

THE MILITANT

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

Nat'l response needed!

Boston racists firebomb NAACP



BOSTON—Black students have braved racist abuse to attend desegregated schools. Court order taking 'Southie' High out of hands of all-white school committee has been met with renewed antibusing violence.

Militant/Jon Hillson

[The following statement was released December 10 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

Early this morning racist opponents of desegregation fire bombed the office of the NAACP in Boston. The home of a Black minister was also fire bombed. The terrorists struck in retaliation against yesterday's decision by a federal judge to take South Boston High School out of the hands of the Boston School Committee, which has done everything in its power to block court-ordered desegregation. [See news story on page 4.]

The night-riding terror squads of the antibusing movement have thus served notice once again that they will resort to any means—including murderous violence—to deny Black students the right to attend desegregated schools in Boston.

These outrageous attacks must be met with a nationwide outpouring of solidarity with the NAACP, which has been in the forefront of the fight for desegregated education. They must be met with demands that Boston Mayor Kevin White arrest and prosecute the

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In Brief

CALIF. STUDENTS PROTEST ARMED CAMPUS COPS: Students at the Chico and Sonoma campuses of California State University are protesting the recent decision to arm all campus police. Under the chancellor's order, all cops in the state university system are now required to carry guns. In Sonoma, twenty-five students were arrested in a sit-in at the administration building December 5. More than 200 Chico students continue a sit-in begun December 3. In a referendum on the second and third days of the Chico sit-in, 89 percent of students voting demanded that campus police not be armed. Students are considering further actions on a statewide level to pressure state administrators when campuses open again in January.

PGH. TEACHERS FIGHT STRIKEBREAKING: On strike since December 1, Pittsburgh teachers now face a new strikebreaking tactic by the board of education. The board is trying to force students and substitute teachers to scab by setting up "special centers" for seniors at three city high schools. Students who do not attend "classes" at the centers, the board claims, will not graduate next June. The Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers has denounced the board's actions in "educating students to be strikebreakers" and has promised to mobilize several hundred teachers in picket lines around the three schools.

CIA RECRUITER SPARKS MICH. PROTESTS: A CIA recruiter on campus touched off a series of protests at Michigan State University in East Lansing November 19-20. A rally and picket line on the first day was joined by 300 students. One of the most popular slogans was, "Out now! Out now! CIA off campus!" The next day students held a sit-in and speak-out inside the placement center, where they demanded to speak with the CIA recruiter. The recruiter told campus officials, however, that he had been given "strict instructions" not to speak with any large group of students. At a meeting of the school's board of trustees November 21, students presented a letter pointing to the recent revelations of CIA assassination plots and demanding that the trustees end MSU complicity with the CIA.

CLEMENCY BAIT REJECTED BY JOHN ARTIS: John Artis has rejected a state maneuver to pit him against Hurricane Carter. The two were framed up for a 1966 triple murder in a New Jersey tavern. Appointed in September to investigate the murders, state legislator Eldridge Hawkins recently promised Artis "immediate clemency so [he] can be home by Christmas." The only catch was that Artis would have to sign a confession placing both himself and Carter outside the tavern on the night of the killings, thus only "conspiring" to commit the murders. "I won't sign the statement," said Artis, "because it's not true."

ACLU SUES FBI: The American Civil Liberties Union filed a class-action lawsuit in Philadelphia December 2 seeking an end to all FBI Cointelpro-type activities. The suit points to the harassment of Black activist Muhammad Kenyatta while working with the Jackson, Mississippi, Human Rights Project at Tougaloo College in 1969. In addition, it requests \$125,000 in damages for each of the victims of 362 separate Cointelpro actions.

FBI TURNS OVER 'HOODWINK' FILES: The FBI released files under the Freedom of Information Act December 5 on its Cointelpro operation known as "Hoodwink." According to the FBI, it was "a long-range program to disrupt the Communist Party of the United States by setting it against La Costra Nostra (LCN)." It included fabricating leaflets and letters to the CP's newspaper, the *Worker*, that attacked La Cosa Nostra, or Mafia, activities. The goal was to spur retaliation by the Mafia, but the FBI claims it just didn't work. "None of the variety of counterintelligence actions undertaken in this program have produced substantial tangible results," said the New York field office in July 1968.

... MEANWHILE, PUBLIC ESTEEM FOR FBI DIPS: Surprise of surprises, a Gallup poll has found that public esteem for the FBI has declined considerably in recent years. In 1965, 84 percent gave the bureau a "highly favorable" rating. Last month it was 37 percent. When the ratings first started dropping in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Gallup group says, it was disenchantment among younger adults, especially those with college backgrounds, living in the East. But the latest decline is across-the-board.

The CIA's problems are even worse. Only 14 percent of those polled gave it a highly favorable rating.

FARM WORKERS BEGIN NEW ORGANIZING DRIVE: The United Farm Workers have begun an organizing drive in California's Imperial Valley. As of

December 8, nine elections for union representation have been held. With the UFW victorious in eight, the ninth has been challenged because of grower intimidation and harassment of the UFW and its supporters. Two of the UFW victories were on ranches previously under Teamster contract. The drive was spurred by a fiesta in Calexico on December 7. Conducted entirely in Spanish, the day-long affair rallied 1,000 of the area's farm workers.

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles County, the UFW and its supporters will begin a march December 14 to publicize and win support in the struggle to win union contracts. The march will take participants from the San Fernando Valley through key areas of Los Angeles and will culminate in the barrio of East Los Angeles with a rally on December 20.

'NO HIKE, NO WAY,' SAY MD. STUDENTS: Chanting "No hike, no way," more than 300 students at the University of Maryland Baltimore County campus picketed a Maryland Board of Regents meeting November 21. The regents voted in September to increase undergraduate tuition next year by sixty dollars, making it one of the highest for state universities in the country. Although the tuition hike was not on the agenda, the regents reluctantly agreed to hear Jack Neil, vice-president of the Student Government Association, speak in opposition to the increase.

The action's organizer, the Student Coalition Against Tuition Hikes, plans more activities for the spring semester. Among proposals being considered is a statewide march on the state capitol in Annapolis.

CONGRESS VOTES UP ANTIBUSING BILL: Congress has passed a bill prohibiting the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from ordering busing to achieve school desegregation. The antibusing measure, part of a bill giving \$45 billion to HEW and the Labor Department, now goes to President Ford. He's expected to veto it—only because it's more money than he had recommended.

—Nancy Cole

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1,000 unionists at convention

Women debate future of CLUW

By Cindy Jaquith
and Ginny Hildebrand

DETROIT—The first constitutional convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) took place here December 5-7, with 1,004 women from sixty unions registered as voting delegates.

For many CLUW activists attending, the debate at the convention helped clarify two opposing perspectives within the organization and showed that discussion over these perspectives will continue.

One perspective is for CLUW to be an organization that unequivocally fights for the interests of working women in the unions and on the job. Supporters of this viewpoint are activists in local CLUW chapters who want to involve rank-and-file union women.

The second perspective is held by the official leadership of CLUW, gathered around CLUW President Olga Madar, a retired vice-president of the United Auto Workers. This perspective projects CLUW as a paper organization involving only labor officials and staff women, not a fighting organization mobilizing union women in struggle.

In keeping with this perspective, the Madar leadership organized the convention in such a way as to try to prevent discussion on political issues and action perspectives. No effort was made to bring large numbers of rank-and-file women to the gathering. Instead, as a show of hands indicated at the outset of the convention, well over half the delegates were appointed or elected staff women and officials.

This was done to maintain control over the convention and silence a discussion that has been brewing in CLUW for months—the discussion over affirmative action versus strict seniority.

'Fierce debate'

As the *Detroit Free Press* explained in an article printed the day before the convention opened, "An issue not on the agenda, but which could create some fierce debate, is the question of whether CLUW will continue to strongly defend the seniority system. The dissidents insist the seniority system should be modified because it runs counter to affirmative action for women."

"But CLUW President Olga Madar . . . said the only item to be debated is that of the adoption of a constitution."

At stake in this debate are the jobs of millions of Blacks and women, jobs that are being wiped out according to the "last hired, first fired" principle. Rather than acting to protect affirmative-action gains, the conservative officials of the AFL-CIO and UAW have argued that "strict seniority" must be observed during layoffs, thus placing the jobs of white, male, more privileged workers above those of women and Blacks.

This issue first came up for debate in CLUW at its National Coordinating Committee (NCC) meeting May 31-June 1. At that meeting, Cleveland CLUW leader Jean Tussey presented a resolution for CLUW to "oppose in every way possible any reduction through layoffs in the proportionate number of women and minority workers hired under affirmative action programs."

The Madar leadership, which toes the reactionary line of AFL-CIO President George Meany and UAW President Leonard Woodcock on this question, defeated the Tussey resolution by a slim majority. Then, to prevent the issue from coming up at the convention, they drew up an agenda with only two points—the adoption of a constitution and the election of national officers.



Delegates vote for action campaign to win ERA despite opposition of CLUW officials

Militant/Susan Ellis

But many CLUW activists had another opinion about what should happen at the convention. Prior to December 5, the CLUW chapter in Houston initiated a call for a caucus of all women who wanted to add time for political discussion to the agenda.

These activists, who included members of the Socialist Workers party, wanted the convention to schedule an open discussion on affirmative action and seniority and to outline action campaigns in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and full employment.

On the opening night of the convention, 200 supporters attended a meeting of the Houston caucus. Linn McDonald, head of Houston CLUW, chaired the meeting, which worked out a strategy for the agenda fight.

Madar had prepared for this challenge. In her president's report on Saturday morning, she laid down the line on affirmative action. The issue of seniority and affirmative action, she argued, had been discussed and settled by the NCC.



Militant/Linda Jenness

Jean Tussey, author of resolution defending affirmative action, speaks at convention.

After Madar's agenda proposal was presented, Sylvia Weinstein, a supporter of the Houston caucus and a member of San Francisco CLUW, took the floor to propose that three hours be set aside that evening to discuss affirmative action, the ERA, and CLUW's program to fight for jobs for all.

Discussion stifled

However, the question was quickly called, and the Houston amendment was voted down before there was time to fully clarify the proposal for all the delegates. Nevertheless, 30 percent of the women supported the Houston proposal.

The perfunctory discussion and quick vote on the agenda stood in contrast to the handling of an earlier discussion, on convention rules. During that discussion, in the name of "democracy," CLUW officials not only allowed, but encouraged, a long, dragged-out discussion. This was designed to try the patience of the delegates and convince them that any attempts to change Madar's proposals would result in tedious, useless quibbling.

In their strategy of wearing down the delegates, the convention organizers made use of a small number of women who tried to challenge the undemocratic procedures in a sectarian way. These delegates, supporters of the Maoist October League and the International Socialists, fell into Madar's trap. They spent all their time haggling over secondary rules and articles in the constitution, rather than presenting a clear political program for building CLUW.

ERA actions debated

But a political debate developed during the discussion of CLUW's Statement of Purpose, which is part of the constitution. Marilyn Marcus, a New York supporter of the Houston caucus, proposed an amendment reading: "Until final ratification of the ERA is won, CLUW will make the fight for the ERA a priority through a mass-action and educational campaign."

The enthusiastic response greeting this amendment showed how the defeat of state ERAs in New York and New Jersey has sparked a sense of urgency among many women. The same concern was revealed in the cheers that met a speech focusing on the ERA struggle given by Rep. Bella Abzug later in the convention.

Even George Meany felt compelled to acknowledge this sentiment in his message to the CLUW convention. Meany stated, "As the AFL-CIO convention made clear, we are ready to cooperate with CLUW on programs of common interest, particularly the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which must be a priority matter to the entire trade-union movement." But many women at the CLUW convention clearly wanted more than words.

"We've just suffered a stunning defeat in New York and New Jersey," Marcus told the convention. "This shows that no state, whether or not it has ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, is safe. I can't imagine going back to my CLUW chapter without some kind of action proposal for the ERA. We need a national action perspective that will enable CLUW to be fighting for the ERA, organizing for it, and getting it passed in '76."

Jean Tussey was also well received

when she stated, "It is particularly important that union women make this fight a top priority, because we could be a decisive factor in mobilizing ERA support under the leadership of the unions."

The Madar leadership, bent on making CLUW a do-nothing organization, fought this proposal even though CLUW is on record in support of the ERA.

Leaders of the caucus from the American Federation of Teachers, the union headed by Albert Shanker, lined up at the microphone to speak. They insisted that while they support the ERA, the proposed amendment should be rejected because a proposal for actively fighting for the ERA had no place in a Statement of Purpose.

Caryl Towner of New York CLUW spoke in favor of the amendment. "It would be a narrow-minded mistake," Towner argued, "to omit an affirmation of union women's commitment to winning the ERA."

"With the recent ERA defeats," Towner continued, "more than ever women need an action orientation to win the ERA, and the intention of union women to help organize that fight belongs in our Statement of Purpose."

In spite of the opposition mounted by the AFT, Madar, and members of the Communist party, 60 percent of the delegates voted for the amendment.

Chapter representation

Another debate exploded the otherwise tedious discussion on the constitution. This one focused on the question of CLUW chapter representation on the National Executive Board (NEB).

The Madar leadership proposed that only CLUW chapters with 100 or more

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Militant/Susan Ellis

"More than ever women need an action orientation to win the ERA," argues Caryl Towner, CLUW delegate from New York.

Racist violence greets court order taking 'Southie' away from all-white school board

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON, Dec. 10—Racist vigilantes invaded the Black community early this morning, fire bombing the headquarters of the Boston NAACP. The explosion shattered glass, set fires, and destroyed files of the organization. The home of a Black minister, James Coleman, was also fire bombed.

Today, Black students in South Boston High School were assaulted by whites. Two of the Black students were hospitalized, including one who had been pushed through a glass door.

Yesterday, bomb threats compelled the evacuation of the National Center for Afro-American Artists in Roxbury. Elma Lewis, a prominent Black community leader who directs the center, received phone threats at her home.

The wave of terrorist attacks followed the announcement by U.S. District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity that he was placing South Boston High School in receivership. The racist Boston School Committee, said Garrity, has been using its authority to obstruct court-ordered desegregation at the school.

Garrity assumed direct responsibility for "Southie." All administrative personnel, including headmaster William Reid, are to be transferred.

Black community leaders hailed the order. However, many noted that only time will tell how effective it will be in halting racist attacks on Black students.

Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins, at a news conference today,

said the decision gave South Boston "a chance to return to the educational fold." He called for the school committee to be "quarantined" if they don't comply with the order.

Atkins also blasted the terrorist attacks of the racists. He pledged that they would "not stop the NAACP from continuing to provide the service which has always been our principal aim."

At a separate news conference this afternoon, Ellen Jackson, speaking for the Coordinated Social Services Council, called on the Justice Department to investigate threats made on the NAACP by individuals connected with the antibusing South Boston Information Center.

"We serve notice," said Jackson, "that the attacks on the Black community will not be tolerated."

Roxbury Multi-Service Center director Percy Wilson told the news conference, "The question is now out in the open: To what extent are Boston's leaders and decision makers going to allow themselves to be intimidated by a relatively small band of violators of the law and arch-foes of the democratic process?"

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, also spoke at the news conference. Dixon termed Garrity's court order "a blow to the forces of racism and reaction who have played havoc with the lives of Black youth."

"It was the public rage and anger of the Black community over the crude,

racist treatment of its youth," he said, "that compelled Judge Garrity to enforce the law of the land . . . even in South Boston."

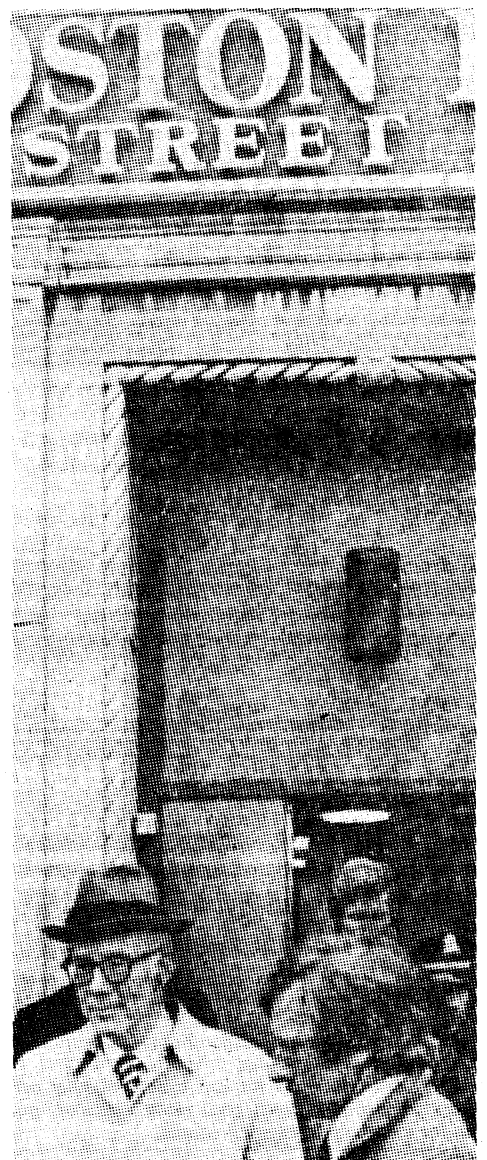
Dixon warned of the danger of more violence. Joining in the call for a full Justice Department investigation of the NAACP bombing, he urged a readiness "to picket and march, to demonstrate and rally, to demand that these lawbreakers—from the corridor gangs of young racist toughs to their adult backers and the politicians who egg them on—be dealt the full force of the law."

Other speakers at the news conference included Elma Lewis; Rev. William Weeks, head of the Black Ministerial Alliance; Cambridge minister Charles Smith; and Black community organizer Anthony Banks.

Racist leaders have openly threatened more violence. Democratic city council member Louise Day Hicks proclaimed, "Responsible leaders in South Boston have been working quietly to avoid community disturbances. Now, in light of this unjust decision, it will be extremely difficult to continue this process successfully."

Hicks's bald lie about "responsible leaders" won't fool anyone. What counts is her prediction of violence. This is the racists' favorite device for issuing their calls to action.

The Garrity order will only be implemented, and the safety of Black students guaranteed, if there is a visible countermobilization of the Black community and its allies in the face of these threats.



Judge Garrity leaving 'Southie' before handing down court order.

Will return to North Carolina

Robert Williams battles frame-up charge

By Al Duncan and John Hawkins

BALDWIN, Mich.—This small town, about four hours outside of Detroit, is a predominantly Black community where Robert F. Williams has made his home for the past few years. Williams, the Monroe, North Carolina, civil rights leader who fled the country in 1961, returned in 1969, and has been fighting extradition since, has decided to return to North Carolina to fight trumped-up kidnapping charges.

The forty-nine-year-old Black man made his decision after the Michigan Supreme Court on December 1 refused to block his extradition.

"The time is ripe to take on these

charges in North Carolina and get it over with once and for all," Williams said in an interview. "And the sooner I can get through this mess the sooner I can have my freedom."

The alleged kidnapping occurred in 1961 when a white, out-of-town couple, the Stegalls, innocently drove through a Black section of Monroe and were taken from their car and led to Williams's home by Blacks who feared for their safety. The measure was taken after some Blacks had threatened retaliation against any whites they saw because the Black community was under an armed attack by the Ku Klux Klan and other racist elements.

Williams, president of the Monroe NAACP, was a leader of Black resistance to the Klan. He was charged, along with four others, with kidnapping.

"I have a taped interview that a British correspondent did with Mrs. Stegall, where she says that they had gone home and forgotten about the whole matter until the police came with the press and made it a kidnapping," Williams recalled of the incident, in which the Stegalls were held for a short time and then released when it was certain they could proceed safely. "The whole thing was a frame-up from beginning to end—political harassment from the start."

During his exile abroad, Williams was the victim of political harassment. He recounted numerous incidents during his stays in Cuba and China that paint a vivid picture of the tenacious snooping and hounding by U.S. government agents he has had to put up with.

"Letters were sent to me in Cuba," he said, "postmarked Miami, with just one mysterious-sounding sentence, 'same time, same beach.' They were

designed to cause suspicions that I was working with counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. Rumors were spread by a number of 'visitors' to Cuba, claiming that my aim was to incite racial violence in Cuba and that the real reason why I fled the U.S. was to avoid trial for raping a fourteen-year-old girl. Similar incidents occurred during my stay in China."

The pattern of harassment of Williams continued when he sought to return to the United States in 1969.

"When I landed in London on the way home from Cairo, British officials dragged me off the plane and said they were detaining me because the FBI had told them I was carrying arms and ammunition on the plane."

Since Williams's return to this country, harassment by government agencies has continued. The FBI has visited campuses where he was scheduled to speak to discourage his being allowed to speak. While Williams was working under a fellowship at the University of Michigan, the FBI went there for a visit.

"The idea was to burn me on my job," he said, "to pressure the university to get rid of me." Anonymous letters were written to the university demanding that Williams be fired because he was a "subversive."

"I didn't realize it then," he said, "but now, looking back at it, I'm sure that most of these letters were fake. They didn't come from real people but from agencies like the FBI."

"All this harassment can be documented and will be a big part of what the trial is all about. These things make it clear that any trial on these charges is a political trial. We're going to subpoena the federal records, the state records, the county records, and the city records to tear the covers off

this frame-up. They'll have to answer why all these things took place, who ordered them, who's connected with them, and what's the meaning of these incidents."

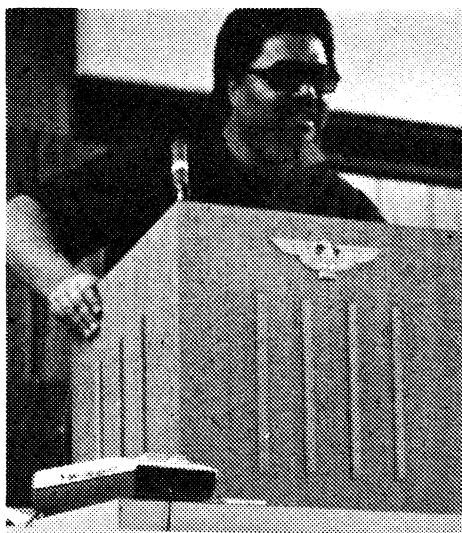
Williams brought out an article from the December 4 Monroe *Inquirer-Journal* in which Mabel Stegall stated "she wanted nothing said about the 'whole thing,' and 'didn't want to be a part of it.'"

In the same article Monroe District Attorney Carroll Lowder is reported as saying "he understood her reluctance and that it would be hard for her to recall exactly events that happened so long ago, but felt that if Williams came to trial again Mrs. Stegall would do what was necessary."

"They wanted to get me for political reasons then and still do now," Williams said. "The reason was because I advocated armed self-defense and Black unity on an international scale and because I tried to internationalize the Black movement."

Williams discussed his plans to defend himself both in the court and outside it. Jerry Paul, cocounsel for the defense in the Joanne Little trial, and William Kunstler have agreed to act as his defense attorneys.

"A number of organizations have offered to help out in my defense," said Williams, "and I hope they all do. What is needed is a defense committee that anyone and everyone that supports my defense can participate in. The truth about this frame-up has got to be gotten out. Funds for legal expenses have to be raised. In addition, we'll have to have volunteers to work on the legal aspects of the case—going through various files and records to document the government harassment that's at the bottom of this thing."



DESEGREGAT

Williams speaks about his case during recent tour sponsored by National Student Coalition Against Racism.

What good are Black elected officials?

By Baxter Smith

Deteriorating social conditions and the harsh effects of the depression continue to vex the Black community, and many see no relief on the way.

The forecast for a solution to Black problems through the coming presidential election is cloudy, at best, and most Blacks see no one among the Democratic or Republican presidential aspirants capable of turning the country around—of offering a New Deal, a good deal, or even a fair deal.

Growing numbers of Black activists and thinkers are beginning to ponder what, if any, hope the American system itself still holds for Blacks.

Radicalizing events since the 1972 elections have helped generate such thinking—for example, the liberation triumphs in Portuguese Africa and Southeast Asia and the gaining of formal independence by Black-governed countries in South America and the Caribbean.

More and more Blacks today are drawing radical conclusions.

A score of influential militants have drawn anticapitalist or prosocialist conclusions, and a debate has stirred over the direction of the Black struggle that has shaken many individuals and organizations in the Black community. Even the Nation of Islam—the largest formerly all-Black political organization in the country—has modified its views, is now accepting whites into membership, and has become involved in some social struggles.

Demands to produce

Because of this heightened political consciousness, Black elected officials and other Black leaders are finding themselves under increased demands by Blacks to produce, to bring about social and economic relief, and to be more accountable to the Black community.

These demands will get louder as the social crisis deepens and as the '76 elections draw near. In response there will be movement and activity by some Black elected officials to impart the impression that they are getting on the case.

What can be viewed as the opening salvo in this process came in the October *Black World*.

In two articles, *Black World* executive editor Hoyt Fuller sharply criticizes the performance—and purpose—of Black elected officials (BEOs).

Black World is put out by the Johnson Publishing Company, which also puts out *Ebony* and *Jet*. None of its publications are designed to enlighten and organize Blacks against their oppression. But the appearance of the articles indicates that criticism of Black elected officials can reach even into the highest levels of Black "achievement," if not to advise them what measures would aid the Black



Black Democratic and Republican politicians have done next to nothing to improve conditions in Black community

community, then at least to remind them of their image.

Fuller's criticisms come in his column and in a signed editorial.

Pointing out that Blacks are still powerless, Fuller says that those "who benefit most from the jobs held by the BEO's are the BEO's themselves." He says that Black elected officials have created no waves and played by the rules of the game.

"Most of those 3,503 representatives," Fuller writes, "have to walk on ice—if not dance at the end of strings dangled by manipulators."

"In Chicago," he continues, "where Blacks constitute at least a third of the population at present and *should* hold commensurate power, the certainty is that the large number of BEO's—in keeping with their long tradition—will endorse whatever programs the whites in power instruct them to support. In Chicago, the lesson is that all blessings come from The Machine, to which all homage is paid."

In Newark and Gary, he says, there are Black mayors who "have been in office at least a couple of terms now, and the power of Newark remains in the insurance company headquarters downtown, and the power in Gary is where it always was—in the executive offices of the steel mills."

