Leninist); *Revolution*, monthly organ of the Revolutionary Union; and the weekly *Guardian*. The debate has centered on the nature of the shah's "anti-imperialist" regime, the shah's role in the Middle East, and the characterization of the national liberation movements in Iran and the Arab-Persian Gulf area.

The debate was prompted by the October League's staunch adherence to the foreign policy of the Communist party of China (CPC). For example, the September 1973 issue of the *Call* reprinted a Hsinhua News Agency press release reporting the shah's visit to the United States in July 1973, under the title, "Struggle With Soviet Union Key to Shah's Visit." The dispatch reported the shah's request for more arms aid from Washington without comment.

The OL's open support to the shah has alarmed other Maoist groups, who fear that its policy will discredit the CPC in the eyes of revolutionists, especially Iranian activists in exile in the United States and Europe.

### 'Aiding the Trotskyites'

The Revolutionary Union expressed this fear when it stated in the August 1974 *Revolution*, "In fact, by using China as a cover for their rightist line, OL is aiding the Trotskyites and revisionists who are vehemently attacking the Chinese and the international and revolutionary united front line the Chinese have been instrumental in developing."

The OL, RU, *Guardian*, and Iranian Maoists participating in the debate all agree on the programmatic objective of forming a "worldwide united front against imperialism." Moreover, they agree on the leadership role that Peking has in this "united front," which includes progressive as well as reactionary regimes, as long as their actions "objectively weaken the superpowers," in other words, Washington and Moscow.

Despite their agreement on this vague and abstract objective, they are divided on the actual formation of the "united front." The main question in the debate has become: Who is "anti-imperialist" and who is not.

Each group has its own formula for settling this question and pins such labels as "revisionism" and "great-nation chauvinism" on the other groups.

The OL defends its policy of supporting the shah on the grounds that the "united front" must be built on opposition to Washington or Moscow or to

both. According to the OL, the shah is at least opposing the "social imperialists" of the Soviet Union and therefore belongs in the "anti-imperialist united front" and should be supported.

By focusing on the shah's "struggle" against the Soviet Union, the OL ignores the repression in Iran today as a "secondary contradiction."

A supporter of the OL, in a letter to the editor published in the February 1975 *Revolution*, defended the OL's position by stating, "Our role, and the role of the people of Iran, is to force him [the shah] to choose the anti-imperialist side."

The writer then indicated which "imperialism" the shah should be against: "It is Soviet social imperialism which is most threatening the sovereignty of the Persian Gulf states now, it is this imperialism which is on the rise, while U.S. imperialism is on the decline, and it is this imperialism physically encircling the People's Republic of China, and which China has labeled 'especially vicious.'"

The OL has gone so far as to label the national movements in Iran and the Arab-Persian Gulf as "puppet secessionist movements" fostered by Moscow.

In reply to the OL's defense of its dogmatic adherence to Peking's foreign policy line, the RU wrote in the August 1974 *Revolution* that "while it is necessary and correct for the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party to make certain agreements and compromises with imperialist and reactionary states, primarily to make use of contradictions between the two superpowers and in that way strengthen the overall united front and the people's struggle for liberation and socialism, it is not correct for communists in other countries, including the U.S., to do the same thing."

An Iranian Maoist, in a letter printed in the December 1974 *Revolution*, wrote that "instead of understanding the foreign policy of revolutionary China, it [OL] simply regurgitates CPC's positions; instead of making an analysis, it copies, and how horribly 'at that!'"

### Two Flags

The RU and the Iranian Maoists would prefer to raise two flags, one to show to the Chinese Stalinists and one to show to the Iranian exiles and revolutionists in the United States. Instead of breaking with Maoism, they are trying to falsify its positions as long as they can.

While the RU voices what it thinks of the danger in the OL's policies, the *Guardian* is more devious. It offers "theoretical guidance." According to the *Guardian*, the OL's mistake lies in its conception of the "united front." Rather than opposing just one of the



Maoists hold that shah is the founder of anti-imperialist dynasty

"superpowers," the *Guardian* declares that "a front . . . must be waged against both the U.S. and USSR (not joining one to fight the other). . . ."

The "united front against imperialism," which all Maoist groupings—U.S., Iranian, or other—accredit to the Chinese bureaucracy, is nothing but Stalin's old bloc of four classes. It is used to justify and set a programmatic seal of approval on the CPC's support to reactionary regimes—whether they are against one or both of the "superpowers"—and its betrayal of liberation movements around the world, from Vietnam and Chile to Dhofar and Bangladesh.

This "united front" has nothing in common with the Leninist concept of a united front, or anti-imperialist front, formed to achieve specific goals, in which the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat maintain political independence.

The CPC's characterization of the bourgeoisies of imperialist or semicolonial regimes as "anti-imperialist" is highly dubious.

The OL argues that since Iran is a third-world country struggling for its national independence, the shah is "anti-imperialist." Even by this Stalinist logic, the national liberation movements within Iran and the Arab-Persian Gulf area would also be anti-imperialist. But the OL slanders these movements instead.

In the October 1974 *Call*, the OL said, "Like the Hitlerites of 40 years ago, the U.S.S.R. uses the secessionist sentiments of various oppressed peoples to split smaller countries and further their rivalries with the other

superpower. . . .

" . . . Trying to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries, they have fostered puppet secessionist movements in Baluchistan and Khuzistan and other places, aimed at weakening Iran, toppling the Shah and bringing the Gulf under their sway."

### RU & Guardian Silent

The case of the RU and the *Guardian* is no better. They have chosen to keep silent about Peking's support to reactionary regimes.

In response to the charges by the OL that the Dhofar liberation movement is a "puppet secessionist movement," the theoreticians of the *Guardian* stated in an editorial in the March 5, 1975, issue, "If such were really the case, solidarity with and support for the Dhofar revolutionaries by other peoples and Marxist-Leninists would be unwarranted."

"But the fact is that all Marxist-Leninists including, of course, Peoples China, support the just struggle of the people of Oman against the reactionary Sultan, the Shah of Iran and their U.S. and British overseers."

The *Guardian* theorists, as well as the RU and the Iranian Maoists, are thus reduced to falsifying Peking's positions and covering up for its betrayal of the struggles in Dhofar and other countries. They do this to make Maoism more palatable to their supporters and to turn aside the questions that some Iranian activists may be raising about Peking's opportunistic foreign policy.

## Feeding the Pentagon parasite

# The cost of America's permanent war economy

*The Permanent War Economy—American Capitalism in Decline*, by Seymour Melman. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974. 384 pp. \$9.95.

By Dick Fidler

Since the Great Depression of the 1930s, influential capitalist economists have contended that the monetary and fiscal mechanisms worked out by Keynes and his disciples now enable governments to ameliorate if not eliminate depressions and keep unemployment down to "socially acceptable" levels. Years of almost continuous growth, interrupted only by short-lived, shallow "recessions," appeared to prove the validity of these arguments.

Marxists have contended that the Keynesian "solutions" only postponed the day of reckoning, at the cost of long-range inflation and eventual deep depressions. They could protest that official statistics understated unemployment and ignored underemployment. They could point to the unused manufacturing capacity and the rape of vital natural resources. In the United States, they might call attention to the growing power of the military, whose war machine consumed a tenth of the national product, deforming the whole economy.

The Keynesians were undeterred. Whatever their private thoughts about the arms race, most of them agreed that government spending, regardless of its purpose, assured satisfactory economic performance.

### Growing Problems

In the world's strongest capitalist power, however, it became clear toward the end of the 1960s that all was not well with the economy. A huge public debt, which began to grow rapidly with the large military budget at the outset of the Korean War, had fueled an unprecedented expansion of capital at home and abroad. But this growth entailed increasing deficits in the balance of payments, largely to cover the cost of hundreds of bases in dozens of countries and the support of client dictators. Increasing competition from foreign goods coincided with a slowing of the rate of growth of industry.

The turning point came in August 1971, when Nixon slammed down the foreign-exchange window, halting the redemption of dollars for gold. European bankers abandoned the dollar as the world reserve currency. The post-war monetary system established at Bretton Woods collapsed. Inflation soared throughout the capitalist world. And in 1974 the major capitalist countries entered the first simultaneous depression since the 1930s.

The Keynesians claimed to have discovered a formula for maintaining an acceptable ratio between unemployment and inflation. In fact, they have presided over the production of high levels of both.

Seymour Melman does not address himself primarily to the problem of "stagflation" in his latest book, but his description of the permanent war economy offers an excellent starting point for understanding what happened. Melman, a professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, and one of the leaders of SANE, a



Nuclear launch officer ready to push the button. A sure way to end inflation.

liberal peace organization, pinpoints war expenditures as the prime source of the inflationary drive and industrial stagnation that has come to plague the American economy.

