

THE MILITANT

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

U.S. hands off!

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

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In Brief

COLEMAN RETREATS ON WHITE-FLIGHT THEORY: Sociologist James Coleman is beginning to alter his theory that busing for school desegregation causes massive white flight from the cities.

This prominent busing opponent has recently been re-checking his facts and has found some fundamental flaws in his calculations. Now he admits that in many of the cities from which he gathered his data to prove large-scale white flight, there has not been any busing for desegregation. Also, white flight from the cities, he now concedes, has been a trend since the early 1900s. Coleman recently confessed to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that it is not possible, after all, from his research to determine "whether desegregation itself" or other factors lead many whites to move from cities to suburbs.

CALIFORNIA CIVIL SERVICE CHARGED WITH SEX DISCRIMINATION: Catherine McAndrew, an attorney for the California Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), has filed a suit against the state charging sex discrimination against her and 42,449 other female state employees. The suit asks for \$233 million in back pay and retroactive promotions for women who have been passed over in favor of men. McAndrew charged that the male-dominated civil service reserved all the best jobs for men and relegated women to the lowest-paid positions.

The state personnel board has found that the average women in state government earns \$367 a month less than the average man.

SOCIALIST BLASTS L.A. RED SQUAD SECRET FILES: On December 4, Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from California, testified at a Los Angeles Police Commission hearing on proposed guidelines for intelligence gathering by the Public Disorder Intelligence Division, commonly referred to as the "red squad."

Musa told the panel of five commissioners, plus Police Chief Edward Davis and representatives of the city attorney's office, "The secret files should be abolished altogether. . . . I believe that the real purpose of the secret, undercover activities of the PDID is not limited to the collection of dossiers on groups or individuals, even though that alone is reason enough to demand their termination. The aim of the LAPD [Los Angeles Police Department] secret-police operations is to infiltrate, disrupt, and if possible destroy political groups which the police disapprove of. . . . Citizens of L.A. have the right to hold any political view they choose without threat of harassment or intimidation from the police."

Twenty others testified against the witch-hunt nature of the secret files, including representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, NAACP, Women For, the gay community, and city council member David Cunningham.

20,000 AT CARTER-ARTIS BENEFIT: A standing-room-only crowd of 20,000 jammed into Madison Square Garden on December 8 to participate in a benefit concert for Hurricane Carter and John Artis, who were convicted on frame-up murder charges in 1967 in New Jersey. Bob Dylan and his "Rolling Thunder Review," Joan Baez, Roberta Flack, and Joni Mitchell performed on behalf of the victims.

Coretta Scott King, U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), and other prominent government officials, sports figures, and performers were introduced and spoke in support of Carter and Artis. Muhammad Ali told the crowd, "Everything shows that these two men are innocent, and they deserve a retrial. This is a little Watergate." The crowd replied with thunderous applause when Ali asked how many supported a retrial.

Through a phone hookup Carter, once a leading contender for the middleweight boxing championship, was able to speak to the rally from his jail cell. "You all came to my rescue tonight, and I love you all," he told them.

Pressure is mounting on the courts to grant a new trial and on New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne to release the men on executive bail. A similar benefit concert is planned for the New Orleans Superdome soon.

BLANCO CASE BROUGHT TO CHICANOS IN SAN ANTONIO: Claudio Tavárez, a national coordinator of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), recently toured San Antonio to win support for Hugo Blanco's right to a visa. Blanco, an internationally known leader of the Peruvian peasant movement, is being prevented from carrying out a speaking tour of the United States by the Immigration Service.

While in San Antonio, Tavárez spoke to a meeting of fifty Chicanos and Mexican nationals at TU CASA, an organization that defends undocumented Mexican workers. He also spoke at a meeting of UMAS (United Mexican American Students) at San Antonio College.

Two television stations covered Tavárez's visit, and he was a guest on a TV Spanish-language talk show viewed by thousands of Chicanos.

VICTORY IN N.Y. NURSING-HOME STRIKE: An eight-week strike by 110 nursing-home employees in New Rochelle, New York, ended in victory late last month. The strike by members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, began over Woodland Nursing Home management's refusal to grant a 1.5 percent increase in benefits.

It turned into a test of strength as Woodland's owners tried to break the union by bringing scabs in daily under police protection and by physical assaults on pickets. Two union officers were hospitalized as a result of goon attacks on picket lines.

By the fifth week of the strike, union officials decided that only street demonstrations big enough to disrupt "business as usual" in New Rochelle could force a settlement. Union members from New York City joined the strikers three Saturdays in a row for pickets and demonstrations of up to 1,200. The show of force had the desired effect.

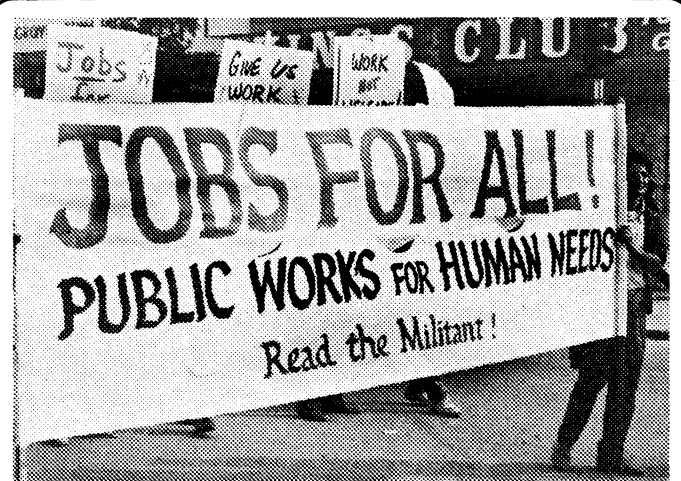
The 1.5 percent originally in dispute was given in wages rather than in benefits, bringing wages up to a \$181 weekly minimum. Management was also forced to rehire thirty-three workers it had singled out as "undesirable" because of their role in leading the strike. The greatest victory of all, the union's right to exist, was won not at the bargaining table but rather by the determination of the strikers and the support given them by their brothers and sisters in New York City at a time when it was most urgently needed.

PROPOSED RESTRICTION ON FREE SPEECH DROPPED IN MILWAUKEE: The Milwaukee Common Council has "indefinitely" postponed hearings on a city ordinance that would have outlawed literature that "exposes the citizens of any race, color, creed or religion to contempt, derision or obloquy." The ordinance, proposed by City Attorney James Brennan, was ostensibly aimed at the National Socialist White People's party (Nazis). However, supporters of civil liberties have opposed the ordinance as a restriction on freedom of speech that would pose a threat to everyone's civil liberties.

Explaining his opposition to the ordinance, Bernie Senter, the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, said: "Any curtailment of civil liberties has been used in the past, and will again be used by the government, primarily against fighters of racism, not racists like the Nazis."

Senter added, "If Brennan were really serious about fighting the Nazis, he would drop the charges against Michael Murphy." Murphy, a Black member of the Young Socialist Alliance, will be tried on January 7 for defending himself against a physical assault by a Nazi.

—Ginny Hildebrand



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U.S. rulers debate

Will Angola be next Vietnam?

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

By Joseph Hansen

A dispute in the State Department over how far to go in intervening in the civil war in Angola was made public by Seymour M. Hersh in a front-page story in the December 14 *New York Times*.

The divisions became so sharp that Nathaniel Davis resigned last August as assistant secretary of state for African affairs. In opposition to Secretary of State Kissinger, who was for plunging ahead, Davis favored seeking a diplomatic "settlement" in Angola and playing no "active" role in the civil war there.

Davis sent a "steady stream of memoranda" to Kissinger in which, according to an "official," he made the following arguments:

'Wrong game'

"First of all, Davis told them it won't work. Neither Savimbi or Roberto are good fighters—in fact, they couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag. It's the wrong game and the players we got are losers."

Secondly, when involvement of the United States in the Angolan civil war failed, as would be inevitable, such American supporters in Africa as Mobutu of Zaïre and Kaunda of Zambia would be injured.

Finally, the United States would end up with racist South Africa as its only ally.

Kissinger brushed aside all these arguments. The "first significant decision on Angola policy was made in the spring, when the Administration authorized the C.I.A. to supply about \$300,000 in military arms and aid to the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola, led by Jonas Savimbi. . . .

"The funds were authorized after the C.I.A. formally began reporting the increases in Soviet military aid to the Popular Movement. . . .

"The C.I.A. also has been aiding the National Front, headed by Holden Roberto, since the early 1960's, much of that help being funneled through neighboring Zaïre, headed by President Mobutu Sese Seko."

The most important step was taken by the "40 committee" at a formal meeting last July. The decision was to send \$10 million worth of supplies to Angola.

Socialists say: 'U.S. hands off'

NEW YORK, Dec. 16—Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, called today for the "immediate cessation of U.S. intervention in Angola."

"Kissinger is lying when he says the U.S. is there to protect the Angolans from outside interference," their statement charged.

"As in Vietnam, United States imperialism's interest in Angola is to control the wealth of the country and the political destiny of the Angolan people. The United States, South Africa, and the NATO powers have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Angola.

"American working people have no stake in the foreign policy aims of U.S. imperialism in Angola. We must demand: No more Vietnams! Hands off Angola!"



U.S. troops landing in Vietnam in 1965. Section of U.S. ruling class fears similar venture into Angola will prove too risky at home.

"The '40 committee,'" Hersh explained, "is a four-man subcommittee of the National Security Council with responsibility for approving all proposals for covert intelligence activities carried out by this country abroad. Mr. Kissinger is the committee's head, and the other members are Mr. Colby, William Clement, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and Gen. George S. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Since last July, the Ford administration has escalated its "covert intelligence activities" in Angola.

The parallel to the first phase of American involvement in the Vietnamese civil war is so striking that it is already causing public concern in the United States.

Kissinger and Colby

Kissinger, apparently anticipating this development, said in Brussels December 12 that the situation in Angola is "not analogous" to the one in Vietnam a decade ago.

CIA Director William E. Colby voiced the same opinion before the House Select Committee on Intelligence. According to the December 13 *New York Post*, "Colby said there is no similarity between any U.S. action in Angola and American involvement in Vietnam. Angola is a situation where the United States must decide whether to participate in a 'modest' way, he said, while Vietnam was a case of 'massive military commitment.'"

Colby's reasoning did not impress the publishers of the *New York Times*. An unsigned article in the December 14 "Week in Review" cited Colby's arguments and then quoted from a statement made by President Kennedy on March 23, 1961, concerning the need for a policy to counter the military aid granted by the Soviet Union to one of the factions in Laos:

"It is this new dimension of externally supported warfare that creates the present grave problem. . . . We strongly and unreservedly support the goal of a neutral and independent Laos. . . . If these [Communist] attacks do not stop [the United States and others] will have to consider their response. . . . No one should doubt our resolution on this point. . . . Laos is far away but the world is small. . . . The security of all

Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence. . . . Its own safety runs with the safety of us all. . . ."

The parallel between Kennedy's language and that used by Kissinger today is quite impressive.

It is obvious that the *New York Times* sides with those in the top ruling circles who consider that another Vietnam is the last thing they need. However, as in the case of the dispute in these same circles over the error of massive military intervention in Indochina, the differences are purely over what course best serves the interests of American imperialism.

In the case of Vietnam, tactical differences of this kind did not arise until after President Johnson had committed the United States to intervention in the civil war in Indochina on a huge scale. Debate was set off by the enormous cost, the unexpected toughness of the freedom-seeking nationalist forces, and above all by the mounting mass opposition inside the United States that became epitomized in the slogan, "Out Now!"

Today, in striking contrast, comparable differences have appeared among the ruling circles at the very beginning of involvement in the Angolan civil war.

Is it worth it?

This significant development can be ascribed to the experience in Indochina. A sector of the ruling class recognizes that a new adventure abroad similar to the one in Vietnam would in all likelihood meet with mass opposition from the start. This sector understands that neither Ford nor anyone who might replace him in the White House can repeat Vietnam without placing at stake the foundations of capitalist rule in America. So they ask, is the risk worth it?

Meanwhile, the Ford administration, following the pattern of previous administrations, has already become involved in the Angolan civil war.

The public reaction is being watched, as the arguments of Kissinger and Colby testify, but the Washington conspirators hope to get away with it; perhaps by escalating the aggression in bits, each so "modest" as to seem

unlikely to trigger an avalanche of public opposition.

The accompanying propaganda is a reissue of the arguments used to justify intervention in Vietnam: The threat of a Communist take-over. The threat of Moscow gaining naval bases that would "jeopardize" American shipping in the South Atlantic. Dominoes falling the length and breadth of Africa.

The propaganda concerning the warring factions in Angola is equally dubious. All three stand on nationalistic programs based on assurances of safeguarding investments. The MPLA, it is true, speaks of "socialism." But even if the MPLA were to prove more socialistic than Nasser in Egypt and Nkrumah in Ghana, there are indications that such a course is discounted in Wall Street.

Let Angolans decide

In any case, such questions are for the Angolans to decide—not the Fords and Kissingers.

To cite the involvement of the USSR in the civil war in Angola is equally spurious. The Kremlin's game is to improve its bargaining position *within the détente*. No one knows this better than Kissinger.

The Cuban participation has not aroused much excitement in the State Department. It is viewed there as subsidiary to Moscow's moves. The Cubans are said to be serving largely as instructors in the use of the sophisticated equipment that the Soviet Union has been sending to Luanda.