He charges that just as Black elected officials have proved to be powerless, Black institutions and self-help agencies are equally powerless and docile.

"In no city in the country is there an independent Black agency or institution vigorously involved in attacking the roots of Black impotence and poverty. The reasons are as simple as they are scandalous: *No serious efforts will be made to deal with Black impotence because that would mean uncovering the myths of 'making it' in America and educating ordinary Black people to the true nature of their society and of their ordained role in*

it—and these are measures the 'leaders' dare not make for fear of losing their credence and status on the periphery of the white world; and no steps will be taken to lift Black people out of perpetual poverty precisely because such a move would collide head-on with the meaning of America, which is, essentially, the maintenance of an exploitable population—and since Blacks are the pariahs of America, Blacks are that population. It is dangerous to take seriously the idea of ending poverty in America and the psychological and political impotence which make that poverty inevitable." (Emphasis in original.)

Congressional Black Caucus

Fuller's powerful and accurate criticisms of Black elected officials also extend to the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).

"When *BLACK WORLD* made known its intention of including the Congressional Black Caucus in its annual issue on the Political Situation in the Black World, the executive editor was warned not to expect anything substantial 'from that Mickey Mouse operation down in Washington,'" Fuller wrote in his editorial.

The editorial comments on the tribulations the CBC put *Black World* through when the magazine requested answers to ten questions about its activities and priorities.

The answers to the questions, which were to be published in the October *Black World*, were never given by the CBC. And the editorial leads the reader to believe the CBC gave *Black World* the runaround when pressed to reply to the frank questions.

"The experience, of course, taught us why the Black Caucus remains relatively 'invisible,'" Fuller writes, "and why it is not considered seriously as a force in the affairs of the national Black community which so urgently needs attention to its worsening economic and political plight."

In a telephone interview about his reasons for publishing the articles, Fuller reiterated his criticisms of Black elected officials.

"They don't serve the interests of Black people," he said. When placed under the spotlight, he added, they tend to "make speeches and give interviews," but there are only "one or two instances where Black elected officials are seriously involved in going out into the community, trying to work with the people on their terms and organize them to do something about their own situation."

"We just thought that the Black American public deserves some sort of report on what they're doing," Fuller remarked about his questions for the CBC.

Since publication of the articles—

which should get wide circulation in the Black movement—Fuller said he got "a sheepish look" from Andrew Young (D-Ga.) when he encountered him recently, and "a lot of what was said during the [annual Black Caucus] dinner and after the dinner was reaction to the criticism in the magazine."

'Free of illusions'

While at no point is Fuller specifically critical of Black elected officials for being standard-bearers of the racist Democratic and Republican parties, his overall criticisms are nonetheless valid.

Black elected officials, 99 percent of them Democratic and Republican party members, are—as Fuller states—powerless; and "will endorse whatever programs the whites in power instruct them to support" precisely because the Democratic and Republican parties were never designed to be parties to empower Blacks.

Led by Dixiecrats, reactionaries, and anti-Black bigots, both of those parties discourage taking steps "to lift Black people out of perpetual poverty." And neither party is interested in "educating ordinary Black people to the true nature of their society and of their ordained role in it."

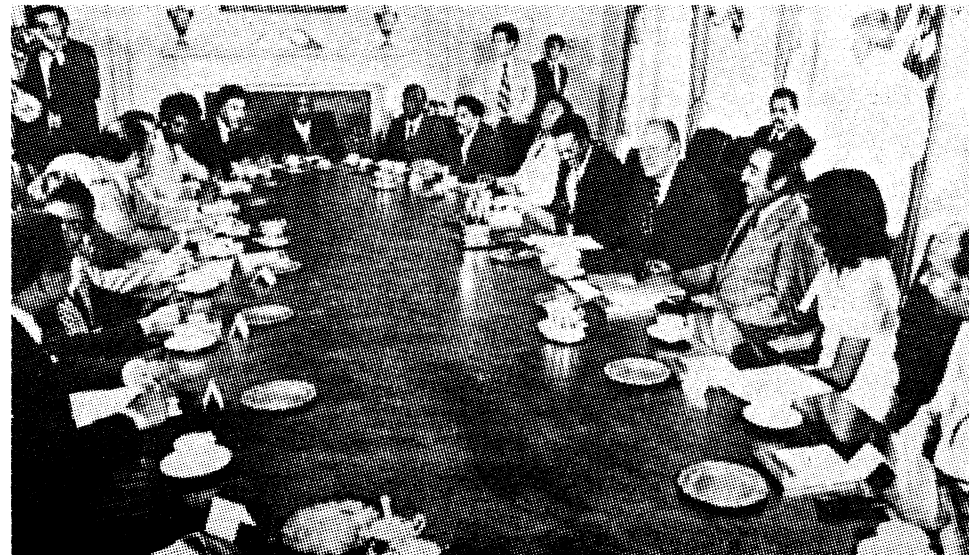
That is the job a Black party will have to do. A party independent from and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. A party whose leaders "are seriously involved in going out into the community, trying to work with the people on their terms and organize them to do something about their own situation."

Leaders of a Black party could also carry the interests of the Black community into the electoral arena. They could campaign and get elected to public office and continue to promote the Black community's interests there, unlike the Black elected officials Fuller criticizes.

"Black people need to be politically active, of course," Fuller concludes, "we need to vote; we need to take part in the day-to-day events which determine the quality of our lives. However, we need to do it free of illusions. We need to know exactly what we are voting for, and for whom, and what we can expect in realistic terms from the people we choose to represent us and the forces with which those representatives are aligned."

"And we need to understand, ultimately, *as things are*, that our votes are going to have only as much power as the men and institutions which control the economy and the country want them to have. To change *the way things are*, we must change ourselves."

In a future article we'll take a look at an attempt to "change the way things are."



Congressional Black Caucus meeting with President Ford. 'Black World' says CBC 'remains relatively invisible and is not considered seriously as a force in the affairs of the Black community.'

Blacks, unionists speak out

Demand grows for new inquiry into King slaying

By Baxter Smith

If an FBI finger did not squeeze the trigger, an FBI hand surely loaded the gun that killed Martin Luther King, according to a growing number of Black leaders who have called for a new investigation into the 1968 slaying.

"A total, new, and complete investigation of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King" was called for by the organizers of the twentieth anniversary commemoration of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, which King helped to lead.

Longtime civil rights leaders E.D. Nixon, the man who suggested the boycott; Rosa Parks, who touched off the 1955 protest after she refused to yield her bus seat to a white person; Dr. King's father; his widow; and Johnnie Carr, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, made the appeal.

"For years this movement has been the target of spying, harassment, and other illegal acts" by the FBI, Carr said of the civil rights movement at the December 5 festivities. She said a review of the case by the Justice

Department "may be well-intended, but it is wholly unsatisfactory for the Justice Department to investigate its own agency, the FBI." She said an independent investigation is needed.

The Montgomery appeal is the most recent of many demanding another



KING: Did FBI pull the trigger?

look into the Memphis, Tennessee, murder.

Jesse Jackson, Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams, Willie Mae Reid, Julian Bond, and Dick Gregory are among other Black leaders who have called for a new probe into whether James Earl Ray, King's convicted assassin, acted alone or was part of an FBI conspiracy.

Besides Black leaders, others are calling for a new inquiry.

Marc Stepp, United Automobile Workers vice-president, stated December 4 that "the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., should be reopened, investigated to the fullest extent, and a full disclosure of the findings made to the American public."

Stepp added that such an investigation is "long overdue in light of recent revelations of past practices of certain agencies of the government."

Revelations of those practices in the King case—which could be brought out in an independent investigation—would provide the missing pieces in the puzzle surrounding the King case.

• How would Ray, a stranger to Memphis, allegedly without assistance or information, have been able to case

the city and find the ideal location for the crime in the two-and-a-half hours between the time he arrived and the time the police said he shot King from a sniper's nest in Bessie Brewer's rooming house?

• Who are the "white Southerners" that Ray says have inside information on the plans to assassinate King?

• Did Ray have an accomplice? If not, then why did his suitcase, which was found with the discarded murder weapon, also contain someone else's clothes, including skivvies that "Ray couldn't have gotten his big toe into," according to his former lawyer?

• Who are "Raoul" (the "blond Latin") and the underworld figures that Ray says inveigled him into becoming the patsy in the assassination plot?

• How was Ray, a petty drug racketeer, able to finance his way around Canada and England for three months with hundreds of FBI agents supposedly on his trail before he was caught?

These questions need answers, but in view of their secret plans to knock King "off his pedestal," the FBI will be providing few of them. An independent investigation is needed.

Teach-in fights victimization of Black professor

By Zoraida Vázquez

SEATTLE—A teach-in was held here November 25 at the University of Washington to demand tenure for Joe Brazil, a Black professor who teaches jazz at the UW's music school.

Speakers included Brazil; Carmen Maymi, a coordinator of the Seattle Student Coalition Against Racism; Trevor Chandler, former UW Black studies director; Thad Spratlen, president of the University Black Action Committee; Michael Lane, president of the UW Black Student Union; and Eddie Rye, a spokesperson for the Central Seattle Community Council Federation.

Brazil, one of the two Black faculty members at the music school, was denied tenure by the administration last spring. The official reasons given were that his teaching methods were unacceptable, he had not generated enough interest in the saxophone, and he had not attended committee meetings.

But Brazil told the 135 students at the teach-in that the real reason was "because I'm Black and I happen to be speaking out on my views." Brazil has been outspoken on the need for more Black faculty and more Black courses at the university.

Brazil pointed out that it took two years to convince the music department to give credit for his "History of Jazz" classes. "I think this is a very valid aspect of culture that came out of the United States and should be taught," he said.

Records show that both his jazz and saxophone classes receive overflow registration, and as many as 100 students have been turned away for lack of space. Furthermore, Brazil was never informed of committee meetings until he inquired and demanded to attend.

Trevor Chandler pointed out that half of Brazil's salary was paid by the Black Student Division of the Department of Minority Affairs.

Because of this joint appointment, Chandler said, the Black Student Division also took a vote on tenure, and overwhelmingly recommended that it be granted. But this vote was ignored by the administration.

Brazil said that his case was an example of "a national trend of reprisals against Blacks."

Another teach-in for Brazil was held the same day at Seattle Central Community College.

Brazil has won support from a broad range of organizations and individuals, including the Seattle Federation of Teachers; the MECHA at Seattle Central Community College; the Women's Commission of the UW student government; Burl Garnett, vice-principal of the predominantly Black Garfield High School; T.J. Vassar, educational director of the Seattle Urban League; and Vic Langford of the Lutheran Church of the Good Shepherd.



Militant/Gregg Preston

JOE BRAZIL: Denied tenure 'because I'm Black and I speak out on my views.'

Gov't tries to gag ex-FBI official, PRDF charges

By Nancy Cole

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) charged December 9 that the government is trying to intimidate a former FBI top official who is willing to do some talking about the FBI's Cointelpro plots. The PRDF is organizing public support for the suit brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other government agencies who have illegally spied on and harassed political activists.

William C. Sullivan, a thirty-year FBI veteran who was a high-ranking bureau official until he was ousted after a falling-out with J. Edgar Hoover, has been ordered by the Justice Department not to talk to representatives of the SWP.

The government has threatened to stop providing legal counsel for Sullivan if he violates their directions. This is no small matter for Sullivan, who is being sued for personal damages in three separate lawsuits.

In response to legal action by the socialists' attorneys, a federal judge in New York has directed the government to explain in writing its reasons for gagging Sullivan. Attempts to intimidate a potential witness from discussing a case in informal conversations with parties in the case are illegal. A recent federal appeals court ruling specifically outlawed government attempts to restrict such meetings with former officials.

Sullivan has publicly criticized some aspects of FBI functioning and has been a major source of information about Cointelpro for congressional investigators and newspaper reporters.

According to a statement filed by government officials in connection with the SWP and YSA lawsuit, Sullivan was responsible for instituting the "SWP Disruption Program" carried out by the FBI.

There is no question that Sullivan has some things to tell that the

government would prefer be kept quiet. Sullivan told Ovid Demaris, author of *An Oral Biography of J. Edgar Hoover*, "Of course, I was involved in Cointelpro, and I think it was a fine program."

"I was opposed to Hoover discontinuing Cointelpro," Sullivan was quoted as saying. "I went over all the programs with him and his reasoning was: 'The climate of public opinion,' and he said, 'You know, we can resurrect this later on. It might be a year, it might be a year and a half, but right now it's time to lay low.'"

One of the major contentions of the socialists' lawsuit is that the illegal spying and harassment continue to be carried out, even though Cointelpro was formally stopped several years ago.

PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton met with Sullivan in October of this year. Another meeting was planned for December 4. In an affidavit

it filed in federal court, Stapleton explained, "By now, the personal interviews with Mr. Sullivan seemed all the more important in view of the fact that Mr. Sullivan told me that the building where most of his files and records were stored had burned down, as a result of arson, since our October meeting."

On December 1, Sullivan canceled the planned meeting, saying the Justice Department was "furious" about the first meeting and any more interviews would result in a termination of legal assistance.

"At a time when the American people want more facts about the FBI's political operations," says Stapleton, "the Justice Department is trying to gag one of the few people who have both the knowledge and willingness to shed some light on Cointelpro, the harassment of Martin Luther King, Jr., and related FBI efforts to suppress dissent."

Members ask, 'Why belong?'

Future of unions at stake in New York City

By Frank Lovell

Prospects for jobs and adequate wages are dim for New York City workers for the next three years, unless the union movement rallies to defeat the new antilabor measures imposed at all levels of government by the bipartisan action of Democrats and Republicans.

But most union officials appear in a state of shock, worried mostly about what will happen to their own skins.

Public Employee Press, official publication of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, carries on its December 5 issue what must have been intended as a cheering banner headline: "The City Lives!"

What is in store for city workers was only hinted at in the front-cover subheads: "Ford Backs Down, Default Averted, Three Years of Peace Proclaimed As Unions Help to Save the City; Albany Votes Belt-Tightening."

The belt-tightening vote of the state legislature means more layoffs, diversion of the past cost-of-living allowance to sustain pension funds, higher payroll deductions for tax hikes and pension assessments, and a three-year freeze on base wages. It all adds up to less take-home pay.

Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, says, "There will be no wage freeze under this plan, but there



Militant/Martha Harris
Day-care workers, parents protest cutbacks. Crisis can only be resolved by mobilization of union ranks to demand more jobs, higher pay, decent social services.

will be tough bargaining in the years ahead."

He adds, "Politicians come and go, but this Union (AFSCME) will always be there protecting the interests of its members."

Gotbaum thinks the city will survive, "especially after we elect a Democrat to the White House next year."

Such self-serving statements are issued in the absence of any better apology. Gotbaum is fully aware that the Democrats in Washington, Albany,

and city hall share full responsibility with the Republicans for slashing jobs, freezing wages, and raising taxes. His ties to the Democratic party make him an accomplice in the crime and the cover-up.

Gotbaum and other officials are worried about the growing lack of confidence in the unions, and they should be. The members know what is happening to them and their paychecks. Promises that "the union will always be there" don't buy groceries.

Morton Bahr, a vice-president of the Communications Workers of America, told the *New York Times* that union members are asking, "Why do I have to belong to a union?"

Bahr thinks that since "negotiations on monetary items are prohibited" by the fiscal crisis, "we've got to concentrate on taking care of grievances, improving working conditions and doing something for members outside of the work place."

If Bahr and the others think they can bargain for better working conditions and settle grievances to the satisfaction of their members, where do they think the money will come from to cover the extra costs?

Or perhaps they think they can save money for the city by settling grievances over speedup, longer hours, and loss of pay in such a way that the workers will be happy to accept these losses.

How will the unions "do something for members outside of the work place"? They could fight for better and cheaper public transportation, low-cost housing, better schools and free lunches for students, a socialized national health plan, and a massive public works program.

But to win any of these things requires a struggle against the entrenched political structure in which the Democratic and Republican parties are the two pillars of support.

Whether the city administration will continue to fire workers and refuse pay raises depends upon what the people who must live by the weekly paycheck do.

The problem won't be solved by the good graces of politicians like Mayor Abraham Beame and his fellow Democrats, whether they are in the White House or out. They have already demonstrated that they are interested only in finding ways to cut wages and eliminate jobs.

The future of the unions, and not only the municipal unions, depends upon whether the members are mobilized to demand more jobs, higher pay, and decent social services.

The union ranks are the ones who
Continued on page 26

Cutback protesters invited to united meeting

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK, Dec. 9—Two hundred people turned out for an anticutback rally today sponsored by a group calling itself the Ad Hoc Committee to Demonstrate Against the Budget Cuts.

One of the speakers at the rally was Jay Hershenson, president of the University Student Senate, the umbrella student government at the City University of New York.

Hershenson urged everyone at the rally to attend a meeting at Baruch College the next evening, December 10, to discuss united action against all budget cuts and layoffs.

"What the cutbacks mean is that they want to put this economic crisis on the backs of students, workers, and poor people," Hershenson said. "We have to unite and show them they can't do this."

The December 10 meeting, initiated by the University Student Senate, has also drawn support from union and community figures. Recent endorsers include Pat Knight, president of Local 371, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; David Beasley, president of AFSCME Local 1930; Mike Meyers, assistant director, NAACP; and Jim Meyerson,

assistant general counsel, NAACP.

Other speakers at the December 9 rally argued that electing more Democratic politicians was the solution to the New York crisis.

"We must organize to get Ford on the unemployment line," said Sidney Von Luther of the National Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment.

Alva Buxenbaum spoke for the Communist party, the main organizer of the rally. She announced that a "People's Electoral Conference" will be held next February to draw up a program and endorse candidates.

Conn. state employees defeat longer hours plan

By Andy Rose

Angry demonstrations and strike threats by Connecticut state employees have defeated, at least for now, Gov. Ella Grasso's plan to impose a longer workweek with no increase in pay.

The legislation was voted down in committee on December 3.

Last month Grasso announced a new austerity program to close an alleged \$80 million deficit in the state budget this year. In addition to stretching out the workweek for state employees from thirty-five to forty hours, Grasso wanted a hiring freeze, cuts in welfare and other social services, and absorption of \$29 million from a veterans fund into the general budget.

The liberal Democratic governor had already cut expenses by denying raises to state workers, eliminating one-quarter of the longevity increments due them under law, and making state pensions harder to get.

When Grasso summoned the state legislature to a special session beginning December 1 to approve the austerity plan, the antilabor measures seemed assured of passage. The Democrats enjoy comfortable majorities in both houses.

"The mood now in the legislature is to cut spending, there is no doubt about it," said Hartford Democrat Joseph Pauliso.

On the day the legislature convened, however, hundreds of state employees filled the hallways and galleries. At lunchtime more than 1,000 picketed outside the capitol building.

The protests involved the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Connecticut State Employees Association; and other unions. The CSEA executive board also authorized its president to call a strike, and established a \$100,000 strike fund.

New York Times reporter Lawrence Fellows reported from Hartford that public hearings on the austerity plan were "turned into raucous, crowded demonstrations."

"Hundreds of state employees packed the hall of the House of Representatives," Fellows reported, "cheering those who spoke against the proposal to lengthen their work week and shouting down those who tried to speak for it. . . ."

"Veterans, many of them old men who had fought in World War I, crowded into the relatively tiny Appropriations Room in the Capitol, asking indignantly if the legislators were ready to deny them the security of their own benefit fund. . . ."

Fellows said that Democratic party leaders felt some of their colleagues

"had been panicked by the spectacle of a gallery full of shouting people and by the state workers' threat of a strike."

The deputy speaker of the House told him "with obvious disdain" that "they get a little pressure, they get nervous."

Grasso, herself elected with union backing, also derided her fellow Democrats for not approving the antilabor plan. "This was a situation that

demanding teamwork," she said, "and in the crunch, half the team skated off the ice."

The fight against a New York-style cutbacks program in Connecticut is only beginning, though. Grasso promptly announced that she would lay off up to 4,000 of the state's 40,000 employees. The first 500 were slated to receive pink slips December 11.



Hundreds of union members demonstrated at state capitol against austerity plan

UFW retirement village

A tribute to Filipino farm workers

By Arnold Weissberg

DELANO, Calif.—One of the lesser-known aspects of the struggle of the United Farm Workers union is the role played by Filipino farm workers. Since the 1920s more than 35,000 Filipinos emigrated to the United States, and most of them became agricultural laborers in California. A number of them are in the Delano area, the state's major grape-producing center.

For some years the UFW, in recognition of the special oppression faced by Filipinos, planned the construction of a retirement village for Filipino farm workers in Delano.

The Paulo Agbayani retirement village was finally completed in early 1975. It is part of Forty Acres, the UFW center in Delano.

On a recent trip to Delano I talked with Sebastian Sahagun, acting manager of the village, about the problems he and other Filipinos have faced in this country.

Sahagun, who is seventy-one, is himself a retired Filipino farm worker and a charter member of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), one of the forerunners of the UFW. Sahagun emigrated to the United States in 1929.

He landed in Seattle and made his way to Alaska, where he got a job in a salmon cannery. "I was glad because I got a job right away and was being paid sixty-five dollars a month. In the Philippines, as a teacher, I made only fifteen dollars a month," he said.

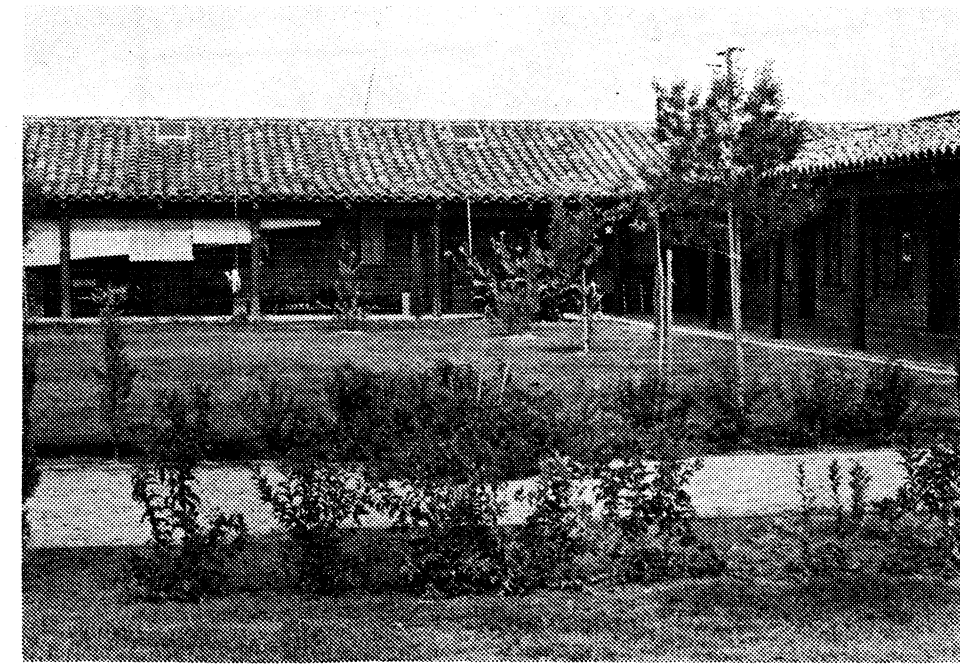
When the packing season ended, Sahagun traveled back to Washington and got his first job as a farm worker, picking hops in the Yakima Valley. The pay was good, he said, but the season was short. And when the cold weather came that year, he decided to move south.

Sahagun went to San Francisco, where he worked at a series of restaurant jobs until World War II broke out. He then got a job in a shipyard, and worked as a welder until 1950. But the climate again bothered him, so he moved south to Delano and began working on the ranches.

Racist laws

Racist laws barred Filipinos at that time from owning property, becoming citizens, or marrying American women—laws that remained on the books until after World War II. In addition, Filipino women were prohibited from entering the United States.

Denied the opportunity for a home and family, Filipinos were forced into



Paulo Agbayani retirement village, named after Filipino striker who died after heart attack on Delano picket line.

total dependency on the ranchers. Workers lived in labor camps provided by the growers.

The houses were "like stables," Sahagun said. "Sometimes the roof was not even finished. Sometimes there were three or four or even five to a room." And if the grower didn't think a worker was working hard enough, he was thrown out.

Many of the workers got their jobs through labor contractors. The grower would pay the contractor fifty cents per box picked, but the contractor only paid the workers thirty-five cents.

'No voice at all'

"That was the way the Filipinos lived in the camps. You had to work hard, and to assure your loyalty and your effectiveness in your work to your boss," Sahagun said. "We didn't have any voice at all. When we wanted better wages, we would go to the rancher to ask for a raise, and he would say, 'If you don't like your wage, then you can go someplace else.'"

In the 1960s, though, things began to change. Organizers from the AFL-CIO began to sign up Filipino farm workers into the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee in 1963.

In June 1965 grape strikes began in Coachella. The farm workers there, also organized in AWOC, demanded more pay. The strike coincided with the beginning of the harvest, and the Coachella growers gave in after a strike that lasted less than a month.

Many of the workers who had participated in the Coachella strike came to Delano afterward to harvest grapes. The Delano workers sent letters and telegrams to the ranchers, demanding wage boosts similar to those won in Coachella. Their requests were ignored. So on September 8, 1965, 1,500 Filipino farm workers walked off the job. Every ranch in the Delano area was struck.

'Growers mad'

Sahagun described the grower response to the strike: "The growers were very mad at these people, so they either closed their community kitchen, or they closed their water, or the lights."

"Lots of their belongings were thrown out of their rooms. So the people who lived there were forced to live under the trees and in their cars. They had to cook their own food over fires outside the camps. When they did that the security guards went to stop them from cooking, kicked their pots, and threw away the food."

"The growers wanted to demoralize

them. But the Filipinos, instead of being demoralized, had even more determination to fight against the growers."

Meanwhile, César Chávez was organizing Delano-area Chicano and Mexican farm workers into the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). A week after the strike began, the Filipino workers of the AWOC approached the workers of the NFWA for help.