Wall Street's war machine is feared and hated around the world. Its nuclear arsenal has the capacity to wipe out all human life on the face of the earth—not just once, but many times over. The millions of casualties, the massive destruction of homes, crops, and ecology that resulted from Washington's intervention in Indochina, were only a small demonstration of the devastation American imperialism is prepared to inflict in pursuit of its interests.

But some of the most wasteful and destructive results of "Pentagon capitalism" are to be felt within the United States itself. This is the subject of *The Permanent War Economy*.

The war economy, as Melman sees it, developed as a military-industrial complex during the cold war, emerging during the Kennedy-McNamara regime into a full-fledged, centrally managed, state-capitalist sector.

### Size of Military Sector

Some idea of the size of this military sector can be gained from the following statistics, cited in his book:

- By 1974, the real annual Pentagon budget, which includes payments for past, current, and future military operations, amounted to \$123 billion, or 62 percent of the total "federal funds" budget of the government. This is more than 10 percent of the U.S. gross national product (GNP), and a sum greater than the GNP of all but a handful of countries.

- In 1971, the military accounted for 73 percent of the \$97 billion of all federal purchases.

- By 1970 the value of military installations and matériel amounted to 38 percent of the total money value of all the assets of industry in the United States—\$214 billion out of a total of \$554 billion for all manufacturing corporations.

- Of the \$200 billion spent on industrial research and development in the United States since World War II,

80 percent has been spent on military and military-related projects.

- By 1971 at least 6 million Americans were directly employed either by the Pentagon itself (3.8 million) or in military-serving private employment (2.2 million). These figures did not include thousands of persons employed in foreign military aid projects, nor did they include the private armies of the CIA in Indochina and elsewhere.

### A Logic of Its Own

This huge military sector operates like a separate economy, comprising the biggest industrial corporations in the country as well as thousands of subcontractors. It is characterized by remarkable inefficiency. As a result of their symbiotic relationship with the state bureaucracy, the war contractors operate under a special set of rules that seem to conflict with normal business principles. They maximize costs, and maximize subsidies from the state.

Administrative overhead ratios are more than twice the average for private manufacturing. Complexity in product design is pursued for its own sake. Work projects are invented to fill in time, because employers want to stockpile engineers in anticipation of future contract awards. Many projects are junked before completion. Cost is only a minor consideration, since subsidies can always be obtained.

Melman cites "cost overruns" that until the 1960s averaged 3.2 times the initial estimates. Full data for the subsequent period are not yet available, but as of June 1971 the cost overruns on some 45 major weapons systems amounted to \$35.2 billion. (Even the term "cost overrun" is misleading, Melman points out, for in fact this tremendous escalation in final prices is built into the system as "the normal, approved, built-in operating characteristics of the military-industry enterprise system.")

For example, the final price of the F-111, the famous swing-wing multipurpose plane, was about four times initial

estimates. The C-5 transport, supposed to cost \$29 million, ended up with a price tag of \$62 million per plane.

A common practice is the "golden hand-shake," a private Pentagon commitment to subsidize the financial losses generated by cost-maximizing. From 1958 to 1973 Washington bailed out projects and firms at a charge of almost \$86 million to the public treasury. And that does not include the recent \$250 million underwriting of bank loans to Lockheed Corporation, manufacturer of the C-5.

But despite this waste, many will argue, is it not true that spending billions of dollars on missiles, planes, and ammunition keeps the economy afloat, gives Americans jobs, and increases the national product?

Here is where Melman makes his most telling points. The war economy, he says, has been the main factor in undermining the foundations of prosperity and generating social decay in the United States.

A sharp distinction must be drawn, he says, between the "parasitic growth" represented by war production, and "productive growth" of "goods and services that either are part of the level of living or can be used for further production of whatever kind." This distinction is overlooked in most economics textbooks. And it is blurred by the measure of "gross national product" itself, which treats all money-valued output of goods and services—including "defense" spending and upkeep of police forces, for example—as a contribution to wealth.

Melman points to some aspects of the war economy that indicate its parasitic nature.

First, there is the fact that every dollar spent on the military is a dollar not spent on socially useful goods or services. The combined budgets of the Pentagon from 1946 to 1975 amounted to \$1,500 billion—more than the value of all commercial and residential structures in the United States.

In practice, successive governments

## War is big business

The war machine is big business in the United States.

"The top one hundred military-serving firms are also a Who's Who of American industry," Melman says. "Virtually every major industrial firm is included."

Here is a list of the biggest war contractors in the fiscal year that ended last June 30, as reported in the November 1, 1974, *Wall Street Journal*. The value of each company's military contracts and its share of total Pentagon contracts of more than \$10,000 are indicated in the columns on the right.

Rank	Company	Value	%
1	General Dynamics	\$1.85 billion	5.4
2	Lockheed Corp.	\$1.46 billion	4.3
3	McDonnell Douglas	\$1.31 billion	3.8
4	United Aircraft	\$1.21 billion	3.5
5	General Electric	\$1.21 billion	3.5

Others in the top ten contractors were Boeing Co. (\$1.08 billion); Litton Industries, Inc. (\$925.8 million); Hughes Aircraft Co. (\$824.9 million); Rockwell International Corp. (\$819.2 million); and Raytheon Co. (\$739.6 million).

For many of the top 100 military suppliers, sales to the Pentagon account for only a minor part of total production. But for most, such sales are nevertheless an important, usually vital part of their operation, Melman notes.

"When the total sales of a firm amount to, say, \$1 billion, then 10 percent of that to the Pentagon is \$100 million, and probably the largest sales volume to any single purchaser. . . . their loss would make a real difference to the fortunes of the enterprise. The sales to the military also carry part of the burden of overhead costs in these firms."

Of course, the war profiteers do not like to publicize their involvement in military production more than is absolutely necessary (that is, to attract investors). Melman cites a General Motors official quoted in the London *Sunday Times*, April 21, 1968: "We want to be known as a car and appliance manufacturer, not a merchant of death. . . . But we also want to be ready to profit from the apparently endless series of brushfire wars in which the U.S. seems to involve itself."



have been quick to dump civilian projects, many of which affect the quality of life of masses of Americans, in order to meet the demands of the military machine. Melman compares some equivalent "civilian-economy cuts" with "military-economy increases" taken from Nixon's 1974 federal budget. Here are a few examples:

- A \$200 million cut in child nutrition for elementary and secondary education against a \$194.2 million request for a SAM-D missile project.
- A \$519.7 million cut in emergency employment assistance against a \$546.3 million request for S-3A Viking anti-submarine-warfare aircraft.
- A \$1.5 billion cut in elementary and secondary education against a \$1.2 billion request for one Trident submarine.

Such contrasts are not meant to imply that tax money not spent on the military would necessarily be applied to the indicated civilian uses, Melman says. "Rather, I wish to underscore that within a given level of public spending . . . such trade-offs are being made in effect, though rarely stated openly."

### Costly Parasitic Growth

But war spending does not simply substitute for possible alternative items in the government budget. Melman's thesis, which he develops at length, is that "the full cost to a society of parasitic economic growth exceeds the money value of the materials, man-hours and machinery used up for military products." The cost of the military apparatus to the American economy must include an estimation of the economic use values and the capital productivity that is forgone by arms purchases.

Melman does not attempt such an assessment. But he cites a study by Professor Bruce Russett at Yale showing that the value of the production equipment and buildings that were forgone in the United States from 1946 to 1973 as a result of military spending was at least \$660 billion, or 45 percent as much as was actually invested.

"If one includes a further allowance for a compounding effect in such calculations—i.e., machines producing other machines in addition to final products—then the total capital outlays forgone in the United States from 1946 to 1973 because of the preemption



Obsolete jets at military storage center. Arms production may be wasteful, but it's profitable for giant corporations.

of capital for the military exceeds \$1,900 billion, or 135 percent of actual investment."

The high proportion of research funds spent on the military, and the diversion of capital investment into war production, have contributed to the decline in the rate of expansion of productivity in industry, Melman holds. For eighty years, the rate exceeded Europe's by 60 percent. By 1950 the relationship was reversed, and since 1965, the rate in the United States has trailed Western Europe's by 60 percent and Japan's by 84 percent.

The resulting fall in the competitiveness of American industry was reflected in the decline of the trade surplus, and the appearance in 1971, for the first time since 1893, of a negative trade balance. Symptomatic of Wall Street's declining position was the loss in 1972 of world leadership in the machine-tool industry.

How did this situation come about?

### Civilian Research Declines

According to Melman, the strong lead the United States developed in "high technology" fields was largely in those of special interest to the military. Now European and Japanese capitalists are beginning to reap the benefit of their sustained concentration on civilian research. It is in these areas that the sharpest signs of American weakness in international competitiveness are to be observed.