Besides relieving Brezhnev of the diplomatic hazards involved in sending Russian troops to Angola, the Cubans stand to gain through reinforcement of their anti-imperialist political image.

Whatever one's opinions may be of the issues at stake in the conflict between the MPLA, the FNLA, and the UNITA, it is clear that the main enemy in Angola is imperialism. Until recently, the main enemy was Portuguese imperialism, which fought savagely to retain its grip. Today the main enemy is American imperialism and its satellite powers, the natural heirs to the Portuguese empire, as they see it.

For all those who believe in the democratic right of peoples to determine their own fate, these considerations dictate a course similar to the one followed in opposing the imperialist aggression in Vietnam. The slogan ought to be "Get them out before they get us in!"



Angolan liberation fighters during long war with Portugal. Main enemy is now American imperialism.

Probusing whites in Boston back court take-over of South Boston High School

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—More than a score of prominent, white, probusing Bostonians have issued a stinging indictment of the latest round of racist violence that has hit this city.

The statement was released at a widely covered December 16 news conference called to support Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity's December 9 court order removing South Boston High School from the jurisdiction of the racist Boston School Committee.

At the news conference, initiated by the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, SCAR leader Mike Ponaman presented the statement to the press. Ponaman is student chairperson of the University Assembly at the University of Massachusetts in Boston.

"The fire bombing of the offices of the Boston NAACP and the home of Rev. James Coleman, the threats of violence made on the National Center

for Afro-American Artists, and the potentially injurious highway and tunnel tie-up on December 12 deeply alarm us," the statement said.

It called on "city, state, and federal law enforcement agencies to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators" of these "clearly illegal acts. These lawbreakers must know that they can no longer act with impunity."

Responding to the attempt by anti-busing bigots to portray themselves as representative of Boston's majority, the statement said, "They are not the voice of a monolithic white community. They do not speak for the tens of thousands who believe in what is just and right in our city. They are not Boston."

Signers of the statement include: Ellen Feingold, president of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; Jerome Grossman, Massachusetts Democratic National Committee member; Nobel Prize laureate George Wald; John E. Mitchell, international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; Rabbi Roland Gittlesohn; State Rep. John Businger; Rev. Dana McLean Greeley; Cambridge city council member David Wylie; and Russell Johnson, New England regional director of the American Friends Service Committee.

Judge Garrity's court order, the statement said, "is a positive attempt to enforce desegregation against a decade-long campaign by the Boston School Committee to deny Black students an equal educational opportunity."

The statement ended by urging other whites in Boston and around the country "to stand up, speak out, to refuse to be intimidated, to back the NAACP and all victims of such violence, and to defend the just law that Judge Garrity's court is trying to implement."

"Such a public show of support can



Boston Black leaders viewing results of racist fire bombing of NAACP headquarters. White supporters of school desegregation are calling on authorities to prosecute attackers.

only benefit the children—Black, white, Puerto Rican, and Chinese—who have become the pawns of ruthless politicians and whose education has been the chief casualty. . . ."

Other participants in the news conference expanded on many of the themes presented in the joint statement.

Meatcutters union leader John E. Mitchell told the news media of the dangers posed to the labor movement by the antibusing drive.

"When any section of the population tries to deny constitutional rights to another," Mitchell said, "our country is in real danger."

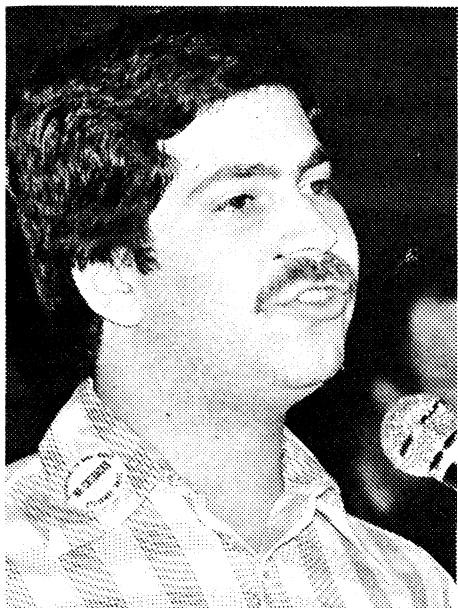
Civil Liberties Union leader Ellen Feingold blasted the Boston School Committee's "preoccupation with segregation" as the source of "the deterioration of one of the best school systems in the country."

Jack Cole, a well-known Boston journalist and a recent candidate for Boston City Council, chided the local news media "for the very use of the term 'forced busing.'"

"It is one of the most irresponsible things I have ever seen," he said. "The issue is not forced busing but desegregation. The issue is the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The issue is the law."

Ted Jones, president of Boston's radio station WCRB, seconded Cole's criticisms of the news media. "It is time for people in the media to speak up," he said, to say that this is the law of the land.

"We are proud to support it. We think it's right. We think Judge Garrity is doing right. We think desegregation is what should go forward, and we are backing it because it is the proper thing to do—the only thing to do."



Militant/Jon Flanders

PONAMAN: Urged Bostonians to stand up, speak out, and defend desegregation.

'Southies' continue segregationist drive

BOSTON—Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon David Duke surfaced here recently, as a rash of racist protests erupted in the wake of a federal court order December 9 stripping the all-white Boston School Committee of its jurisdiction over South Boston High School.

The Louisiana-based demagogue was invited to "Southie" by the South Boston Marshal's Association, a semi-secret "protection organization" that has monitored many of the racists' demonstrations.

An anonymous leaflet distributed throughout South Boston on December 11 set the tone for the week's anti-Black, antibusing activities. "Our protest must take many forms!" the scrawled, mimeographed hate-sheet read. "Some forms of protest will not be agreeable to everyone but *protest we must!*"

December 12 marked a "day of mourning" in reaction to what the racist organization ROAR has dubbed "Black Tuesday," the day of Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity's decision.

That morning, squads of racists snarled rush-hour traffic for an hour and a half in a coordinated tie-up of tunnels and highways. The Klan took credit for several of the tie-ups, while ROAR leader Virginia Sheehy called them "heartwarming" but disclaimed any direct responsibility.

A school boycott virtually emptied South Boston and Charlestown high schools of white students.

That afternoon, as Black students boarded buses to leave South Boston, a mob of 200 bigots advanced on the school but was turned back by police. The racists returned shortly after midnight, setting fire to a police car

and battling cops as they broke into the school. Two hours later their occupation was dispersed by the police.

On December 15, 100 white students bolted South Boston High School in a walkout announced by a leaflet circulated early that morning throughout the neighborhood. The students were immediately suspended.

Boston's white elected officials have added fuel to the racist offensive. School committee member Kathleen Sullivan, a Democrat who has posed as a "moderate," blasted the decision as "disgusting" and indicated the likelihood of a school committee appeal. Mayor Kevin White refused to back Garrity's order, saying only that the ruling "aggravates the city's tensions."

Despite this flurry of antibusing activity and hot air, the Garrity decision has clearly stung the racists.

The white student boycott called by ROAR has had no notable impact outside of South Boston and Charlestown, even in schools that were hotbeds of antibusing resistance last year.

Both the *Boston Globe* and the *New York Times* endorsed the ruling in their editorial columns.

And the decision's reverberations were felt as far away as Louisville, Kentucky, where racist opponents of that city's busing plan have also disrupted an orderly desegregation of the schools. On December 12, Federal District Judge James Gordon warned Louisville school board members, "It took Judge Garrity a year and a half to screw up the courage to take over the schools in Boston. It'll take me about a minute to take over the Jefferson County schools if I feel it's necessary."

—J.H.

Joanne Little still under attack

By Steve Clark

Racist Beaufort County, North Carolina, officials are continuing their campaign of harassment against Joanne Little.

Little, who was acquitted last summer on charges of murdering white jailer Clarence Allgood, still faces a seven-to-ten-year sentence for a previous breaking-and-entering conviction. She was serving time on that charge in August 1974 when she was forced to defend herself against a sexual assault by the ice-pick-wielding jail guard.

On December 12 Beaufort County authorities issued an all-points bulletin for Little's arrest on a minor legal

technicality. A United Press International dispatch reported, "An attorney for Miss Little posted \$15,000 bond for her in a county court yesterday. . . . But the law requires Miss Little to sign certification papers before she is technically released on bail. . . ."

It was failure to sign these papers—a technicality that Little was unaware of—that led to her arrest December 14 by Durham, North Carolina, police. She was held in jail for two days before being released once again—this time on \$25,000 bail.

Little's breaking-and-entering conviction, which was upheld last month

by the state appeals court, is now being appealed to the North Carolina Supreme Court. Her attorneys are basing the appeal on the gross irregularities committed during her original trial. Hearsay was admitted as evidence, and Little's brother, Jerome, was urged by the prosecution to testify against her in return for a suspended sentence on the same charge.

The wide public support for Little last summer prevented the racist North Carolina authorities from sending her to death row on trumped-up murder charges. A similar effort is needed now to ensure that all charges against her are dropped.

Beginning of the end for Jim Crow

20 years ago: Montgomery bus boycott

By José Pérez

Twenty years ago, on the afternoon of December 1, Rosa Parks refused to "move back." She was a Black, middle-aged seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, and had just boarded a bus. The white driver told her to give up her seat to a white person. Parks refused.

"I was quite tired after spending a full day working," Parks explained.

She was arrested for violating a Jim Crow law of the type that regulated every aspect of the lives of Black people in the South at the time—where you could sit, where you could eat, where you could buy a Coke. Although the Supreme Court had ruled school segregation illegal, more than a year before, little progress had been made. Rosa Parks helped set off the powerful, massive, civil rights movement that within a decade razed the entire structure of Jim Crow to the ground.

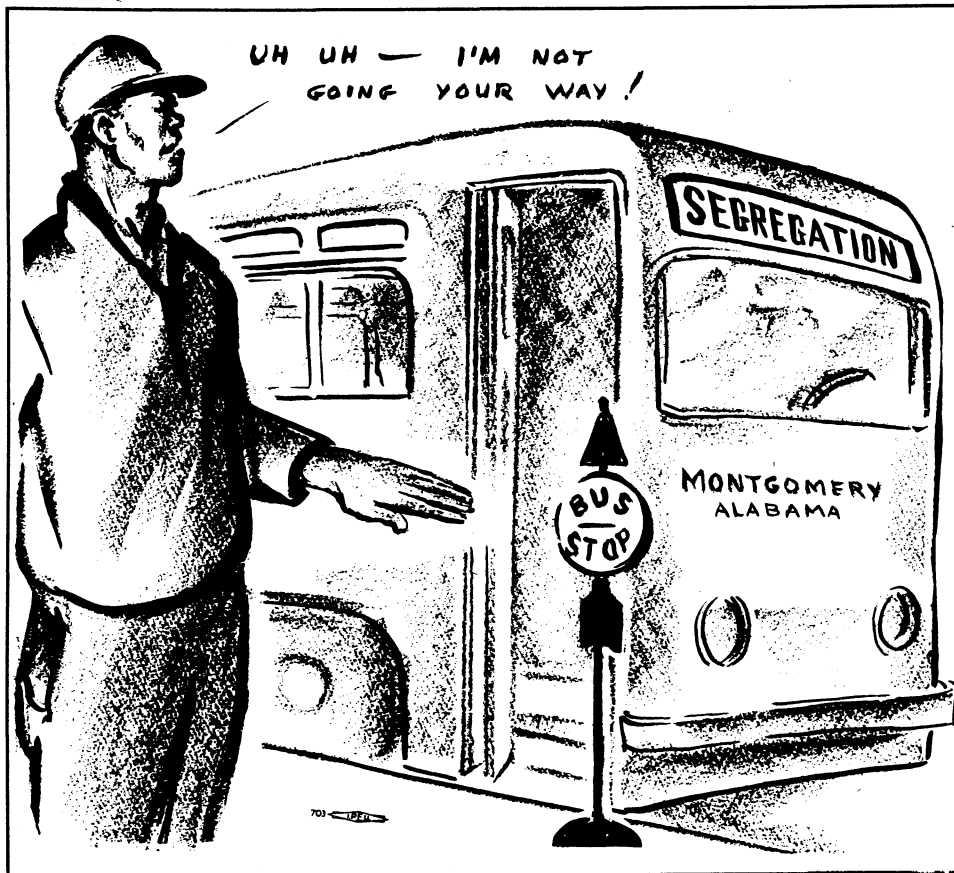
On December 3, leaflets circulated in the Black community urged a boycott of the bus system December 5, the day Parks was to appear in court. The leaflets also called a meeting for the night of December 5 to discuss other steps to take.

The boycott was very effective, with few Blacks to be seen on the buses. But Rosa Parks was convicted and fined fourteen dollars.

Five thousand of Montgomery's 50,000 Blacks attended the night meeting and decided to continue the protest until three demands were met: first-come, first-served seating on the buses; Black drivers for buses on routes in predominantly Black areas; and, courteous treatment of Black passengers.

To organize the fight, the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed. A car-pool system of transportation was set up, and regular mass meetings to keep the community informed were scheduled.

The boycott, based on the independent, massive organization of the



Militant/Laura Gray

Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott helped spark mass civil rights movement that swept away Jim Crow throughout the South. Cartoon first appeared in February 13, 1956, 'Militant.'