Sahagun said that although the NFWA was not ready to start its own strike, the members voted unanimously to join their brothers and sisters of the AWOC on the picket lines. The NFWA joined the strike on September 17. The two organizations collaborated closely from then on, uniting in 1967 to form the United Farm Workers.

The struggle continued for five years. The first table-grape contracts were not signed until 1970, after a massive strike action and a nationwide boycott of table grapes.

Paulo Agbayani

The Paulo Agbayani retirement village, which is named after a Filipino farm worker who died after a heart attack on a Delano picket line, was first proposed by Chávez in 1967 as a memorial to the dead brother.

Sahagun said that many farm workers were attracted to the union because of the planned retirement village. "A Filipino might work for a grower for thirty years. You work for them hard, but when you are not able to produce more, then you are kicked out of the camp like old shoes or old clothes that are not worthy anymore."

The dream of the village started to become a reality after the first grape contracts were signed in 1970. The growers had to contribute two cents for every box of produce picked to a fund set aside for "development and education," which included the village. By 1973 enough money was available to begin construction.

A crew of ten people began the work in October of that year. The crews grew, however, and came to include hundreds of weekend volunteers. UFW supporters, including many students from the University of California at Berkeley and other campuses, participated.

Officials back down

The construction lasted twenty-two months. When the work was finally done, the city of Delano and Kern County denied a certificate of occupancy, but UFW lawyers went to court

and forced the officials to grant the needed papers. The first workers moved into Paulo Agbayani Village March 1, 1975.

Charter members of the union pay sixty-seven dollars a month rent; members who joined later pay eighty-one dollars. They all pay thirty-six dollars a month for board. The union helps out any workers who can't afford the costs. Medical care is provided by the UFW clinic at Forty Acres.

The village is a large, U-shaped, one-story building with a tile roof. The rooms form the arms of the U, while the community facilities are in the third side. The entrance foyer is tiled, with a large UFW eagle inlaid on the floor. The entire complex is air-conditioned.

Facilities

Each resident has his or her own furnished room. The rooms are of modest size and immaculate. There is a spotless communal kitchen where all the cooking for the residents and the entire UFW Delano staff is done. The cooking is done by retirees, many of whom worked in the restaurant trade earlier in their lives.

Meals are eaten in a pleasant dining area, which has windows looking out into a large courtyard.

The village also has laundry facilities,



Sebastian Sahagun, acting manager of village and founding member of UFW.

ties, a recreation area, and a library. Routine maintenance is performed by the residents.

It is virtually impossible to be hungry at Agbayani Village. Visitors are constantly urged to have something to eat. On this trip, I regretted an earlier lunch stop; the aroma from the noon meal was tantalizing.

Most of the residents of the village are in their seventies, but they try to remain active in the union. Sahagun and the others are all anxious to see the UFW win back its contracts. "I think there will be a time when the flag of the farm workers will be flying like other trade unions, flying up in the sky side by side," he said.

But in the meantime Sebastian Sahagun is busy at the village. "Everybody tries to do something to make this place better, more beautiful, a better place to live in," he said. "It is like living in a palace to me. This is the most beautiful place I have ever lived in."



As part of Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, Filipino farm workers started historic 1965 Delano grape strike.

Union president discusses issues

'A strike for survival' at Washington Post

By Jim Gotesky

WASHINGTON—"This is not an economic strike. It is a strike for survival," says James Dugan, president of press operators Local 6, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union.

It has been ten weeks since the management of the *Washington Post* forced the press operators out on strike October 1.

"We are dealing with a straight-out battle as to whether big business can completely dominate the unions," Dugan explains, "whether they can just throw us out whenever they get tired of us."

In a recent *Militant* interview at the strike headquarters, Dugan discussed the issues in the strike and described the aggressive campaign launched by the unions to win public support.

The headquarters itself bustles with activity, as supporters take leaflets to distribute and telephones are constantly ringing.

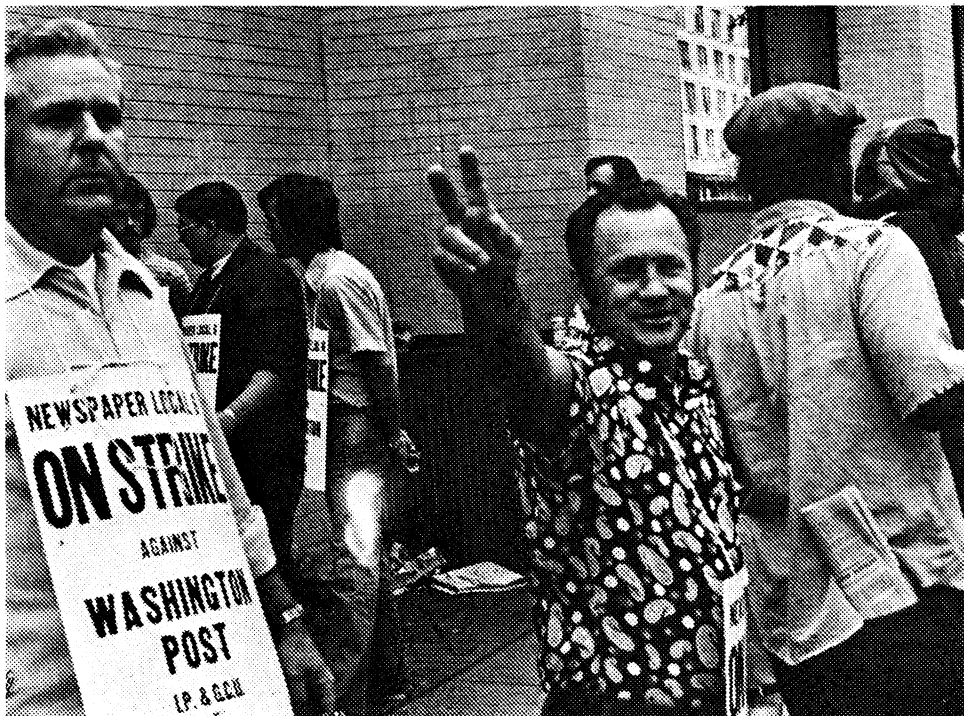
Post Unions United, a coalition of the unions respecting the strike, has called for a consumer boycott of the *Post*. Already, Dugan said, more than 400,000 leaflets have gone out in a door-to-door effort to promote the boycott.

"We are going on an advertising campaign," the union president said. "We have covered all the trash cans with posters. We've flown over the football games. We have radio spots on four major radio stations."

"We are speaking to every group that will give us a few minutes to talk to them. We're going to college campuses."

"We have mailed a letter through the central labor body [the Greater Washington Central Labor Council] to every trade unionist in the Washington, Maryland, and Virginia areas outlining the situation."

Support for the strike is growing among both organized labor and students. There are groups of supporters at Howard University, the University of Maryland at College Park, American University, Georgetown



Picket line outside 'Washington Post.' Strikers have launched campaign for public support, distributing 400,000 leaflets and speaking on many campuses.

University, and Montgomery Junior College.

Students at George Washington University and at Federal City College have hosted speaking engagements for strikers and have published articles on their struggle in campus newspapers.

A focal point for strike support activity is a rally called for December 13 by the Central Labor Council. The rally, Dugan explained, will help publicize the strike and expose the *Post's* antilabor campaign.

Featured speakers will be César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers, and William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Dugan pointed to the importance of breaking through the *Post's* image as a reform crusader. "When we say they are out to destroy us," he said, many people find it "hard to accept." But the

evidence shows the *Post* had union-busting plans mapped out far in advance of the strike.

Post management refused to even negotiate with the press operators until just a few weeks before the contract expired September 30. Instead, the owners secretly sent more than 100 people to a scab training school in Oklahoma set up by a publishers' antiunion association.

The striking unions are not seeking any new contract gains. They only want to keep the provisions they already have.

Post management wants sweeping rollbacks in the areas of job security and working conditions. They want to eliminate the cost-of-living clause; do away with rest periods between back-to-back shifts; change the grievance procedures; eliminate time-and-a-half pay for double shifts; and reduce the number of press operators by 30 percent on the smaller presses and by

60 percent on the larger presses.

To divert attention from these antiunion demands, the *Post* has launched a publicity campaign to smear the strikers as violent because of damage sustained by the presses at the time of the walkout. It has also hit the strikers with a \$15 million civil damage suit, and criminal charges are threatened.

Dugan also talked about how the *Post* is currently being printed. Although the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild in its majority supports the strike, a slim majority of the *Post* unit of the guild has voted to cross the picket lines. Several hundred guild members form the nucleus of the work force putting out the *Post*.

The *Post* has even tried to recruit high school students to work in its mailing room through federally funded work-study programs. Protests from the strikers and the Washington Teachers Union put a stop to that practice.

Dugan said *Post* management is using a technique it calls "creative tension" to pressure the writers to cross the picket lines. "They take two reporters, one who has worked there for fifteen years and one who has just been hired. They submit two stories on the same thing and one is printed."

"The older ones cross the lines because they don't want to get put out of their jobs," Dugan said, "and the younger ones cross the lines because they are hungry and on their way up and can't afford to slow down."

Dugan said he believes the *Post* aims at becoming the only major newspaper in Washington and is guided only by its drive to increase profits.

"Our blood and sweat is one of the reasons they got where they are today," he said, "and now they say, 'To hell with you people. If you want to work here you've got to take a cut in pay. We've got to make more profits. We want to become more powerful.'"

"They just don't give a damn about their people," Dugan concluded. "It's all a matter of profits."

Interview with UFW leaders

Florida farm workers battle Coca-Cola—and win

[After eleven months of protests that culminated in a two-week sit-in, the predominantly Black Florida affiliate of the United Farm Workers won a significant contract victory November 21 from Coca-Cola's Minute Maid Orange Juice subsidiary.]

[Atlanta is the site of Coca-Cola's international headquarters, where the sit-in took place. Mack Lyons, a Black man who is the union's Florida director, and Diana Lyons, a union leader, were interviewed there by *Militant* reporter Maryanne Lunn.]

Question. What is the history of the previous contract with Coca-Cola?

Answer. Fearing for their "public image" after a CBS news documentary on Florida grove workers, Coca-Cola signed its first contract with the UFW in January 1972, resulting in pesticide restrictions, a medical plan, wages nearly double those of noncontract workers, and a grievance procedure. When it expired last January, the company cut the per-box pay rate and refused to negotiate new benefits.

Q. How has racism been an issue in the struggle?

A. A racist classification system has

been used, resulting in different treatment for Black and white workers. There are 1,200 employees during the harvest and 600 year-round workers. Of these 600, 350 were classified as seasonal, and 95 percent of the seasonals were Black. The remaining 250 were called permanent hourly employees, and 90 percent of them were white.

Permanent employees received regular job benefits. Seasonal workers, although they also work all year, did not.

The permanent workers work in the best groves. But when a Black or Brown worker went to the hiring hall for these groves, he or she was told there were no openings. They never allowed more than two Black workers at any one of these locations.

Q. What was the attitude of the white workers toward the UFW?

A. We received a tremendous amount of support from these whites, and many of them have joined the union. The discrimination did not reflect the feelings of the white workers but rather was a deliberate attempt to divide people and pit them against each other.

But the white workers were able to see through this. They recognized that it was also in their interest to fight this



Florida UFW leader Mack Lyons

company-sponsored racism.

Q. How did the UFW mobilize support for a new contract that would do away with this discrimination?

A. Through large picket lines and

public rallies of the workers. We tried very hard to get as many people as possible to our actions.

In Atlanta, we received press coverage and public support after we began our two-week sit-in at Coca-Cola headquarters.

Things came to a head when Coke arrested the six people sitting in for "trespassing."

After embarrassing news stories, Foods Division President Ira Herbert personally flew to La Paz [the UFW national headquarters in California] to work out the terms of a contract with César Chávez. Chávez agreed to negotiate after the release of the six arrested UFW members.

Q. What improvements were won in the new contract?

A. The company agreed to give permanent status for all who work 170 consecutive days, thereby making them eligible for benefits and wiping out the basis for racial discrimination. A five-cents-per-box increase was won, restoring the pay cut, with a provision for another increase if there is a small harvest yield in some year. We also won a 50 percent increase in health benefits, and elimination of antiunion clauses from the contract.

In Our Opinion

...Boston violence

Continued from page 1

perpetrators of these vile crimes. And they must be met with a renewed commitment by all supporters of equal rights for Blacks to build a powerful movement that can stop the racists in their tracks and compel the government to enforce the law on desegregation.

The antibusing bigots are outraged at Judge W. Arthur Garrity's ruling stripping the school committee of much of its authority over South Boston High School. The judge found that the school committee has done everything possible to "frustrate and delay" desegregation.

Represented by NAACP attorneys, Black students being bused into "Southie" have presented detailed descriptions of racist abuse and violence at the hands of white students, teachers, and administrators. Garrity ruled that the plaintiffs had proved their case by "a clear preponderance of the evidence."

This is a vindication of the Black community's charges against the city government in Boston. It is a damning indictment of the all-white, all-Democratic school committee—and, by implication, of the other elected officials who have allowed this situation to continue.

The fire bombing of the NAACP office came almost one year to the day after a screaming lynch mob gathered outside South Boston High School and threatened to kill the more than 100 Black students trapped inside. Since that time Black students attending the school have been the targets of an organized campaign of violence.

In his ruling, Garrity found that Black students "continue to be subject to physical attacks by groups of white students," and "more often than not, school and police authorities detain and suspend all the Black students involved in the incident, but only one or two whites."

He found that Black students face verbal abuse, including racist slurs, and that the school administration and police authorities have "failed to take any corrective or disciplinary action."

These incidents, Garrity concluded, "are part of a pattern of racially discriminatory and hostile conduct" that is "to a significant degree the result of intentional conduct by organizations and individuals in South Boston."

Can there be any doubt that it was precisely the organizers of the anti-Black violence in South Boston who carried out the fire-bombing raid on the NAACP offices in the dark of night? Can there be any doubt that they hoped to terrorize the entire Black community and all supporters of busing into silence?

We will not be silenced!

In issuing his decision and order, Garrity was responding to the pressure that has been mobilized in support of desegregation. The campaign to support busing has included demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies in Boston and around the country. It has included organizing efforts in the Black community, in the unions, and on the campuses by the NAACP, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and other probusing organizations.

Continuing to build this kind of powerful antiracist movement is the way to answer the attack on the NAACP and the way to force the government to use whatever force is necessary to protect the right of Blacks to attend desegregated schools in safety.

YSA convention

The renewed racist violence in Boston once again drives home the need to mobilize a nationwide action campaign to fight racist injustices and inequalities. At the upcoming Young Socialist Alliance national convention, high school and college students from around the country will discuss how they can help to do just that. The gathering will be held on the University of Wisconsin campus in Milwaukee, December 28-January 1.

Antiracist activists from dozens of cities will share their experiences during workshops on the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican struggles. There will be a major report and discussion on the socialist strategy for the fight against racism.

A special fifteenth anniversary event will review the YSA's participation in this fight from the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s to today's struggles for desegregated schools and bilingual-bicultural education.

We urge our readers to attend this important convention, which will also feature discussions on campus cutbacks, women's liberation, and many other topics. For more information, see the article on page 13.



"Gee, folks, there's nothing left."

Letters

Pass it along

A while back I wrote to you a letter stating my financial situation and also my commitment to the liberation of our people. You responded favorably by honoring my request. You did send me a subscription on a complimentary basis.

Now I would like to thank you for doing this. I am really appreciative.

Now that I have come into a little bit of money, I would like to send you enough to cover one year's subscription. If anyone else finds themselves in the same financial difficulties as I did, please pass my complimentary subscription to them and let me pay for such subscription.

I really enjoy your newspaper, and I hope to continue to use some of the information in it.

Vicente Carranza
Corpus Christi, Texas

One the Senate missed

Press coverage of the Senate intelligence hearings where FBI informer Gary Rowe testified on his role in Ku Klux Klan violence was confirmation once again of the distorted news the capitalist media feed the American people.

Here was the FBI conspiring with the Klan to terrorize and even murder civil rights activists, and how did the daily papers report it? "Ex-FBI Spy Says He Was Ordered To Sleep With Klansmen's Wives," headlined the *New York Post* story. And the *New York Daily News* cleverly titled theirs, "Klan Spy: Told to Hit the Sheets." So it was left to the *Militant* to detail the real horror story this former FBI plotter has to tell.

A few days before the hearings, Rowe granted an interview to the *Los Angeles Times*. Apparently there is one "incident" the senators didn't bother to ask Rowe about, since none of the news items on the hearings, including the *Militant's*, reported it. I thought *Militant* readers might be interested in it because it is one of the most despicable and incriminating

conspiracies Rowe was involved in. According to the *Times*:

"In addition to other major cases, Rowe worked on the Sept. 15, 1963, Birmingham church bombing that killed four young black girls attending Sunday school.

"He disclosed that he gave the FBI the names of eight klansmen suspected of involvement in the bombing. Later, he said, he furnished the bureau with the name of a state investigator he said had urged him to tell one of the klansmen to 'keep his goddam mouth shut,' if questioned about the bombing. The case has never been solved."

B.C.
New York, New York

Better & better

I've only read the *Militant* a couple of times, yet each time I read it, I like it more. I'd like to subscribe to it for two months at the special new reader's rate. I'm sure that it will meet my expectations—if not exceed them.

J.H.
Providence, Rhode Island

Boycott Seagram's

United Farm Workers (UFW) supporters in the Northwest are publicizing a request by Canadian distillery workers for a boycott of products manufactured by the Seagram Company.

According to a union flyer, Seagram's is the world's largest distiller, with sales in 1975 expected to exceed \$2 billion. Besides whiskey, Seagram's makes or distributes vodka, gin, rum, and all Paul Masson and Christian Brothers wines.

The workers, members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), have been locked out of Seagram's British Columbia bottling works in an attempt to bust the union.

"While the labour movement and many other fair-minded British Columbians have supported the locked-

out workers by refusing to handle or purchase any Seagram's products, additional support is needed to help these men and women regain their jobs and reach a fair settlement," the flyer says.

"For that reason we are asking all Canadians and our American neighbors to do their part by refusing to buy any of the long list of products manufactured and distributed by Seagram's." The union is also requesting that supporters write or call their local Seagram's wholesaler about the boycott.

According to the Seattle UFW Boycott Committee, the RWDSU is a staunch supporter of the UFW boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

My union, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1488, at the University of Washington, voted to endorse the Seagram's boycott at our November business meeting.

*Harold Schlechtweg
Seattle, Washington*

Two requests

I like your opinions and your editorials very much and I wonder if you will soon comment on the Quinlan case (to keep alive or allow to die) and also on what can be expected from the new regime in Spain under King Juan Carlos I.

I value your points of view and would appreciate reading about them on these two subjects.

*Kim F. Clearhen
Los Angeles, California*

Farm workers' support

On November 22 the Miami United Farm Workers Support Committee held a rally in Flamingo Park. Between 150 and 200 people showed up.

The rally began with several speakers, followed by singing and skits. Speakers included Ms. Bernice Dolan, president of Local 553, Transport Workers Union; Frank O'Hearn, representing farm workers at Homestead, Florida; James Logan, a UFW field office director; and Mark Richards, coordinator of the Miami boycott.

O'Hearn explained part of the problem facing Homestead farm workers. The workers' labor camp is only 500 feet from Homestead Air Force Base, where jet engines are ground tested. When tests are in progress, people cannot walk down the street without covering their ears, and it is impossible to sleep at night.

Dolan expressed the support of her union for the UFW and the boycott.

The highlight of the rally was when James Logan explained the recent victory at Coca-Cola (which owns Minute Maid).

Concluding the rally, Mark Richards urged people to support the boycott, not to eat lettuce in restaurants, to ask to be shown the back room at grocery stores to see if produce boxes have the UFW eagle, and to volunteer to help local UFW efforts.

After the rally, the UFW supporters marched through downtown Miami Beach and Lincoln Mall, a major tourist shopping area. Along the march route people expressed their support for the boycott.

*Adam Shedroff
Miami Beach, Florida*

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.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Unions & the busing fight

The proposed constitutional amendment that would outlaw busing to integrate public schools was shelved last month by the caucus of House Democrats in Congress, but the issue will not die there. It will not be resolved until the racist opponents of busing are exposed and defeated.

In Boston, city council member Louise Day Hicks, who heads ROAR, the national antibusing group, blamed AFL-CIO President George Meany for the defeat and called it "only a temporary setback." Hicks quoted a letter from the AFL-CIO to all Democratic members of Congress urging defeat of the antibusing resolution.

Meany had previously warned the state AFL-CIO labor councils in Kentucky and Massachusetts to cease and desist their support of antibusing demonstrations in Louisville and Boston.

In identical letters sent October 25 to the Kentucky state council and the Louisville Central Labor Council, Meany said, "The AFL-CIO has long held a firm and well-defined policy on the subject of school busing for the purpose of securing quality education for all children, when ordered by the courts."

Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, had also notified Louisville IUE Local 761 last September that the union "stood and fought for the elimination of all forms of race, sex, national origin, ethnic, age, and all other kinds of discrimination."

In Massachusetts, the state AFL-CIO convention adopted a resolution against busing on November 7. This brought a response in due course from Meany. He warned them that they were in violation of AFL-CIO policy.

The president of the state council, Joseph Sullivan, reported on November 24 that its executive board had voted unanimously to declare the antibusing resolution null and void.

It turned out that State Rep. Michael Flaherty, a Democrat from South Boston, had been instrumental in having the antibusing resolution introduced and adopted at the union convention. He is not a member

of any union, but succeeded in winning endorsement of his racist position in exchange for supposed favors as a state legislator.

Flaherty is one of those Democratic party "friends of labor." He called Sullivan "cowardly" and notified the Massachusetts labor body "that as a result of your action today I will do absolutely nothing further in your behalf as long as I sit as a member of this legislative body."

This ought to be a signal to the union movement of the dubious value of the "friendship" of Flaherty and other Democrats and Republicans like him.

The clear statement in favor of busing is to the credit of the AFL-CIO, but Meany's actions to ensure that the position is formally adhered to by all union officials under his control is not enough to defeat the racists. That will require the mobilization of the union ranks in collaboration with the Black community and others who are fighting for desegregated public education.

On the local level union members can defend the official position of the union movement against racism and win union endorsement for actions called to defend busing and promote better schools.

The racists often appear to have followers among the union ranks when their only solid support is among the local officialdom, and these local officials are quick to back down, as shown in Massachusetts, when their own jobs are at stake.

Gangs of racists, organized by the most blatantly antiunion elements, usually are very brave when attacking defenseless children on school buses. But they melt away when faced with a determined opposition.

These same elements are incited by local politicians and other agents of the employers to attack the union movement in times of strike. It is now a matter of self-preservation for the union ranks—many of whom are Black workers—to mobilize their own forces in defense of school busing and other gains that have been won by the unions and the civil rights movement.



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The case of Todd & Woods

While the North Carolina Joanne Little jury was plowing new earth in acquitting a Black woman of defending herself from sexual attack by a white man, a Georgia grand jury in a similar case last summer was planting old seeds.

A Wheeler County grand jury with a jury commissioner who remarked, "There aren't enough colored people that have enough sense to serve on a grand jury," named Cheryl Todd and Dessie X Woods for the June murder of Ronnie Horne, a white insurance salesman from Rentz, Georgia.

Horne, who was known for making sexual advances on Black women, died when he struggled with the women for possession of a gun while trying to rape them. He was posing as a law officer and had offered the pair, who were hitchhiking, a ride.

A judge threw out the indictment in September because of the commissioners' attitudes and because of underrepresentation of women and people between the ages of eighteen and thirty on the jury. But all the ifs, shouldas, couldas, whys, and maybes surrounding the shaky original indictment were overlooked, and a new grand jury was selected and the women were reindicted.

A trial date has not been set.

The two Atlanta women first stumbled into trouble when they went to visit Todd's brother at Reidsville state prison.

Upon arriving Todd, who was suffering from low blood pressure, fainted, but police, believing her to be intoxicated, arrested her. Woods protested and was also arrested and beaten.

When released three days later the women had to thumb their way home because there is no bus service from the jail.

Horne came across the women on the highway on

the night of June 17. He pulled up in a white car that had a long antenna on it. Inside the car the women saw a holstered gun on the seat and a two-way radio.

Horne said he was a detective and offered the pair a ride. Feeling safe, they got in.

Using the radio, Horne called his business partner, Royce Yawn, and told him he had two Black women in his car and to meet him at a nearby restaurant.

Arriving at the restaurant, the women believed Yawn was also a detective, and they did not understand the nature of the rendezvous. But Yawn, who was tipsy, quarreled with Horne over divvying up the women. Horne became contrary, took both women, and drove off.

Sensing that Horne was going in the wrong direction, the women became suspicious and demanded to be let out. Horne complied and the pair started to make their way back to the restaurant to summon help.

Horne doubled back, intercepted the women and ordered them to get in the car or face arrest. Fearfully, the women got back in.

Horne drove off but soon began making threats of sexual assault. The women pleaded and cried.

In desperation, Todd leaped from the moving vehicle. Horne stood on the brakes, drew his gun, and jumped out. He tussled with Todd. Two shots went off and he fell dead.

News of the shooting traveled quickly to Rentz. And, as in the Joanne Little case, friends of the deceased asked themselves why in the world a Black woman would want to do such a cruel thing to good ole Ronnie Horne, who at most was just out funnin' on a hot summer night.

Contributions and further information about the Todd/Woods defense should be addressed to Post Office Box 1935, Atlanta, Georgia 30301.



ERA debate in CLUW

DETROIT—One of the most exciting moments at the Coalition of Labor Union Women convention here came when the participants voted to have CLUW undertake a "mass-action and educational campaign" to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The debate was brief, but tumultuous. Marilyn Marcus, a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City, introduced the proposal as an amendment to the constitution. Her speech and the speeches of others who spoke in favor were greeted with enthusiastic applause and cheers from the CLUW ranks.

But the CLUW officers on the podium, and the floor leaders of the caucuses of the American Federation of Teachers and the United Auto Workers, sat glum-faced.

Why? CLUW has been on record in support of the ERA since it was founded, and both the AFT and the UAW, along with almost the entire union movement, support passage of the ERA. But the officials didn't like the proposal because it was a proposal for *action* by CLUW, a proposal that could

mobilize chapters around the country in a real struggle. They saw it as a threat to their concept of reducing CLUW to a staff organization with no involvement of the rank-and-file union women.