The deterioration of technological standards has had severe effects on the domestic economy, too, reflected in such phenomena as the deterioration of railway roadbed and rolling stock, the overloading of the telephone system, and the critical shortage of engineers to service and expand the electric-power-generating system.

Another factor undermining the competitiveness of American industry on the world market has been the swift price inflation spurred by what Melman terms "Pax Americana"—the cost of maintaining Washington's huge network of military bases around the world.

I.F. Stone has calculated that in 1971 it cost the American taxpayers \$44 billion—59 percent of the total war department budget—to maintain this worldwide system, which includes 340 major foreign military bases in more than three dozen countries. This has been a major factor in the enormous accumulation of U.S. dollars in the hands of foreign governments and banks.

By 1971, dollar holdings abroad exceeded three times the U.S. Treasury's gold reserve. Foreign creditors began to doubt Washington's ability to redeem these dollars in gold. The monetary crisis culminated in the de-

facto devaluation of the dollar in August 1971.

The trade offensive opened by Washington had further inflationary effects. Large-scale exports of grains, wood, and meat, as part of Washington's attempts to soak up dollars held abroad, created sharp reductions in stockpiles, pushing up prices still further and lowering the living standards of millions of Americans.

The 36 percent rise in the cost of living between 1968 and 1974, Melman concludes, was a direct product of military spending. ". . . the U.S. state managers, with their arrogant military preoccupations, caused the debacle in the value of the dollar and the consequent undermining of their own economic thrust for world hegemony."

Washington's trade offensive also increased inter-imperialist rivalries. "The enlargement of armaments sales abroad is the largest single effort that the state management devised for restoring a favorable balance of trade to the United States," Melman writes. The Pentagon drew up a major plan for expanding world arms sales "increasing such exports from \$925 million in 1970 to \$3.8 billion per year in 1973."

Melman's conclusions are confirmed by recent developments. "In the fiscal year ended last June 30," the *New York Times* reported April 14, "overseas customers ordered a record total of \$8.3-billion worth of American-made fighter planes, tanks, missiles and other military equipment and technical assistance. The Pentagon served as a middleman, adding 2 percent to the price as an administrative charge. Direct sales by manufacturers plus aid provided by the United States Government brought the total of arms orders from foreigners to about \$10-billion."

### The Payoff in Social Blight

Melman links the growing social decay in the United States to the twisted priorities imposed by the war economy. The spread of slums, the cutbacks in social services, the deterioration of public transit, are all forms of decay that are part and parcel of an

economy based on war production.

This social decay, it is important to note, accompanied economic growth, in fact, the period of greatest growth in American history. From 1950 to 1970, the yearly economic product per person in the United States rose from \$2,342 to \$3,516 (measured in 1958 dollars of "constant" value). But much of this additional income was siphoned off in taxes to pay for the military machine, which was growing at an even faster rate. In fact, much of the "growth" comprised in rising gross national product figures simply represented billions and billions of dollars being poured into the military machine.

Although Melman tends to attribute all the ills of American society to military spending, he is correct in stressing the central role played by the war economy in the development of the current crisis. Where he must be faulted, however, is in viewing the "permanent war economy" as an abnormal excrescence rather than as an inevitable phase of capitalism.

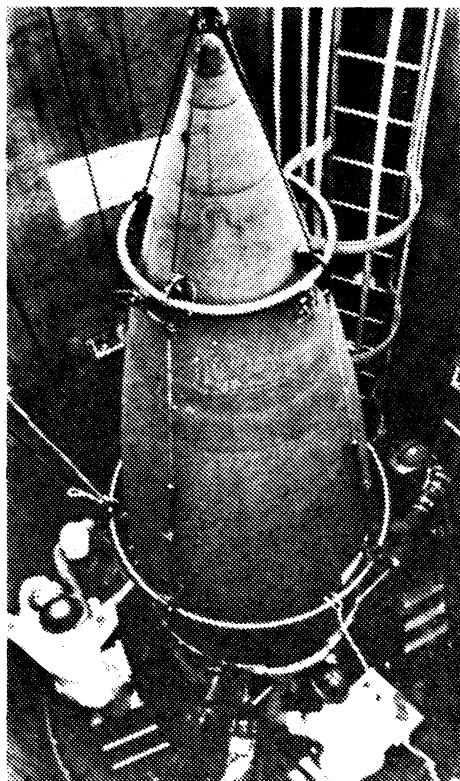
He holds that "there is no specifically economic necessity that stems from any productive requirement of the U.S. economy as a whole or from capitalist economic relations *per se*, which makes a war economy an indispensable feature of American society."

But his factual description of the war economy accords with the Marxist view that armaments production and war are inevitable products of capitalism.

The concentration and centralization of capital in the imperialist phase of developments brings about a contraction of openings for profitable investment. Markets are saturated, monopolies restrict production to hold up prices, industrial development slows down, and a great mass of surplus capital accumulates in the major imperialist countries.

Armaments production is the capitalists' "solution" to this problem. By purchasing huge quantities of arms, the state in effect provides a highly profitable replacement market for the products of heavy industry. These

*Continued on next page*



Ingenious Pentagon planners have developed missiles whose cost alone can wreak havoc, even if they aren't fired.

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## ...America's war economy

*Continued from preceding page*

state purchases are financed primarily through taxation, the issuing of bonds, and the printing of inflationary paper money—with a resulting lowering of the level of workers' real wages. In effect, the capitalist state carries out a massive redistribution of national income to the benefit of the big industrial trusts and at the expense of other layers of the population.

Armaments production is thus a vital means by which the state guarantees monopoly profits through increasing public expenditure at cost of expanding the public debt and undermining the stability of the currency. Arms production increases the amount to purchasing power in circulation, in the form of profits for war contractors and wages for war-industry workers, without creating a corresponding supply of use values.

At the same time, of course, it must be noted that the arms produced have an unfortunate tendency to be used, in order to protect and extend markets. In the nuclear age, this could result in the annihilation of the human race.

The war economy is not peculiar to capitalism in the United States, although it has received its highest expression there. It is rooted in the nature of the capitalist system.

Melman, however, insists on defining the "permanent war economy" as a "specifically American" phenomenon.

of the Japanese and some West European economies was based on such factors as initial heavy injections of American capital for postwar reconstruction (the Marshall Plan); cheaper wage rates and newer industrial plant; and, not least, that they could reduce military spending by relying on the Pentagon for counterrevolutionary forces such as the occupation troops.

But in all these countries military expenditures have been absorbing an increasing share of national income, too. And the relatively smaller size of their war machines has not enabled them to escape the general slowing of growth visible in all capitalist countries—which itself has been spurred by war-induced inflation in the United States.

Melman's claims about the relative strength of the "civilian oriented" economies of Japan and West Germany are seen to be exaggerated today in light of the simultaneous downturn in the major capitalist economies, and the economic blows that the American colossus has been able to inflict on its competitors and clients.

Melman does not explore the political aspects of the "war economy," such as the roots of the cold war and the sources of Wall Street's war drive. Nor does he propose that the war machine be scrapped. Instead, he suggests limiting its annual cost to "not more than \$29 billion."



U.S. troops arrive in Germany. Washington's huge military establishment abroad has added to its balance of payments problem.

He argues at length that the United States can drastically cut back arms spending, and "convert" to a peace economy, while remaining within the framework of capitalist property relations. As proof he points to other imperialist countries such as West Germany and Japan, which have concentrated less in military research and investment, and more on developing civilian-oriented production.

What Melman leaves out of account is that the enormous weight of the American war machine is one of the consequences of the outcome of the Second World War. Confronted with the economic and military might of the United States, and the perception that the Soviet Union and other workers states would be the ultimate victors in another inter-imperialist war, the weaker capitalist countries had no choice but to concede to Washington the role of policing the world for imperialism. Which is what Washington proceeded to do. By the time of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, for example, the Pentagon was already funding 80 percent of the cost of the French aggression in Indochina.

The relatively swift economic growth

Melman, who apparently had a hand in drafting McGovern's program in the Democratic senator's 1972 presidential bid, directs his argument to businessmen and capitalist politicians. But they are not listening. Although the war in Vietnam is over, Washington is spending more on the war machine than ever before. Members of Congress, including many who were "doves" in the later stages of the war, have indicated their readiness to support Ford's request for \$104.7 billion in new appropriations for the Pentagon this year. High military budgets long ago became "institutionalized" in the United States.

Melman's proposal for action—essentially an educational campaign around the theme that capitalism can prosper without a war economy—is naive and misdirected. Far better to take the facts and figures he has amassed in this book and apply them to the struggle against capitalism, the system that breeds war. For whatever its author's intentions, *The Permanent War Economy* makes a strong case for dismantling the war economy, not just partially, but root and branch.