Black community, was completely effective. The bus company stopped serving many routes, raised fares 50 percent, and still was losing money. So the racists used the cops, the courts, and vigilante terrorism to try to break the struggle.

As the boycott was ending its second month, the homes of two top leaders were bombed. First hit was the home of a twenty-seven-year-old Baptist minister, Martin Luther King, who first came to national prominence for his role as president of the MIA. He had been brought into the struggle by a

victim of the second bombing—E.D. Nixon. Nixon, president of the local unit of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a longtime civil rights fighter, had initiated the boycott and played a major role in shaping the character and tactics of the movement.

The Montgomery fighters were not intimidated by the bombings. "Whoever is responsible for these bombings isn't going to end the boycott that way," Mary Nixon said after her home was hit. "We're all in this to the end."

To prove it, shortly after the first bombing, Montgomery Blacks filed

suit in federal court demanding that Jim Crow laws in public transportation be declared unconstitutional.

Since terrorism failed to intimidate the Black community, the cops and courts were brought in. In March 1956, more than ninety leaders and activists were indicted for "conspiracy, combination, or agreement to interfere with or hinder business."

The first to come to trial was King. But the Blacks succeeded in making the proceedings a trial of the Jim Crow system, as witness after witness took the stand to describe the humiliation and harassment they received on Jim Crow buses. Nevertheless, King was found guilty. The verdict spurred protests in many U.S. cities outside the South, with 10,000 rallying in Los Angeles and 4,000 in New York. And supporters of civil rights sent station wagons and money to Montgomery so the MIA could conduct the boycott as long as necessary.

The movement was having a profound impact on those involved in it and on Blacks throughout the South. One indication was the enthusiastic response given to King when, referring to the struggles by colonial people for emancipation, he said, "Today many are free. . . . And the rest are on the road. . . . We are part of that great movement."

Another indication was a similar bus boycott movement that broke out in Tallahassee, Florida.

Faced with such powerful protests and with the danger that the methods of independent mobilization of the Black community would spread even further, the rulers of the United States capitulated.

A year after the Montgomery protest started, with the bus company reporting losses of \$750,000, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the challenge to Jim Crow laws that originated in Montgomery, and found segregation in public transportation illegal.

Robert F. Williams returns to North Carolina

By Baxter Smith

MONROE, N.C., Dec. 16—Robert F. Williams, the hunted Black-rights fighter whose activities in defense of North Carolina Blacks brought him national prominence in the early days of the civil rights movement, returned home to Monroe today to face kidnapping charges stemming from a 1961 incident.

The former Monroe NAACP president voluntarily turned himself over to Union County authorities, ending a long chapter of self-imposed exile that took him to Cuba, China, and Tanzania to avoid lynch-mob-style justice.

At a bail hearing late this afternoon Superior Court Judge John McConnell set bond at \$20,000 and then lowered it to \$10,000, which Williams quickly posted. McConnell set January 19 for the next hearing.

Williams's decision to return to fight the frame-up came after the Michigan Supreme Court on December 1 refused to block his extradition. Baldwin, Michigan, has been Williams's home since he returned to the United States in 1969.

Around 1:30 this afternoon a blue-and-white Eastern Airlines jet popped out of gray, drizzly skies over Charlotte Municipal Airport, descended, and whistled to a halt at the terminal where some fifty well-wishers had gathered.

Squinting into TV lights, Williams thanked his supporters in impromptu remarks, then tongue-lashed state authorities for continuing to pursue the charges.

"I resented being forced out of

Monroe," the scrappy, fifty-year-old rights fighter said. "I was driven out by the Ku Klux Klan and these racist state officials."

"I have not committed any criminal act. Of course, I'm not the only one they've gone after. But I'm a symbol to these people. And so this is a fight to clean up North Carolina. The Black man has no justice in this state, but I hope before I leave he will have it."

Williams restated his innocence in the kidnapping charges. "The Stegalls know they would have been killed if it were not for me," he said.

The Stegalls are the white couple Williams is charged with kidnapping. The incident occurred in August 1961, at the height of a period of night violence against the Black community by the Klan. Some Blacks had vowed revenge on any strange whites coming into the community, and the Stegalls, out-of-towners driving through Black Monroe, became their target.

The Stegalls' car was surrounded by angered Blacks, but swift-acting Black leaders led the couple away to the safety of Williams's home. After the situation had calmed, the Stegalls proceeded on their way, but police later charged Williams with kidnapping them. Fearing lynch-mob justice, Williams left Monroe.

"There's no way I could have gotten justice then," Williams charged. "And now there shouldn't be any trial at all. I am not guilty."

Williams, who hopes to be tried in Monroe where he envisions the most support, has retained Karen Galloway, a lawyer for Joanne Little, and Wil-

liam Kunstler as counsel. Williams will act as cocounsel. Jerry Paul, another attorney who defended Little, has indicated he will help defend Williams, but was unable to be present today because of an ailment.

Williams's supporters are pulling together a defense committee to help spread the word on his case.

A throng of about 150 jammed into and spilled outside of the courtroom to express their support for Williams. Many were teen-agers, although there was a smattering of veterans of the old battles here.

District Attorney Carroll Lowder, a baldish, barrel-chested man with a ruddy face that he periodically wrinkled in contempt at Williams, presented the indictment.

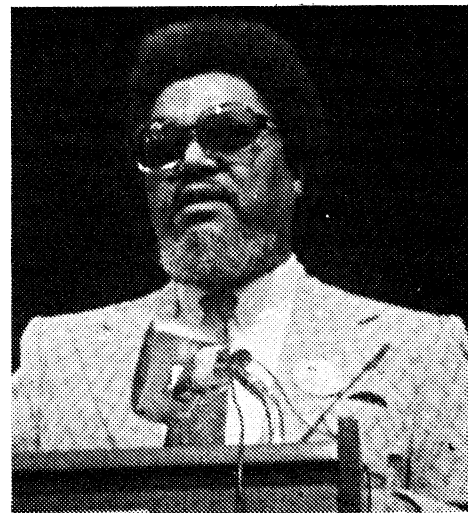
Kunstler argued for releasing Williams on his own recognizance because he had returned voluntarily. But McConnell was adamant.

Later, Kunstler disclosed that he had "been tricked" by Lowder who told him bond "would be reasonable."

In the years that Williams has been away Monroe has changed in some respects. Sections of the Black community have been bulldozed and new dwellings have been built. Bright filling stations and fast-food shops have marched out along Highway 74, the main thoroughfare. Gone are the bands of night-riding Klansmen. "But racism is still here," Williams is quick to add.

"Which one is Mr. Williams?" a Black teen-ager at the courthouse, his hair in plaits, asked.

"Right there—in the gray suit," a



WILLIAMS: 'There is no justice for the Black man in this state.'

reporter indicated.

"So that's him. I've heard all about him. I was still in the crib when he left," added the teen-ager, nearly six feet tall.

"You bet I remember him," a middle-aged Black woman said. "He's done a lot of good things for us folks around here. He showed me how to apply for welfare."

One of the newest additions in Monroe—built on turf where scores of Blacks have fought for justice—is the county courthouse, a ten-story glass-and-concrete structure. This is where Robert F. Williams, a man who ignited America during the early civil rights days with his calls for Black self-defense, today began a new struggle for justice.

Little, Tibbs among victims

Milwaukee meeting blasts 'racist justice'

By Tom Mauer

MILWAUKEE—Joanne Little's acquittal on charges of murder was "a small victory that should start the ball rolling to build support for others" in similar situations, said Karen Galloway December 6. Galloway, one of Little's attorneys, was speaking at a forum here on "Racist Justice."

More than eighty people heard Galloway along with a panel composed of: Eugene McWilliams of the National Committee to Free Delbert Tibbs; Julia Mendoza, mother of Ray Mendoza, who has been convicted on frame-up charges of killing two white Milwaukee cops; Michael Murphy, a Black member of the Young Socialist Alliance facing trial for defending himself from a Nazi attack; and Ernesto Chacón, director of Milwaukee's Latin American Union for Civil Rights. Chacón's brother Ramón, an American citizen and farm worker organizer in Texas, is being held and tortured by the Mexican government for "gunrunning."

Galloway said Little still needs active support. She is trying to obtain a new trial to reverse a 1974 conviction of breaking and entering.

Little defeated the frame-up charges of murdering jailer Clarence Allgood because of "a real team effort by people of different political ideologies who

were interested in her case," Galloway said.

McWilliams said Delbert Tibbs was a victim of "white-racist hysteria." Tibbs was sentenced to death in Florida for allegedly raping a white woman and murdering her male companion, despite the fact that Tibbs was 200 miles away from the scene of the crime and doesn't match the description of the suspect.

Julia Mendoza said her son Ray's request for a new trial had been denied and his attorneys were now appealing to the state supreme court. Mendoza was convicted last year of charges of first-degree murder of two off-duty cops.

Michael Murphy was attacked by a Nazi July 12 after being handed a racist leaflet. He said the city administration is, in effect, cooperating with Nazi attempts to victimize and intimidate Blacks, and he appealed for support in his case.

Ernesto Chacón said his brother had been arrested several weeks ago in Mexico along with Salvador Abundis, a Texas Raza Unida party activist who was born in Mexico.

Mexican authorities, who have received the cooperation of the FBI and CIA in the case, charged that Chacón and Abundis were transporting large

quantities of arms into Mexico.

Chacón said his brother and Abundis signed confessions after they and Abundis's wife were tortured.

He said defense committees are being formed in Texas, New York, and Milwaukee to organize efforts to stop the torture and obtain Chacón's and Abundis's release.

The panel was sponsored by the Milwaukee Student Coalition Against Racism, Black Students Union, Feminist Center, Los Universitarios, Ray Mendoza Defense Committee, Spanish Speaking Outreach Institute, Tony Baez, University Democrats, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

MADISON, Wis.—Karen Galloway spoke to 150 students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison on December 5. "There is no justice in the American criminal justice system," she declared, and pointed to the need for broad public support for its victims.

Eugene McWilliams and Julia Mendoza also spoke and made appeals for support.

More than fifty dollars was raised in a collection from the audience. The program was sponsored by the Mad-



Militant/Joel Aber

GALLOWAY: 'Joanne Little acquittal was small victory to start ball rolling for others.'

ison Student Coalition Against Racism, Wisconsin Student Association, Multicultural Affairs Committee, Women's studies department, and the Wisconsin Union Directorate.

Feb. 17 set for new trial

Judge throws out J.B. Johnson's lawsuit

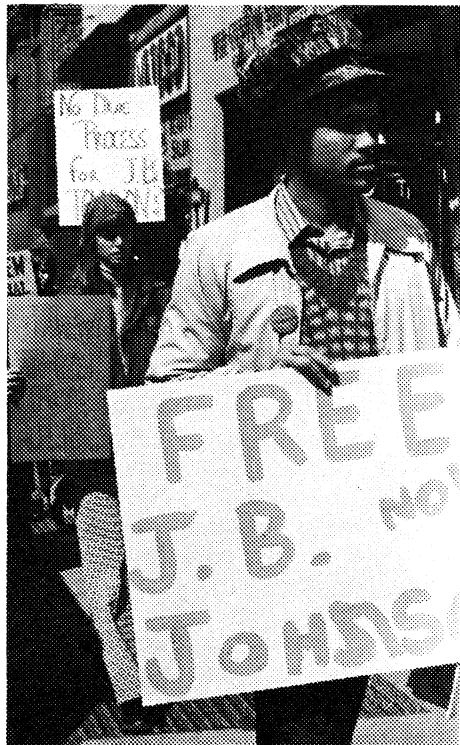
By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—On December 9, U.S. District Judge James Meredith dismissed a \$1 million suit filed by J.B. Johnson against St. Louis County prosecutors and University City policemen.

Johnson's suit, filed by his attorneys William Kunstler and Paul Hales, charged that county and police officials had used "false and fabricated" evidence in conducting the prosecution against him during his first trial on charges of being an accomplice to the 1970 murder of a white University City policeman.

Johnson's first trial, which took place in 1972, resulted in his being sentenced to natural life (ninety-nine years and a day) in the Missouri State Penitentiary.

The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson has conducted an extensive publicity and legal defense effort since that trial to win justice for this Black victim of a racist frame-up. Johnson's suit in federal court was aimed at challenging the prosecutors' abuse of evidence in Johnson's first trial that



Phony evidence convicted Johnson of murder in 1972. Defense committee is stepping up activities around new trial.

led to his conviction before an all-white jury.

Judge Meredith dismissed Johnson's suit on the procedural grounds that intervention by a federal court was not justified at this time since Johnson's defense efforts have won him a new trial.

The judge indicated that a similar suit could be refiled after Johnson's new trial is completed.

The date for this trial, which had originally been set for January 12, has now been postponed until February 17.

The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson has stepped up its activities in preparation for the approaching trial.

A crowd of 500 attending a banquet to honor Muhammad Ali gave prolonged applause to Johnson and his mother, Mary Watkins, here on December 5. The banquet, which capped a round of speaking engagements by Ali during a day proclaimed in his honor by St. Louis Mayor John Poelker, was broadcast live over KMOX radio, the CBS affiliate in St. Louis.

On Thanksgiving eve, thirty supporters braved a freezing blizzard to hold a candlelight vigil outside the city jail in support of Johnson and other victims of racist police frame-ups.