Orders came down from the Shankerite leaders of the AFT and from CLUW President Olga Madar to whip their caucuses into line to defeat the proposal. But this wasn't so easy. Many of their own members couldn't understand why they should vote against it when their unions were on record in favor of the ERA.

When AFT floor whips circulated among their delegation issuing instructions to vote "no" on the motion, they ran into questions from AFT women. "We support the ERA. Why should we vote against it?" asked one woman.

In desperation, the Shankerite floor leaders told their members, "This is a Socialist Workers party plot to disrupt the convention." "That's ridiculous," responded a number of AFT delegates.

Just how ridiculous this red-baiting was became clear when the vote was taken. Despite arm-twisting, many members even of the tightly run AFT caucus broke ranks and voted for the motion.

It was approved by a nearly two-to-one majority.

Also voting against the amendment were members of the Communist party, which openly calls for the defeat of the ERA. The *Daily World*, which reflects the CP line, ran a special article for the CLUW convention, reiterating the reactionary Stalinist line in opposition to the ERA.

Thus both the Shankerites and the Stalinists managed to place themselves to the right of George Meany—no small feat. Meany had sent a telegram to the convention urging a campaign to win the ERA and pledging AFL-CIO support.

Fortunately, the majority of CLUW delegates were not as backward as the Shankerites and the CP members. They viewed the ERA as a vital issue facing all union members, and especially union women.

The enthusiasm for the ERA motion expressed at the convention is an important sign of the potential of a campaign to galvanize the ranks of the labor movement behind the fight for the ERA. The passage of the motion provides CLUW chapters around the country with an opportunity to take the ERA struggle to the entire union movement, and in doing so, to win many new members to CLUW.

Their Government

'Nonstop volleyball for Christ'

WASHINGTON—"It is a world record in Lawndale as youth play 300 hours nonstop volleyball for Christ. . . .

"Why did they do it? Because a record was there. And in their hearts they knew that in doing it for Christ the record could be broken. They went on, exerting themselves beyond belief, to accomplish this goal."

It's doubtful that even a Billy Graham newsletter would accept the above item, but the *Congressional Record* had no qualms. The speech, you see, is by Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Calif.).

This booster effort for Wilson's Lawndale constituents is standard fare for the *Record*. Apparently on the assumption that few of us read this publication, our "representatives" fill it up with self-serving nonsense on a regular basis.

Contrary to the history-book version of Congress, the batch of lawyers, businessmen, and advertising agents on the Hill spend little time engaged in discussing the *real* problems this country faces. Instead, as a reading of the *Record* shows, their

main contributions are inanities like the above.

Recently, patriotism has been a popular topic for their drivel. Rep. Charles Bennett (D-Fla.) introduced a speech titled "Do not be just an American! Be a great American!"

Not to be outdone, Rep. Sam Steiger (R-Ariz.) informed us of a "patriotic community endeavor" in Sun City, Arizona, "where more than 100 citizens are involved in making a large Bicentennial quilt."

Then there are the endless proposals to dedicate this week or that month to some cause, such as "National Patriotism Week."

Some politicians introduce heavy political tracts, like "Property rights are the very basis of freedom," a dissertation by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), or "The immorality of redistributing income," by Rep. Philip Crane (R-Ill.).

But, in general, the members of Congress would prefer not to talk about depressing things like declining wages or government assassination plots. Rep. William Ford (D-Mich.), for example, inserted the words to "Water Wonderland," the proposed

new state song of Michigan, into the *Record* just to raise our spirits.

"In a time when inflation, unemployment, and other problems hang heavily over all Americans, it is refreshing to ponder instead the cheerful words of a musical tribute," he chirped.

One of the greatest abusers of the *Record*, as we reported in an earlier column, is Birchite Larry McDonald, representative from Georgia. McDonald answered our column with a new attack on the Socialist Workers party, and he included the address and telephone number of the *Militant's* Washington Bureau.

A note to Mr. McDonald: Your most recent outburst has netted us a new friend. D.W., from Belen, New Mexico, wrote to the Washington Bureau two weeks ago, stating:

"I note in *Congressional Record* considerable writings concerning your activities—and my curiosity relative to your aims and endeavors at assisting humanity—so am asking you to favor me with word, literature or whatnot having to do with your work."

Cindy Jaquith



iLa Raza en Acción!

A union bureaucrat and 'la migra'

LOS ANGELES—Last October William Robertson was chosen to head the AFL-CIO county federation here. Not long after, he proved that he can parrot the government's racist anti-mexicano propaganda with the best of them.

Robertson has issued directives to all the unions in Los Angeles to write letters to their representatives to get more personnel for the Immigration Service so it can deport Mexicans faster.

Robertson is disappointed because the House of Representatives recommended that *la migra's* staff be boosted by only 750 positions this year. "We believe that figure is totally inadequate to cope with the magnitude of the problems created by illegal aliens taking what is estimated to be over a million jobs from Americans," the chief says.

We hear this bunk quite often from the government, bosses, and right-wingers. "The illegals are stealing our jobs. Send them back to Mexico. America for Americans."

Nonetheless, it is always more infuriating to hear such antiworker propaganda from union leaders

who claim to defend the interests of working people. The Immigration Service needs help! What about the undocumented workers? They are the oppressed and exploited.

All the years of faithful pencil pushing that brought Robertson where he is today must have given him too great a respect for pieces of paper. He thinks that before you can be considered a worker, you have to have a piece of paper that says you are a U.S. citizen.

The immigrant workers without papers who are driven here from their impoverished Latin American countries in search of a living know better what it is to be a worker than this well-heeled union functionary. If you have to slave at a backbreaking, monotonous job eight hours a day, taking whatever wages are offered because you're afraid of being turned in to *la migra*, you're a worker and you don't need a certificate to prove it.

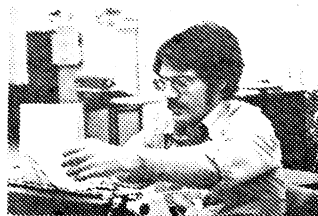
If anybody needs to prove their qualifications as workers, it's the union "executives" with their five-figure salaries who always seem to be ready to do

the bosses' bidding.

Fortunately, not all unions have fallen for the propaganda against "illegals." The Service Employees International Union in Los Angeles passed a resolution recently that stated, "Immigrant workers with or without documents must be defended and protected by all means available to other workers . . . [they] must be organized into unions as are other workers." This resolution also called on the international union to reconsider its support of the anti-immigration Rodino bill.

There have been a few other unions that have seen anti-"illegal" double-talk for what it is—an attempt to use racism and chauvinism to divide workers against each other, and make it easier for big business to drive down the living standards of all. But these unions amount to only a handful.

In most cases the fight to win the unions to a policy of defending and organizing undocumented workers has yet to be won. It will be up to Chicanos and *mexicanos*, the ones who most directly suffer from racist immigration policies, to lead this fight.



Miguel Pendás

Atlanta Black students explain why they joined Young Socialist Alliance

By Joe Soares

ATLANTA—The Atlanta University (AU) complex, a cluster of five private Black colleges, has one of the largest Black student populations in the United States. Over the past year, the Young Socialist Alliance has been active on these campuses building solidarity with the Boston desegregation struggle, campaigning for passage of the federal Equal Rights Amendment by the Georgia legislature, and drumming up support for the 1976 Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

During that time, a number of AU students have joined the YSA. They, along with others from the campus, plan to attend the upcoming YSA convention in Milwaukee, December 28-January 1. I recently spoke to five of these new members about why they joined.

Melody Davenport, Meisa Patterson, and Sheila Johnson attend Spelman College, a women's school at AU. Davenport and Patterson are premed students, and Johnson is majoring in history.

Howard Jackson and Osborne Hart attend Morehouse College, where they are premed and political science majors, respectively.

Action organization

"I talked to people around Atlanta who were involved in a lot of different struggles," Johnson told me, "and they would always say, 'Even though I'm not a socialist, one thing I can say is that the people from the YSA are always there when you need them.' That really impressed me."

Davenport agreed. "I had checked out a lot of other political organizations in Atlanta, but the YSA was the one group that really seemed to be doing things, not just rapping."

Jackson said that the deep slump in the capitalist economy had jogged his thinking. "You have the idea when you're going to college that you're going to graduate with a degree and be able to make a decent living. But people with college degrees are unemployed today—after two or three years out of school."

"I'm not knocking education, you understand. But capitalism is something else!"

Hart and Patterson joined the YSA after working alongside YSA members in the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). In the beginning, they weren't sure they agreed with the YSA's position in support of busing to achieve school desegregation.



Five new members of Atlanta YSA (left to right): Osborne Hart, Meisa Patterson, Howard Jackson, Melody Davenport, Sheila Johnson.

Hart told me, "At first I had a very narrow view of the busing struggle in Boston. 'That's hundreds of miles away,' I thought, 'what relation does it have to me down here in Atlanta?'"

"But the YSA saw right away that it was the focus of a nationwide racist drive. They saw it as an important national issue, and I learned what a real socialist outlook is on crucial questions like this."

Hart continued, "Now I explain to other AU students that the attack on busing represents an attack on all the gains won by the civil rights movement. A lot of us wouldn't even be at AU if it weren't for the struggles to implement the 1954 school desegregation decision."

"The real issue in Boston is the democratic right of Black people to an equal education."

Multinational organization

Turning to another topic, Davenport told me, "In the past I had been affiliated with groups like Stokely Carmichael's All African Revolutionary People's party. They said Blacks could never achieve true liberation through belonging to the same organization as whites. That was a big obstacle for me to overcome in joining the YSA."

"Of course, I knew that there were Black YSA members. But from past experience with high school student councils and stuff, I thought that maybe these Blacks were just token members—that the YSA wasn't really oriented toward Black people."

"But when I joined, I found that the Black members are very dedicated to

Black people, as well as to the overall struggle," Davenport concluded.

"It was a problem for me too," Patterson added. "But I decided that it really came down to what the YSA believes in and what it was doing. There are several all-Black socialist groups at AU that don't do much, even though their rhetoric is all about liberation."

"Another thing that impressed me about the YSA," Patterson continued, "was that it recognized the importance of women's liberation for Black women." Johnson said this was also important in convincing her to join.

Internationalism

Patterson said another thing she likes about the YSA is that it "realizes the importance of relating to international struggles."

"That in itself gave me a little more confidence," Davenport agreed. "You're not just one person struggling for something. You know that there are people all over the world who believe the same things and are all struggling toward the same goal."

Hart said that he was looking forward to the discussion about revolutionary developments in Portugal that will take place at the YSA's Milwaukee convention.

Jackson first became interested in the YSA through reading the *Militant*. This fall he began attending YSA classes on Black liberation and socialism, Marxist theory, and other topics. "That's when I really became interested," he said, "because these classes dealt with various views that were

similar to mine. So I decided to join."

Patterson said she first heard about the YSA when Socialist Workers party candidates spoke at Spelman College in 1973. "Before that I sometimes just wrote off revolution as some kind of utopia," she said.

Not just rhetoric

"But everyone I talked to in the YSA took revolution seriously—not in a fanatical way, but as something concrete, something that is going to happen, something that we have to have. That made me want to join."

Johnson added, "The people in the YSA knew what their organization was all about. They could defend their positions, not just feed you a line of rhetoric."

"They were also very friendly," she continued, "and open to answering my questions and listening to my ideas. Some of the other so-called socialist groups on campus just try to shove ideas down your throat."

"When I met the YSA people, I felt for the first time that I was meeting some socialists that were very rational and very real. That's the truth."

"I agree," Patterson interjected. "Whenever I had a question, the YSA members encouraged me to really pursue it, not just blindly accept their position. They told me how important it is to have members who don't just run along with the show, but think for themselves."

Davenport commented, "When I first joined, I didn't know all that much about Marxism, and I would sometimes say to myself, 'Wow! I'm so behind.'"

"But now I don't feel that way, because I know that people in the YSA want to know what I have to say, and that they are willing to help me learn about things."

"I came through a number of organizations before I joined the YSA," Hart said, "like the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African Liberation Support Committee. I didn't agree with their approach so I dropped out."

"Then I became sort of a lone Marxist, until the YSA showed me that there was no such thing . . . that you have to be involved in an organization."

"The YSA's approach to struggle is to relate to what people are actually fighting around—to mass struggles. I agreed with that."

"Just living in the times I live in today," Johnson said, "I could see the whole world falling apart. I began to say to myself, 'What am I going to do to make conditions better, to help speed along the end of this rotten, inhumane system?'"

"That was a very important question to me. So I joined the YSA."

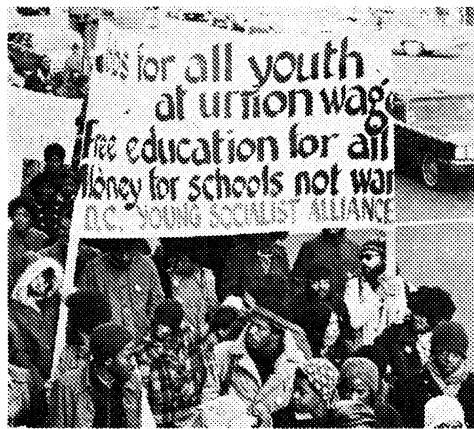
Hundreds of college and high school students from across the United States will attend the fifteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance later this month. You should be there too!

There will be discussions on education cutbacks, the fight to desegregate the schools, the government's offensive against democratic rights, and revolutionary developments in Portugal. Workshops will be held on the campaign to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, defense of international political prisoners, and other topics.

In addition, there will be a Socialist Workers election campaign rally featuring the party's 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

Registration for the entire five days is \$3.00. Low-cost and hotel housing are available. For further

YSA national convention



**Milwaukee,
Dec. 28-Jan. 1**

information on how you can attend, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see Socialist Directory on page 26) or send the coupon below to: YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ I want more information about the YSA and the Milwaukee convention.

☐ I want to attend the convention. (\$3.00 registration fee can be enclosed or paid in Milwaukee.)

☐ I want to join the YSA.

☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for six months of the *Young Socialist* newspaper (50¢ for high school students).

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Camejo confronts Democratic contenders before 1,000 at Massachusetts gathering

By David Salner

WORCESTER, Mass.—Speaking to more than 1,000 people at the presidential caucus sponsored by the Massachusetts Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX), Peter Camejo stated that “the basic issue in the 1976 campaign is what we’re going to put first—human needs or profits.”

The Socialist Workers party presidential nominee told the meeting that “the Democratic- and Republican-controlled Congress will soon be passing a war budget of over \$90 billion—that’s more than we spent per year during the war in Vietnam.”

He received applause when he called for eliminating the war budget and using the funds to provide jobs, education, housing, and vitally needed social services.

He also urged the audience to support the right of Black students to attend desegregated schools, and to defend busing against racist attacks.

Camejo spoke first and was followed by Democratic candidates Terry Sanford, Milton Shapp, Morris Udall, and Fred Harris, and representatives of other candidates.

The socialist candidate explained that the Democratic and Republican

parties are committed to upholding the capitalist system, which puts defense of private profits ahead of the needs of the working class. “Only a vote for the Socialist Workers party is a vote in the interests of working people,” he said.

Camejo received a friendly response from many in the audience, despite the fact that almost all of the CPPAX members were supporting one or another of the Democratic party candidates. In the balloting, Fred Harris received a plurality of almost 39 percent.

Many of the Harris supporters wore T-shirts emblazoned with the Harris slogan, “Privilege is the issue.” Udall backers jabbed the air with cardboard signs; promoters of Sen. Frank Church wore plastic imitation straw hats; and fans of Jimmy Carter handed out peanuts in one-half-ounce bags that urged a vote for their candidate, a millionaire Georgia peanut farmer.

CPPAX is a liberal Democratic group that includes many former antiwar activists.

Harris, a former senator from Oklahoma, called for dismantling the CIA, taking the rich “off welfare,” and trimming the military budget by \$14.7 billion.

In a speech laden with his typical populist demagoguery, Harris admitted that “like Robert LaFollete [1924 presidential candidate of the Progressive party], I haven’t always come out on the right side of issues.”

The details of Harris’s record were made available to caucus participants by a fact sheet distributed by Socialist Workers campaign supporters. The fact sheet pointed out that despite Harris’s radical-sounding rhetoric, his stand on specific issues reflects the reactionary positions of the Democratic party.

For example, between 1965 and 1972, Harris consistently voted to support the war in Vietnam. He opposed repeal of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, consistently voted in favor of war appropriations, and in 1972 voted to extend the draft.

The fact sheet also documented Harris’s stand against the interests of the labor movement. In the Senate, he supported strikebreaking bills, including a measure to outlaw the 1970 railroad workers’ strike. He has supported wage controls, and in 1972 voted to kill an amendment guaranteeing a measly \$2,600 annual income for a family of four.

On the question of Black rights, he called for a federal “antiriot” bill in 1968 and supported the frame-up indictments of H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. In 1972 he voted for a measure barring the federal government from taking steps to pressure local school boards to implement school desegregation.

Supporters of the SWP campaign also distributed 800 copies of the “Bill of Rights for Working People,” the socialist campaign platform for 1976.

Camejo’s appearance at the CPPAX-sponsored meeting capped a tour of the Boston area during which he spoke at several campuses and at a banquet and rally attended by 140 people in Boston on December 6.

At the rally, Camejo was joined by John Mitchell, an international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, who described some of the problems the members of his union have encountered from racists in South Boston, a stronghold of the antibusing

forces. The Meat Cutters local, which includes many Black members, was prevented from meeting at its union hall because of racist attacks.

Mitchell said a vote for a Democrat or Republican was a vote for Joe or Jane Tweedledum and concluded: “I’m grateful to your organization. . . . On election day, it’s a pleasure to be able to put an X beside the name of a socialist candidate.”

Florence Luscomb, a longtime leader of the movement for women’s rights, and feminist poet Karen Lindsey also spoke at the rally. A collection raised more than \$1,700 for the socialist campaign.

Join us

() Send me a free copy of the campaign platform, “A Bill of Rights for Working People” () in English, () in Spanish.

() I want to come to a campaign meeting to help plan activities.

() I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

() Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Contact the campaign headquarters nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 26), or clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

School/union local _____

Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

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



Militant/David Salner

Audience applauded when Camejo (right) called for eliminating \$100 billion war budget. Harris proposes trimming it by \$14.7 billion.

Suit challenges restrictive Calif. ballot law

By Bruce Marcus

SAN FRANCISCO—A three-judge federal panel here will consider arguments December 19 on a suit challenging California’s election law.

The challenge was filed in 1973 by five parties—La Raza Unida party, Socialist Workers party, Prohibition party, Socialist Labor party, and Libertarian party.

The only two parties outside of the Democrats and Republicans ever to make the ballot under the current law, the American Independent party and the Peace and Freedom party, have submitted affidavits in support of the challenge.

To qualify for the ballot in California, a new party must either collect 640,000 signatures of registered voters or convince 64,000 people to register as members of the party. Thus the signature requirement is thirty-two times that of New York, a state with nearly the same population as California.

The law also discriminates against parties based in particular communities. La Raza Unida party registered more than 20,000 voters in Los Angeles County alone in 1972, but was kept off the ballot because it did not meet the statewide requirements.

These rigid restrictions do not apply to any of the Democratic and Republi-

can candidates. For example, Democratic senatorial hopefuls Tom Hayden and John Tunney will have to collect only sixty-five signatures to qualify for the primary ballot.

One of the state’s major arguments in defense of the law is that a more accessible ballot would encourage split-offs from the two dominant parties.

In its court brief the state says, “Both New York and Michigan, with their low qualification requirements . . . discourage coalition and accommodation within the major parties and certainly reinforce just the sort of ideological and personality cult fragmentation that California works to avoid.”

And besides, the brief argues, there isn’t a “monopoly” by the two capitalist parties, because both the American Independent party and the Peace and Freedom party qualified in 1968.

“The affidavits filed by the PFP and AIP completely support our contention that the California election law is undemocratically restrictive,” says Byron Ackerman, California secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws.

CoDEL is organizing support and publicity for the challenge. Ackerman is currently on a statewide tour to publicize the facts of the case.

“We have found that people are outraged when they learn that the California law virtually legislates the Democrats and Republicans as the only parties in the state,” he says.

In the Bay Area, CoDEL is circulating a petition that will be sent to Secretary of State March Fong Eu



Militant/Mariana Hernández

Raza Unida party picket line in Los Angeles. RUP is one of five parties challenging California ballot law.

supporting the challenge against the election law.

Signers of the petition include: Rep. Ronald Dellums; Michael Gleason, mayor of Albany, California; Berkeley City Council members Llona Hancock, Ying Lee Kelley, and John Denton; Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar*; David Creque, executive board, Alameda Central Labor Council; Edgar Jackson, vice-president, Amalgamated Transit Workers union; and Ann Chandler, president, California State Employees Association Chapter 1132.

Other endorsements for the challenge have been received recently from Mel Craine, vice-chairperson, San Diego Democratic party; Larry Schwartz, executive board, San Diego American Civil Liberties Union; MECHA Central, San Diego; San Diego Chicano Federation; and Student Bar Association of the Golden Gate College of Law.

CoDEL is urging supporters to attend the December 19 hearing at 2:00 p.m. in the Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco. For more information, or to add your name to those supporting the challenge, contact CoDEL at Post Office Box 17314, Los Angeles, California 90017.

Victory for civil liberties

Cuban exile guilty in attack on Coral forum

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO—A civil liberties victory was won here December 5 when Associate Judge John McDonnell found Cuban exile Rafael Orizondo guilty of battery against Andrew Pulley.

Pulley, Chicago coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism, was injured while serving as a monitor at a meeting last March 9 for Argentine socialist and former senator Juan Carlos Coral. The meeting, held at the University of Chicago, was part of a national tour sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Several dozen right-wing Cuban exiles—known in their country as *gusanos* (worms)—disrupted Coral's lecture, threatened his life, physically assaulted USLA monitors protecting him, and attacked members of the audience.

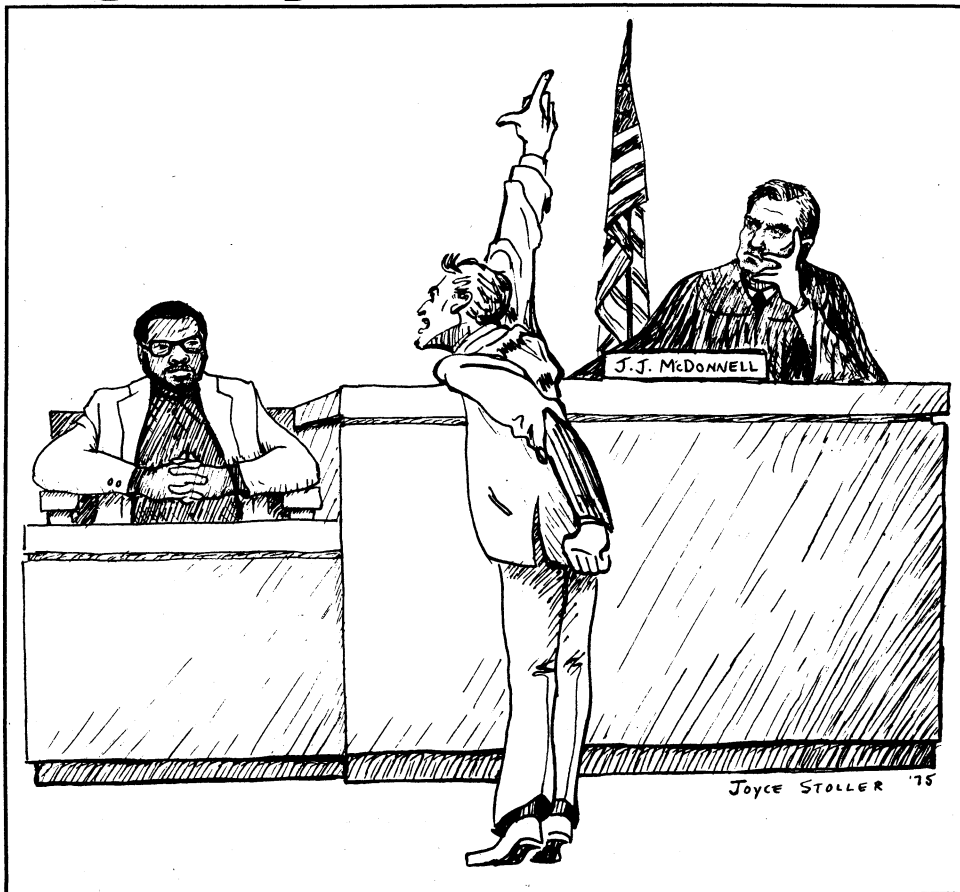
Orizondo, a freelance reporter for the Voice of America and *La Raza*, a Chicago Spanish-language weekly newspaper, will be sentenced February 17. The maximum sentence for battery is one year in prison and a \$1,000 fine.

USLA spokesperson Jeanne Lawrence hailed the guilty verdict. She said it vindicated the "long, hard effort" on the part of USLA and University of Chicago officials "to identify and prosecute those who disrupted the Coral lecture." Lawrence cited a fifteen-year history of violent attacks by right-wing Cuban exiles against groups and individuals deemed "pro-Castro" or "anti-American."

Pointing to Watergate revelations about the connection between Cuban exiles and government agencies from the CIA to the White House, Lawrence charged that such ties between the government and the *gusanos* had provided these thugs virtual immunity from prosecution.

The defendants are leaders of the "February 24th Committee," whose "managing provisional cadre" includes Antolin Pestano of Alpha 66, a CIA-funded outfit. Pestano regularly attended the trial.

"Judge McDonnell's verdict," said



Defense attorney tries to turn assault victim Andrew Pulley into criminal under cross-examination.

Lawrence, "serves notice on these violence-prone Cuban exiles in Chicago that they no longer have immunity from prosecution."