## World news notes

### Palestinians hail Vietnam victory

"Events in Indo-China have encouraged the Palestinian guerrillas in their political and military plans against Israel," a dispatch from Beirut in the May 14 *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

"Palestinian statements praise the success of the Indo-Chinese guerrilla movements and compare their victories against 'imperialism' with Palestinian efforts against Israel and its main ally, the United States."

A recent issue of the official Palestine Liberation Organization newspaper captioned a photograph of Ho Chi Minh, "Today Vietnam, tomorrow Palestine."

### Inflation hits poor countries hardest

Inflation continues to hit the colonial and semicolonial countries far harder than the industrialized ones. The prices of the kinds of goods they are forced to import—such as machinery—have risen sharply. At the same time the prices of the raw materials these countries export have remained stable or fallen in the past year.

Oil-producing countries estimate, for example, that they have been robbed of 35 percent of their purchasing power by inflation in the major capitalist countries.

Some of the countries hardest hit by inflation, according to recent twelve-month figures released by the International Monetary Fund, are the following:

Chile, 375.9%; Argentina, 40.3%; Taiwan, 34.4%; Brazil, 34.1%; Zaïre, 29.5%; India, 25%.

### More proof of torture in Chile

On May 29 the International Labor Organization published a 122-page report giving the conclusions of a three-member commission it had set up to investigate charges against the Chilean junta.

The commission of Peruvian, British, and French jurists, which had spent four weeks inside Chile, called the execution of trade-union leaders "an established fact." It charged that the junta aimed to "eliminate or prevent any large-scale opposition to its policy" inside the trade unions. In pursuit of this, the junta did away with trade-union officials "either by execution, with or without trial," or by "torture inflicted upon them."

The findings of the ILO commission are of special importance because the junta agreed to recognize it and cooperate in its investigations in the hope that a favorable report would help it improve its reputation internationally.

The release of the commission's report prompted the *New York Times* to comment. In a May 31 editorial typical of these sanctimonious liberals, the *Times* editors divided their censure between the murderers and torturers in Chile and those around the world responsible for bringing the crimes to public attention.

"Chile's military rulers are doubtless correct," argued the *Times*, "when they charge that they are targets of a relentless propaganda assault from international Communism and that their violations of human rights are blown out of proportion. . . ."

### Michael X hanged in Trinidad

Michael X (Michael Abdul Malik), a major figure in London's Black power movement in the 1960s, was hanged in his native Trinidad May 16. He was convicted on charges of murder in 1972 and spent two and a half years on death row while his case was appealed. Although an international campaign was waged for clemency, his final appeal was rejected on May 15.

### Big drop in immigration to Israel

In recognition of the fact that fewer and fewer persons are willing to consider emigration to Israel, Zionist officials have announced that they are cutting back by nearly 20 percent on their worldwide staff of recruiters—from 142 to 117.

Two years ago, 55,000 persons emigrated to Israel. Last year, the figure was 32,000. In the months of March and April this year, immigration has been less than half the 1974 rate.

Israeli officials blame the decline in immigration on uncertainty about Israel's security and economy. They say they will compensate for the cut in recruiters by increasing efforts abroad to "fight the overwhelming tendency in the mass media to distort the position of Israel."

### Basques face mass arrests

More than 1,300 persons have been arrested in Bilbao since the Franco regime declared a state of emergency in the Basque provinces of Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya April 25. Roman Catholic spokesmen and civil-rights lawyers say that at least 2,000 persons were detained for questioning throughout the region in the first month of the decree.

The churchmen and attorneys said that several of those arrested were tortured.

The state of emergency was declared in a crackdown against Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom), but those arrested also include other Basque nationalists, Communists, Socialists, Trotskyists, Maoists, and Catholic priests. Lawyers report that most of them are teen-age students and workers.



## 1,000 in D.C. march

# 'Free Joan Little! Free the Ten!'

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON, D.C.—One thousand young people, mostly Blacks, marched here May 31 to demand freedom for Joan Little and the Wilmington Ten.

Little is a twenty-year-old Black woman who will go on trial in Raleigh, North Carolina, July 14 for the stabbing death of a white jailer. The Wilmington Ten are nine Blacks and one white who were framed up on arson and conspiracy charges for their role in a school desegregation struggle in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1971.

The march was a spirited one, punctuated by chants of "Free Joan!" "Free the Ten!" and "Justice! Justice!" The demonstration passed by the Justice Department and the Treasury Department before ending in a rally at Lafayette Park across from the White House.

Most of the protesters came from North Carolina, the Washington area, and Baltimore. One large banner read, "Free Joan Little, defend Black womanhood." Many signs demanded, "Free the Wilmington Ten." A banner carried by activists of the National Student Coalition Against Racism said, "Free Joan Little, free the Wilmington Ten, desegregate the Boston schools."

Some demonstrators carried signs in support of other North Carolina frame-up victims, including the Charlotte Three—Blacks charged with burning a



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

May 31 march in Washington, D.C., demanding end to frame-up of Joan Little and Wilmington Ten.

riding stable in 1968—and in support of Thomas Wansley, a Black who has been fighting a rape frame-up in Virginia since the early 1960s.

The most enthusiastic response at the rally was given to Joan Little. In her brief remarks, Little pointed out that "many people have committed much worse crimes than I, but they're out on the streets. I'm talking about people like Nixon and Agnew."

"If we don't have your support," she warned, "they'll railroad me to the gas chamber and the Wilmington Ten to jail for years."

"I hope people will show up at my trial," Little told the *Militant* in an interview after the rally. Her supporters are urging people to fill the courtroom on July 14, the day the trial opens.

Little says she has received "a lot of support from Black women, but not only Black women, from all women, who see the injustices I have had to go through." She added that her ordeal has "changed me, in that now I am more concerned about the conditions faced by prisoners."

Rev. Ben Chavis of the Wilmington Ten also spoke. Chavis has received the most severe sentence—34 years—in the case. Recently, the North Carolina Supreme Court turned down the appeal

of the defendants, who face a total of 282 years in prison. The case will now go to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers of America and vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, also spoke at the rally. "How ironic it is that this country can send working and Black youth thousands of miles away to fight wars against people who are not our enemies, but it cannot find justice for people here at home," Robinson said.

D.C. nonvoting Representative Walter Fauntroy and D.C. city council member Marion Barry also addressed the crowd. The D.C. city council had passed a resolution making May 31 "Wilmington Ten Day."

A featured speaker was Communist party member Angela Davis. The CP was prominent in building the demonstration, which was sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Workers Liberation League, Socialist Workers party, Puerto Rican Socialist party, and Youth Against War and Fascism also participated in the march.

One hundred fifty people—15 percent of the crowd—bought copies of the *Militant*.



JOAN LITTLE

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

## UCSD grad students fight cutbacks

By Jerry Freiwirth

SAN DIEGO—Chanting "No layoffs" and "Meet our demands," more than 400 graduate teaching assistants and their supporters picketed a meeting of the University of California at San Diego Board of Overseers meeting on May 21.

The action was called by the newly organized Graduate Student Union. At least 400 of the approximately 900 graduate students at UCSD have signed union membership cards in the first three weeks of the union's existence.

The union is demanding of the UCSD administration:

- an end to cutbacks in the teaching assistant program;
- a guarantee that at least half of all graduate students will be employed as teaching assistants;
- full-year contracts for teaching assistants instead of the present quarterly contracts;
- an end to increased workloads;
- free tuition.

The cutbacks in the teaching assistant program have affected the entire quality of education at UCSD. Teaching assistant course sections are sup-

posed to provide undergraduate students with more individual attention. But because of the increasing layoffs, some of these classes now contain as many as 100 students.

Some departments are reportedly planning for sections containing up to 150 students in the next year.

On May 14, the union sent a letter to the administration asking that Chancellor William McElroy meet with union representatives to discuss their demands. McElroy refused.

It was in response to McElroy's refusal that the teaching assistants organized a march through the campus that converged on the board of overseers meeting. They requested that University of California President-designate David Saxon, who was attending the meeting, meet with a negotiating committee elected by the union.

Upon being told that Saxon was also "too busy" to discuss their grievances, the demonstrators angrily surrounded the one-story, glass-enclosed building where the board could be plainly seen sitting around a long wooden table.

What were Saxon and the board of overseers discussing that was so im-

portant that no time could be found for a serious discussion with the Graduate Student Union?

The campus paper, the *Triton Times*, reports that their discussion revolved around a recent Gallup Poll indicating that a majority of college students have an unfavorable view of big business and big business people! Since the membership of the board of overseers reads like a list of "Who Rules San Diego," naturally the gentlemen had too much on their mind to be bothered.