Recent endorsers of the demand for freedom for J.B. Johnson include: St. Louis Cardinals football star Mel Gray; MIT Prof. Noam Chomsky; Operation Coalition, a city-wide Black student organization in St. Louis; the Afro-American Student Union at the University of Missouri in Kansas City; and the University of Pittsburgh student government.

Resolutions in support of a fair trial for J.B. Johnson were passed December 7 by student governments at the University of Missouri in St. Louis and Washington University.

Because of the upcoming trial, the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson has requested a stepped-up campaign on the part of its supporters for endorsements and financial support. The committee can be reached at: Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Telephone: (314) 725-0319.

New Jersey students fight education cutbacks

By Kimi Nakata

NEWARK—New Jersey is one of the wealthiest states in the nation in personal income, yet it is one of the lowest in per capita expenditures for education. Now the state legislature, Higher Education Chancellor Ralph Dungan, and Rutgers (the state university) President Edward Bloustein have announced that even this insufficient budget will be cut back.

Their plans include the firing of all 215 first- and second-year faculty in the Rutgers University system, and cuts in most academic programs, financial aid, and minority admissions programs.

At Rutgers-Newark, the cutbacks began three years ago with a hiring freeze and the beginning of cuts in all

departments. Since 1972, only five teachers have been hired while almost seventy teachers have left. This has meant a permanent closing of these positions and drastic reductions in most of the academic departments.

Dungan also proposes to limit the number of students by imposing new standards for admission that would require "demonstrating competency" in reading and math skills. He proposes setting up "precolleges" to be responsible for teaching these skills, which should have been taught by the elementary and high schools.

Dungan claims that this is not meant to exclude minority students, but in reality those are exactly the students who have gone to the worst

schools and are most likely to need the remedial programs established in the past few years. In New Jersey, the main remedial program is the Educational Opportunity Fund (EOF). The number of openings in this program throughout the Rutgers University system has dropped from 350 in 1971-72 to 160 for 1975-76.

The number of Black and Puerto Rican students in Rutgers has dropped over the past few years, largely because of cuts in the EOF. At Newark College of Arts and Sciences, there are fifty-five Puerto Rican students, of whom only nine were admitted this fall. The Puerto Rican Organization, a campus group, has set up its own committee to recruit new Puerto Rican students.

Other New Jersey students are also organizing to fight budget cuts and to defend their right to a college education. On November 24, nearly 1,000 students from eight New Jersey state colleges rallied in Trenton to protest the cutbacks and proposed tuition hike. This rally was organized by the New Jersey Student Association.

At Rutgers-Newark, the Committee to Fight the Cutbacks held a teach-in December 8 to inform students of the nature of cutbacks at Rutgers and to build a united movement to fight cutbacks and tuition increases. Sponsors included the student senate, the Puerto Rican Organization, Black Organization of Students, and the Black studies department.

Actions planned to mobilize ERA support

By Ginny Hildebrand

This spring, many state legislators will be visited by groups of women decked out in long dresses bearing homemade gifts—pies, jams, and bread. These are “femininity tactics,” says Phyllis Schlafly, the right-winger who heads a group known as Stop ERA. Schlafly’s organization is conducting a national campaign to block ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

These same legislators can also expect to see throngs of pro-ERA demonstrators outside their windows in the streets, marching for equal rights. Supporters of the ERA in many states are preparing to out-debate, out-organize, and out-mobilize ERA opponents in 1976.

The ERA, which states that women cannot be discriminated against because of their sex, must be ratified by a total of thirty-eight states by 1979 to become law. So far, thirty-four have acted favorably. Reactionary forces are out to prevent passage by four more states, and to rescind ratification in states that have already adopted the amendment, although it’s not clear whether such action is legal.

“The enemies of feminism are busy organizing a nationwide offensive to defeat the E.R.A. . . .” states a resolution adopted this month by the Philadelphia board of the National Organization for Women. “The women’s movement has to answer with a national campaign of our own or risk that the E.R.A. will not be ratified by 1979. . . .”

The resolution urges “nationally coordinated local teach-ins, picket lines and demonstrations on and around March 8, 1976 (International Women’s Day), and a national E.R.A. demonstration on July 4, 1976, possibly in Philadelphia.”

In California, the Los Angeles Coalition for the ERA is also advocating an action campaign. The group is planning to contact women’s groups across the country to suggest that International Women’s Day be targeted for



Women's rights supporters will be in the streets in 1976 demanding 'pass ERA.'

kicking off a nationally coordinated drive to win ratification.

The inspiration for the ERA fight in Los Angeles began with Alice Doesn't Day on October 29. Nearly 5,000 women participated in a march and rally as part of a national women's strike day called by NOW at its October convention. Chanting, “Sisters unite, stand up and fight, ERA is a woman's right,” the L.A. demonstrators turned their protest into a pro-ERA event.

Some of the groups involved decided to constitute themselves as the Los Angeles Coalition for the ERA. These included: Los Angeles and Beach Cities chapters of NOW, San Fernando Valley National Women's Political Caucus, American Civil Liberties Union Women's Rights Committee, Socialist Workers party, and several campus organizations.

The coalition is planning a February 7 conference to initiate their spring ERA activities.

In Georgia, Georgians for the ERA are continuing a three-year-long battle for state ratification. GERA has gath-

ered broad support for a January 10 demonstration. Among the groups united behind the demonstration are Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Black Women's Coalition, Coalition of Labor Union Women, YWCA, Atlanta and DeKalb NOW chapters, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Authors Betty Friedan and Kate Millett and NOW President Karen DeCrow will be among the featured speakers. Others scheduled to speak include Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson; State Sen. Julian Bond; SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid; Jean O'Leary, legislative coordinator for the National Gay Task Force; and Lithana Robinson, president-elect of the Georgia Association of Educators.

Pro-ERA sentiment today is widespread among union women. The recent convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women voted to “make the fight for the ERA a priority through a mass-action and educational campaign.” With this mandate, CLUW activists can organize their CLUW

chapters and local unions to get behind the renewed drive for ERA ratification. Their efforts will be aided by the message to the CLUW convention from AFL-CIO President George Meany in which he stated that the passage of the ERA “must be a priority matter to the entire trade-union movement.”

On January 14, in Virginia, legislators will be confronted by women's rights advocates. Northern Virginia NOW is planning a march from the northern part of the state to Richmond to dramatize ERA support.

NOW chapters in Illinois, one of the states that has blocked ERA ratification, are preparing for activities when their state legislature takes up ratification in April. Pledges to send delegations to aid in a petitioning drive beginning April 9 are being made by NOW chapters from states around the country. The activities will culminate in an April 13 demonstration in Springfield when the petitions are presented to the legislature.

Women from Arizona State University have initiated a call for a demonstration at the state capitol in Phoenix on January 30. The action was called in October by sixty women who attended an ERA forum sponsored by the Campus Coalition for the ERA. On the evening before the January 30 demonstration, the coalition will hold a teach-in on the ASU campus in nearby Tempe.

These projected activities are indications of a ground swell of interest in an action-oriented strategy to win ERA ratification. This momentum has the potential to unite women's organizations, Black community groups, unions, and many others in actions on a nationwide scale.

As the Philadelphia NOW board resolution stated, “. . . a national strategy was successful in the past in winning the right to vote, and more recently, in winning the right to abortion, and is the only strategy which can assure passage of the E.R.A.”

United anticutbacks fight discussed in NY

By Jim Little

NEW YORK—“This is a unity meeting,” said Jay Hershenson, president of the City University of New York student senate. “Students, faculty, unions, community leaders, people against cutbacks—our interests are the same.”

Hershenson's statement reflected the sentiment of the 100 people who attended a student-initiated anticutbacks discussion December 10 at CUNY's Baruch College campus.

The meeting was intended to bring together different groups and individuals affected by the cutbacks in jobs, education, and social services to discuss how best to fight back.

Nearly half the participants were Black or Puerto Rican, and many speakers cited the disproportionate impact of the cuts on the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Mike Meyers, assistant national executive director of the NAACP, condemned moves to end the open admissions policy at CUNY. When open admissions was won in the 1960s, he said, “for a brief spell Black and Puerto Rican youth gained access to higher education. Now we live in a time of retrogression, [but] we will not tolerate cutbacks in higher education.”

Meyers singled out the National Student Coalition Against Racism, a principal organizer of the December 10 meeting, as a group providing much-needed leadership in the anticutbacks fight.

“We must join with you in solidarity and in confrontation with the racist system,” he said.

Irv Panken of the Professional Staff Congress, the union of CUNY faculty, warned that more cuts in higher education were on the way. In addition to \$82 million already cut from the CUNY budget, he said, “another \$55 million will be effectuated this semester.”

Several student leaders described the specific effect of the cuts. Dave Shultz, a veterans' leader, told how higher costs to students threatened to nullify the benefits that vets receive.

A high school student from the City-Wide High School Advisory Council expressed the fear felt by many high school students that now they may not be able to go to college.

Virtually every speaker cited the need to unify the different struggles going on against the cutbacks. Carlyle Thornhill, a Baruch student government leader, said, “We must realize our link with others. New York is a test. Life is hardest here. People should fight hardest here. But if the unions, which are the strongest here, do not fight, there cannot be much hope.” Others also expressed disappointment with the inaction of the union officialdom to date.

Thornhill continued, “If there are only little battles—here on Forty-Second Street, there on Wall Street—we cannot win. But if we unite and all demand what we require, we can all

win this fight.”

Other speakers representing day-care workers, Headstart staffs, library workers, teachers, construction workers, meat cutters, government employees, and various community groups expressed the same desire for unity.

The important task at this time, they agreed, was to reach out to other victims of the cuts and bring together

broader forces that could begin to take effective action against the cutbacks.

Several people expressed interest in forming an open-ended continuations committee. Another meeting was tentatively set for next February.

In addition, those present were urged to join and support demonstrations set for December 15 and December 18 to protest cutbacks at CUNY.



CUNY students have held many demonstrations against cutbacks. Now unionists, community activists, and students are discussing united fight against cuts.

Challenges Buckley, Abzug

N.Y. SWP names Gallo for Senate

By Debby Woodrooffe

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers party has announced the candidacy of Marcia Gallo, thirty-two, for U.S. Senate. Gallo, a school teacher, was the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Ohio in 1970. She is currently the organizer of the Brooklyn branch of the SWP.

Four other Socialist Workers candidates were announced earlier this fall. They are: Catarino Garza, for Congress from Manhattan's 18th Congressional District; Pat Wright, for Congress from Brooklyn's 14th C.D.; Robb Wright for Congress from Harlem's 19th C.D.; and Ruthann Miller for state assembly from the 70th Assembly District. They have all been actively involved in the fight against the assault on the standard of living of working people that is taking place in New York City.

Gallo's campaign was kicked off at a December 12 rally of 350 Socialist Workers campaign supporters, held at the Martin Luther King Labor Center. The rally was addressed by Garza, Robb Wright, Pat Wright, and vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid (see facing page), who has spent the past week in New York on a speaking tour.

An indication of the involvement of the Socialist Workers campaign in the struggle in New York City was the appearance on the rally program of three student leaders of the cutbacks fight. Carlyle Thornhill, editor of the Baruch College newspaper, and Richard Izzo, from the Committee to Save Kingsborough (Community College), spoke on the role city university students have played through their demonstrations in setting an example on how to oppose the cuts.

Brooklyn College student André Lowen explained to the audience that



MARCIA GALLO: 'Democrats support cutbacks because their first allegiance is to capitalist system.'

as a result of working with members of the Young Socialist Alliance on his campus to build a movement against the cutbacks, he has decided to join the YSA.

The senatorial race promises to be an intensive one. There are already at least ten Democrats, including liberals Bella Abzug and Ramsey Clark, vying for their party's nomination. The seat is currently held by James Buckley, an arch-conservative.

In her remarks at the rally, Gallo pointed out that although some of her Democratic opponents have issued statements against the layoffs and cutbacks, "we have to remember that they are Democrats first, last, and always. Democrats, just like Mayor Beame, Governor Carey, and all the others in city hall and Albany now

voting for and carrying out the cuts.

"Their first allegiance," Gallo continued, "is to the capitalist system—a system that requires that measures be taken to make working people pay for the economic crisis."

Pat Wright, Garza, and Miller are trade unionists. Wright is a day-care center worker and a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. She was a central organizer of a demonstration of mothers, children, and day-care workers held November 24 to protest the impending closing of dozens of day-care centers.

Wright was a speaker at that protest, and her speech was noted by the New York Daily News. The article reported that "Pat Wright, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, told the crowd the city has pledged to relocate children who attend centers scheduled to be closed at the end of the year."

The article went on to quote Wright as saying to the crowd, "Now I ask you, how can they relocate all those children when the centers are already full, and have waiting lists as long as my arm?"

"There have been lots of demonstrations, but each sector fighting alone cannot win. We have to pull together and show this city that we will not have our rights and services snatched from us."

Ruthann Miller's campaign for state assembly has received support from many of those who are working with her in the effort to unionize the 1,000 clerical workers at Columbia University. The organizing drive is being carried out by District 65, Distributive Workers of America. Miller is a secretary on the campus and a leader of the organizing campaign.

Congressional candidate Garza is a member of the United Federation of



PAT WRIGHT: 'We have to show this city we will not have our rights and services snatched from us.'