In the wake of this victory, Chicago supporters of USLA will step up their efforts to defend Latin American political prisoners, Lawrence said, concentrating on pressuring Washington to grant a visa to Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

Unfortunately, Orizondo's codefendants—José Francisco Lamas, Jesus Diéguez, and José Asensio—were found not guilty on charges of mob action and disorderly conduct. Lamas was likewise found not guilty of battery against Cathleen Gutekanst, another USLA monitor at the Coral meeting. Lamas had violently pulled

on Gutekanst's arm, opening a surgical incision.

Assistant State's Attorney Jim Lavine presented a dozen witnesses for the prosecution, including members and supporters of USLA and University of Chicago students, professors, and security officers. The witnesses described how the peaceful assembly was disrupted by the Cuban exiles.

A number of witnesses testified that they saw one or more of the defendants shouting, running in the aisles, making threatening gestures, and pushing or punching members of the audience.

Not surprisingly, the defense attorneys resorted to red-baiting and other stratagems to try to cover up their

clients' crimes and turn the victims into the criminals.

USLA and Coral were accused of being part of a worldwide "Communist" plot. Pulley and Gutekanst were dubbed "pawns" of the University of Chicago. People with "clout"—the state's attorney's office and the University of Chicago—were said to be picking on defenseless refugees from "Communist tyranny in Cuba." The *gusanos*, defense attorneys claimed, were denied their "rights to free speech" because no question-and-answer period was held after Coral's lecture!

The racist attitudes of the defense camp were shown during initial trial proceedings in October when Andrew Pulley was asked to come forward to sign a legal document. A defense attorney asked twenty-four-year-old Pulley, "Can you write, boy?"

On December 1 defense attorneys requested an early adjournment of the trial so the defendants and their supporters could attend a memorial mass for Gen. Francisco Franco, the late dictator of Spain.

A frequent theme of defense attorneys' cross-examination of prosecution witnesses centered on why none of the Cubans had been arrested the day of Coral's lecture. This was an attempt to suggest that no serious attack took place at the meeting—just a heated debate of controversial ideas that got a little out of hand—and that prosecution witnesses had conspired later to cook up the charges against the Cubans.

The first concern of the USLA monitors on March 9, of course, had been to protect Coral and try to ensure that the meeting would continue. When it became clear that it was not possible to proceed with the meeting, the priority was to ensure the safe exit of members of the audience.

If the Cuban exiles try again "to repel the red vermin," as they gloated in the March 15 *La Raza*, they will find a stronger defense and a readiness to demand arrests and press charges on the spot.

How news media report '76 socialist campaign

By Nancy Cole

"NEW YORK—Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president, today announced her support for the recent United Nations General Assembly vote terming Zionism 'a form of racism and racial discrimination.'"

The above introduces Reid's November 13 statement printed almost in its entirety in *Bilalian News*. Formerly *Muhammad Speaks*, the *News* is the largest-circulation Black newspaper in the country.

The story continues, "The few Palestinians allowed to remain in Israel suffer the discrimination of second-class citizens in jobs, housing, education and politics, similar to the plight of Blacks in the United States," she added.

"Zionism is the ideology used to justify these racist practices, just as white supremacy is used to justify apartheid in South Africa and second-class status for Blacks in the United States."

According to Jean Savage, press secretary for the Socialist Workers campaign committee, "This story is an example of one thing that sets this presidential campaign apart from past socialist campaigns, as far as news coverage goes—attention from the Black media."

In late November, the *Kansas City Globe* ran in its editorial space a

statement by Reid and presidential candidate Peter Camejo demanding release of the Rosenberg files.

"Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell were the victims of one of the most monstrous frame-ups and judicial murders in American history. . . . The American people have the right to know the full truth."

The rest of the editorial column was taken up with a statement by Nan Bailey from the Young Socialist Alliance. In it Bailey blasts a CIA "minority recruitment" conference held in Washington, D.C.

Excerpts from Bailey's statement were also picked up by at least two other Black papers—the *Philadelphia Tribune* and the *Baltimore Afro-American*.

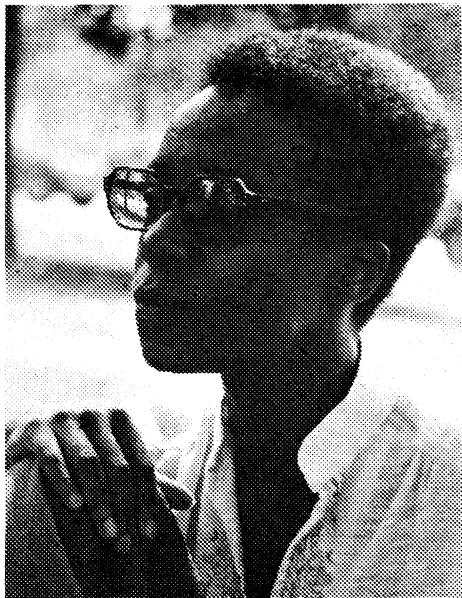
"Following demonstrations by Louisville, Kentucky trade unionists opposing school desegregation and busing," explained the East Orange, New Jersey, *Voice*, "Ed Heisler, National Chairperson for the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, explained why trade unionists across the country should support busing."

The statement that followed urged support for the November 22 actions in support of desegregation.

Other statements by the socialist candidates, such as ones in defense of Joanne Little and the Equal Rights Amendment, have also been picked up in Black papers across the country.

Then there are the interviews taped regularly by the Mutual Black Network, National Black Network, and the Black Audio Network. And in many cities Camejo and Reid have visited, they have been interviewed by the Black press.

Spanish-language papers have also covered the socialists' campaign. For example, Camejo's statement in solidarity with a Dominican demonstration in New York was reported in *El Diario*.



Statements by SWP vice-presidential nominee Willie Mae Reid have been featured in Black news media.

La Prensa, the largest-circulation Spanish-language daily in the country, and also by the Dominican paper *El Nacional de Ahora*.

There have been other stories relayed by the news services. In early October United Press International distributed a photo of a St. Louis protest against Franco terror in Spain. "Members of the Communist Party of Missouri and the Socialist Workers Party joined forces," the photo caption began.

It ended: "Among the demonstrators was Peter Camejo (right) the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate."

The photo with caption was carried by at least six papers, including the Spanish-language *La Opinion* in Los Angeles.

(Actually it appeared in seven papers. The Communist party's *Daily World* ran part of the UPI photo on its October 7 front page. However, the right side of the photo with Camejo and placard had been mysteriously eliminated, and no mention of the "joint" effort was made in its caption.)

Then there was the nationally distributed column "Quote/Unquote." In between United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller and Japan's Emperor Hirohito was Camejo slamming the Ford administration as "Spain's chief source of moral support in the despicable execution (of five political prisoners)."

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

Since the November 25 ultraleft putsch, which it smashed in short order, the Portuguese military regime has moved rapidly to take advantage of its victory.

According to Communist party deputies in the Constituent Assembly, plainclothes cops arrested leftist militants in Oporto who were trying to build a united-front demonstration. The police did not even bother to identify themselves. They just pointed pistols at the workers and hauled them

the socialist revolution can have no viability."

A purge of the news media has already struck deep. On December 5, the government confirmed the "dissolution" of all the administrations and "collective bodies" on the nationalized newspapers.

The CP-dominated Lisbon papers remained shut down, and indications are that they will not reappear unless the CP and left journalists are removed or bow to the government.

República, which was taken over in May by ultraleftists supported by the CP, continues to publish, since formally the majority of its stock is in private hands. It is maintained by a de facto

in no mood to defend the far-left press," Marvine Howe cabled December 5 from Lisbon to the *New York Times*. The dispatch continued:

"He went so far as to accuse some of the press organs of being pushed by 'sectarian and leftist propaganda' and said that the Communist Party had warned them against this."

In the radio and television network, where thirty-four employees had already been suspended as of December 2, the government could make similar charges. However, the bourgeois military chiefs are hardly likely to prevent abuses such as those committed by the Stalinists and ultraleftists. Instead, they will restore a consistent probour-

pared to support military rule, even headed by figures who previously were their archdemons, the same contradictions remain between the bonapartist aspirations of the officers and the parliamentary ambitions of the SP, which has begun again to raise demands for reducing the limitations imposed by the pact it signed in April making the political parties subject to the MFA.

It is not yet clear how deep the purge of the armed forces will go. But it is obvious that the government's immediate primary objective is to reduce the armed services to a hard professional core that can be counted on as an instrument of capitalist repression.

Aftermath of coup attempt

Lisbon regime steps up drive against workers



Demonstration shortly after April 25, 1974, overthrow of dictatorship. Masses' aspirations for democratic rights and higher standard of living run counter to plans of MFA government.

off to jail, where, the CP deputies charged, they threatened the prisoners with death.

The only place protests were lodged against this was on the floor of the Constituent Assembly. Last summer, the Socialist party deputies managed to establish the principle that this body has the right to investigate governmental actions. At the time, the CP opposed this.

Whether the CP will now defend the democratic rights it sneered at during its campaign for "direct democracy" and "revolutionary authority" remains to be seen. Yet the freedom and personal safety of its own members and all working-class and socialist activists may, to a large extent, hinge on what the CP does in this respect.

The government's intentions are clear: On November 30, President Costa Gomes called all the legally recognized parties to the Belém palace, including the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing group of the Fourth International). According to the official Portuguese news agency, he demanded: (1) that the parties call on their members and sympathizers to turn in all arms and radio transmitters; (2) that they prevent any demonstrations or other functions that might "disrupt the public order"; (3) that they "stimulate productivity, without which

coalition of far-left tendencies.

The government has sought to justify its measures against the CP-dominated press by saying that the reporting was heavily partisan and that as a result the circulation of these publications plummeted and the state had to pick up the tab for the resulting financial losses.

Unfortunately, the government's statements are true, and everyone who has followed these papers knows it. Not only were they larded with Stalinist propaganda, they were used outright as instruments of CP policy, to build demonstrations and magnify their effect.

After the fall of Vasco Gonçalves, when the position of the CP administrations and journalists became uncertain, this Stalinist rhetoric was heated to a glowing red. Ultraleftists on these staffs also followed the example of the Stalinist mandarins more or less, taking advantage of what they evidently thought was their chance to "teach the masses."

Cunhal Runs for Cover

The CP leadership must have known that this could not last. But they chose to encourage these deluded journalists for the sake of short-term objectives. When the crunch came, it was every man for himself.

"Even the Communist Party secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, appeared

geois bias to replace that of journalists who, despite their sectarianism and opportunism, at least had to claim to be, and to some extent be, on the side of the workers. The purge is thus a blow to the workers movement as a whole.

Despite the sharp blows dealt to the Stalinists and their allies in both the press and the military, the Portuguese CP has not abandoned its support for military rule. In his speech December 7 to the first CP rally since the state of siege, Cunhal pledged to support the government.

Moreover, the *New York Times* reported: "Mr. Cunhal made it clear that even though most of the known leftists in the military have been purged, he still felt that the military must lead the revolution."

Continued Military Rule

The setback of the CP and the ultraleftists identified with the plan for "direct democracy" under the tutelage of "progressive" officers has not ended the MFA's perspective of maintaining demagogic military rule. The leading spokesman now for the "MFA above parties" is Major Melo Antunes, the leader of the Group of the Nine, which is considered by the CP and the ultraleftists to be "Social Democratic" and a spearhead of European "imperialism."

While the Stalinists are still pre-

Suicidal Policy of the SP

The SP leadership, moreover, has denounced all opposition to the hierarchy in the military as part of a CP-extremist plot against "their" sixth government.

In fact, the SP has had good reason to fear uncontrolled actions by the military. Demagogic strongmen like Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and others threatened to shatter their parliamentarist and electoralist hopes, to say nothing of running roughshod over the democratic rights of the majority of the Portuguese workers.

The maneuvers by these demagogues and the Communist party, as well as the initiatives undertaken by the ultraleftists, who sought to bypass the problem of winning majority support by means of the daring and determined actions of revolutionary minorities, increased the fears of military dictatorship among the SP ranks.

Thus, the struggle between the CP and the SP over the composition of the sixth government, and the role of ultraleftists, who hoped to push what they thought was the CP's "left" course out of the control of the Stalinist leaders, gravely distorted the question of democratic rights for soldiers in the eyes of a large part of the masses.

Now the right-wing commanders such as Pires Veloso and Jaime Neves are taking advantage of this confusion to try to ban all demonstrations by soldiers or civilians against repression in the armed forces.

The attitude of the SP leaders toward the restoration of "discipline" in the armed forces is suicidal. It is precisely the restoration of hierarchical authority that will create the conditions for a more effective kind of military bonapartism than the MFA has so far been able to establish.

A Long Experience

Portugal has had a long experience with turbulent military involvement in politics. Presumably both the military tops and the politicians are aware of its dangers. But because of the weakness of the capitalist class, it is also unavoidable, and the Portuguese rulers have learned to live with it to what might seem from the outside a surprising extent. For example, the fact that Costa Gomes was involved in a plot to overthrow Salazar in 1961 did not prevent him from rising to the position of chief of staff under the same dictator and later participating in a coup that did overthrow Salazar's successor.

However, the contradictions of the military playing such a role are also unavoidable. To rule the country directly, since the other institutions of the bourgeoisie were crippled by the April 1974 coup or by the mass upsurge that followed it, the officers need some kind of political cover and some kind of a political apparatus of their own.

This need became more acute when the MFA began to be split by the pressure of the mass movement in Portugal and the nationalist movements in the colonies. Furthermore, the structure had to be broadened somewhat in order to co-opt the radicalization that was developing in the armed forces and give the MFA leaders the kind of pivot they needed to balance among the existing political forces.

This move held great dangers. It gave a certain legitimacy to political activity and organization throughout the armed forces, although the MFA leadership intended to keep this under tight control through a system of transmission belts. Ultimately, everything was to come from the top, and absolutely no freedom of initiative or political independence was to be left to the lower levels.

The left groups that saw the attempt to extend the MFA as offering an opportunity to advance democratic organization in the armed forces were not wrong.

The problem was that nearly all these groups and currents allowed themselves, despite the denials of some, to be drawn too much into the MFA's framework. They did not simply exploit the MFA's contradictions; they fell, to one degree or another, under the spell of the illusions the MFA demagogues were trying to create.

They came to believe that the most outspokenly demagogic wing of the MFA itself would actually advance the process of organizing the masses, of building "soviets."

'People's Power' in Command

The end of this road came when Major Barroso, the director of the national radio-TV network under Vasco Gonçalves, resumed "command" of the Lisbon studios at 7:00 p.m. on November 25. He told the radio-TV employees: "This is an armed insurrection. People's Power is giving the orders now."

The CP and the MFA proposed the "People's Power," or direct democracy, scheme, after the April 25 elections to the Constituent Assembly showed that their popularity was waning rapidly among the broad masses of the Portuguese people.

The ultraleftists placed their hopes in this scheme because they saw it as a way of leaping directly to "soviet democracy" without passing through the stage of winning the political support of the masses for a socialist revolution. Against the right of the masses to decide about the government, they counterposed workers and people's organizations that were still only embryonic.

In some cases, such as the neighborhood commissions, the idea that they could represent the masses was pure fantasy. The ultraleftists were misled by the fact that in the conditions of the upsurge, these commissions could carry out actions that were very radical in form and popular among sections of the masses.

Other organizations of "People's Power," such as the workers commissions, were more representative, although this varied and still varies widely. Furthermore, they were still very much ad hoc bodies that could spring up in one period and die the next, to be replaced by a new kind of workers commission.

Presenting such fragmentary forms, still dominated in most cases by relatively small groups, as the building blocks of "power" led a large section of the population to suspect, and rightly so, that some political forces, under false pretenses, were trying to impose the will of a minority.

Some groups were so intoxicated by the idea of exercising "power" directly that they came to reject the idea that workers could still struggle for any partial demand. That was the case, for example, of the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado (PRP—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat), which started issuing calls for an armed insurrection two weeks before the November 25 attempted coup.

In fact, the "People's Power" project of the MFA and the CP that was supposed to be based on these bodies proved strictly dependent on the political fortunes of the Stalinists and their bourgeois allies. It would have fizzed out like a wet firecracker after the fall of the Vasco Gonçalves government if

it had not been for the sudden advance of a struggle for "partial demands" that no one expected, the construction workers' strike of November 12.

Hopes Soar

This abrupt explosion of a long-smoldering labor dispute, heated up by the deepening of the economic crisis, brought the sixth government to the brink of collapse. More profoundly, it showed the bourgeoisie that its time was running out. A new upsurge of labor struggles under the impact of the crisis might not be containable.

At the same time, the construction workers' action revived the hopes of the ultraleftists who were tail-ending the People's Power plan.

The paratroopers obviously expected to touch off a general rising of the "revolutionary forces." Officers associated with the rebellion seized radio and TV stations in the name of "People's Power." The appeal of the rebels at the Tancos base published in the November 30 issue of *República* reflected this hope and the bitter disappointment it led to:

"We have been waiting for twenty-four hours for the so-called Portuguese left. So far we haven't seen them. But revolutionists must fight for the revolution. We will not surrender. We continue, fully mobilized, ready to follow through to the end.' This was the dramatic statement made to us by a member of the Paratroopers Struggle Committee at the Tancos base at 10:00 a.m. November 25. Understandably sparing in words, this soldier added: 'We are not afraid of threats and slanders. Those who want to fight for the revolution are always slandered and threatened. Join this struggle.'"

No one joined. This sort of thing went far beyond what the Stalinists had in mind. They just wanted to make threatening gestures to show the government that it "could not govern the country without the Communist party and still less against it," as the CP parliamentary chief Octavio Pato said in the Constituent Assembly after the construction workers' action.

It went beyond what Otelo Saraiva

ans," Paul Ellman reported in the November 27 *Financial Times* of London, "was nowhere more apparent than outside the headquarters of the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment, Ralis, this afternoon as truck and bus drivers edged their vehicles through an angry mob gathered outside.

"Stones and insults were hurled at the vehicles as the soldiers inside the barracks, a hotbed of militant Left activity, desperately tried to organize the crowd in building barricades and calling up support to block the way against the cavalry regiment, which had moved out of its barracks 45 miles north-east of Lisbon at Santarem, and was standing poised 12 miles up the highway from the Ralis base at the northern approaches to the capital."

República of December 2 gave a similar picture of the reaction to "People's Power":

"We must ask what the working class did. We visited some factories in the Lisbon belt and saw that the strikes some unions called did not take place.

"We saw, moreover, that after a certain moment, a relative disorientation developed. The Workers Commissions asked for instructions from the unions and got *nothing*. They tried to decide on an orientation in the Workers Commissions, and the result was *nothing*. They went to the gates of the barracks, and got *nothing*—neither arms, nor instructions, nor information.

"The present political-military crisis, as a worker pointed out to us, shows that we have no parties, no unions, and no Workers Commissions. The working class has to organize."

The Balance Sheet

That seems to be the balance sheet of six months of trying to represent fragmentary forms of workers organization as "organs of power." The result is that the task of building organizations that can genuinely unite and lead masses of workers in struggle is incomparably more difficult now than it might have been.

Nonetheless, the bourgeois state in

and infuriated petty-bourgeois masses marching against them from the North. On the other hand, as long as the government rests politically on the reformist workers parties, it will find it very difficult to mount a violent response to struggles that enjoy genuinely broad working-class support.

The independence of the workers organizations from the state and military must be reasserted. The workers struggles cannot be seen as subordinate to the interests of the capitalist state or to the interests or ambitions of any military clique or demagogue.

It has to be made clear to the Portuguese people that when the soldiers and workers organize it is to assert their democratic rights and not to take away the democratic rights of others by claiming spurious "mandates" as representatives of "People's Power."

In particular, when soldiers organize they must make it clear that their aim is to uphold the democratic rights of the great majority of the people as well as their own, and not to impose any political schemes on the country or to support adventurers.

If these points can be made effectively to the Portuguese masses in a new wave of struggles, soviets can emerge able to lead millions on the class-battle front and win the right to represent these millions politically.

Councils of the soviet type may develop out of the embryonic forms already existing, or completely new ones may arise. But one thing is certain. Such organs of workers power will be superior to anything that has existed so far in Portugal.

For soviets to develop on such a scale as to transform Portuguese society, a revolutionary leadership is needed that can show the workers concretely, in day-to-day struggles, how to unite their forces and develop their power.

The first task of this leadership will be to sweep away the clutter, confusion, and wreckage left by the ultraleft charlatans who transformed the theory of workers power into a set of nostrums so abstract they could be turned against the workers movement by bourgeois demagogues and by the



Radicalized soldiers cheer 'People's Power' demonstration. Illusions in military demagogues led soldiers to attempt ultraleft coup.

de Carvalho, the hero of the rebels, wanted. He went to the Belém palace, where he was summoned after the rising, and stayed there during the crisis.

As for "People's Power," the putsch revealed what a snare and delusion it had been. The Lisbon artillery regiment was the organizational center of the most important "People's Assembly." It grouped about twenty workers commissions and a larger number of neighborhood commissions in the Olivais-Sul area of Lisbon.

Bitter Disappointment

"The bitter disappointment that yesterday's uprising was not backed by widespread street action by civili-

Portugal remains very weak, and the bourgeoisie is politically in a very debilitated state. Furthermore, the military is still divided, and the government is still prey to the contradictions of the reformist parties that continue to represent its main political props. The experience of the vast democratic ferment of the last two years will not quickly fade.

The main task now is to help the workers unite around immediate demands that all of them support, regardless of their political opinions. Few workers are going to go into struggle willingly if they think any move they make may provoke violent sectarian wrangling and pose the question of a civil war, with terrified

Stalinist betrayers, who used these delusions to lead the ultraleftists and their own followers to the brink of disaster for their own opportunist ends.

The debacle of November 25-27 did not affect the strength of the working class as such, since it was not involved. But to the extent that this incident enabled the government to strengthen its repressive forces and put it in a position to strike blows at sections of the left and the labor movement, the outcome is a grave setback for the Portuguese working class. It is a loud and clear warning of what can happen if the damage done by the "People's Power" campaign is not repaired.

Denounce phony amnesty

Spanish workers, students demand rights

By Steve Clark

"Francoism without Franco."

That is how Spanish leftists are describing the regime of King Juan Carlos de Borbón, and it's an apt description.

On December 7 Spanish police rearrested Marcelino Camacho, a leader of the illegal labor movement—the Workers Commissions—who had been freed from Madrid's Carabanchel prison only one week before. A day earlier authorities sent another well-known dissident, Rev. Francisco García Salve, back to jail. He was picked up while greeting a crowd of 1,000 gathered at a Madrid railroad station to celebrate his return from prison.

Camacho and Salve were both convicted of "illegal association" during a December 1973 trial that sparked worldwide outrage against the Spanish dictatorship. Trade unions and opposition political parties are banned in present-day Spain.

These rearrests should settle any lingering doubts about the true character of Juan Carlos's "amnesty" decree announced November 25 to mark his accession to the throne. In fact, as correspondent Richard Mowrer put it in the December 9 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Now the flow is reversing itself with recently freed prisoners being put behind bars again."

Actually, the king's decree was not an amnesty at all, but simply a graduated reduction in prison sentences. Eleven similar clemency measures were issued by Franco himself during his years at the helm.

Moreover, the decree freed only 235 of the estimated 2,000 Spanish political prisoners. It totally excluded those sentenced to death under the regime's arbitrary and brutal "antiterrorism" law handed down last August.

Camacho used his brief respite from prison to denounce the phony clemency and to demand legalization of all parties and workers organizations. "This famous amnesty is an insult," he said at a news conference shortly after his release.

Camacho announced that the Workers Commissions were launching a drive for an unconditional amnesty for



Dissidents are labeling regime of Juan Carlos (left) 'Francoism without Franco.'

all political prisoners. He said the campaign would include peaceful street demonstrations, which are also against the law in Spain.

Many protests have already occurred:

- On November 27, during Juan Carlos's coronation, 3,000 people gathered for a demonstration at Carabanchel prison. The protest was called by the Madrid Workers Commission. Police attacked the crowd with clubs and tear gas, temporarily jailing twenty-two participants, including several foreign news correspondents.

Other demonstrations that day were reported in Barcelona and in San Sebastián—a city in the oppressed Basque provinces in northern Spain.

- On December 5 Spanish police halted a meeting of 2,000 students in the biology department of the University of Madrid, where Camacho and Christian Democratic leader Joaquín

Ruiz Jiménez were scheduled to speak.

- On December 7 demonstrators once again protested outside Carabanchel prison. Police assaulted the demonstrators as they assembled, arresting 200. *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger reported from Madrid, "Riot policemen deployed one of the biggest forces seen in the Madrid area in years. . . . Mounted policemen galloped over fields chasing demonstrators, youths were lined up against walls and hit. . . ."

Although Camacho did not attend this demonstration, his rearrest the same day stemmed from government accusations that he "instructed" and "coordinated" the peaceful demonstrators.

- On December 8 police savagely attacked a peaceful assembly at a Madrid cemetery called by the Spanish Socialist Workers party to honor its

founder, Pablo Iglesias, who is buried there. Police arrested more than a dozen people and caused several severe injuries.

Later in the day, police broke up a protest march in downtown Madrid by several hundred Socialists.

- The December 7 *New York Times* reported, "There were demonstrations by workers and students demanding amnesty in Seville, Valladolid and Vigo, in addition to Madrid. In all cases, the policemen broke up the gatherings."

Madrid's attempt to make working people shoulder the brunt of its economic woes is also sparking protests. The workers commissions in Barcelona, a city in the oppressed province of Catalonia, called on all workers to stage a twenty-four-hour general strike December 11.

They are demanding an end to government wage controls, as well as a total amnesty and full democratic rights. Other opposition forces in the province have taken up the call, adding the demand of autonomy for Catalonia.

Madrid's brutal assaults on peaceful protests have been complemented by its ongoing attacks on both the Spanish and foreign press and by its decision to surround the new king with rightist hard-liners.

Juan Carlos announced on December 5 that Carlos Arias Navarro, Franco's top henchman during the past two years, would stay on as premier. Earlier, the king named Torcuato Fernández Miranda, who fought with Franco's fascist armies during the Spanish civil war, to be speaker of the rump parliament and chairman of the Council of the Realm. According to *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger, Fernández "has proposed a form of national socialism for Spain."

Commenting on these appointments in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Richard Mowrer speculated that they "will increase the risk of political and social upheavals leading to violence, repression, and turmoil."