The struggle of the Graduate Student Union takes place in the context of an upsurge of political activity at UCSD. In the past few weeks frequent demonstrations, picket lines, and speak-outs have taken place around such issues as the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, support to the United Farm Workers, and the right of Blacks to desegregated schools in Boston.

It is uncertain whether the Graduate Student Union will succeed in forcing the administration to negotiate in the short time left before the end of school. However, it is certain that the union will be back organizing in the fall if its demands are not met.

## ACLU backs antiterror rally in LA

By Andrea Baron

LOS ANGELES—Plans are accelerating for a June 20 rally to demand immediate action by Mayor Tom Bradley and the Los Angeles Police Department to halt a wave of right-wing terror bombings here.

On May 21, the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California Board of Directors voted unanimously to sponsor the meeting, which was initiated by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). Other recent sponsors include retired judge Robert Kenny, the City Terrace chapter of La Raza Unida party, and Social Services Union Local 535.

Concern about the terrorism is growing throughout Los Angeles. The May 30 issue of the *Los Angeles Free Press* carried a front-page story on the right-wing violence, headlined "L.A. is Bomb City." The article reports, "All told, since early February there have been thirteen bombings in Los Angeles, adding to its reputation as Bomb City, USA."

"What appeared to be right-wing bomb and arson attacks have gone unchecked here for a decade and a half."

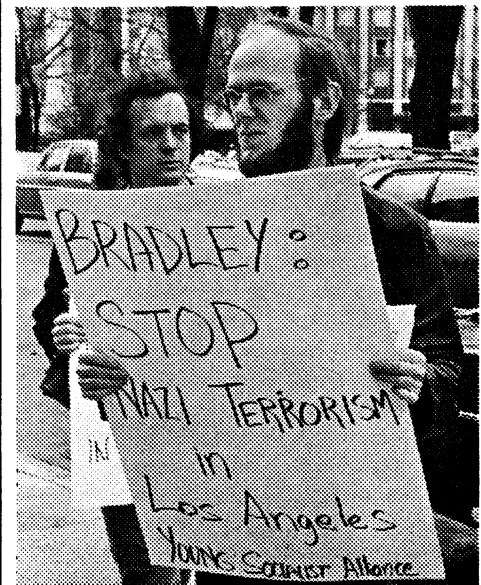
A new terrorist attack took place recently at California State University at Los Angeles. On May 27 a container of liquid Mace was thrown at the entrance to the Latin American studies office on the campus. The department had scheduled a campus program on Cuba for that afternoon.

Earlier, on February 13, a noxious chemical was thrown on the floor of a classroom at Cal State where a Cuban film was being shown.

The Latin American Studies Department and Latin American Society responded to the new attack with a message to Bradley demanding that he "put an end to these terrorist attacks, which threaten the civil liberties of every citizen of Los Angeles."

A picket line is scheduled for June 5 outside a hearing at police headquarters to protest the police inaction, which has encouraged the continuation of these attacks. On the same day representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, Campaign for Democratic Freedoms, PRDF, and others are scheduled to testify at a meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission to demand immediate action to apprehend the criminals who are responsible for the terrorism.

The June 20 rally will take place at 8 p.m. at the Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles. For further information, contact the Political Rights Defense Fund at Post Office Box 57031, Los Angeles, California 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-8855.



Militant/Eric Simpson

## Letter from Chicano prisoner

# From rebel to revolutionary socialist

We recently received the following letter from a Chicano prisoner describing his evolution from a rebel who sensed there was something wrong with "the system" to a revolutionary—and the role the *Militant* played in this process.

Like hundreds of others in prisons across the country, he was able to receive a free or low-cost subscription to the *Militant* through contributions to the Militant Prisoner Fund. His letter stands as a thank-you to all those who have contributed to the fund and should encourage others to aid this important effort.

Contributions can be sent to Militant Prisoner Fund: 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Dear Friends,

It has been over two years now since I have been receiving the *Militant* regularly, thanks to your Prisoner Fund, and it has kept me in touch with the struggle outside. Most important, however, has been my growing understanding of socialism and my complete conviction that a workers government is the only and best solution for the ills of our society.

When I first came to prison in 1967, I was totally confused about the social and political aspects of my life-style

and outlook. The counselors here tried to convince me that I, as an individual, was to blame for all of my problems and that the system had nothing to do with it. I knew that this was not entirely true but I had no other reference in which to judge this.

I became involved in the Chicano movement in the prisons, and I learned what I have always known about the exploitation of myself and my people through the racist policy of American capitalism. I knew we had been and are being oppressed, but I never knew the total picture of this oppression. I just blamed the gringo and his racism, period.

In 1970 I read my first *Militant* and only because of its coverage of the Chicano movement, but as I continued to read those issues that were smuggled in to us I began to understand that it was not the gringo but the whole system that was oppressive of my people's aspirations and also of the other minorities' goals of freedom and justice.

I started reading books dealing with Marxism and the more I read the more my eyes were opened. I suppose you could say my thinking went through various stages of nationalism and separatism to finally reach my present stage of revolutionary Marxism.

My counselor was partially right when he said it was my own actions

that were to blame for my imprisonment, because I was rebelling against a system that I did not understand and in so doing inadvertently becoming an instrument of my own oppression. I now realize the extent of my ignorance concerning the neo-imperialist strategy of American capitalism in its exploitation of all the peoples of the world including my bogeyman, the gringo.

Through your paper and through other Marxist literature I have come to realize that in order for me, my people, my Black brothers, and my "gringo" brothers to free ourselves of racism and opportunism we must come to understand and oppose this capitalist system and abolish it. And this can only be done by arming ourselves with the potent weapons of revolutionary Marxist thought and action.

My counselors here have written in their reports to the parole board that I have matured and have found an inner confidence that has strengthened my ego to the extent that I no longer engage in disruptive behavior. They believe that they and their brainwashing tactics have wrought this change.

If they only knew that it was the *Militant* and books from Pathfinder Press that have brought me to the understanding of the futility of adventurous action, and that revolutionary Marxist thought has shown me the

best way to defend myself against their psychological onslaught, they would probably change the nature of their reports.

I am no longer a rebel striking out at whatever comes near but a revolutionary who knows that I must educate myself in Marxist thought and logic in order to prepare myself to really be an able contributor to the struggle against the oppressor and for the establishment of a true workers' democracy.

The state of California finally appears to feel that I can be given a parole. I go before the parole board next month, and by all indications I should receive a parole. Therefore, please cancel the subscription you have so generously given me and let some other brother prisoner receive it so that he too may finally awake to the real nature of this world we find ourselves in. You will, however, definitely hear from me when I get out. I must continue receiving the *Militant*. I also plan to contribute what I can to your Prisoner Fund.

There is one more favor I would like to ask of you. Could you please send me the "Bill of Rights for Working People"?

Thank you again for your great contribution to my growth.

En lucha,  
A prisoner,  
California

## Gov't refuses to release FBI files on Camejo

By Nancy Cole

NEW YORK—"In addition, release of certain portions of this material would, in my opinion, endanger the life or physical safety of law enforcement personnel. . . . divulge the identities of confidential sources . . . or would constitute an unwarranted invasion of the privacy of persons referred to therein."

FBI memorandums on breaking up organized crime? Or maybe cracking the illegal drug traffic? No—it's Acting Attorney General Harold Tyler's response to the request by Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo for his FBI files.

On May 30, Camejo brought suit against the Department of Justice seeking an injunction against this withholding of his files. The lawsuit was filed in federal court in New York by attorney Herbert Jordan of the Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard law firm.

Jordan and Leonard Boudin are also

attorneys for the SWP's lawsuit against the FBI and other government agencies to force a halt to the illegal harassment and surveillance of the socialists and their supporters. The release of more than 3,000 pages of FBI Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") and investigative reports on the SWP as a result of this suit prompted Camejo to ask for his files in February under the Freedom of Information Act. The information requested included letters, memorandums, tape recordings, electronic surveillance logs, and investigative reports.

The request was denied by FBI Director Clarence Kelley on the grounds that the information sought "consists of investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, and it is considered the production of such records would in this instance interfere with enforcement proceedings."