Teachers and has been a leader of the fight against UFT President Albert Shanker's racist policies.

Robb Wright is a well-known spokesperson for the anticutbacks movement in New York. He spent the fall working with student leaders organizing protests against cutbacks in education and open admissions.

Robb Wright also organized a meeting for Willie Mae Reid at John Jay College—a campus that has been an organizing center for the anticutbacks fight. In the week prior to her appearance at the rally, Reid spoke to a total of six campus audiences. As a result of a meeting of eighty students, largely Black, at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, a new YSA chapter was established there.

Brooklyn tenants meet Willie Mae Reid

NEW YORK—A highlight of Willie Mae Reid's New York tour was an informal reception held for her at the apartment of a campaign supporter who lives in the Lindsey Park Housing Cooperative. Twenty-five people, mostly tenants of this Brooklyn co-op, came to meet the socialist candidate.

Gloria Hunter, who hosted the reception, is a nurses' aid. Her first contact with the Socialist Workers party was

at a forum she attended two months ago on the Equal Rights Amendment. She has since become an active supporter of the Camejo-Reid ticket and the campaign of Pat Wright, who is the SWP candidate for Congress in her district. Hunter has also just decided to join the SWP.

"I never before understood what socialism was, and how relevant it is to working people," she told me, explaining her decision to join the SWP.

She had been a strong supporter of Brooklyn Democrat Shirley Chisholm. "At that time, I wasn't aware of how this system works, that people like Chisholm are really campaigning for the capitalist system, and that that trend has got to be broken."

"Joining a socialist party," Hunter continued, "allows me to speak out against racism, sexism, bigotry, and capitalist manipulation. As a Black woman, all the fights I want to fight can now be tied together in one party—the SWP."

"Every time I do something with the SWP, I get more into it and feel more a part of it," Hunter explained. "Since I live in a large cooperative, I thought I could get something going here. The people in this building have been hard hit by the economic crisis. They don't want to vote Democrat anymore. They are disgusted with politics."

"They know some change is needed, but they aren't sure exactly what. I wanted to have this reception because I knew I could get tenants active in supporting this party."

Working with Hunter in organizing

support for the socialist candidates in her building was Brooklyn SWP campaign manager, Nancy Fields. Fields described to me how this support was organized: "Each Saturday, we sent teams into the cooperative. They went door-to-door, giving tenants the 'Bill of Rights for Working People' and the New York City campaign program, as well as selling subscriptions to the *Militant*. People were very responsive," Fields reported. "If they didn't buy the *Militant*, they at least wanted to talk with us about the economic crisis."

After two weeks, Hunter organized a reception for Pat Wright. Only one tenant showed up. Undaunted, the socialist campaigners continued their work in the co-op, meeting new people, systematically revisiting those who had bought the *Militant*, and telling people about the upcoming reception for Reid.

One of those at Reid's reception was a district organizer for Local 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. When socialist campaigners showed up at his door, he told them about a nursing-home strike then underway in New Rochelle. The next Saturday, campaign workers joined the picket line and wrote an article about the strike for the *Militant*. The 1199 organizer was impressed by this support. He is now a regular *Militant* reader and has begun selling the paper to his neighbors.

Fields reports that several other tenants have volunteered to hold receptions in their homes for the socialist candidates. "We have become

known as fighters," she said, "and are well on our way toward establishing a real base for Wright's campaign." Plans are already under way for a second meeting for Wright, to be held in the community room of the co-op.

—D.W.



GLORIA HUNTER: 'People in this building don't want to vote Democrat anymore.'

Wanted: SWP logo

Supporters of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid will be petitioning for ballot status in many states from now until the fall of 1976. Many of these states require parties to be identified on the ballot with an insignia or emblem.

The Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee is asking readers of the *Militant* to send in proposed designs for a Socialist Workers party insignia to be used for ballot and other purposes.

Designs must be simple enough so that they can be reduced to a size one-inch square. For ballot use, they must appear in black and white.

Sketches should be received by April 1, 1976. If an appropriate design is submitted, it will appear, with the name of its creator, in the *Militant*.

Send your design to: Insignia, c/o Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Reid: New York crisis shows why labor needs its own political party

[The following are excerpts from the speech presented by Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party 1976 vice-presidential candidate, to a December 12 socialist campaign rally in New York.]

The brutal assault on the rights of working people in this city is very much on the minds of everyone who lives in New York. I have been asked to tell you what the Socialist Workers party thinks ought to be done about it.

But before I do that, I want to share with you something else that is very much on my mind tonight.

Two days ago, the night riders in Boston struck again. They hurled fire bombs into the home of a Black minister and into the headquarters of the NAACP.

This time, they weren't satisfied to beat up Blacks who had the nerve to try to cross the color line and go to school in South Boston. They weren't after some "uppity coloreds" who wanted to swim at one of "Southie's" beaches.

No, this time the bigots drove into the Black community—and by directing that fire bomb into the headquarters of the NAACP they struck at the very heart of the Black community.

By striking at the NAACP they struck at the valiant Black youth who have braved their taunts, their threats, their slurs, and their violence by riding those buses into "Southie" every day with their heads held high.

By striking at the NAACP they struck at all the brothers and sisters across this country who are standing up to the racists.

By striking at the NAACP they struck at me! And they struck at every person in this room.

I don't know how you all feel, but when the racists strike at me, I get mad, fighting mad!

Demand investigation

The leaders of the Black community in Boston are demanding that the Justice Department investigate the conspiracy to terrorize the Black community and to block the implementation of court-ordered busing in Boston.

I endorse that demand, and I'm campaigning for it everywhere I go.

That fire bomb had a message, and the message was addressed to the NAACP, to the National Student Coalition Against Racism, to the Black community in Boston and its allies in the fight for desegregation.

The message was: give up your struggle for school desegregation.

But we will not abandon this fight!

We will not be terrorized into silence!

I would like to propose that we send



Willie Mae Reid, socialist candidate for vice-president, addresses rally of 350 campaign supporters on New York crisis, racist attacks in Boston.

the following message from this meeting to the Boston NAACP:

"Brothers and Sisters,

"We are outraged to learn of the fire bombing of your headquarters by the antibusing bigots. We hail your determination not to allow the night riders from South Boston to intimidate you into silence. We join with you in pledging that we will respond to this violence by intensifying our efforts to build a movement that can compel the city of Boston to obey the law of the land and provide equal protection for all.

"Keep those buses rolling!"

* * *

It's a strange thing, you know. The overwhelming majority of people in New York City are opposed to the cutbacks and layoffs.

It's only a tiny minority that wants the cutbacks. It's only the bankers on Wall Street and the crooked politicians in city hall and Albany and Washington, who want us to sacrifice for their profits.

So why is it that the workers have been unable to use their power to fight this attack? Why do the unions appear so weak and ineffective?

A political fight

The reason is that the fight against these cuts is a political fight. The fight over where our tax dollars should go—for schools or for the bankers' profits—is a political fight.

When the state government sets up a Big Mac or a Financial Control Board that can cut your wages and tear up your union contract, it's got to be fought in the political arena, as well as on the picket lines.

But working people are in a political fight with no political representation. They have no political party of their own.

The current leaders of the unions keep the workers tied hand and foot to the Democratic party. They try to tell the workers that the Democratic party is their party, that it can represent all the people. That's a lie.

The Democratic party only represents some people—a particular class of people, the capitalist class. That's why the Democratic party is for the cutbacks. It's Democrats like Beame and Carey who are firing workers and cutting wages.

What labor party could do

With our own party—a labor party—we could put people into office who would allocate funds for schools and day-care centers and hospitals—not for the Pentagon. We could put people into office who would support strikes and demonstrations, not throw strikers into jail.

Just imagine what would happen if a conference were held with delegates from AFSCME, from the teachers, the sanitation workers, construction workers, and all the other unions in the city—along with community groups, women's groups, students, and the unemployed. And they discussed this crisis and decided to launch independent political action.

They could call a news conference and announce:

"The Democrats and Republicans have sold us out for the last time. Those parties do not represent our interests and we're through supporting them.

"We are fielding a slate of working women and men to run for Senate, for all the congressional seats, and for all city offices. We're taking the funds our unions have earmarked for political action, and instead of turning it over to our enemies, we're using it for a labor campaign.

"We are going to build a new kind of party. Not an electoral machine, but a fighting party of the workers. We're going to mobilize the ranks of our unions in every local, every factory, every shop, and every neighborhood to

stop these cutbacks and demand our right to a job and a decent standard of living."

Appeal to all oppressed

"We are going to stand up for the interests of the most oppressed. We will fight against privilege and discrimination of every kind. And we are appealing to the Black and Puerto Rican communities, to the students fighting the cuts at CUNY, to the rent strikers at Co-op City, to the senior citizens fighting to save their centers—to join with us in this drive."

An announcement like that would explode like a bombshell on the political scene. What a response it would get from all the victims of the crisis!

The impact would be felt across this country. New York would set the example—not the example it is now of how to grind us into the dirt—but an example for workers of how to fight back.

The rulers try to convince us that workers can never do anything of the sort. They try to convince us that workers are stupid. We can't think for ourselves; we can't organize ourselves; we can't act for ourselves.

Workers have no place in public office, they try to tell us. We have to be represented by these double-talking, double-dealing, high-living politicians who sit in Congress today.

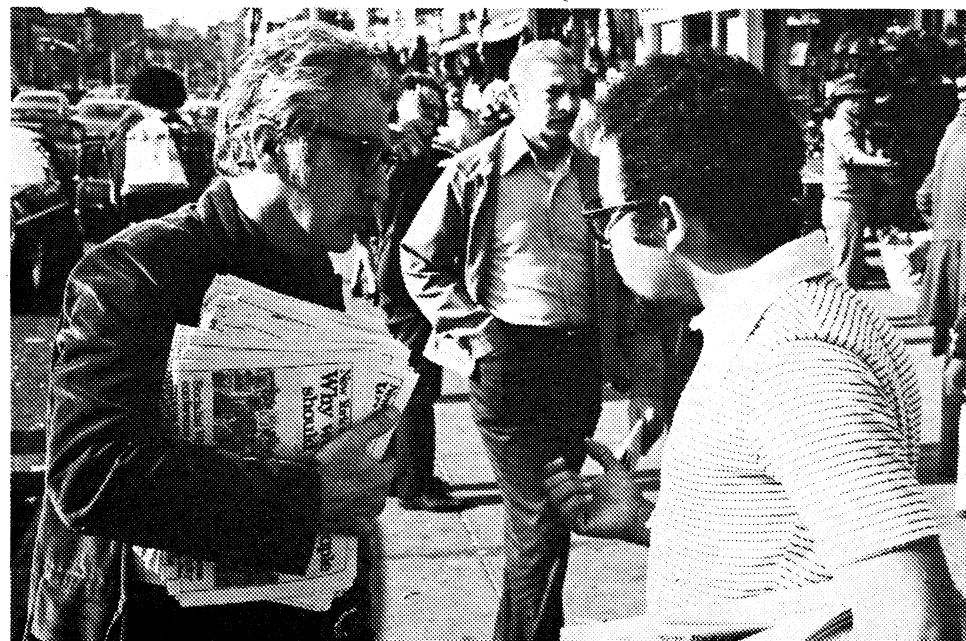
The problem is that the union officials look at the workers with exactly the same contempt. They think the role of the workers in the unions is to pay dues and do what they tell us. They try to stifle democracy in the unions and turn them into organizations run by and for a staff, not by and for the ranks.

They don't think the way to win things is to mobilize the members in an independent struggle. They tell us to sit tight while they take care of everything.

Nobody with that mentality is ever going to lead the workers to victory.

For a labor party to come into being,

Continued on page 26



Catarino Garza (left), SWP candidate for Congress, campaigns on Lower East Side. New York socialist campaign 'sets example for entire labor movement,' said Reid.

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.

What will stop CIA, FBI crimes?

The unending stream of revelations about the illegal and antidemocratic actions of the FBI and the CIA is having a profound impact on the thinking of millions of Americans. As the truth comes out, the image of the U.S. government as a defender of democracy at home and abroad is being shattered. Behind this false front, the real face of the imperialist government is emerging.

The reality is that the crimes of the FBI and the CIA are not aberrations or excesses. They are the essential methods of rule of the American capitalist class, whose wealth comes from the exploitation of working people at home and the plunder of the worldwide empire under its control.

Assassinations, coups, "counter-insurgency" operations, and plots to disrupt and destroy movements challenging its policies are all indispensable to the most ruthless government the world has ever seen. Because it serves the interests of a tiny minority, the U.S. government must employ these methods. And it must do so behind a shroud of secrecy and lies to hide its real aims and tactics.

That is why the growing demand to open the secret files of the FBI and CIA to let the people know the truth about their crimes against democratic rights poses such a powerful challenge to the ruling class.

In response to the increasing outrage at these secret government operations, capitalist politicians are proposing some "reforms" of the institutions of the capitalist state. Among the measures now being debated in Congress are steps to make the FBI and CIA more "accountable" to Congress, to the attorney general, or to the president.

Some more radical-sounding Democrats are proposing more substantial readjustments. For instance, Tom Hayden, candidate for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate from California, demands that the CIA be abolished and replaced with a new agency "within the State Department."