That process is clearly already under way.

300 hear Palestinian leader at Boston U.

By John Hilsman

BOSTON—A series of public meetings in defense of Palestine took place here recently, featuring Hassan Rahman, deputy representative to the United Nations from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

One of the largest and most controversial meetings occurred at Boston University on November 21. More than 300 people attended.

The BU administration had tried to convince the meeting's sponsor—the campus Young Socialist Alliance—to cancel the event. They cited numerous calls from alumni who had threatened to cancel donations to the school if the PLO representative spoke.

As a last-minute ploy to stop the meeting, the administration announced it was charging the YSA \$300 to cover extraordinary security requirements for the event. The YSA proceeded to raise the money, condemning the "free speech—if you have the money" policy of the university.

During the week preceding the forum, the campus debated whether the PLO had the right to speak. The Zionist group Hillel covered BU with leaflets and posters, and ran an ad in the school paper denouncing the PLO as terrorist and calling for a demonstration to protest the meeting.

The Islamic Student Club, formed only one week earlier, called an emerg-

ency meeting of Arab students to discuss how they could help with preparations for Rahman's visit.

They volunteered as monitors for the meeting, as did members of the Committee of Palestinians in New England. The Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade agreed to help, but then backed out.

With 100 monitors, the forum took place as planned. The Zionist students had predicted a turnout of 2,000 to 3,000 for their counterprotest. Only 250 showed up.

When Rahman rose to speak at the forum, he was greeted with a standing ovation from a third of the audience while Arab students raised clenched fists and chanted in Arabic, "Long live the Palestinian people."

Rahman outlined the PLO position in support of a democratic, secular state in Palestine where both Jews and Arabs could live in peace.

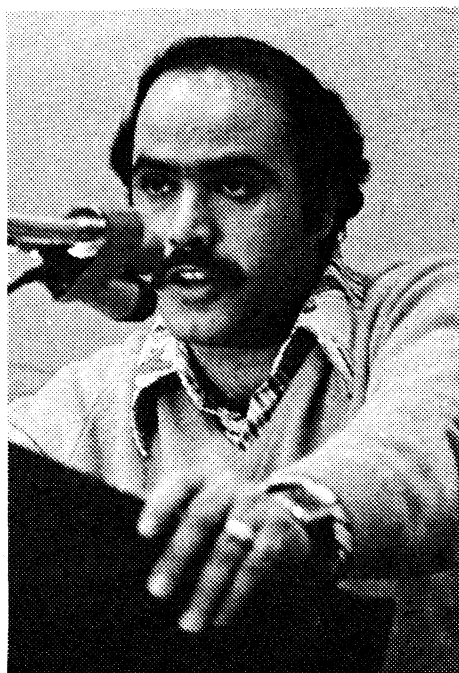
During the discussion period, he laid the blame for deaths within Israel squarely on the Zionists, saying that "whenever a colonialist movement includes in its ranks innocent individuals, those individuals will sometimes be unfortunately caught in the cross-fire between the colonialists and the liberation movement."

In response to another question, he rejected the concept of a West Bank Palestinian state, reiterating that the

only acceptable solution is a democratic, secular state for all of Palestine.

Also speaking was Jon Hillson from the YSA. When a Hillel student interrupted him, Hillson challenged the Zionist to a debate, which he agreed to.

A conference that weekend on "Repression and Resistance in the Third



Militant/Anne Teesdale

When PLO's Rahman rose to speak, Arab students chanted, 'Long live the Palestinian people.'

World" also discussed the Middle East. The conference at BU was sponsored by the student union and the American Friends Service Committee and was attended by nearly 1,000 people.

More than 250 people attended a conference workshop on the recent UN resolution condemning Zionism as racist.

During Rahman's stay in Boston, he also spoke to 175 students at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. A handful of Zionists tried unsuccessfully to disrupt the meeting by heckling him.

The Black studies department at Wellesley College sponsored a symposium on the Middle East on November 24 attended by fifty students. Speakers included Fawaz Turki, Palestinian author; Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party; and Ned Hanover, Search for Peace and Justice in the Middle East.

Discussion at the Wellesley meeting centered on the attitude Black Americans should take toward Zionism. Most students concluded that Zionism is a colonial-settler movement analogous to the apartheid system in South Africa.

A number of students criticized signers of an ad recently run in the *New York Times*. The ad condemned the UN resolution on Zionism and called on Blacks to take a stand in support of Israel.

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 19, 1975

Attempt to stabilize capitalist rule

Lisbon's assault on democratic rights

By David Frankel

Seizing the opportunity handed it by the abortive ultraleft coup of November 25, the Portuguese military regime, as was to be expected, has turned against the democracy it pretended to uphold. Once again the issue of democratic rights has moved to the fore.

In the Lisbon area, the main working-class center in Portugal, the regime declared a state of siege—that is, the suspension of democratic rights. This included the following measures:

- Security forces were empowered to make summary arrests. The right of those arrested to challenge the legality of their detention (habeas corpus) was suspended.
- Military courts were established to deal with "crimes against public order," a usurpation of the right to a fair trial.
- Public meetings and demonstrations were prohibited, a violation of the right of assembly.
- Censorship of private mail and of news was imposed, a violation of the right of privacy and of freedom of the press.
- The publication of newspapers was suspended, and radio stations were forced to broadcast only government communiqués, a violation of freedom of the press.
- A curfew was imposed, a violation of freedom of movement.

Media Purge

Although the rebellion, limited to a few military units, was crushed within twenty-four hours and without a major battle, the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) did not end its suppression of democratic rights. Instead, it went further.

On November 28 the ruling Council of the Revolution announced the dismissal of management and editorial employees of eight daily newspapers.

This purge of the mass media, based on a denial of its right to give coverage to "strong anti-Government campaigns," presages further measures aimed at establishing strict government control of the press.

Warrants for the arrest of leaders of four ultraleft groups have been issued. Although these tendencies have frequently discussed the question of armed insurrection, no evidence linking them to the November 25 action has been produced. The government is using the attempted coup as an excuse to arrest and imprison leftists who had no part in it. Their real crime is political opposition to a capitalist government.

Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo has promised that the martial law restrictions will be lifted in a few days. He may well live up to this promise.

However, the calculations of the

MFA are obvious. The assault on democratic rights is part of an effort to consolidate its position, and in particular to hold back the current working-class drive for decent wages. With the proclamation of a state of siege, Azevedo immediately took the next logical step, including reneging on the concession he made November 14 of a 40 percent wage increase to the construction workers.

MFA Tradition

No one should be surprised by this. It does not represent a new turn. Since it first came to power, the MFA has sought to limit democratic rights so as to hamper the masses from struggling

The Stalinists also backed the takeover of the newspaper *República* in May, in gross violation of the democratic rights of the Socialist party. *República* was one of the few newspapers in Lisbon that was critical of the government at that time.

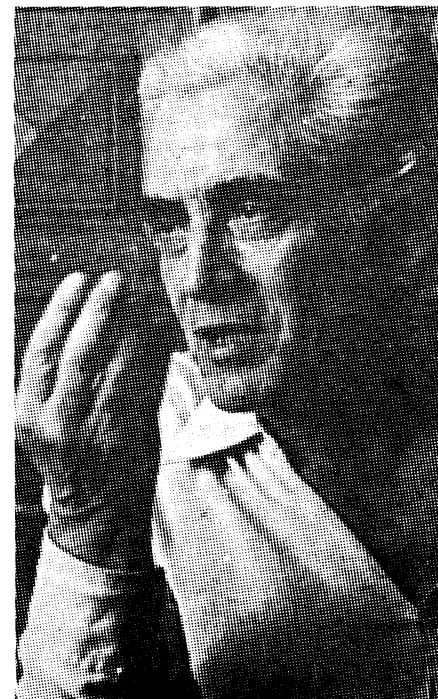
CP head Alvaro Cunhal summed up his attitude toward the right of the masses to choose their own government when he declared, "... I care nothing for elections. Nothing!"

Cunhal tried to cover up the real meaning of his stand by equating democratic rights with the existence of capitalism. Thus, he told interviewer Oriana Fallaci, "... Portugal will

repressing its opponents is no different in principle from the earlier attack on *República*. But instead of speaking out against the MFA's attacks on democratic rights, SP leader Mário Soares held a news conference in Oporto to attack the CP.

The lack of a consistent defense of democratic rights in Portugal prepared the way for the MFA's latest assault on democracy. The military regime was able to play off one section of the working-class movement against another, since the Stalinists do not favor democratic rights and the Social Democratic leaders are only concerned about their own.

With the exception of the small



Soares, Azevedo, Cunhal (left to right). SP and CP have both conspired with capitalist rulers to restrict democratic rights.

effectively for a higher standard of living and socialism.

An example of this was the press regulation decreed by the MFA on June 22, 1974, following a wave of strikes. The decree made it illegal "to incite military disobedience, strikes, unauthorized demonstrations, or to offend the President of the republic, or members of the Council of State and the Cabinet."

The various parties on the Portuguese left have not rallied to the defense of democratic rights as a general principle in face of past assaults and there is no evidence that they are reacting differently now.

The Communist party has a shameful record. The MFA government sought from the beginning to build an apparatus that would enable them to bring the Portuguese masses under their control, and the CP did its utmost to help them.

The CP used goon tactics in the trade unions to silence militants demanding action against the MFA's wage controls.

never be a country of democratic freedoms and monopolies."

The ultraleft groups trailed in the wake of the CP. Unlike the Stalinists, they want a socialist revolution in Portugal. But in calling for socialist democracy they refused to defend the democratic rights already existing under capitalism. By counterposing the demand for socialist democracy to those democratic rights that were actually in existence, the ultralefts gave radical cover to the MFA's attacks on democracy of any kind.

Lip Service

The Social Democratic leaders of the SP have given considerable lip service to democratic rights. In practice, however, they have defended only their own rights. As soon as the SP leaders were given a few extra posts in the cabinet, they backed the government in suppressing the democratic rights of others.

The current attempt of the MFA regime to strengthen its hand by

Trotskyist forces in Portugal, no political tendency has campaigned for a united defense of democratic rights by all groups in the working-class movement. Such a united defense of the basic interests of the working class could force the MFA government to retreat, giving fresh impetus to the struggle for socialism in Portugal.

The response of the military regime to the attempted coup is one more indication of the way the capitalists view democratic rights. As far as they are concerned, democracy is a weapon of "the enemy"—that is, the working masses and their allies. At the first sign of trouble, the bourgeois statesmen and their agents turn against democratic rights.

Revolutionists are opposed to every violation of democratic rights by a capitalist government. In the end, attacks on democratic rights injure the working class and its struggle for socialism.

The events in Portugal offer a fresh lesson in this respect that every militant should note.

Interview with Jiri Pelikan

Czech dissent since 1968 Soviet invasion

[The following interview with Jiri Pelikan, a reformer under the Dubcek regime and one of the exiled leaders of the Czechoslovak opposition movement, appeared in the November 6-13 issue of the Paris weekly newspaper *Informations Ouvrières*. Pelikan gave the interview while in Paris for the release of his book *S'ils Me Tuent* (If They Kill Me).

[On February 4 Pelikan received a bomb in the mail at his Rome residence. The perpetrators of this attempt on his life thus demonstrated their fear of the Czechoslovak opposition movement. Pelikan, the former director of Czechoslovak television, was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party at an underground congress held in a factory guarded by the workers militia, August 21, 1968, during the occupation of the Warsaw Pact forces. He became one of the founders of the Socialist Movement of Czechoslovak Citizens.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. What political objective did you have in writing this book?

Answer. It is a kind of testimony of my personal experience, which is also that of a part of my generation—of those who entered the CP [Communist party of Czechoslovakia] during the resistance, who were active in it for thirty years, were then expelled after the military intervention, and who maintained their faith in the socialist ideal.

I thought this experience was of interest because Czechoslovakia is similar to the industrially and economically developed countries in its political traditions. Thus our illusions, our mistakes, and our crimes along this path can be of use to the socialist and revolutionary left that is considering those problems. This can be a point of reflection to avoid those errors and difficulties. That is one aspect.

The other aspect is that the destiny of socialism in Eastern Europe is closely tied to its destiny in the West. The experience of Prague, after that of Budapest and Berlin, proves that attempts to get out of the mesh in a single country are bound to be crushed by the Stalinist bureaucracy. One cannot free oneself from the ideology without solidarity from Western countries. This means the establishment of an authentic socialist society in these countries, after the image that Marx, Engels, and Lenin wanted—Trotsky also, I think, although I do not know him as well. If one avoids these errors, that will have repercussions inside the countries of the East.

One point is important for the Western left. Certain comrades have illusions that a historical peculiarity of the Eastern countries (underdevelopment) is the explanation [for what went wrong]. The danger exists in fact even if there are no tanks, even outside the zone of Soviet influence. The roots go much deeper.

A Different Socialism

The problem is how to construct a different socialism, especially in the Latin countries—France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. This entails, of course, defense against imperialist pressure and internal sabotage, but also defense



Prague's workers and students poured into streets in 1968 to confront Soviet tanks. Many Czech voices are still being raised against country's Stalinist regime.

against the pressure from Soviet domination. It is a situation not foreseen by any Marxist classic. The USSR is a great power and the bureaucracy cannot tolerate a different socialism, just as it could not tolerate it in Czechoslovakia. It feels threatened in its own zone of influence. Thus there are three possible circumstances: a change in position by Communists on the question of Soviet reality; a sufficiently large force of socialists who are not members of the CP—of socialists, of Trotskyists—to offset the trend of the Communists toward domination; a weakening internally of Soviet pressure by the socialist opposition. Failing that, a confrontation will take place.

This book is for the leftist youth who joined the movement on the basis of their reading, of literature, of a sentiment for justice, without going through our sad experience. So that their commitment will be more profound and less superficial than ours, which allowed us to be manipulated by the Stalinist system before getting our own proper experience.

Q. Is the fact that they resorted to violence against you a reflection of the internal situation in Czechoslovakia?

A. We are the most hated by the leading group because we remained loyal to socialism. Thirty percent of the émigrés are depoliticized or right-wing. But we who criticize Moscow and Prague from a Marxist point of view are more dangerous. They are trying to condemn people of our tendency to silence. In Czechoslovakia the people who are arrested are almost always Communists, like Hubl and Sabata, who were members of the CC [Central Committee], and like Jiri Muller, a committed socialist.

There are campaigns against Dub-

cek, Mlynar, Kriegel, because they remained committed to the socialist way. The others, those who are indifferent to the destiny of socialism, are no longer considered dangerous enemies.

Czech Samizdat

Concerning the present situation, the characteristic point is that voices are always being raised in Czechoslovakia, socialist voices. Thus there are Smrkovsky's memoirs, Dubcek's letter, Pavel Kohout's letter to H. Boll, Vaculik's to Kurt Waldheim, and lastly, Mlynar's book, still not published, a 300-page Marxist book that I differ with on a lot of things but that is an important document. There was also Mlynar's interview with Jiri Hayek on Swedish television. The military occupation has not succeeded in breaking the resistance. A protest movement exists in literature. Czechoslovak samizdat recently published its fiftieth book.

These are works of literature, poetry, and politics. Underground culture is much richer and much more popular than official culture. There are also newspapers and leaflets. The feeling of discontent exists, even if not translated through open demonstrations except at football and hockey matches. And even in the party from which 500,000 persons have been expelled—above all the best elements, a large number of workers—even in this party disputes occur.

After the sending of Dubcek's letter,¹ Husak made a speech, asking that all units of the CP pass motions condemning it. One-third of the rank-and-file units refused to vote for the motion without having seen the letter. And since the leadership did not want to circulate it . . . it cannot even control this normalized party.

In the Device quarter of Prague is situated a statue of Lenin. The day after Husak's speech demanding that Dubcek leave the country, Lenin had a pack on his back and a walking stick in his hand. Since then the monument is guarded day and night by the police.

But one must say that the normalization has had, all the same, some very negative effects. The regime is playing the card of depoliticization of the consumer society, to break solidarity, to encourage isolation.

Otherwise the only thing that works well is the secret police. There are hundreds of thousands of persons who cannot find work suited to their qualifications, whose children cannot pursue their education. Hence, some make declarations of support for the regime they surely don't believe in.

Q. What about the problem of inflation, the crisis in Czechoslovakia?

A. The problem for the regime is to know how to deal with the consumerism it set going. The effects of inflation are more and more making themselves felt in Czechoslovakia. Contrary to

1. On October 28, 1974, Alexander Dubcek, the former leader of the Czechoslovak Communist party who was ousted after the 1968 Soviet invasion, sent a long letter of protest to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council (parliament). An edited version of this letter, authorized by the opposition movement inside Czechoslovakia, was smuggled out of the country this spring. The letter criticized the lack of freedom in Czechoslovakia and charged the Communist party with purging thousands of persons from their jobs. Dubcek said he was under constant watch by as many as six police at a time. The *New York Times* of April 13, 14, and 15, printed extensive excerpts from the letter.

what has been written in *l'Humanité* [the Paris daily of the French CP], even official statistics recognize that certain products are going up in price by 5 percent to 35 percent. Above all there is the practice of creating a new, more expensive product, making the basic product that the new product replaces disappear from the market. Rents have risen. This is a problem for young couples, leading to many divorces. They are forced to live with their parents.

Until now the regime has succeeded in slowing down the effects of inflation, through buying products on the capitalist market and through aid from the USSR. But Czechoslovakia is more and more indebted to the capitalist countries and even to some Third World countries. The USSR has raised the price of raw materials and can no longer supply them in the same quantities. Buying from the West becomes a necessity.

Fears Working Class

In the next two or three years a tense situation will exist in the countries of the East that will no longer permit holding down prices and developing consumption so as to avoid revolts. That is why the leading group must again create a cold-war atmosphere toward China and imperialism in order to impose necessary sacrifice. After what happened at Szczecin² in 1970-71 the leading group feared the reaction of the working class. Hence the ultra-dogmatic articles in *Pravda* and *Rude Pravo* are not a return to revolutionary theory but a justification for the new ideological rigidity; for repression against the opposition of the workers; for the banning of strikes and demonstrations, which are portrayed as imperialist provocations; and for the preparation of austerity measures.

Q. Are there strikes in Czechoslovakia or a passive resistance by workers like that in the USSR?

A. The working class has its way of reacting in defense of its own interests against those of the bureaucracy. It

2. The Polish workers' uprising in December 1970. Beginning in the port city of Gdansk on December 14, the rising quickly spread to the city of Szczecin on the East German border. The workers' strike in Szczecin lasted from December 17 to 22, during which the workers exercised a measure of control over the city, including the media. These events forced the resignation of Wladyslaw Gomulka as head of the Polish CP.



Informationes Ouvrières
PELIKAN: 'We are the most hated by leading group because we remained loyal to socialism.'

takes advantage of each occasion to extract the maximum of concessions from the ruling group—on hours of work, salaries, and so forth. In some enterprises, local unions have forced the administration to make concessions about lunch facilities, health, and working conditions. Short strikes take place, which end in concessions and also in persecution against the organizers.

Absenteeism, passivity, the "rape of socialist property" (pillage in the factories), are combated without success by official propaganda. What is important is the attitude of the workers to the party. The intellectuals were thrown out. The workers left it themselves, turning in their cards. The regime did not want to expel them.

The problem is much graver for the intellectuals who were thrown out of work. The only place where freedom of expression exists, if at all, is in the factories. But it is a very limited freedom. No newspapers, an official list for union elections. . . . In the book, I polemicize with Marchais [leader of the French CP], who asserts that the Soviet worker is freer than the French worker. Is he more free because he does not have his own union?

In the factories, meanwhile, they violently criticize the administration. Certain comrades who used to be in the apparatus and who have now become workers again are surprised. However the workers told them that it was like that before but that they didn't understand it then!

In conclusion a complete rupture has opened between the regime and the masses. The base of the regime is narrower now than under Novotny. In addition a national sentiment against the Soviet army is developing.

Impact of Portugal

Q. Have the events in Portugal had any impact within Czechoslovakia?

A. This has brought about much interest. Obviously the people do not believe in official propaganda. They wonder if it isn't a Soviet socialism that is about to be born there. Cunhal [leader of the Portuguese CP] does not have a good reputation in Prague. He was there in exile and immediately approved the intervention. People are turned off by his name.

Recently a statement was signed by thirty-five personalities of the Prague Spring, including Mlynar, Hayek, Mrs. Smrkowska, Vaculik, and Litera, condemning the repression in Spain. There is sympathy for the progressives in the West, people linking their struggle with what is going on in the West. For Portugal they want a different socialism and they are right.

Q. How is your work and that of your comrades of the socialist opposition developing?

A. One of our successes is that we have maintained the regular publication of *Listy* six times a year. This year we are even preparing a seventh. And, a unique example as far as the countries of Eastern Europe are concerned, the majority of the articles come from inside the country; the major part of the run is distributed illegally in Czechoslovakia. We receive responses from readers who make criticisms, ask for articles. The police are very unhappy and step up their raids to confiscate the papers.

Aside from that, underground bulletins are produced irregularly in the country. There is a kind of *Chronicle of Events*—the *People's Journal*—and also *Events and Documents*, which reproduce letters sent to the leadership, and so on.

'China behaves well'

Chile, Mao strengthen ties

At a time when the Pinochet dictatorship's murderous repression of political opponents has isolated it internationally to the point that the blood-soaked regime is even a public embarrassment to the White House, help has arrived from the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking.

"The Chilean military junta, increasingly isolated and beleaguered at home and abroad, is seeking stronger ties with China, one of its few remaining friends," Hugh O'Shaughnessy reported in the November 23 issue of the *Observer*.

"Commandant Gaston Frez, head of Codelco, the Chilean State copper corporation," O'Shaughnessy continued, "announced in Santiago last week that China would increase its imports of Chilean copper from 8,000 tons this year to 34,000 tons in 1976."

A substantial loan from Peking is reported to be part of the deal. In a recent interview with Pinochet, *New York Times* columnist C.L. Sulzberger asked if there were any truth to a rumor he had heard that "Chile was discussing with Peking a \$58-million loan to this tottering economy" as part of the copper negotiations.

"Much to my surprise," Sulzberger said in his November 29 column, "he confirmed this."

According to Sulzberger, Pinochet "said discussions with the Chinese had begun during the Allende era but were being continued now, after having been suspended. 'The matter remains open and the loan is still pending,' he added."

Sulzberger, apparently still skeptical, sought verification of Pinochet's statement, with the following results:

"I confirmed this in conversation with the Chilean who has been a principal negotiating contact with Peking's ambassador, a man he describes as 'very, very patient.'"

Pinochet has every reason to be pleased with Peking's diplomatic representatives.

Following the coup in September 1973, the Chinese embassy in Santiago closed its doors to all political refugees. While working people were being gunned down by the thousands and political prisoners were being executed and tortured, Peking's embassy turned desperate refugees away, leaving them to the mercy of the Chilean gorillas.

Furthermore, in face of a worldwide outcry against the slaughter, Peking refused even to break off diplomatic relations with the regime.

Instead, on October 11, 1973, Peking told the pro-Allende ambassador to China, Armando Uribe, that he was no longer recognized as Chile's representative. By November 5, a representative of the military dictatorship was reported to be in Peking to take Uribe's place.

For the sake of diplomatic and trade concessions, Peking has once again betrayed the most elementary principles of proletarian internationalism. In doing so it has won approval from Pinochet.

"China has behaved well," he told Sulzberger.

cases results in the burning of the spine and the crippling of the prisoners.

You saw the whole world raise hell when the Spanish militants were shot by the Franco regime. They should raise hell, but they should also raise hell in the case of the victims from Iran.

Let us do everything we can to release the sociologist Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, the famous short-story writer Fereydoun Tonokaboni, the poet and playwright Saeed Soltanpour, and his writer friends Nasser Rahmani-Nejad and Mohsen Yalfani, and Saeed's brother, and his poet friend, Aslan. And the famous and precious young novelist and short-story writer Mahmoud Dowlatabadi, who was imprisoned and tortured a few months ago.

And above all, let us do something so that Atefeh Gorgin, the widow of the victimized poet Khosrow Golestorkhy is released immediately from prison.

Americans should know that their support of the shah's regime is support given to an illegal government which doesn't represent the aspirations of the people of Iran, which tortures the intellectuals, students, writers, and workers of the country, which abuses its powers through throttling all human dignity and freedom in the country, which indulges in racist measures reminiscent of the slavery period of human history, and which arms itself to the teeth, not only to suffocate its own people, but also to strike at its neighbors whenever the hour comes.

The exposure of such a regime is a measure of great urgency for all those who care for liberty, democracy, and human dignity, and detest totalitarian regimes of all kinds and forms.

...Baraheni

Continued from page 22

what I should confess. When I told them that they could try me and hang me if I had been a traitor to my people, Dr. Azudi said that the torture chamber was the court, and he and the rest of the torturers were the judges and the jury.

I was threatened with a pistol pointed at my temple. When they took me downstairs, I came to; and only then did I find out that they had arrested and tortured me because of the books and articles I had written. I was taken back to my dungeon, but the psychological and physical torture went on for almost the whole of the 102 days I was in prison.

The prison was a great school, but a very painful one. The Comité is a temporary station, where most prisoners are kept for almost a month. The cases are prepared there on the basis of confessions extracted under torture. There are about twenty torturers who work night and day on the 600 men who are either in their cells or in the torture chambers. They have to finish their job on these men in a month because other people will take their places very shortly.

Most people are tortured immediately, right after they are brought in. People are hung upside down and beaten by maces and whips; or they are put in the pressure device and pressed on the skull, which often results in the skull breaking. Or they are placed on an iron bed or mesh and burned on their backs, which in some

Speech by Reza Baraheni

'There is only one terrorist in Iran-the shah himself'

[Dr. Reza Baraheni is an Iranian poet, novelist, and social critic. He was arrested by the shah's police in September 1973 upon his return from a year of teaching in the United States. His alleged crime was the publication of his article "The Culture of the Oppressed and the Culture of the Oppressor," which defended the cultural and linguistic rights of the Azerbaijani Turks, Baraheni's people.