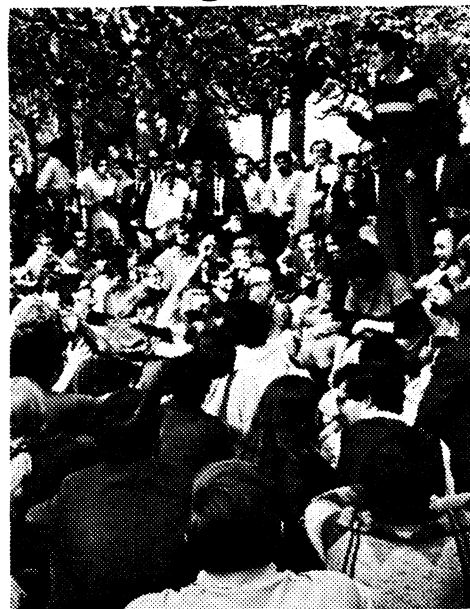
An administrative appeal of this

denial brought Tyler's response on May 16 affirming Kelley's decision.

"The assertion that the release of my files would 'endanger the life' of any law enforcement personnel is an absurd 'smoke screen' for the FBI's illegal spying," responded Camejo in a statement released June 2. "What about the 'unwarranted invasion' of my privacy and that of my campaign supporters?"

"What they are afraid to turn over to us is their secret surveillance files on my activity in the civil rights movement, in the student movement at the University of California at Berkeley, and in organizing the mass demonstrations that helped to end the war in Vietnam."

A similar request for files from the CIA evoked an admission of 100 files on the socialist candidate. Only 9, however—and all of those heavily censored—were released to Camejo. The others were withheld as "classified" material. An appeal on that denial is still pending.



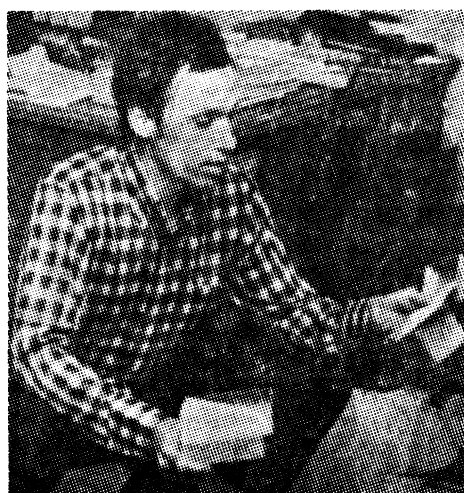
Peter Camejo (right) speaking at Berkeley, California, anti-CIA rally in 1967. FBI and CIA are afraid to reveal their secret surveillance of civil rights, antiwar, and student movements.

## Cleve. SWP offices vandalized for third time

CLEVELAND—The campaign offices of Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Robert Bresnahan were vandalized here on May 26 for the third time in three months. Files were strewn over the floor, desks were rifled, and cash boxes were opened. A small amount of money was taken. The break-in occurred during the night, and no one was present at the time.

This is the most recent in a series of incidents that amounts to a campaign of harassment of the Cleveland Socialist Workers party.

Other events include threatening phone calls to the campaign offices, at times as many as twenty a day; the April 24 ransacking of the Cleveland State University offices of the Young Socialist Alliance, whose members



SWP mayoral candidate Robert Bresnahan inspects campaign files after burglary.

have been organizing support for the SWP campaign on that campus; and bomb threats received at both the city-wide campaign headquarters and the Cleveland State University YSA office. In several cases, letters and signs left by the vandals included swastikas and slogans of Nazi power.

The May 26 break-in followed the pattern of previous burglaries. Only a small amount of money was taken, but files containing information on campaign supporters were rummaged through. This pattern, together with the infiltration of a police agent into the Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance last November, raises the question of police involvement in the harassment of the SWP campaign.

When Bresnahan confronted May-

or Ralph Perk with the evidence of harassment at a May 15 meeting at Cleveland State University, Perk replied, "Don't worry about it. It happens all the time."

Each incident has been reported to the police, and separate reports have been made to Mayor Perk and to the city safety director, but no action has been taken.

In a statement released May 27, Bresnahan said, "The issue involved here is the right of the SWP to exist and run candidates for office. We demand that Mayor Perk use the resources of his office to apprehend those responsible for this campaign of illegal harassment of the Socialist Workers campaign and the Young Socialist Alliance."



# NY rally calls for unity in fight against FBI

By Connie Piper

NEW YORK—The 400 people who attended a teach-in on "The FBI vs. the Bill of Rights" here May 28 got more than just the facts about the FBI's illegal harassment of the civil rights, antiwar, labor, and socialist movements.

Those who came got an appreciation of the need for unity in the fight against FBI harassment, a recognition of the importance of supporting the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance civil liberties suit against the government, and an optimistic view about the prospects of winning.

Anne Braden, longtime Southern fighter for civil rights, summed up the evening when she said, "It has brought together people from different organizations and many different shadings of political opinion. But certainly we all have a common interest in getting the FBI and its repression out of our national life—so that people have a chance to examine the different alternatives to our social problems.

"That is a battle we can unite around—and we must. If we do, we can win," Braden predicted.

The rally and a reception preceding it were sponsored jointly by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The PRDF is financing and supporting the socialists' suit filed by attorney Leonard Boudin against the FBI, CIA, and other agencies. The NECLC, founded in 1951, has defended opponents of the Vietnam War and racial oppression and fought for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and against the draft.

Opening the rally, Braden recalled that her experience with the FBI taught her something about the government's racism. "Black and white people working together in any way, or just meeting together—or even just visiting socially," she said, meant to the FBI that "they were subversive."

Braden said, "The things we always suspected of the FBI have been confirmed recently by some of the 'Cointelpro' memos that have been coming out and proving they were even more crude than we ever imagined."

She pointed out that "the PRDF has made a great contribution in the suit it has filed."

A court order in the socialists' case

recently forced the government to make public 3,000 pages of secret FBI files, including documents from the "Counterintelligence Programs," known as Cointelpro.

Julian Bond, a founder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and now a Georgia state legislator, was prevented by illness from speaking at the rally. He sent a message that read, in part: "We owe a debt of gratitude to the sponsors of tonight's rally for their vigilance in our behalf.

"They have given us proof that what we suspected is true, that the FBI and the national police apparatus eagerly collaborated with the most racist elements in our country to disrupt and divide the civil rights and peace movements and to drive wedges between progressive forces in America."

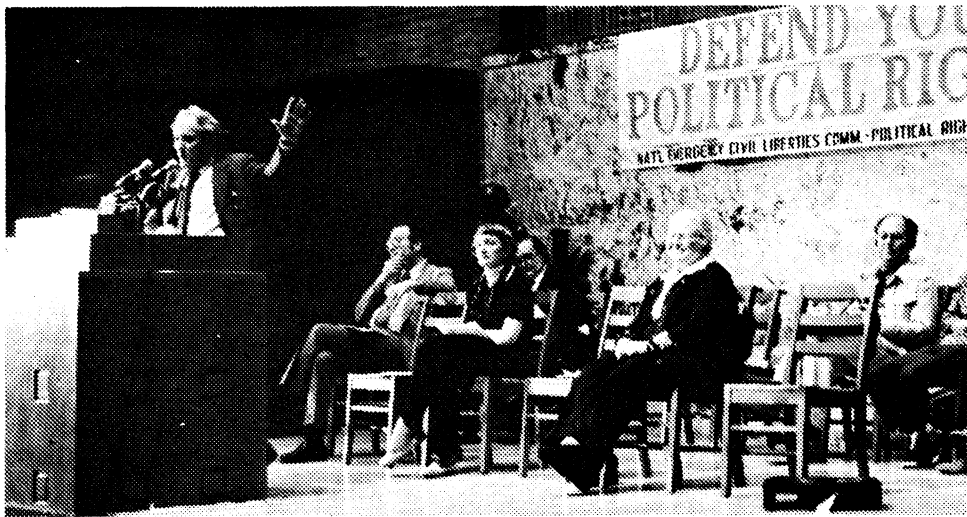
Frank Donner, counsel for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UE) and author of *The Un-Americans*, described the history of the FBI's "singularly brutal" campaign against Black protest groups. He concluded by encouraging everyone to support the PRDF suit because "it serves notice on the government spies that they can no longer operate with freedom."

Attorney Leonard Boudin spoke of the "deadly danger" of the FBI's recent admission in the PRDF suit of using informers to spy on the SWP and YSA. Boudin blasted as "unconstitutional" and "a corruption of the democratic process" these attempts to disrupt a political party.

Also speaking about FBI informers, writer and literary critic Annette Rubinstein said she was shocked and stunned, despite her many years of radical political activity, to read some of the Cointelpro documents from the SWP suit. Her fund appeal raised about \$1,000.

Dr. Morris Starsky, the socialist professor who was hounded out of teaching posts in Arizona and California by an FBI poison-pen campaign, urged that "our answer to the government must be to help create a climate of opinion in which attacking the rights of any American citizen because of their ideas will not be tolerated. Everyone here tonight is helping in that process."