This new agency, says Hayden, "will only work in the national interest if it is staffed by a new generation of personnel dedicated to serving people rather than spying on them."

All of these politicians argue that the problem is that the FBI and the CIA have gotten out of control. But the fact is just the opposite. The FBI and CIA are tools of the ruling class. Their essential operations are and always have been *directly under the control* of the Democrats and Republicans, who rule this country in the interests of the capitalist class.

By posing the issue in terms of the need to restructure the machinery of the capitalist state, these politicians are engaging in a sham debate. They are merely trying to devise ways to pretty up the tarnished image of capitalist rule. They are trying to cover up the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties are the ones responsible for the policies and practices of the FBI and CIA.

To effectively defend democratic rights against the capitalist rulers' inexorable drive to destroy them, working people need to make a political break from these capitalist parties and organize their own party, a labor party based on the trade unions.

Such a party could wage a powerful campaign to force the full disclosure of the crimes still hidden in the files of the FBI and CIA. It could demand the immediate release of the truth about the assassinations of Black leaders such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. It could demand publication of all the Cointelpro and "Operation Chaos" files. And it could demand to know the full truth about the U.S. intervention now under way in Angola.

A labor party would mobilize the working class and its allies in a fight to sweep aside the capitalist parties, whose rule is based on defending the interests of a tiny minority. It would put into power a workers government, which would have no stake in the exploitation of peoples around the world. Such a government, based on the majority, would defend political rights and extend democracy into social and economic life as well.

Houston sales drive

It's my opinion that the strongest selling point of the *Militant* in this fall's circulation-building drive was its coverage of the antiracist movement and issues. Here in Houston, our top salespeople pinpoint articles like the interview with Joanne Little, articles outlining strategies for the Black liberation movement, and coverage of the fight against the Boston racists and the cutbacks.

One interesting response reported by several people was simply the idea that *Militant* coverage is unique. People can't read this news anywhere else at all.

A typical comment along these lines came from one woman who had just bought a subscription. She called up the person who sold it to her the day her subscription arrived because she was excited by the coverage and wanted to say thanks. She had recently moved to Houston from New York and couldn't believe the lack of newspapers in this area. Her comment was, "I was even beginning to think I'd read the *Village Voice* if it was around even though I never liked it. But now that I've got your paper I'm back in touch with reality again." *Jane Strader*
Houston, Texas

Holiday greeting

The National Prisoner's Association sends Christmas greetings to our members and to all workers of the world. We realize that we will never have the full meaning of Christmas until the workers of the world take control of our societies.

We urge all the people to remember the prison creed of Eugene V. Debs:

"While there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element I am of it; while there's a soul in prison I am not free."

National Prisoner's Association
Georgia

Likes even the disagreements

I have been reading the *Militant* for approximately four years. At times the *Militant* was my only contact with the outside. I have enjoyed the subscription allocated to prisoners without funds for about a year.

The *Militant* has kept me informed of and given me insight into national and international affairs relating to the struggle to bring imperialism to its monstrous end. Things that I have disagreed with only encouraged me to study harder.

My keepers have decided that I no longer need keeping. So I have a parole date soon. I would appreciate it if the *Militant* could be continued until then. *A prisoner*
California

Educational

I appreciate your sending me the *Militant*. It's very enlightening, and the guys and I find ourselves up in the wee hours talking about this issue or the other. The *Militant* is also used as our prime educational news—"class" study.

A prisoner
Illinois

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

Cleaver

After reading "The taming of El-dridge Cleaver" by Baxter Smith (December 5 *Militant*), I'm prompted to write these comments.

It is my belief, along with other brothers and sisters, that a deal between the U.S. government and Cleaver was made. All of a sudden he's preaching he's as American as apple pie. It is my belief that when the pie was baked the core was left in and Cleaver is the core. The government will turn the water back on and he will drown in America's filth. For this I say right on, he deserves whatever he gets.

Cleaver is a traitor to his people and to the dead brothers and sisters who died for the things he preached. Once he was young Blacks' idol; he told how and when. But when push came to shove, he ran.

People once believed his words, and those are the words that will stick, because if he thinks that anything at all in this country has changed for the better in favor of Blacks, then he's really wearing his brains in the front of his pants to produce the Cleaver Look.

Lynda Blackmon
Staten Island, New York

Klan's 'new look'

Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke spoke here recently at a forum on Black-white relations. His remarks provided an insight into the Klan's attempts to acquire a veneer of legitimacy.

Duke assured his audience that the Klan is no longer racist in the "old-fashioned" sense of the word. The Klan has absolutely "nothing against" Black people, he said, and it doesn't consider them inferior to whites, merely "different."

He continued by saying that the Black population in the United States has nothing to fear from white-power organizations such as the Nazis, the KKK, and ROAR, and that the interests and aspirations of the Black masses actually converge with those of the white racists. He said that they both want and need racial and cultural "autonomy" and separation.

If all this didn't succeed in nonplussing the audience, his next remark certainly did. He said that racist whites should unite with Blacks—temporarily—in order to defeat their common enemy, the Jews. The Jews, Duke insisted, had always been the main oppressors of both Black and white people.

It was not the racist whites of the KKK that Black Americans should fear, but the Jews, who he said were trying to "mongrelize" the Black and white races and thereby weaken them so that they, the Jews, could gain control.

Duke's anti-Black rhetoric was considerably toned down during the course of his speech—and for good reason. The audience was 99 percent Black. But when he speaks before all-white audiences at Klan rallies, his language is peppered with the vilest racist anti-Black epithets.

The *Militant* should continue its ruthless exposure of the real character of the KKK. It should tell its readers again and again that the racist, degenerate scum of the KKK are the number-one enemy of the American working class and of Blacks, Jews, and all other minorities. Behind Duke's expensively styled hair and double-knit suit lurks the all too familiar specter of the white-hooded, night-riding neanderthal.

Charles Anish
New Orleans, Louisiana



Gay rights at Tulane

Since October 1972, the Tulane University Gay Students Union's request for full rights and recognition as an on-campus organization has been denied by the university administration, clearly violating their constitutional rights of freedom of speech and assembly.

The dean of student affairs and the president of the university have been approached numerous times by representatives of the GSU and the Associated Student Body of the university. The administration feels that recognition of an organization is a privilege, not a right. It contends that it is not obligated to respect student rights because Tulane is a private institution. Yet Tulane receives state funds and use of the facilities of a state hospital.

On January 17, 1975, the American Civil Liberties Union of Louisiana filed suit against Tulane on behalf of the Associated Student Body and the GSU in order to enjoin the university from refusing to grant the GSU its constitutional rights.

The first hearing on the suit did not come to court until October 22. At that hearing Tulane asked for an immediate dismissal of the suit. The court denied this motion, and a second hearing has been scheduled for December 17 to further determine the status of gay students attending Tulane University.

A. LaCoste
New Orleans, Louisiana

On layoffs

I would like to make one comment regarding an article written by Cindy Jaquith on affirmative action in the December 12 *Militant*. In this article she says: "Just as the unions fought for seniority to prevent the boss from singling out militants, they must fight now to prevent the boss from using *preferential firing* to erase all the gains the most discriminated-against workers have made."

What I would like to suggest is that the term *preferential firing* may be confusing to a good number of people. First of all, I think it's important not to confuse layoffs with firings, which is sometimes done. Most (although not all) workers make a distinction between the two.

Also, use of the word *preferential* in this context is inferior, in my opinion, to the word *discriminatory*. The main argument of many bureaucrats is that seniority prevents "preferential" treatment by the boss, and many workers agree this is generally true. Use of the word *preferential* therefore gives the bureaucrats a better handle to argue against us than the term *discriminatory* would.

Discriminatory also has a stronger and more dramatic effect than *preferential*, which I think we would favor as well.

In short, I think the *Militant* should consistently use the term *discriminatory layoffs* rather than *preferential firing*.

Jack Rasmus
Oakland, California

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

The death chambers

The nursing-home scandal in New York early this year revealed a pattern of inhuman treatment of elderly patients, and it now develops that the other victims of corrupt private management are the workers in these homes.

On December 9, 12,000 members of Local 144 of the Hotel, Hospital and Nursing Home Union threatened to walk off their jobs because wage increases and pay for unused sick leave had been denied. The union contract calls for a raise of \$10 on December 1 from the base rate of \$183.18 a week for nonprofessionals.

The owners claim they have no money because the state is considering freezing Medicaid rates and the city is more than three months delinquent in auditing their claims for Medicaid payments.

In the past the city was in the habit of paying 90 percent of these claims in advance of audit, but investigations this year have turned up massive evidence of fraud. In addition, the Medicaid rate used to increase automatically when hospital wages rose. The money crisis is largely responsible for the investigations and revelations of corruption.

Peter Ottley, president of Local 144, urged Mayor Abraham Beame to speed up the audit of owner claims and give them money to pay the overdue wage increases, as if there were no other way to provide health care for the aged and pay adequate wages to hospital workers.

On December 10 the state supreme court, at the owners' request, restrained the workers from walking out for five days and ordered the matter of wages submitted to arbitration.

At the same time, Mayor Beame's human resources administrator, James Dumpson, announced the advance of \$5.5 million to the owners. They say this will allow them to pay the workers for unused sick leave. There will also be something left over for the owners.

The overdue pay raises go to arbitration and may never be collected. This was readily agreed to by Ottley for the members of Local 144. He never bothered to ask their opinion or consent.

According to Dumpson, who turned over the public funds to the private owners, all this was done to spare the patients the hardships of a strike.

This concern for the patients sounds humanitarian enough if the plight of the workers is ignored and no mention is made of the present conditions of the patients. The record shows that patients and workers would be better off if these private nursing homes were closed for good.

Last summer the body of an eighty-three-year-old man in one of the nursing homes was found on the roof, dead after he was missing for three days. In the same home a seventy-six-year-old woman died from burns after her nightgown caught fire. This nursing home is not different from most others under private ownership.

Soon after taking office, Gov. Hugh Carey named a special prosecutor and appointed a special commission to handle the nursing-home scandal. Leading politicians in both the Republican and Democratic parties are implicated in Medicaid fraud, including former Republican governors Rockefeller and Malcolm Wilson and the present Democratic speaker of the State Assembly, Stanley Steingut.

With all the investigations and publicity and new legislation, no change has been made in private ownership of nursing homes and no discernible change in the management of them.

The politicians, judging from the antistrike order of the state supreme court against the nursing-home workers, are as deeply involved in the callous mismanagement and graft as ever. The workers in these private institutions cannot collect the wages that are due them nor improve their conditions by accepting the unjust terms of this private employment imposed by the courts.

And if the unions fail to demand the elimination of these unscrupulous private operators in the nursing-home racket, some of the workers they are supposed to represent may end their days as patients in one of these death chambers.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Legal expert hits spying

WASHINGTON—Louis Pollak told the House Select Committee on Intelligence December 10 that ongoing FBI investigations of the Socialist Workers party are unauthorized and unconstitutional. Pollak is dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a vice-president of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. He was part of a panel of legal experts invited by the congressional committee to comment on the constitutional questions involved in the FBI's criminal spying operations.

Pollak based his statement on testimony presented to the committee's November 18 hearing. That day SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo had told of Cointelpro operations against his party and its supporters and refuted the charges of violence dredged up by the government as justification.

The committee had also heard from Marcus Raskin, who detailed spying by the bureau on the Institute for Policy Studies.

"The bureau seems to take the view that both investigations are justified by the provisions of the FBI manual dealing with investigation of 'extremist' and 'subversive' groups and individuals," Pollak told the committee.

He went on to explain how eighteen leaders of the SWP had been convicted of "conspiracy" in 1941 under the thought-control Smith Act.

Later Supreme Court rulings, however, upheld the constitutional rights of dissidents, gutting the Smith Act. After these decisions, Pollak asserted, "there was, in my judgment, no longer even a faintly plausible legal theory on which the bureau's persisting scrutiny of the party could be predicated."

"When the 'subject' is a political group, such as the Socialist Workers party, or an academic research organization, such as the Institute for Policy Studies, bureau investigations unrelated to criminal activity would not only appear to be unauthorized, they would also appear to be unconstitutional, for they trench

upon realms of political and intellectual activity protected by the First Amendment," concluded Pollak.

Also testifying was Michael Tigar, a lawyer and lecturer at Georgetown Law School. "The record before this committee leaves no doubt," he said. "Unlawful surveillance has been directed at political dissenters for at least forty years."

The third panelist was William Lambie from the Americans for Effective Law Enforcement, an outfit based in Evanston, Illinois. Lambie is a lawyer and, conveniently, a former FBI agent. The real issue, he suggested, is the constitutional right of the president to act in national security matters.

The crux of his defense of the FBI was, predictably, "the increasing perils of criminal terrorism and violence." With nary a mention of the SWP or any other of the real victims, Lambie continued, "Should not the crime interest of the Congress be for the victims, dead and living, and for the future victims of these political acts of terrorism and the victims of all other criminal acts as well, rather than for the theoretical, abstract, and speculative threat to a right to attain this privacy so necessary to plan execution of these acts."

In response to Lambie's plea for an unfettered bureau free to wage war on crime, committee member Ronald Dellums asked: if the drug pushers and organized crime figures "were pursued as vigorously as we pursued civil rights leaders, as vigorously as we pursued antiwar demonstrators, could not the issue of crime control in these significant areas you allude to be dealt with effectively?"