[The Iranian regime also charged Baraheni with writing works that have "radicalized the Iranian youth." He spent 102 days in prison before being released as a result of an international campaign in his behalf.

[Baraheni, now living in exile in the United States, has spoken extensively in defense of other Iranian political prisoners at meetings organized by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.* This year he has addressed meetings of 1,000 in Berkeley, California, 500 in Seattle, and 400 in Boston, among many others. The following is an abridged version of a speech given by Baraheni in Carbondale, Illinois, November 6.]

I represent the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, a most honorable committee in that it defends the rights of those Iranian writers and authors who have suffered incarceration and torture at the hands of the shah's SAVAK, one of the most horrible secret-police forces in the history of humankind.

The committee was created in 1973, when I was in prison, by a group of Americans involved in the antiwar movement and a group of Iranian dissidents living in the United States. The committee believed, and quite rightly, that international pressure could result in the release of political prisoners.

Shah's Torture Machine

After my release from prison, I joined the committee in order to lay bare the atrocities of the Iranian government. As a founding member of the Authors Association of Iran, and the head of this association's Committee of Struggle Against Censorship, I could testify very objectively to the workings of the shah's torture machine.

*CAIFI, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 600, New York, New York 10010.



Militant/David Warren
BARAHENI: 'Exposure of shah's regime is of great urgency for all who care for liberty, democracy, and human dignity.'



'The shah thinks of himself as the center of the universe . . . only half a rank lower than God.'

The vanguard of those tortured are the writers. In defending the writers of the country CAIFI defends the rights of all the people in the country to know what is going on in Iran and the world. In defending the rights of the incarcerated writers of Iran we are defying the whole apparatus of oppression that keeps the people sick, ignorant, poor, and backward.

The shah's rule is totally unconstitutional. He has outlawed the Masses, the National Front, and the Third Power parties, and other associations. Early this year he decreed that there should be only one party for the whole country.

The shah thinks of himself as the center of the universe and calls himself Khodaygan, which is only half a rank lower than the rank of God. He sanctifies himself exactly in the manner sorcerers and charlatans would. In fact, he goes beyond these people, forgetting that it was through money spent by the Eisenhower administration that the Shadow of God regained his kingship in August 1953.

National Oppression

Iran is not one nation as the shah's propaganda machine claims. It has a population of 34 million people, but only 14 to 16 million of these are Persian. There are 10 million Turks, four million Kurds, two million Arabs and Baluchis, and there are two million others in the north of Iran who speak two dialects of the ancient Persian, hardly understood by modern Persians. While the constitution has given equal rights to all the people of the country, the regime has outlawed all the other languages, making Persian the sole official language of the country.

The measure has put all the other nationalities at a great disadvantage, contributing to racism, illiteracy, social segregation, and social discontent. There are 10 million Turkish-speaking people, but no Turkish schools, universities, theaters, books, and papers. The same is true of all the other nationalities except the Persians. The shah's racist measure has divided the country into two cultures, the culture of the oppressors and the culture of the oppressed.

Until and unless these nationalities and ethnic groups are given equal rights, the country will not move forward, because these nationalities will suffer from illiteracy, and lack of culture and education. The shah has always turned a deaf ear to the needs of these ethnic groups, and whenever anyone has spoken out against this racist measure he has been arrested and tortured.

On his last trip to the United States the shah told the news media in this country that there were only 3,000 political prisoners in Iran, and that they were all Communists and terrorists. His Majesty, as usual, lied. There is only one terrorist in Iran, and that is the shah himself, who is perhaps the greatest terrorist in the world.

Terrorism means violent action in the form of kidnapping people, blindfolding them, taking them away, torturing them, and finally shooting them without trial. Or else keeping them locked up in dungeons, away from the light of the sun and the light of freedom, and away from humankind.

Terrorism means beating men and women to death; it means raping women in front of their husbands, raping the workers of the country, and shutting up the mouths of the persons who have the courage to defy the terrorist with their reasoning.

Terrorism means paying torturers the highest salary available in the country and giving carte blanche to the executioners of the state.

Terrorism means the rule of one person by force of the police over 34 million people.

The shah has arrested about 300,000 people during the last twenty years. He has tortured about 280,000 of those and killed thousands. He has killed in the streets and the prisons, in the mosques and in universities, as individuals and as groups.

The fear of incarceration, torture, and death has kept thousands of the best sons and daughters of the country abroad. Most of these men and women have felt that it is a great degradation to go back and live in an atmosphere which is suffocating to the spirit of man, in which you cannot even tell your close friend what you feel about your own country, in which you cannot find even a small piece of paper on which you can write your opinion freely and hand it to the people.

Of this pattern your media speak very little. It is very difficult to get something printed in the *New York Times*, or to get something on NBC, CBS, and ABC [radio and television networks]. Most of them know everything and they still keep silent.

Most of the so-called Orientalists are also silent. They are wined and dined well by the Iranian government. The shah spends the oil revenues of Iran either for arms, the army, and the SAVAK, or for publicity abroad. So you see that only rallies and meetings of the kind we are having here can help bring the plight of a whole nation to the attention of well-wishing Americans.

Personal Story

Let me give you a personal story. I was kidnapped right from the middle of a street in Tehran by four armed men and taken home. Everything in the apartment was torn to pieces and piled on the floor. Later I was taken out, into a car, blindfolded, and taken to a prison which only later I found out to be the famous Comit  prison of Iran.

On the second day of my arrest, I was beaten in front of the other prisoners by Dr. Hosseinzadeh, the head torturer (they all call themselves doctors), who later told me that he had been my student ten years earlier. Then I was taken to the torture chamber on the third floor of the torturing section, strapped on an iron bed, and given about seventy-five blows on the soles of my feet with a wire cable.

I was also beaten on my face and the sides of my body by six men, headed by Dr. Azudi, the head torturer of this particular floor. I was told that if I didn't confess, my wife and thirteen-year-old daughter would be raped in front of my eyes. I really didn't know

Continued on page 21

Coming in the December 22

Intercontinental Press

"We Are Outraged at How Much Socialism Is Defiled Here." An interview with East German dissidents Wolf Biermann, a poet and balladeer whose recordings are banned in his own country, and Robert Havemann, a philosopher and professor of chemistry. Biermann and Havemann discuss

their blacklisting, the general receptivity to their demands for democratic rights, and the impact of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

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Threat to Black movement

The NCLC: a record of virulent racism

By Jim Mack

In an article in last week's *Militant* we showed that the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) plays the bosses' game of trying to disrupt and destroy trade unions, especially those involved in strikes.

This NCLC union busting is matched by its virulently anti-Black propaganda and actions. The racist filth distributed by this fascistlike outfit is in many ways indistinguishable from the literature of the Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, and their ilk.

The NCLC denounces Black activists as "zombies," "cannibals," and rapists out to assault white women. It condemns the fight for Black control of the schools in the Black community, and accuses the NAACP and other supporters of busing of being promoters of "race warfare."

The NCLC had its origins, in fact, in the opposition to the Black community's battle for control over the education of Black students in New York City. In 1968 the United Federation of Teachers, headed by Albert Shanker, went on strike to block steps toward community control.

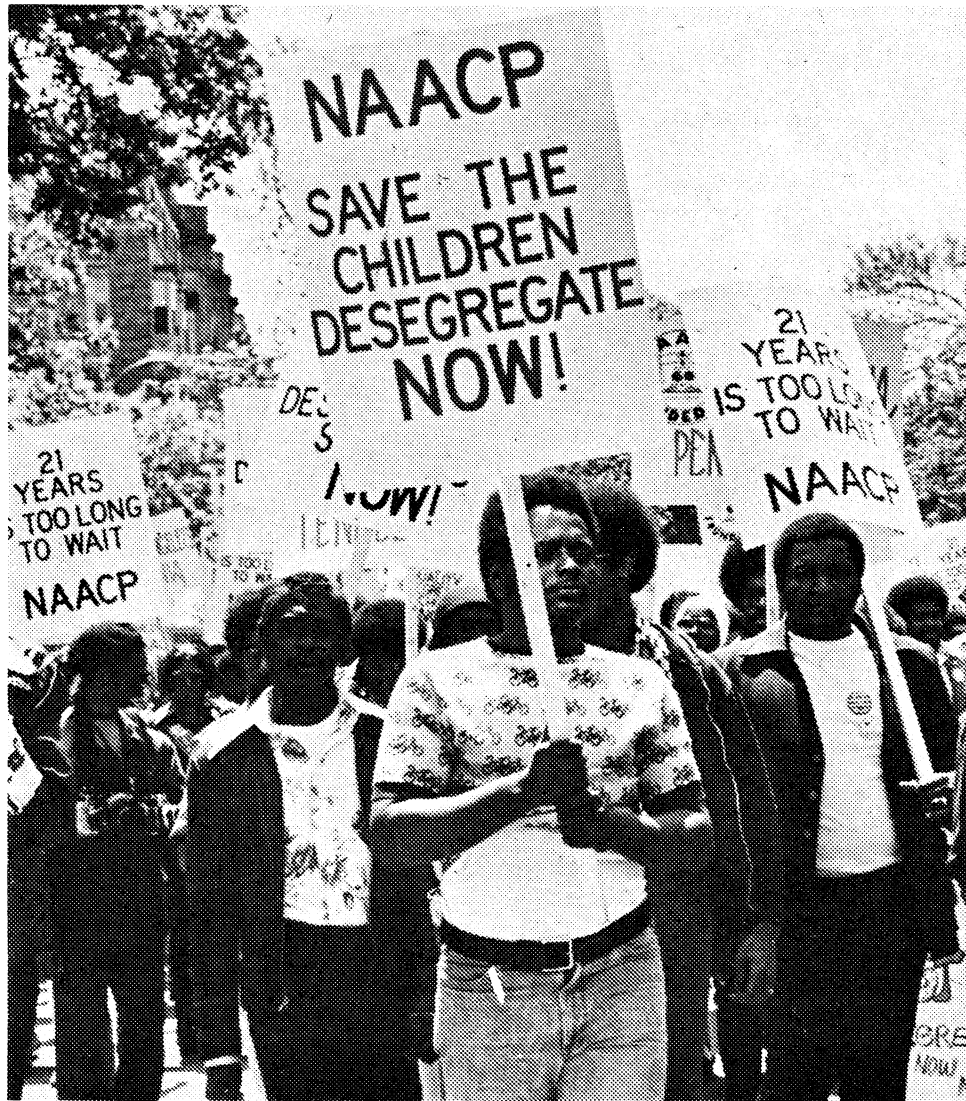
This racist strike won support from a grouping inside the chapters of Students for a Democratic Society at the City College of New York and Columbia University. This group, headed by Lyn Marcus (who also uses the name Lyndon LaRouche), viewed Black nationalism as reactionary.

The Marcusites, who had been active in an SDS task force known as the Labor Committee, were expelled from SDS during the UFT strike. They then set themselves up as the "National Caucus of Labor Committees."

As the NCLC moved steadily to the right, transforming itself from a sectarian group claiming to be Marxist into a right-wing cult, its views became more and more openly racist.

Today the NCLC charges that Black nationalism is a "plot" of the Rockefeller forces. It says that Black people are "brainwashed" and turned into "zombies" by centers treating drug addicts with methadone.

The NCLC's racism, of course, is not limited to Blacks. The struggle of the predominantly Puerto Rican community in school District One in Manhattan's Lower East Side also comes in for NCLC attack. Luis Fuentes, the suspended Puerto Rican school superintendent in District One, is characterized by the NCLC as the "head faggot" of the Rockefeller plot.



NAACP march on Boston for school desegregation. 'Labor Committee' smears movement for Black rights as Rockefeller plot to create 'race riots.'

Moreover, the NCLC condemns Puerto Rican liberation as one of "the impotent fantasies of capitalist society."

Amiri Baraka, leader of the Newark-based Congress of African People, is another target for vilification. In a leaflet headlined "DESTROY BARAKA!" the NCLC says, "The most celebrated of the CIA's grass-roots organizers of local-control fascist movements is Le Roi Everett Jones, alias Imamu Baraka." Another leaflet shrieks that Baraka "has become a black cannibal for the CIA."

The Marcusites' anti-Black propaganda is aimed not just at Black nationalists, but at every organization fighting against racist discrimination.

Just before the May 17, 1975, protesting demonstration in Boston, called by the NAACP, the NCLC newspaper

New Solidarity wrote, "Operating on a \$500,000 grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, [the NAACP] is being deployed to rekindle the burned out issue of school busing as a cover for staged race riots in northern cities. . . ."

"With its Rockefeller money, the NAACP has initiated a similar law suit against the Detroit school system with the intention of gaining a foot-in-the-door for a phony race war."

Other fighters for Black rights, including the Socialist Workers party, which is active in the fight for school desegregation, are also singled out by the Marcus group.

Referring to an article in the *New York Times* on SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo, *New Solidarity* declared, "The Times article on Camejo places particular, favorable empha-

sis on the SWP's organizing for race riots, stressing Camejo's support for busing in Boston. The Boston Busing Plot is an LEAA [Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—a federal agency] attempt . . . to set white and black workers at each other's throats."

Thus, any time Blacks and their allies mobilize in opposition to school segregation or other forms of racial discrimination, they are guilty of fomenting "race riots!"

Even this garbage, however, seems mild when compared to the NCLC's attempts to play on the racist myths portraying Blacks as sex-crazed monsters out to rape white women.

An NCLC leaflet distributed recently in Boston says, "Is your wife, your teenage daughter safe while you're at work? Can you allow them on the street, or even at home alone? . . . A member of your family could be raped next. . . . It is not enough for Nelson Rockefeller the leering but impotent sexual pervert, to push for nuclear holocaust and a fascist police state. Unable to carry out his sexual fantasies himself, he is unleashing zombie rapists to get his kicks to get you and your family. . . ."

"We are the only hope you have to keep your family from being destroyed, your wife and daughter raped. Will you stand by and watch?" (Emphasis in original.)

The leaflet demands cutting off funds to the "drug and alcohol rehabilitation" programs whose helpless prisoners are merely waiting to be bribed and coerced into carrying out Rocky's dirty business."

To remove any doubt that these rapists are Black, *New Solidarity* ran an article describing in considerable detail what it said was a "plot" to have "brainwashed rapists" attack members of the NCLC:

"In Trenton . . . four black ex-prisoners separately attempted to gain entry to the [NCLC] office there . . ."; in Philadelphia a member "was accosted near her home at gunpoint by a black teenager"; in Buffalo a woman was "kidnapped at knifepoint and raped . . . by a psychologically dissociated black youth."

This vile appeal to the most deeply ingrained fears and prejudices is typical of fascism. Its use to bolster the racist appeals of the NCLC is a measure of how far this organization, despite its "antifascist" rhetoric, has gone in becoming a fascist operation.

...did Kennedys order CIA to kill Castro?

Continued from back page

val of Castro from the Cuban scene' was in preparation."

By November 1962, after Kennedy's failure to ignite a war over the missile incident, the president issued a memorandum instituting a project to "use our available assets . . . to help Cuba overthrow the Communist regime."

This set up "Operation Mongoose," headed by the notorious Gen. Edward Lansdale, whose talents were also used in South Vietnam to initiate "pacification programs"—napalm-bombing peasant villages to ashes and setting up "strategic hamlets" in their place. "Operation Mongoose" absorbed the previous Special Group. This kept Robert Kennedy in on all its activities.

At a January 19, 1962, Mongoose meeting in Robert Kennedy's office, an assistant to Helms scribbled the note: "Conclusion Overthrow of Castro is

Possible." The assistant attributed to Robert Kennedy the words, "The top priority in the U.S. Government—no time, money, effort or manpower is to be spared."

On August 10 a policy meeting of the Special Group (Augmented), chaired by Secretary of State Dean Rusk, raised "the question of liquidating Cuban leaders," according to the report. Three days later Lansdale issued a memorandum to a top CIA official ordering him to prepare papers on Cuban policies "including liquidation of leaders."

And it is precisely at this point that the circle of top government officials appointed by President Kennedy to "overthrow" Castro intersects with the circle of CIA agents, Mafia gangsters, and other hired guns who were trying to kill Castro.

For Lansdale's memorandum was addressed to none other than William

Harvey, the man who inherited the poison-pill operation from Colonel Edwards, and who also headed up "Executive Action"—the "general, standby assassination capability" of the CIA.

On one hand, Harvey commanded the CIA links to Rosselli. On the other hand, Harvey sat on the Special Group (Augmented) as commander of "Task Force W," also code-named "ZR/RIFLE," the *Operation Mongoose unit for assassinating foreign leaders*.

According to Church's committee, an internal report of the CIA "described executive action as a 'general standby capability' to carry out assassination. . . . The project was given the code name ZR/RIFLE by the CIA."

The internal report also stated: "After Harvey took over the Castro operation, he ran it as one aspect of ZR/RIFLE." Bisell told Church's com-

mittee, "The contact with the syndicate which had Castro as its target . . . folded into the ZR/RIFLE project . . . and they became one."

With this link established, all that is left to the Church committee to cover Kennedy's role in the assassination attempts is the testimony from CIA officials Harvey, Bissell, and Helms—all of them steeped in the blood of years of CIA work—that they never actually told the White House what they were up to.

This is particularly difficult to believe in the case of Robert Kennedy, who participated in all of the committees attempting to crush Castro's revolutionary government. As we shall see in a future article, the report itself makes it clear that Robert Kennedy knew about the Mafia operations in Cuba. Kennedy received this information from J. Edgar Hoover!

97 percent of goal

Gain 5,800 Militant subscribers in fall drive

By Pat Galligan

The final results of the *Militant's* fall subscription drive are in: we reached 97 percent of our national goal, with a total of 5,800 subscriptions.

The thing that most distinguishes this drive from previous years is that most of the 3,900 subscriptions obtained by members or branches and locals of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance and their supporters were sold in the cities where they live rather than through trips to campuses outside these cities.

These sales are part of the important process of building up the *Militant's* readership in cities where the SWP is carrying out political work. It represents an increase in the number of people who can follow the national and local activities of the SWP, become involved in these activities, and join the SWP or YSA.

We now also have 1,400 new *Militant* readers in other areas, thanks to the efforts of the seventeen YSA teams. The trailblazing work of these teams has laid the groundwork for future locals of the YSA and branches of the SWP.

Cleveland socialists can boast the highest sales for one week—1,055 copies of the September 19 *Militant*—and the highest subscription total—221.

Ever since their big sales week, the first week of the campaign, members of the SWP and YSA in Cleveland have been petitioning to place the names of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the 1976 Ohio ballot. As of November 24, we had only received ninety-nine subscriptions out of their goal of 200.

Then the subscriptions began to pour in—the result of their all-out push during the last few weeks of the drive. The subscriptions were sold door-to-door in Cleveland and at nearby campuses such as Kent State University and Oberlin College. When the dust settled, they had gone right over the top.

Ruth Getts, the Detroit SWP organizer, tells us that all but a handful of their 182 subscriptions were sold in the course of daily activities. Hattie McCutcheon is one Detroit socialist who deserves special mention. McCutcheon, a student at Wayne State University, sold 17 subscriptions to students in her Black studies courses.

Members of the SWP and YSA in Detroit were conscious of subscription sales and convinced friends, co-workers, movement activists, and campaign supporters to subscribe. Claudia Hummel even used a turn of jury duty to good advantage by selling several subscriptions to other jurors!

All cities in bold print on the scoreboard are to be congratulated for meeting or surpassing their subscription goals.

The *Militant* also conducted a single-issue sales campaign this fall. Reported sales averaged 6,200 in local areas for the ten weeks of the campaign. This is 83 percent of our goal of 7,500 copies.

Forty-three percent of the *Militants* sold each week were sold in Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities. There was an increase in sales in Chicano neighborhoods, especially in the Los Angeles area. Sales at workplaces and union activities also increased to 9 percent of weekly sales nationally.

Highlights of the sales campaign:

- Cleveland and Louisville tripled their weekly bundles for the September 19 *Militant* to alert people to the racist attacks on Black schoolchildren in Boston and Louisville. Cleveland socialists sold 1,055 copies—350 of these in Louisville. Members of the Louisville YSA sold 100 copies.

- A total of 736 copies of the September 26 issue were sold in Chicago to get out the word about cop complicity with the Legion of Justice, an ultraright terrorist group.

- Atlanta socialists sold 1,031 papers in two weeks around the school-employee strike. *Militants* were sold both to unionists who welcomed the favorable coverage and in the community to help build support for the strike.

- Pittsburgh and New York raised their bundles for the October 31 issue. Pittsburgh sold 604 copies during their special preelection blitz week. A total of 1,058 copies of that issue, which contained the Socialist Workers program for New York, were sold throughout New York City.

- The St. Louis SWP and YSA went on a campaign around the fight against the budget cuts with the November 21 issue. They sold 443 copies, finishing off the campaign with 148 percent of their regular sales goal.



'Militant' sales increased significantly in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

Final subscription scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sent in	%
State College, Pa.	15	28	187
Cincinnati	10	16	160
Philadelphia	150	189	126
Boston	150	181	121
East Lansing, Mich.	10	12	120
Indianapolis	10	12	120
Oakland/Berkeley	175	199	114
Milwaukee	125	140	112
Newark	50	56	112
New Orleans	50	56	112
Cleveland	200	221	111
Baltimore	75	83	111
Louisville	10	11	110
Pittsburgh	150	164	109
San Francisco	150	162	108
Atlanta	200	211	106
Detroit	175	182	104
South Side Chicago	100	104	104
Houston	200	206	103
Twin Cities	150	155	103
Bloomington, Ind.	40	41	103
Washington, D.C.	200	203	102
San Diego	125	127	102
San Jose	75	75	100
Denver	125	115	92
Upper West Side N.Y.	150	131	87
Brooklyn, N.Y.	150	120	80
West Side L.A.	150	120	80
West-North Chicago	100	80	80
Logan, Utah	20	16	80
Lexington, Ky.	15	12	80
St. Louis	125	98	78
Ann Arbor, Mich.	15	11	73
Seattle	150	108	72
Albany, N.Y.	15	10	67
Madison, Wis.	50	30	60
Edinboro, Pa.	40	22	55
Lower East Side N.Y.	150	81	54
Austin, Tex.	15	7	47
Santa Barbara, Calif.	15	7	47
Central-East L.A.	160	69	43
Portland, Ore.	100	40	40
Tucson, Ariz.	30	6	20
YSA teams			
Ohio/Kentucky	120	213	178
Wisconsin	120	171	143
Missouri/Kansas	80	109	136
Michigan/Indiana	120	145	121
Illinois	80	85	106
Southeast	100	84	84
Pennsylvania	120	80	67
New York/New Jersey	120	78	65
Southern Calif.	120	70	58
Rocky Mountain	120	67	56
Texas	80	42	53
Northern Calif.	120	60	50
Pacific Northwest	120	55	46
Louisiana	80	36	45
Mid-Atlantic	120	48	40
Upper Midwest	120	42	35
New England	120	35	29
General		463	
Total	6,000	5,800	97
Should have		6,000	100

Pathfinder 'Cointelpro' book wins wide publicity

By Karen Melville

If the reaction of newspaper columnists and other journalists is any indication, Pathfinder Press's new book on the FBI's Cointelpro plots is going to be widely read and widely discussed.

New York Post columnist Harriet Van Horne wrote December 5, "J. Edgar Hoover is no part of my Christmas dreaming, but he and his foul tyranny are on my mind today. I have just read 'Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom.' . . . With photostats of FBI memoranda and other documents, the book demonstrates, beyond any doubt, that the FBI devoted its major efforts of the past 15 years to destroying legitimate American dissent and nullifying the Bill of Rights."

An adaptation of Noam Chomsky's introduction to the book appears in this month's issue of *[MORE]*, the journalism review. Chomsky's essay is headlined on *[MORE]*'s front cover.

Chomsky documents the failure of



Chomsky, in introduction to book, says Watergate was 'tea party' compared to crimes carried out under Cointelpro.

the major news media and liberal journals to report on the FBI's crimes against the Black, labor, and socialist movements. He contrasts this silence to the extensive treatment given to the Watergate affair, which, he says, "was a tea party" in comparison to the crimes carried out under Cointelpro.

The new Pathfinder book got still more publicity when *New York Times* columnist William Safire, in his December 8 column, quoted from Chomsky's introduction.

The brisk business at Pathfinder matches the public notices. Although the book has only been available for a few weeks, Pathfinder has already sold more than 3,200 copies.

Two popular bookstores in New York City, Barnes & Noble and the Eighth Street Bookshop, reordered after selling out their initial supply in a few days.

In a number of cities, Militant forums are being held to discuss the book. The Los Angeles Militant Forum planned a special program for Decem-

ber 12 to discuss the issues raised in the book. Among the scheduled speakers are *Black Scholar* editor Robert Allen; Evelyn Sell, a socialist school teacher who was fired as a result of FBI activities; and Fred Halstead, who was targeted by the FBI when he was the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate in 1968.

One hundred copies of the *Cointelpro* book have been ordered to launch a special sales drive at this meeting.

Fifty *Militant* readers have written in and ordered copies by mail. Wrote one, "Congratulations to the SWP for its persistence in forcing the FBI to reveal its sinister role in interfering in the right to dissent of Americans."

Many of those writing in have taken advantage of Pathfinder's special offer of five copies of the book for only \$7.00 (Regularly \$1.95 each.) Said one, "They may not be aware of it right now, but four of my friends are receiving *Cointelpro* books as holiday gifts."

To order your copies, write to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Galbraith's 'Money': fact & fiction

Money: Whence it Came, Where It Went by John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1975. 324 pp., \$10.

There are two parts of unequal merit to this book. The first, better, and much lengthier is a history of money from its inception in early civilization down to 1941, when John Kenneth Galbraith accepted a post in the U.S. government's Office of Price Administration.

The second part begins with the OPA's attempt to control prices during World War II and skims post-war history up to the present. Galbraith tries to show that "wage and price controls" should be reinstituted as a permanent mechanism of government supervision of the economy.

Galbraith's first part, on the history of money, is easy reading and useful. The concept of money is

Books

difficult to understand. *Money* gives many of the basic details, simply explained.

Galbraith makes it clear that, at least "historically," governmental decisions concerning money are rooted in the political needs of the ruling regimes, not in abstract economic theory.