Braden, in introducing Starsky, described him as "a man who made the mistake of getting active in the antiwar movement and also committed



Attorney Leonard Boudin and other speakers at meeting

Militant/Flax Hermes

the unforgivable sin of letting his name be used as an elector for an anticapitalist party, the Socialist Workers party."

The FBI has refused to turn over to Starsky some of the files on him on the grounds of "national security."

"As a philosophy professor, I've taught a couple of logic courses," Starsky quipped, "and I had a hard time figuring out how my seeing my own files would harm national security."

"After I read the Cointelpro files," Starsky explained, "it became clear: national security means FBI security from the nation finding out the vicious things it does in violation of people's civil rights."

Speaking about the FBI's collabora-

tion with employers in harassing the labor movement, Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers union, described the recently revealed case in which Westinghouse Electric Corporation used an FBI informer against a UE local in Tampa, Florida.

Foner concluded by saying that "this meeting tonight to defend civil liberties is of utmost importance to the future of the labor movement."

Other speakers included Dave McReynolds, of the War Resisters League; Paul Mayer, representing the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Rev. Donald Harrington, of the Community Church, which hosted the rally.

## 'FBI out of my life'

Longtime civil libertarian Anne Braden echoed the sentiments of everyone at the rally on "The FBI vs. the Bill of Rights" when she said, "I want the FBI off of my telephone, out of my house—I want them out of my life! And I think now is the time we can make that happen." She told the crowd that "the Political Rights Defense Fund has made a great contribution in the suit it has filed."

The PRDF is financing the suit filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance, demanding an end to government spying and harassment.

Help the PRDF in its important work by sending a donation today.

Clip and mail to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

( ) Enclosed is a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

( ) Please send more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# L.A. parley on gov't cover-ups draws 1,000

By Evelyn Sell

LOS ANGELES—More than 1,000 persons registered for a three-day gathering devoted to exposing government violence and cover-ups from Dallas to Watergate. Entitled "Conspiracy in America," the conference took place May 16-18 at the University of California in Los Angeles.

The broad range of speakers, including unionists, members of oppressed minorities, socialists, professors, and activists in the antiwar, women's and gay movements, reflected those social forces that have been victimized by government agencies.

The audience responded most strongly to the presentations of attorney Mark Lane, who outlined facts contradicting the Warren Commission report on President Kennedy's assassination, and Black Panther party spokesperson David DuBois and socialist professor Morris Starsky, both prominent targets of FBI dirty tricks.

Other speakers included Tom Hayden; George O'Toole, ex-CIA officer and author of *The Assassination*



Militant/Al Twiss

Donald Freed, of Campaign for Democratic Freedoms, which organized 'Conspiracy in America' conference.

Tapes; Prof. Peter Dale Scott; attorney Charles Garry; and Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed on trumped-up spying charges during the cold war hysteria.

"The Murder of the Black Leadership" and "Media: Coverage or Cover-up?" were the titles of two of the panels and workshops. Others covered government conspiracies against the antiwar movement, repression against oppressed minorities, organizing to combat police brutality and right-wing terrorism, and repression against labor.

Participants in these sessions included Jane Fonda; Art Kunkin, former editor of the *Los Angeles Free Press*; Rev. Amos Murphy; Irv Sarnoff of the People's Action Union; John T. Williams of the Teamsters union; Jeff Berchenko, Socialist Workers party candidate for Los Angeles City Council; gay activists Sally Stewart and Rudy Edens; Dorothy Healey of the New American Movement; and Vin-

cent Perkins from the Pasadena Community Information Center.

The conference also heard an overseas telephone message from Philip Agee, former CIA agent and author of *CIA Diary*.

The weekend's activities were organized by the newly created Campaign for Democratic Freedoms, which welcomed the participation of all groups interested in civil liberties.

The Political Rights Defense Fund sold fifty-three copies of a specially prepared kit documenting the recent wave of bombings by Nazis and other right-wing terrorists in the Los Angeles area. The PRDF is organizing a campaign to force Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley to take steps to apprehend the criminals responsible for this violence.

Author Donald Freed, who chaired most of the sessions and was a key organizer of the proceedings, announced that the next "Conspiracy in America" conference will be held in San Francisco.

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**YOUTH AND UNEMPLOYMENT.** Speakers: Arthur Langford, president, United Youth Adult Conference and member, Atlanta City Council; Wayne Watson, economist. Fri., June 13, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## DETROIT

**THE DISTORTION OF HUMAN SEXUALITY UNDER CAPITALISM.** Speakers: Sandra McCoy, Wayne State Univ. women's studies professor; Dave Ellis, YSA. Fri., June 13, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## HOUSTON

**EXPOSING THE RACISM AND DEHUMANIZATION OF THE TEXAS PRISONS.** Speakers: Ernest McMillan, former prisoner and Dallas-area Black activist; others. Fri., June 13, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES

**A WEEKEND ON SOCIALISM AND THE CHICANO STRUGGLE.** Fri., June 13, 8 p.m.: *Origins of Aztlan*. Speaker: Mariana Hernández, former instructor of Chicano studies, Cal State L.A. Sat., June 14, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m.: *Marxism and Chicano Liberation*. Speaker: Miguel Pendas, contributor to the *Militant*. 5 p.m., dinner. 8 p.m., party and film *Am Joaquín*. 710 Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1.50 for classes, \$2 for dinner and party, \$1 for party only. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

**RALLY TO PROTEST POLICE INACTION ON TERRORIST ATTACKS.** Fri., June 20, 8 p.m. Fritchman Aud. 2936 W. 8th St. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (213) 483-8855.

## PITTSBURGH

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.** Fri., June 13, 8 p.m. *Can Steel City Escape the Depression?—a Socialist Analysis*. Sat., June 14, 2 p.m. *Who's to Blame for America's Falling Economy?* 4 p.m. *Why the Capitalist Brain Trust Has No Answer*. All classes by Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer. 3400 Fifth Ave. (corner Halket). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

**THE WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE AGAINST DEPORTATIONS.** Speakers: TU CASA representative; SWP representative. Sun., June 8, 2 p.m. TU CASA, 400 Garner St. Admission free. For more information call (512) 434-3636 or (512) 223-8588.

# ...Portugal

*Continued from page 5*

two-sided one. The overwhelming victory of the SP in the April 25 elections, after a long period of tensions between the military junta and the party,

showed that the political popularity of the military was superficial. Furthermore, although the SP did well in general throughout the country, including many relatively backward areas, it also rolled up impressive votes in the most politically advanced and militant working-class areas.

What is more, the military's political offensive against the SP, for all its "left" demagoguery about establishing "direct links with the masses," tended to undermine the authority the junta needs in order to impose its program of austerity and harder work on the proletariat.

"In any case, Portugal has lost one of the elements of its stability in recent days," Clerc wrote in the May 24 *Le Monde*. "It is no longer sacrilege for the Socialists to publicly challenge the MFA."

While the SP's concessions to the MFA show that it cannot be trusted to defend democratic rights in Portugal, it is also clear that the fight it waged, for its own interests, against demagogic military rule has been decisive in maintaining the democratic opening in the country, and in this it deserved the support of all revolutionists.

For the moment, the military has apparently retreated, but its recent seizure of the Oporto city government shows that it has not given up its idea of imposing dictatorial solutions. There have been long strikes by municipal workers in this city. The military administration will have a chance to prove which side of the class line it stands on and what kind of "direct links" with the masses it wants to establish. But in the meantime, a united front of all workers in defense of democratic rights against the bourgeois government and its Stalinist allies offers the best opportunity for the development of revolutionary forces in Portugal.

# ...FBI

*Continued from page 16*

Chairman Mao himself, and of Stalin too. It was really just about that simple. Why let the PLP have a monopoly on Mao Tse-tung thought?

It was here that Robert Avakian, now leader of the Revolutionary Union, made his national debut as an exponent of Maoism. The same is true of SDS national office member Mike

Klonsky, today an officer of the October League.

The Maoists have tried to portray themselves as the most ardent defenders of the Vietnamese revolution. It is worth noting that in Austin not only did they fail to endorse the April action, SDS did nothing at all about the war.

Nevertheless, the demonstrations turned out to be quite significant and sizable. New York saw 100,000 march in the rain. There were 50,000 in San Francisco, 30,000 in Chicago, 4,000 in Atlanta, and more in other cities.

They served notice on the ruling class that the American people were not taken in by the negotiations in Paris. Nixon's talk of an impending "settlement" was not going to get him off the hook.

It is no exaggeration to say that it was the stubborn persistence of the SWP and YSA and others who agreed with them in arguing for the tactic of mass peaceful protests that kept the movement alive. Ultimately, the FBI and those that it serves were unable to hold the movement back from its goal.

# ...cancer

*Continued from page 18*

stemmed. For the foreseeable future science has no prospect of a breakthrough to a cancer cure that would stop the wild growth of malignant cells, especially when they have developed over decades to the inoperable stage.