That kind of sticky question annoys FBI supporters. Lambie's convoluted, but flimsy, answer included a quote from that great supporter of civil liberties Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. Dismissing evidence of military intelligence spying, the mayor chirped, "If you haven't done anything wrong, you don't have anything to worry about."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Spiritual connection—In 1974, when Gov. Marvin Mandel of Maryland needed \$54,000 for a divorce settlement, he borrowed it from the Pallottine Fathers, a Catholic order. The money was channeled to him through a local car dealer. The Pallottines said they often make business investments to finance their priestly work. They said they didn't know Mandel wanted the money for a divorce.

We'll have to make do—Asked if he was considering a return to politics, Spiro Agnew responded definitely not. "I'm not the kind," he declared, "to forgive and forget."

Spiritual aid—The black-dye "shark chaser" repellent used by

thousands of downed U.S. pilots since World War II is worthless, navy scientists disclosed. "It was never really effective, but it helped psychologically because the people who used it didn't know it was ineffective," a navy spokesperson said. "At least the dye kept the person in the water from seeing any approaching sharks," another added.

Better than hormone pills—A Tallahassee Baptist is busy burning rock records. Rev. Charles Bayken said he's seen statistics showing that "of 1,000 girls who became pregnant out of wedlock, 984 committed fornication while rock music was being played."

Changing-times dep't—"When I joined the force fifteen years ago, the kids respected you and didn't talk

back," said Police Chief Mel Hall, whose thirty-seven officers wear an American flag emblem on the shoulders of their jackets. "But the pendulum swung. You drive down the street now and they yell, Hey, here comes the stinking fuzz."—A *Los Angeles Times* report from Hastings, Nebraska.

Cheap as gas—Bored with Monopoly? Try Petropolis, an oil biz variation on Monopoly. A standard set is \$195. In leather, gold and silver plate, \$795. Or, with eighteen-karat gold rigs and derricks, \$20,000. If you can wait till spring, there will be a mass market set, only \$25.

Objective appraisal—Saluting capitalism as "the greatest and most productive system man has ever creat-

ed," Nelson Rockefeller told the National Association of Manufacturers, "In a modest way, I have been a beneficiary" of that system.

Last, desperate resort—Ontario, Canada, information officers were carefully briefed on how to handle the news media prior to provincial elections last fall. According to an information officers' newsletter, they were advised, "In a crisis situation the best policy is honesty—but try everything else first."

That's strange—The chief of the World Health Organization's Office of Mental Health said a recent study showed that 20 percent of New York's urban population showed depressive symptoms.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



'Discovery Day' in District One

[The following is a guest column by Juan Rodríguez. He was born in Santurce, Puerto Rico, in 1949 and currently lives on the Lower East Side of New York City in school District One. He has been active in the struggle against the racist white majority that controls the District One school board and is a member of the Lower East Side branch of the Socialist Workers party.]

On November 12, the school board of District One put out a news release commemorating November 19 as "Puerto Rican Discovery Day." This release, authored by acting head of the school board, Charles Baylor, was a racist insult to the Puerto Rican community of the Lower East Side.

The release said, "It was on November 19 in 1493 that Christopher Columbus touched the soil of Puerto Rico, the only one of the U.S. territories discovered by Columbus."

This implies that the "great white discoverer" sanctified the island by touching it, and that we should be proud to be the only U.S. property "discovered" by Columbus. The statement reflects the racist ideology that God appointed the white Europeans to conquer and civilize the "savages" of the world.

One of the main purposes of the "Discovery Day" news release was to cover up the colonial status of Puerto Rico. It says that "since becoming a U.S. Commonwealth territory in 1952, Puerto Rico has changed from a poverty-stricken agrarian community into a prosperous industrial one." This is an outright lie!

Today, the unemployment level in Puerto Rico is 40 percent. The wages of those who do work are one-third to one-half those in the United States for the same jobs, but the cost of living is much higher. The poverty is so great that 71 percent of the people of the island are currently receiving food stamps in order to survive.

The U.S. government's so-called development program—"Operation Bootstrap"—left Puerto Rico economically dependent on the United States. North American corporations are exempt from paying one cent in federal or Puerto Rican taxes while they reap billions of dollars in profits from Puerto Rico.

In addition, because of the lack of jobs, about one-third of the Puerto Rican population has been forced to leave the island, under the illusion that things might be better in the United States.

The news release goes on, "Puerto Ricans in the

U.S. have been successful in numerous fields and especially in show business and sports." This stupidity implies that Puerto Ricans are only good at showbiz and sports because they are too dumb for other things.

This racism is typical of the six white school board members who hold the majority of seats on the school board. They were elected against a pro-community-control slate called "Por los Niños" in last May's school board election.

These people control the lives and education of the schoolchildren of District One, 75 percent of whom are Puerto Rican. Most of these children are three to four years behind in their reading levels, because of the lack of bilingual and bicultural education. Yet right now there is more than \$300,000 sitting in a bank earmarked for bilingual education in District One, which the superintendent elected by the school board majority refuses to release. He says, "The children are bright; they don't need bilingual education."

What we need in District One is a school board representative of the needs and interests of the children and the community—a board composed of parents and community people.

We need to throw out the racists!

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The Third National Institute

WASHINGTON—With a shine on his feet, a sheen to his hair, and polish in his voice, Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke—like a father who just caught his children smoking in the attic—gave a stern lecture on the New York budget crisis to the 800 banquet listeners.

"New York itself must bear the primary responsibility for its fiscal problems," the nation's premier Black elected official, a Republican, said. The city has "lived beyond its means. It had an extravagant pension and benefits system for its middle-income workers. It had been treating all households, regardless of means, to a free education right through college, and to a rent-controlled apartment. Now some of these programs may be desirable, but the reality is that if a city is going to have such programs, it must have the resources to pay for them."

While the Bay State senator spoke, Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton and Rep. Charles Rangel, New York Democrats, sat on the dais quivering and quaking and shivering and shaking.

"New Yorkers were about to split a gut over what

Ed Brooke said last night about New York," Urban League chief Vernon Jordan disclosed the next day.

The occasion was the third National Institute for Black Elected Public Officials, held here December 11-13. And the above example typifies the differences that arose as the officials, Democrats and Republicans, met to lay out priorities for the Black community in 1976. Rangel and Sutton's problem with Brooke lies not in their opposition to cutbacks and layoffs in New York City, but in how to do it quietly and come out smelling clean.

Proposals that were adopted are to be presented to the Democratic and Republican candidates. Whether Black elected officials would refuse to support a candidate who did not accept the proposals, however, and whether they would urge the Black community not to support him or her was an important question that was sidestepped during the three days of deliberations.

Two resolutions were passed that jibe with the immediate concerns of the Black community.

"The purpose of school desegregation," one resolution says, "was in 1954 and still is in 1975 to

improve access for all children to quality education. Until and unless communities have alternative viable means of insuring high-quality education for their children in integrated settings, busing remains a technique which must be supported, for wherever it has been judicially ordered, in order to reach that goal."

The second resolution "condemns the policy and covert activities of the CIA and specifically the FBI in conducting unwarranted and illegal activities against Black elected officials and civil rights leaders and most particularly against the late Martin Luther King, Jr." It did not call for a new investigation into the King slaying.

Other resolutions called for tax reform, national health insurance, federal aid to minority business, and passage of the Hawkins so-called full employment bill, which would do nothing to provide jobs for the two million or more Blacks now out of work. There was no discussion of implementing the measures to improve the lot of the Black community or of beginning an educational campaign around the issues raised in the resolutions.



Colorado land ravaged by strip mining

Energy profiteers threaten to destroy Midwestern lands

By Marvel Scholl

There are vast stretches of the Great Plains states, reaching all the way from Montana east through western North and South Dakota, and south through Kansas, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico, that may soon become a second scarred and slag-filled Appalachia.

Some time ago it was discovered that this area contains millions of tons of low-sulfur coal, lying just sixty feet below the surface. This coal cannot be mined by conventional methods because of its nearness to the surface. But it can be gouged out of the earth by the new earth-moving machinery—scoop shovels ten stories high, capable of moving in one bite enough topsoil or coal to fill a normal apartment kitchen!

Most of the land is federally owned—that is, it belongs to the people of the United States, at least in theory. It consists of many national parks (parts of both Yellowstone and Glacier), national forests, river beds, valleys, and many Indian reservations. The reservations belong, by treaty rights, to the Native Americans, but this too is in theory.

In a February 16 article in the *Washington Post* reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, Helena Huntington Smith reveals the brutal story of the energy consortium's plans to destroy the millions of acres of what has been called "the world's breadbasket."

Fertile lands

These vast stretches of land are the most fertile pasture and grain-growing plains in the world. In a House Interior Committee report issued in May 1975, it was revealed that "much of the nation's prime grazing and farming land is located in the band of Western states where these immense coal deposits are located. . . . The short, sun-cured, protein-rich grass that covers the barren rolling plains is the best natural cattle feed in the world. . . . Wheat yields, under irrigation, are among the highest per acre in any part of the country. . . ."

The huge cattle ranches and grain farms are today part of what is known as "agribusiness." Small farmers can't

exist and make a living, so land that has become available through mortgage foreclosure or sale belongs to one set of American capitalists. They rent grazing and growing lands on federal property, as well as the water rights, from the Department of the Interior.

We have no sympathy for agribusiness in its current fight with the power consortiums, but we do hold a strong interest in the *land* and the *water*, and the working people who live in and operate these huge food-producing areas.

Secret deal

The whole land-grab rip-off originated back in the late 1960s when the rich deposits of low-sulfur coal were discovered. Most eastern power conglomerates ignored or disbelieved in the existence of such coal wealth, but a few "right thinking" corporations, along with officials from the Department of the Interior, put their heads together and began, very secretly, to buy up leases to mineral rights on Indian reservations. "Buying" is scarcely the word. "Stealing" would be better. Mineral rights on some reservations underlaid with coal were "sold" for as little as seven cents to seven dollars per acre.

Then these same conspirators engineered another rip-off to assure the coal barons of success in their plans. They organized the Industrial Water Marketing Program, set up under the Bureau of Reclamation, to sell *rights to the water in the Yellowstone River and two of its reservoirs at Boysen and Yellowstone*. Part of the program allowed for sinking of wells so deep that they would drain underground water not only from the Plains states but also for hundreds of miles in all directions.

Up to that point agribusiness had paid little attention to the prospective strip-mining in "their territory." But when they found that water rights, which they thought *they* owned by government lease, had been sold right from under their noses, they joined the conservationists and several state governments in a fight against the whole project.

What the ranchers and farmers did not know is that, even on the land to which they held title, *they did not own*

the mineral rights. And in some cases they did not even own rights to the forests on their land. Those rights remained in the hands of the Department of the Interior, which was free to lease them to the highest bidder.

Protests

The protests of the Native Americans and the awakening of agribusiness to what was happening to their water and grazing rights broke the secret of the coal. The big boys in the power conglomerate (Exxon and Consolidation, to name just two) then got into the game. Prices on leases went up, up, up.

But meanwhile the Sierra Club, other conservationist groups, local agribusiness, and state governments under pressure from their own people brought injunction suits to stop the power moguls from immediately turning their states into another Appalachia.

Most of these injunctions have been granted, but the power interests are appealing them to higher courts.

One of the most interesting cases involves South Dakota. This state, along with North Dakota, Montana, and parts of both Wyoming and Nebraska, sits on top of a huge aquifer (layers of water-bearing coal beds) called the Madison Formation. In late 1974 the Wyoming state legislature authorized Energy Transportation Systems to tap the underground formations and build a coal-slurry (a mixture of coal and water) pipeline stretching 1,000 miles, to Arkansas.

If Wyoming is allowed to go through with this water steal, the town of Edgemont, South Dakota, will be completely dried out, and others drastically affected. The coal-slurry pipe line would drain *10,000 gallons a minute* out of the Madison Formation.

The government of South Dakota has a suit in court to stop this plot. It is prepared to go all the way to the Supreme Court.

The power cabal has several plans to get the coal to market.

One plan is to build plants right in the fields that would turn the coal into gas to be shipped east by pipeline.

Such plants would require tremendous amounts of water to operate, in states that have barely enough water

for present irrigation and domestic needs.

The power consortium claims that it can and will reclaim all of the land dug up—that they will replace the topsoil and prove (as they claim to have done at Colstrip, Montana) that the land can once again become productive farming and cattle land.

Geologists deny this possibility—especially if all the underground water is used up. Surface rivers and streams and underground river systems are interdependent.

One farmer interviewed about the Colstrip "reclamation" project says that the only reason grass is now growing on this small strip is that the "reclamationists" have dumped in almost as much fertilizer as soil. They now can show grass waist high—but as the same farmer said, "Did you ever see a cow that would eat grass that high?" Then he went on to predict that once the coal conglomerate stopped over-fertilizing the soil, all this grass would die and nothing else would grow.

Water priorities

Water, of course, is the key to the whole thing. The Department of the Interior has placed water for irrigation and domestic use way down on the need scale. They've issued a whole new schedule of water priorities.

"Irrigation is the bottom of the totem pole," an official of the Bureau of Reclamation said recently. The *Washington Post* article reports that water for industrial (coal-related) use is at the top of the list.