Beginning in World War II, however, his viewpoint changes. *Money* slips into the mythical world of academic "macroeconomics." Except for the fact that the economic experts who advise the White House are Democrats or Republicans, Galbraith wants us to believe that they never have political thoughts in their heads. Decisions are supposed to be made solely on the basis of countervailing "fiscal" and "monetary" schools. The relationship between the United States and world economy is almost totally ignored.

Nevertheless, Galbraith's defense of "wage and price controls" should not be ignored. As the economic crisis has deepened, the Democrats have increasingly emerged as the strongest advocates of controls as an alleged solution to inflation.

The Democratic party majority in Congress gave Richard Nixon the Economic Stabilization Act that empowered him to freeze wages in the 1971 "New Economic Policy." Democrat Galbraith was and remains one of the chief standard-bearers in this ruling-class campaign.

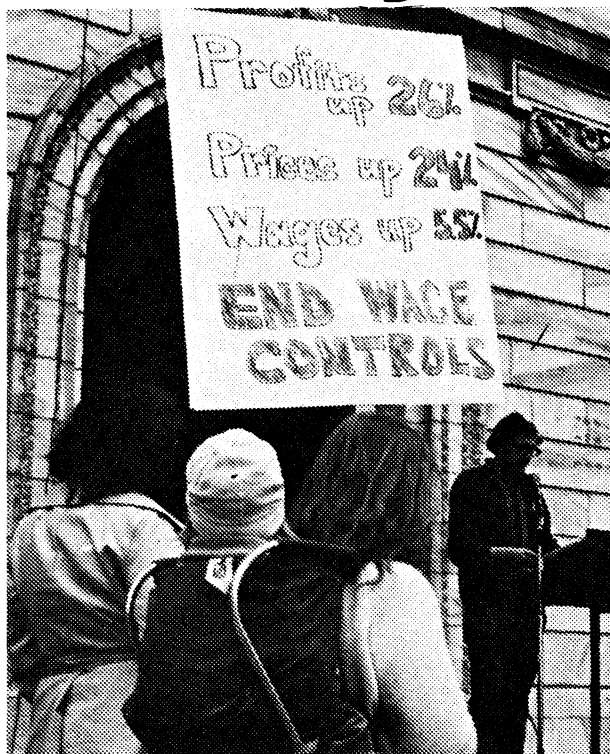
Inflation

Galbraith treads very lightly on the causes of postwar inflation. He admits that government deficit spending, where the government spends more than it collects in taxes, is the main cause of inflation. And he bemoans the inability of governments to undercut inflation by increasing taxes and cutting expenditures during periods of economic boom, as the Keynesian system had prescribed:

"As this system developed during these years," says Galbraith, "expenditures ceased to be subject to reduction. Taxes still adjusted themselves automatically with increases or decreases in the taxable income. But, except in the extreme case of war, they ceased to be subject to legislated increase. If expenditures can be increased but cannot be reduced and taxes can be reduced but cannot be increased, fiscal policy becomes, obviously, a one-way street. It will work wonderfully against deflation and depression but not very well against inflation."

Business Week magazine seized on the irony of Galbraith's position. "The affluent society is dead, according to Galbraith," wrote *Business Week* senior editor William Wolman September 8. "[The] irony is the extent to which the vision of the U.S. economy presented [by Galbraith] in *The Affluent Society* is itself responsible for working-class malaise and for inflation."

"It was a basic Galbraithian theme during the 1950s and early 1960s that the U.S. economy was a goose that laid golden eggs when it came to producing private goods—and not just for the upper classes but for all who held jobs—but one that laid pigeon eggs when it came to producing public goods. This kind of conviction was surely one reason public spending for civilian purposes grew at a 9.5% annual rate between 1950 and 1974 (faster in



Militant/Greg Guckenberger
May 1973 protest against inflation. Galbraith contends wage controls lead to 'more egalitarian distribution of income,' but experience shows otherwise.

the city of New York), while private spending grew at only a 4% annual rate."

The point is worth making. Liberalism has shifted to the position of opposing social-welfare spending by governments without acknowledging that this was the tokenism it most advocated to pretty up the system in the 1950s and 1960s.

Business Week is more plainspoken too. It fears that the rising expectations of the population propelled by almost two decades of capitalist growth (partially fueled by inflation) will now react against capitalism: "A booming government sector, one of whose purposes was to redress the balance between private wealth and public squalor . . . could easily be responsible for discontent among the lower classes."

But neither *Business Week* nor Galbraith admits the basic truth about deficit spending, from 1939 to the present day: *It is above all taken to finance the military machine.* U.S. government expenditures are overwhelmingly military. Washington actually runs a budget surplus when it comes to Social Security expenditures. The money collected in Social Security taxes annually exceeds the money paid out.

Thus Galbraith ends up along with *Business Week* (and the whole Democratic and Republican party attack on New York workers follows the same logic) demanding that government expenditures be cut as a way of curtailing inflation, without mentioning the biggest item in government expenditures—weapons.

Wage controls

Galbraith's advocacy of "wage and price controls" hinges on the premise that governments will continue to inject inflationary deficit expenditures into the economy. He then attacks monopolies and unions alike, the first for raising prices and the second for supposedly balancing the price rises by higher wages.

"In the years following World War II," says Galbraith, "the power and self-confidence of the trade unions increased steadily. If the market power of the great corporations did not increase—as some conservative economists were at pains to aver—it was because, as their statistics showed, it had long been very great. However, in the view of all but the most inspired defenders of the classically competitive market, such power did increase. So now, as capacity operations were approached, it was possible to increase prices over the wide area of concentrated industry. And it was possible for the unions, responding to these prices, to win higher wages and for the corporations to pass on the resulting higher wage costs."

At least Galbraith admits that monopolies, through their policies of "administered prices," can raise prices and profits as the money supply is increased through inflationary deficits.

But it is one thing to say that monopolies raise prices while unions try to catch up with them and quite another to pretend, as does Galbraith, that monopoly pricing and union wage increases balance equally as the causes of inflation.

Inflation has steadily increased throughout the postwar period, but the figures show that *workers have not kept up with prices and profits.* These figures are presented in the Council of Economic Advisers' *Economic Report of the President*, which Galbraith himself frequently cites to other purposes.

Wages and profits

The 1975 edition of the *Report* traces wages back to 1947. Its most recent complete figures are for 1973.

They show that average nonfarm weekly wages rose from \$45.58 in 1947 to \$145.43 in 1973, a rise of 219 percent.

For the same years, corporate profits rose from \$25.6 billion to \$105.1 billion, a rise of 311 percent.

What was the effect of taxes, which went up the whole time? The *Report* shows figures for average spendable weekly earnings, which subtract workers' tax payments from wages. Average spendable weekly wages rose from \$44.64 in 1947 to \$127.41, a rise of 185 percent.

Corporate profits after taxes rose from \$20.2 billion to \$72.9 billion, a rise of 261 percent.

Adding inflation into the picture, these average spendable weekly earnings should be divided by the Consumer Price Index. This will give the *real* purchasing power of wages, taking into account the declining value of the dollar. From 1947 to 1973, average real weekly wages rose only 43 percent.

For corporations it is necessary to separate undistributed corporate profits—which are reinvested, and consequently subject to the fluctuations of the *wholesale* price index—from dividends.

Accordingly, undistributed corporate profits after taxes, divided by the wholesale price index, that is, the *real* purchasing power of corporations, rose 77 percent.

Dividends, insofar as they are spent by their recipients, should be divided by the Consumer Price Index. This gives the *real* purchasing power of capitalist profits. It rose 136 percent.

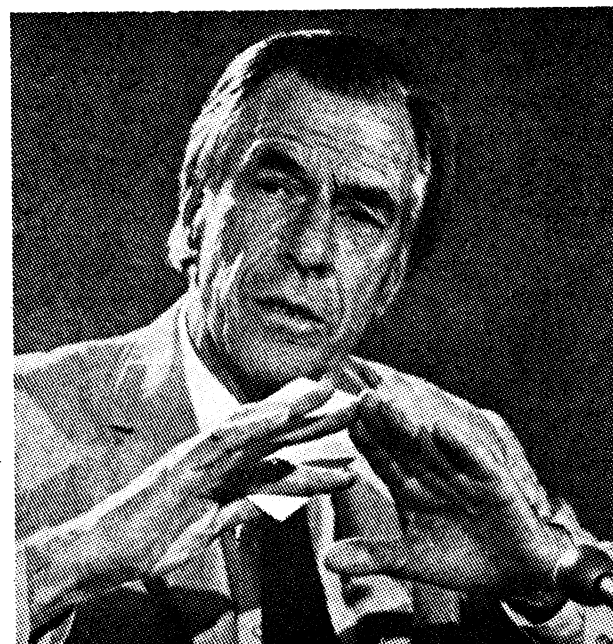
These figures speak for themselves. Capitalism, whether in the supposedly affluent phase of Galbraith's younger years, or in the crisis-ridden phase that we are in today, will function to distribute wealth ever away from exploited workers and ever toward the ruling class and its monopolies.

'More egalitarian'?

Galbraith ignores this. He pretends that controls will move toward "a more consciously egalitarian distribution of income."

But how? At best, "wage and price controls" administered by a capitalist government can only preserve the status quo of exploiting workers. And in reality, a new imposition of controls would be part of a heightened offensive to *drive down* wages. That antilabor policy is what the liberal Galbraith is covering up for.

—Dick Roberts



GALBRAITH: Slips from fact to fancy to justify Democrats and Republicans' drive for wage controls.

Calendar

BOSTON

PORTUGAL SYMPOSIUM. Speakers: Gil Green, member, Communist party USA Central Committee; Barry Sheppard, SWP national organization secretary; Patrick Smith, *Guardian* correspondent; Jehu, October League; Sid Bloomenthal, Boston *Phoenix*; Danny Schechter, WBCN radio; Joan McBride, International Socialists; Mario Castanheira, Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action. Sun., Dec. 14, 2:30 p.m. Morse Auditorium, Boston University. Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Boston University Student Union.

HOUSTON

INSIDE THE WORKERS STATES. Eyewitness accounts, slide shows, and discussion of the current situations in Cuba, the Soviet Union, and China. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

MILWAUKEE

HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS: THE SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH AT SOUTH DIVISION HIGH SCHOOL. Speakers: Adele Topping, student at South Division High, member of YSA; Meryl Farber; Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union representative; Organization of Concerned Students representative. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 207 E. Michigan Ave., Room 25. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEWARK

FBI PLOT AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT. Speakers: Kasandra Johnson, regional director, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Banard Freamon, New Jersey ACLU project director; Ron Stonen, Rutgers University Association of Black Law Students; representative from Black Panther party; Ken Miliner, SWP; Michael Smith, New Jersey SCAR. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK

RALLY IN DEFENSE OF DOMINICAN TRADE-UNION LEADERS. Speakers: two leaders of the Dominican CGT (General Workers Federation); Herman Badillo, U.S. representative; U.S. trade-union leaders. Fri., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. Horace Mann Auditorium, 120th and Broadway. Aisp: U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. For more information call (212) 691-2880.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

THE CRISIS OF THE CITIES UNDER CAPITALISM: WHAT'S AHEAD? Speakers: Michael Gleason, mayor of Albany, California; Carl Finamore, former SWP candidate for mayor of Berkeley. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

SAN DIEGO

AFTER FRANCO: WHAT NEXT FOR SPAIN? Speakers: Mark Schneider, SWP; and others. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

TWIN CITIES

MEMORIAL FOR THIRTY-EIGHT SIOUX HANGED IN MANKATO IN 1862. Speakers: Conrad

Balfour, former Minnesota commissioner of human rights; Clyde Bellecourt, executive director, American Indian Movement; Chris Cavender, assistant professor of education and history, Macalester College. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. Minneapolis Regional Native American Center, 1530 E. Franklin Ave., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IS ZIONISM RACISM? Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. NW, Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...CLUW

Continued from page 3

members could elect representatives to the NEB. Only two chapters currently meet this requirement.

Many of the delegates were disturbed by this crude attempt to exclude the voice of the rank and file. To stave off a challenge, a compromise—reducing the minimum number of members to seventy-five—was offered by a staff member from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Washington, D.C.

Another delegate presented a counter-amendment to give *all* recognized chapters representation. While this proposal won significant support, it unfortunately did not win a majority. When it failed, the debate centered on a proposal by Mariana Hernández, of Los Angeles, to give representatives to chapters with fifty or more members.

Having been badly stung on the ERA vote, the Madar machine took a heavy-handed approach to this question. Madar and the other officials on the platform demonstratively stood up and voted against the Hernández proposal.

Addie Wyatt, women's affairs director for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, was chairing at the time. She took the vote three times, in the hopes of being able to rule the Hernández amendment defeated. But the closeness of the vote finally forced her to call for a "division of the house," in which each delegate would be individually counted.

The sea of delegates parted as supporters and opponents of chapter representation walked to opposite sides of the convention hall. The supporters of the Hernández proposal broke out into "Solidarity Forever" and called on undecided delegates to "join the fighters." The pressure of the rank-and-file

activists was so great that a number of women broke from Madar's discipline and went to the side of the room lined by the CLUW activists.

When the count was tallied, a cheer went up from CLUW chapter supporters—they'd won, 437 to 352.

The election of new officers consumed the remainder of the convention. Olga Madar and Addie Wyatt were reelected president and vice-president of CLUW, respectively. Gloria Johnson, director of education and women's activities of the International Union of Electrical Workers, was reelected treasurer. Joyce Miller, director of social services for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was elected corresponding secretary, and Patsy Fryman, assistant to the president of the Communications Workers of America, was chosen as recording secretary.

In looking at the future of CLUW, it is important to remember that the roots of this organization lie in the women's liberation movement. CLUW came into being in 1974, when feminist sentiment was reaching deeply into the consciousness of working women.

Officials in the labor movement supported the creation of CLUW for differing reasons, but they never expected that thousands of rank-and-file women would respond to the call for a union women's organization, bringing with them the perspective of building an organization that would put women's interests *first*.

This is certainly not what the top labor officials had in mind, and at the December 5-7 convention they hoped to housebreak CLUW and reduce it to a women's auxiliary, providing a feminist cover for AFL-CIO policies.

But because of the fight put up at this convention by serious CLUW activists, Madar was stopped short of carrying out this perspective.

The convention organizers were generally successful in suppressing the debate on affirmative action, thus retaining the reactionary position on this question adopted by the National Coordinating Committee. This stand in support of strict seniority contradicts the very purpose of CLUW—to fight for union women's special needs, even when they run up against the privileges of male workers.

The discussion on this issue is not over, however. The debate on affirmative action will continue in local CLUW chapters, as it will throughout

the labor movement. Ultimately, CLUW must reverse its stand on this question, or it cannot survive.

While the affirmative-action fight was suppressed this time around, a layer of union militants emerged at this convention who demonstrated their determination to offer a serious political alternative to the Madar forces. Even in a totally stacked convention, this opposition was able to block the move to obliterate chapter voice in policy making, and to win a majority to support of action on the ERA.

These victories show that it is possible to win a hearing inside CLUW for the kind of program that can build the organization. If CLUW carries out activities that attract rank-and-file unionists, these women can be won to a fighting perspective.

Now that CLUW has voted to mobilize unions in support of the ERA, local CLUW chapters can go on a campaign to draw the labor movement into ERA activity and into coalitions with other pro-ERA forces.

This activity will not only be a key factor in winning the ERA, but it can also help do what Madar and Meany fear most—win militant women trade unionists to CLUW. It is these women, the most determined fighters for their rights, who hold the future for CLUW and for the union movement as a whole.

...N.Y.

Continued from page 7

can kick out these politicians who have ganged up to lay off workers and freeze wages. They can replace the Democrats and Republicans with their own representatives, elected on a labor party ticket.

They can put an end to the wasteful and shameful military budget. That \$100 billion, now squandered every year, could easily take care of the needs of the workers in New York and all other cities in this country.

When the union movement begins to move in this direction there will be no more talk among workers about why anyone should belong to a union. The unions will attract new members because they will then offer the prospect of a better future. That is what workers expect and deserve from their unions.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

CALIFORNIA: 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, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center), Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Berkeley-Oakland: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

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: SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

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) 893-8360.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Dave Bouffard, 754 El Rancho, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., NE, Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West-North: 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.

Chicago: City-wide SWP and YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0748.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, 3138 Perkins Ct. #C, Indianapolis, Ind. 46203. Tel: (317) 783-6447.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

Louisville: YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, P.O. Box 51923, New Orleans, La. 70151. Tel: (504) 899-7684. YSA, P.O. Box 1330 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 467-5509.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Mark Cerasoulo, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, Militant Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Viewpoint/New England and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Militant 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, Militant Bookstore, 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, c/o Andy Robins or Dave Evans,

Box 125 Union Desk, Kalamazoo College, 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. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Greg Oelke, 201 W. 38th St., Kansas City, Mo. 64111.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP and YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mary Ann Kellogg, 468 Madison Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 463-5330.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Doug Cooper, 105 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 273-7625.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York, Lower East Side: YSA and SWP, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant 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: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Warren Duzak, 3523 Byron Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37205. Tel: (615) 269-9455.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Dorothy Taylor, 317 W. Evergreen, Apt. 2, San Antonio, Tex. 78212. Tel: (512) 223-9802.

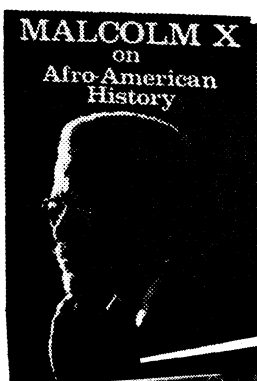
UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

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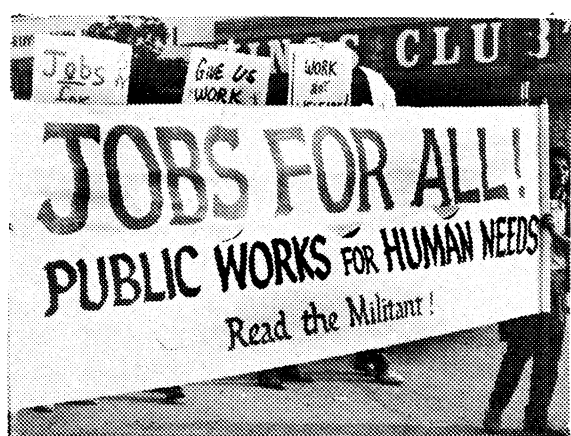
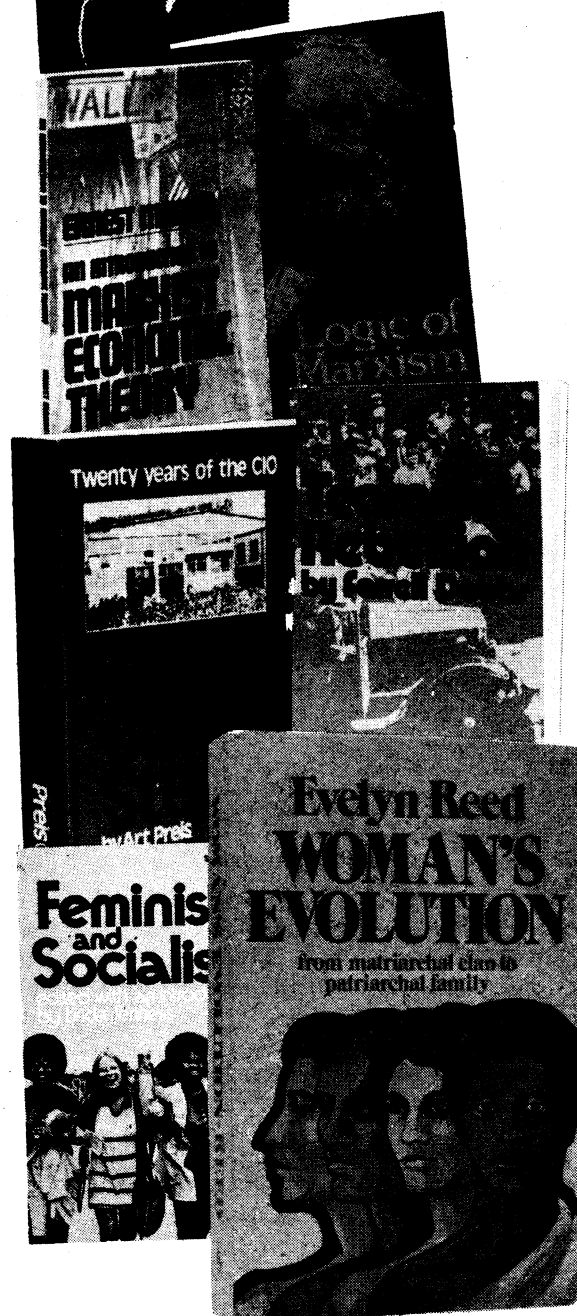
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The Kennedy connection

Who ordered CIA to kill Fidel Castro?

By Dick Roberts

The recent Senate report on CIA assassination plots exposes at least eight attempts to murder Fidel Castro, most of them undertaken during the 1961-63 Democratic party administration of President John Kennedy.

These schemes involved gangsters, a Cuban official in the pay of the CIA, and teams that were dispatched from Miami to Cuba carrying everything from poison pills, poison pens, and deadly bacterial powder to high-powered rifles.

Top CIA officials, including former CIA director Richard Helms, testified to Sen. Frank Church's investigating committee that they ordered the attempts on Castro's life.

But Idaho Democrat Church and his colleagues go out of their way to try to absolve the Kennedy administration itself of direct involvement in the CIA murder plans.

Church's report asserts, "Both Helms and the high Kennedy Administration officials who testified agreed that no direct order was ever given for Castro's assassination and that no senior Administration officials . . . were informed about the assassination activity."

A closer look at the report casts extreme doubt on the validity of this statement. It indicates that a chain of command can be established from the vials of poison pills handed to agents in Miami, directly to the Oval Office of the White House.

Poison pills

Two assassination plots that took place during the Kennedy administration are given special attention in the Church committee report.

From the summer of 1960 (before Kennedy was elected) until February 1963 (ten months before the Kennedy assassination) a Mafia gangster named Filippo Saco, alias John Rosselli, was under the hire of the CIA to pass poison pills to agents in Cuba ("Cuban assets") who would then murder Castro.

From early 1961 until 1965 a "highly-placed Cuban official" code-named AM/LASH, who desired to kill Castro and who was supplied by the CIA with weapons to do so, remained in constant touch with U.S. officials.

From Rosselli "up"—or is it "down"?—the Senate report establishes the following chain of command:

- Rosselli was recruited and operated by Robert Maheu, an ex-FBI agent, who had worked with the CIA earlier.

- Maheu was given the orders to "contact John Rosselli . . . to determine if he would participate in a plan to 'dispose' of Castro" by the chief of the Operational Support Division of the Office of Security. This CIA official, presumably still in office, is never



Church committee tries to absolve Kennedys of involvement in assassination plots against Castro, but details of Senate committee's report show they would stop at nothing to crush Cuban revolution.

named in the report. He is referred to as the "Support Chief."

- The Support Chief was assigned his duties by Col. Sheffield Edwards, Director of the CIA's Office of Security.

- Edwards was given his task by Richard Bissell, Deputy Director for Plans (DDP) in the CIA, its third-highest office. Bissell was in charge of covert action for the agency. He organized the April 1961 "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba. "Bissell confirmed," according to the committee, "that he requested Edwards to find someone to assassinate Castro."

- Above Bissell on the organization chart was Allen Dulles, a founder of the CIA, its director since 1953, and along with his brother John Foster Dulles, one of the chief agents of U.S. imperialism from the inception of the cold war.

Having died of natural causes, Allen Dulles could not testify to the Senate committee. Bissell said, "I must have spoken to Mr. Dulles practically daily about some aspect of the whole Cuban operation and I am virtually certain that he would . . . probably more than once have asked if there was anything to report about the Sheffield Edwards operation."

Three pertinent personnel changes in the CIA took place during the Kennedy administration. Sheffield Edwards was replaced by William Harvey, who in turn was replaced by Desmond Fitzgerald. Richard Bissell was replaced by Helms.

In the AM/LASH project, the identities of the lower CIA officials, "Case Officer 1" and "Case Officer 2," were not given. They were operated by Fitzgerald and Helms.

"AM/LASH . . . requested high-powered rifles and grenades," says the report. "A memorandum by Case Officer 2 states ' . . . [Fitzgerald] approved telling AM/LASH he would be given a cache inside Cuba. Cache could, if he requested it, include . . . high-powered rifles with scopes. . . . ' AM/LASH was told on November 22, 1963, that the cache would be dropped in Cuba."

Kennedy role

Was President Kennedy ignorant of the nefarious schemes against Castro that had been operating on an almost daily basis under his administration since he took office?

Kennedy had ordered the Bay of Pigs invasion. According to Church's report, Bissell and Dulles filled Kennedy in on the assault plan in November 1960, right after he was elected.

In October 1962 Kennedy took the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust, as he mobilized 150,000 U.S. troops in the "missile crisis" and threw a naval blockade around Cuba, threatening to invade it.

Helms told the Church committee, "I believe it was the [Kennedy administration] policy at the time to get rid of

Castro and if killing him was one of the things that was to be done in this connection, that was within what was expected."

There is plenty of evidence in the Church report that this remark by Helms is accurate. *Another organizational line of command emanated directly from Kennedy's office.*

Right after the failure of the Bay of Pigs, a "Special Group" under Gen. Maxwell Taylor and Attorney General Robert Kennedy had been established. Its mission, according to a letter signed by President Kennedy, was to reevaluate "our practices and programs in the areas of military and paramilitary, guerrilla and anti-guerrilla activity." Robert Kennedy played a key role in this committee and all subsequent anti-Cuban operations.

According to the Church report, "Taylor was to give special attention to Cuba. . . . It is clear from the record, moreover, that the defeat at the Bay of Pigs had been regarded as a humiliation for the President personally and for the CIA institutionally."

'Remove' Castro

By October 1961, minutes of the Taylor-Robert Kennedy Special Group "state that the Group was told that in addition to an overall plan for Cuban covert operations, 'a contingency plan in connection with the possible remo-

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