Under a socialist government controls over chemical use in industry would be automatic and binding. But even if we were able to take the power away from the greedy profit makers tomorrow, we would still pay, in lives, for their greed.

Next time you hear or see a teary-eyed, foxy-faced President Ford plead for half a billion dollars for the "poor" Vietnam refugees (many of whom escaped with no clothing but with suitcases filled with gold bullion) remember that OSHA is funded in the low millions, that it has only 800 factory inspectors with no power, and that its research arm has only \$1.8 million and twenty-eight workers to investigate thousands of untested chemicals.

And remember that the blue-collar cancer epidemic is a reality of American life today.

# ...law

*Continued from page 24*

challenges to discriminatory election laws. For the past several months, CoDEL has been publicizing a challenge brought by the American Civil Liberties Union against the disclosure provisions of the 1972 federal campaign act.

This suit, filed in September 1974 on behalf of the Socialist Workers party's national campaign committee and twenty-four of its local committees, seeks to have the disclosure provisions declared unconstitutional as applied to the socialists.

It charges that the law violates the rights of the SWP and its campaign supporters by intimidating those who fear reprisals if it is publicly disclosed that they support socialist candidates and by subjecting those who do contribute to harassment and victimization.

To back up these claims, the ACLU cites the voluminous evidence of government harassment and surveillance of socialists compiled for the SWP's suit against the FBI and other government agencies, which seeks an end to such illegal activity by the government.

The ACLU suit is still in the pretrial stage and most likely will not be decided before the McCarthy-Buckley suit reaches the Supreme Court. The latter suit also challenges the disclosure provisions.

CoDEL has announced support for the McCarthy-Buckley challenge as well. "These campaign 'reform' laws do nothing to eliminate the corrupting influence of big money on election campaigns," says CoDEL National Secretary Cindy Burke. "They only make it more difficult for small and newly formed parties to participate in the already highly restricted arena of electoral politics."

"We welcome this new challenge to the federal campaign act. The plaintiffs in the suit have called for others believing in free speech to join them in opposition to the law," says Burke. "We plan to do all we can to see that the issues of this lawsuit, and those of the SWP's, are brought to the attention of the American people."

# 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.

**Long Beach:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

**Los Angeles, Central-East:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512, YSA—(213) 483-2581.

**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, P.O. Box 20669, Sacramento, Calif. 95824.

**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.

**Chicago:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**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) 831-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

**Kalamazoo:** YSA, 3573 Kenbrooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

**Mt. Pleasant:** YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

**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 17, 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: (210) 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:** 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 Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

**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.

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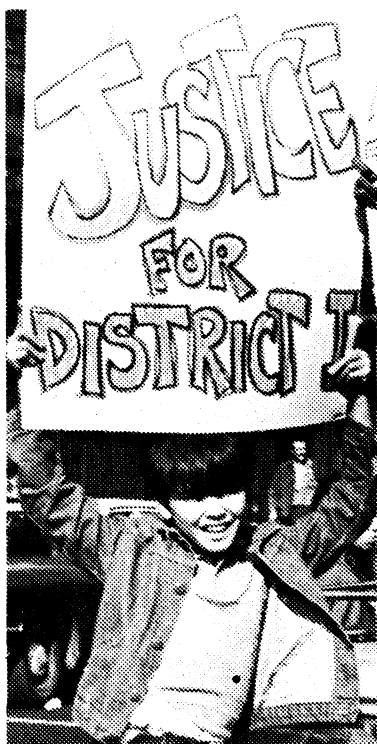


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# THE MILITANT

## Interview with UFW leader

# Texas strikers fight new grower violence

By José Pérez

Mexican immigrant workers in the Rio Grande Valley in South Texas are continuing their strike against cantaloupe growers in Hidalgo and Starr counties. The strikers are waging a bitter struggle for recognition of the United Farm Workers.

The strike has been marked by several violent attacks by ranchers against field hands organized by the UFW's "El Cuhamil" office in San Juan, one of the numerous small towns on the Mexican border.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, strike leader Antonio Orendain said that after the May 26 shooting of eleven workers by grower Chestley Miller, there have been two more incidents.

On May 29, rancher Othal Brand ran his car through a group of UFW strikers and rammed a truck, scattering workers on the ground. Then he leaped from his car with a pistol in his hand and, taking aim at the workers, pulled the trigger several times, but the gun failed to fire.

Hidalgo County sheriff's deputies moved in and convinced Brand to put away the gun. However, they did not arrest or disarm him, despite the fact that, as Orendain put it, "he acted like he was trying to kill us."

In addition, two of Brand's crew bosses were brandishing shotguns during the incident. Cops took no action against them either. Brand is one of the most powerful growers in the area.

The other attack took place the next day in Starr County, just west of Hidalgo County. Several carloads of strikers were driving on their way to a picket line when someone in a blue-and-white pickup truck shot a bullet through the windshield of one of the cars.

One of the eight people in the car was injured slightly by flying glass and had to be treated at a hospital.

Coming on top of the murderous shotgun attack by Miller, the continuing racist violence against the mexicano field hands shows that the growers are willing to go to any length to break the strike and that the cops are giving them free rein to do so.

### UFW response

In response to these attacks, the UFW held an eight-mile march from the border town of Hidalgo to McAllen. The peaceful demonstration emphasized that it is the growers—not the workers—who



Strike leader Antonio Orendain (right), with UFW activists.



UFW strikers in Hidalgo, Texas. Many mexicano farm workers have joined strike against melon growers to support demand for union recognition.

are violent and that the strike will go on despite the attacks.

The capitalist media in the area have tried to depict the UFW as responsible for the violence. "The violence always comes from the growers," Orendain said. "They're provoking the violence and then accusing us."

Orendain also said that press accounts reporting that the UFW was thinking of abandoning the strikers were totally false. According to one widely reprinted United Press International dispatch, Orendain had given an "emotional speech" after the May 29 incident in which he said he had gotten "orders from president Cesar Chavez to withdraw UFW support" unless the violence stopped. Orendain told the *Militant*: "I never made any statement like that."

He charged the fabrication was just part of the campaign to spread the lie that the strikers are violent.

### Strikers arrested

The day after the eight-mile march a number of the people who had been wounded by Miller went to see public officials to give more information about the attack. After waiting six hours to make statements, three of the victims of the shooting were arrested on trumped-up charges of "trespassing" and "criminal conduct."

Unlike Miller, who was rapidly released on bail after those he wounded filed charges against him, Orendain reports that it took two days to get the workers released "because they put up so much red tape."

On June 2 the farm workers won an important legal victory after 400 UFW supporters jammed into the courthouse for a hearing before Texas District Judge O.P. Carrillo on a strikebreaking injunction.

Carrillo said he could not infringe on the right to picket on public roads, and lawyers for the growers were forced to pledge that farm owners would not interfere with this legal activity.

Orendain emphasized that the strike was still strong, citing as proof the increased wages the growers are offering in their attempts to recruit strikebreakers.

He said support was particularly concentrated among the green-card workers who cross over from

Mexico each morning with government permits to labor in U.S. fields.

"The Hidalgo bridge is our general headquarters," he said, referring to the main border crossing in the area. Organizers go there before sunrise each morning and dispatch picket squads to various ranches from there.

### Appeal to Mexican workers

The UFW has also been leafleting workers who cross at other points. The tone and message of these bilingual sheets indicates why the strike has been so successful among mexicanos:

"We know the difficult economical situation in Mexico. We know the needs of your family. We know that in Mexico you don't have many jobs and for this reason you emigrate to this country."

"Respect our strikes. You are our brothers. . . . Don't believe your boss. Remember that they got rich with your work."

"Remember that farm workers are thousands, and the growers are few."

The leaflet captures what the UFW represents for all field laborers: "If we unite, both you and we will be the owners of our destiny."

Another leaflet asks: "See your children: What will they inherit from you? Make an effort; and leave them the idea of a strike, of fighting for justice. . . ."

It is the fact that the UFW fights not only for economic improvements but also for the dignity of the agricultural workers that has made its organizing so successful. Farm laborers and many others see this union, and correctly so, as a social movement, *la Causa*, directed against all aspects of farm workers' oppression.

The success of the Texas organizers in drawing into the strike movement thousands of the most exploited field hands—the mexicano workers—is an achievement all UFW members and supporters can draw inspiration from.

Orendain reported that the farm workers are determined to continue their fight to unionize Rio Grande Valley agriculture but are hard pressed because the union is poor. The San Juan UFW office is asking that food and checks made out to the Texas Strike Fund be sent to: United Farm Workers, Route 1 Box 149-B, Alamo, Texas 78516.