Another, counter report issued by the National Academy of Sciences notes that "until recently it has been tacitly assumed that unappropriated water would be used for a combination of irrigation, wildlife management, and municipal and industrial purposes. . . . In 1972-73 the use of this water became more importantly directed toward energy conservation, cooling of steam plants. . . . Such a sharp reversal of government policy came about with little or no public awareness."

Ford vetoes

President Ford has twice vetoed strip-mining bills, the first of which would have forced the power monopolies to pay forty cents per ton of coal removed for the reclamation of the land, among other restrictions.

The second bill removed many of the restrictions objected to by the president, but he vetoed that too. The House had promised to override the veto, but three attempts failed. Then a group of the "conservationist" legislators tried to attach the strip-mining bill to another bill involving coal leasing on federal lands. That too was defeated by a House committee.

It is clear that the government is on the side of the power cabal. The land, once lauded in song as "America the Beautiful" with "amber waves of grain," is to become a land of corrugated ridges. A land of automated industry. A land where people live in concrete ghettos, where food and water, always essentials to life, are luxuries to be enjoyed at the will of the profit makers.

In a planned society, a socialist society, the natural resources—the waterways, the remaining forests, the beautiful national parks (already in the process of commercialization), the wildlife, the vast plains where our food is grown, would be of major concern to a workers government. Industry would be planned for the needs of all the people, not for the profits of a few. Air pollution and factory contamination would be conquered.

Humanity could live—not suffocate from poisonous fumes, both inside and outside the factories and mills.

But there is profit in the hills and plains of the great Midwest. And under the present setup, to get that profit the land itself must be destroyed.

Setting the record straight on debate at CLUW convention

By Cindy Jaquith

In the aftermath of the December 5-7 convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, several distorted and misleading articles have appeared in major newspapers, obscuring the real issues debated at the convention.

In a December 8 *New York Times* article, Eileen Shanahan wrote: "The Coalition of Labor Union Women, at its second national convention, decisively defeated efforts led by women from the far left to change its basic structure and thrust and, instead, recommitted the organization to work for progress for women through the mainstream of the trade union movement."

The largest group of "dissidents," claimed the *Times*, was "a shifting coalition of far-left organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, that has tried to open membership in the organization to all women, not just women who are union members."

Nearly identical charges appeared in a December 8 article by Helen Fogel in the *Detroit Free Press*. "Left-wing splinter groups," reported the *Press*, argued at the convention for extending membership to nonunion women. "The radical faction," as the *Press* called it, was "composed of such groups as the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the October League."

What are the facts?

To begin with, the authors of these two articles can't even get the facts straight. The question of nonunion women joining CLUW was a secondary, not a central, issue debated at the convention. When this point came up under the debate on the constitution it was discussed briefly and then voted on. The delegates upheld the present policy of building CLUW as an organization of union women.

Members of the Socialist Workers party who belong to CLUW opposed opening up CLUW to nonunion women, contrary to the false report from the *New York Times*. The SWP's stand—which is widely known throughout CLUW—is that CLUW's first job is to build a base among the millions of union women.

A small group calling itself the Rank and File Action Caucus, led by the International Socialists, did advocate opening CLUW to women not yet in unions. It won little support. Why such attention to this issue in the media then?

The confusion did not begin with the *New York Times*. The charges that appeared in the media after the convention echoed earlier charges made by the convention organizers themselves.

Prior to the convention, a mailing from the "Majority of the Members of

the National Coordinating Committee" went to all CLUW members. It stated in part: "Since our founding conference, a small minority of our members have attempted to divert us from our original purpose and method of operation."

The convention itself was opened with a prayer by Rev. Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH. In a thinly disguised attack on radicals, she asked for divine protection from "CIA disrupters" who might be in the midst of delegates.

Word was passed to union caucuses that "radicals" were going to try to turn CLUW into a nonunion organization.

All this was done in an attempt to influence delegates to view with suspicion any challenge to the perspectives put forth by CLUW President Olga Madar and her supporters.

What was Madar so afraid of? Certainly not the discussion over membership, in which the great majority of delegates were solidly behind maintaining CLUW's union character.

Red herring

The debate over membership was used as a red herring to cover up the real issue Madar wanted to keep off the floor—affirmative action.

Millions of jobs won by women and Blacks through affirmative action are now being lost in the current layoffs, which proceed according to strict seniority. How to defend these affirmative-action gains has been a controversy in CLUW for months.

The AFL-CIO and United Auto Workers tops insist that strict seniority must be followed no matter what happens to women and Blacks. In deference to this reactionary stand, Madar narrowly defeated a resolution at the May 31-June 1 National Coordinating Committee meeting to place CLUW in opposition to any reduction through layoffs in the percentage of women and minorities in the work force.

She then drew up an agenda for the convention that ruled out any discussion of CLUW's political positions, including, of course, affirmative action.

Many CLUW activists disagreed with this undemocratic move. At the initiative of the Houston CLUW chapter, a caucus was formed to fight for an open political discussion at the convention. The "Houston caucus," as it became known, had one simple objective: to amend the agenda to allow time for discussion of affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the fight for full employment.

In a red-baiting tactic, the *Times* and *Free Press* both implied that anyone with proposals counter to Madar's was a "radical" or part of the "shifting



Militant/Susan Ellis

CLUW President Olga Madar wanted to keep affirmative-action discussion from coming to floor.

coalition of far-left organizations." In fact, the Houston caucus was the largest and broadest opposition at the convention, including in its ranks Democrats, Republicans, Socialist Workers party members, independents, rank-and-file unionists, and labor officials.

The Houston caucus drew 200 women to its first meeting, and received even more support for its agenda proposal—30 percent of the 1,000 delegates present.

Yet not a word about the caucus appeared in either the *Times* or *Free Press* accounts. Instead, readers were told that "efforts led by women from the far left" were "decisively defeated" at the convention.

In almost the same breath, the *Times* added, "The coalition also rededicated itself to work for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment." But the fact of the matter is that the proposal for an action campaign to win the ERA came from a supporter of the Houston caucus, and Madar opposed the motion!

Despite Madar's opposition, the majority of delegates voted for the ERA proposal. It was Madar, not the Houston caucus, who was "decisively defeated" in this case.

The delegates, including supporters of the Houston caucus, also defeated a move by Madar to strip local chapters of their right to representation on the incoming national leadership body.

Upside down

In other words, the *New York Times* article stood everything on its head. It was not the Houston caucus or the Socialist Workers party that wanted to change CLUW's "basic structure and thrust." These delegates fought to retain CLUW's original thrust as an organization that puts the needs of women workers, not conservative union bureaucrats, first.

Madar, on the other hand, hoped to use this convention to back away further from the concept of CLUW as an organization that defends the special interests of working women.

The real struggle of union women is in the "mainstream of the trade union movement." That means taking the fight for women's rights into the unions and winning their active support, not subordinating the fight against sex discrimination to the wishes of labor officials.

This is what the debate in CLUW is all about. That debate should be conducted in an open, democratic atmosphere—free of false charges—to arrive at the most effective strategy for taking CLUW forward.

Socialists picket St. Louis speech by FBI head

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—FBI Director Clarence Kelly addressed a St. Louis University symposium on "Human Dignity and American Democracy" on December 4. Kelly said his speech was one of a series he will be making to "restore the proper image of the FBI." He admonished the \$175-per-ticket audience to accept the concept that "occasional and tightly controlled abrogation of rights is unavoidable if the national security is to be protected."

A protest mounted by the Missouri 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee attracted considerable attention outside the meeting. The socialists' picket publicized a suit filed on their behalf by the American Civil Liberties Union challenging Missouri's campaign finances disclosure law. This law requires the socialists to turn over a list of their campaign contributors to the government.

The socialists maintain that, given the record of FBI and local police harassment of their campaign supporters and candidates in Missouri, this law, in effect, constitutes a requirement to turn over a ready-made "enemies list" to the government.

Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers candi-



FBI's KELLEY: Trying to restore image of FBI with same old 'national security' dodge.

date from Missouri's Second Congressional District, was quoted by the December 5 *Globe-Democrat* as terming Kelley's speech "hypocritical." "Recent revelations, memos, and their own files," he said, "have exposed the FBI as the American government's political police, whose very target has been, in fact, democratic rights."

The lead editorial in the Sunday, December 7, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* echoed the socialists' charge that Kelley's concern for "national security" was only a hypocritical justification for the FBI's dirty tricks.

The editorial noted that national security "was the excuse for the anonymous poison-pen attacks fomented by the FBI against the late Dr. Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders. It was the excuse for FBI efforts to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party, a legal party. It was the excuse for Mr. Hoover's Cointelpro program which went far beyond mere counterintelligence in its efforts to smash groups that Mr. Hoover suspected might endanger the national security. Indeed, national security was the litany that brought the FBI into political police work."



Militant/Susan Ellis

Democratic discussion of issues before CLUW is best way to build strong union women's organization.

Levi proposes 'legal' Cointelpro; FBI puts SWP on 'terrorist' list

By Nancy Cole

Despite public outcry against massive government spying, the FBI is continuing its Cointelpro-type disruption operations against Blacks, socialists, and all dissidents. Two important developments in the past week show that the government has no intention of calling a halt to these crimes.

FBI documents recently received by the Associated Press reveal that the bureau has placed 110 members of the Socialist Workers party on its secret Administrative Index, a list supposedly reserved for terrorists, saboteurs, and assassins.

Only days before this discovery, the Justice Department proposed its solution to charges of illegal disruption: legalize it. Attorney General Edward Levi appeared before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence December 11 to present proposed "guidelines for the FBI's domestic security investigations."

The guidelines would, for the first time in U.S. history, legitimize the FBI's politically motivated harassment and disruptions, using the excuse that targeted groups and individuals might use violence against the U.S. government.

'Terrorists' list

The inclusion of members of the SWP on the FBI's select list of "terrorists" is proof positive that the government's only intentions are to step up the war on those who disagree with its policies and actions.

Until 1971 the FBI maintained what it called the Security Index, a list of 15,000 individuals targeted for detention in case of "national emergency." In that year, however, the Security Index was replaced with the much smaller Administrative Index.

The new list is reportedly updated each month to provide the FBI with an up-to-date listing of the country's most dangerous "security" risks. Nobody, according to a memorandum by bureau chief Clarence Kelley, is placed on the list because of their "opposition to Government policies" or because of their "membership in a subversive organization."

"Individuals who are included are those who have exhibited a willingness or capability of engaging in treason, rebellion, sedition, sabotage, espionage, assassination of Government officials, terrorism, guerrilla warfare, or other acts which would result in interference with or a threat to the survival and effective operation of national, state, or local government."

"During 1972 the operation of this index was evaluated and revised to include only those individuals who pose a realistic, direct and current danger to the national security."

Bureau officials say the list now stands at about 1,250. Thus, members of the SWP make up nearly 10 percent of the entire Administrative Index!

Violation of rights

"This is an outrageous violation of our rights," says SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo. "It's a new stage in the government's ongoing campaign to picture the SWP—a legal party, which plans to win the majority of Americans to its views—as a terrorist conspiracy."

"First they used the attorney general's list of 'subversive' groups as an excuse to persecute and discredit us. Now we find out that the FBI—which labels all fighters for social change as 'terrorists'—judges one-tenth of the most 'dangerous' to be members of the SWP!"

The FBI is going to have a difficult time trying to justify this insidious spying operation against the socialists. Time and again the government has been forced to admit that the SWP does not engage in violent or illegal activities of any sort.

At a House intelligence hearing November 18, top FBI official W. Raymond Wannall was asked if the SWP has "engaged in any violent activities or advocated violent activities?" "Not violent," he grudgingly answered.

The SWP, along with the Young Socialist Alliance, has filed a lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other federal agencies in an effort to end just such crimes against dissidents.

As part of its defense against that suit, the government is frantically trying to justify its illegal activities by arguing that the SWP might engage in violence at some point in the future.

"We feel that when an organization states publicly that they don't engage in violence, but also states to its members, 'Wait until the time is right,' . . . we feel we have to monitor that situation," FBI official James Adams said of the SWP at the same House committee hearing.

"The simple fact is that the Administrative Index is just another cover story for the FBI's policy of 'investigating' and disrupting anyone whose views it dislikes," charged Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is publicizing and financing the SWP's suit against the FBI.

"We intend to press ahead with our efforts to bring these secret police practices to a stop."

New Cointelpro

After nearly two years of incriminating disclosures and months of grilling before congressional committees, however, the Justice Department is boldly proposing a resurrection of Cointelpro-

type operations. Unlike the original top-secret "counterintelligence" program, this one will be public—at least in part—and so must be wrapped in "legal" justifications.

"As I have said before," Attorney General Levi told the Senate intelligence committee December 11, "some of the activities in Cointelpro were outrageous and the others were foolish. Nonetheless, there may be circumstances involving an immediate risk to human life or to extraordinarily important government functions that could only be countered by some sort of preventive action."

"Preventive action," then, is the bureau's new code word for its war on dissidents. "Preventive action by the FBI," according to the new guidelines, "may include objectives such as: 1) disrupting plans for using force or violence; or 2) preventing access to, or rendering inoperative weapons, explosives, or other instrumentalities of planned violence."

Asked to be more specific by committee head Sen. Frank Church, Levi gave an example of two "violence-prone" columns of marchers heading toward one another with the potential of a confrontation. He said the FBI might block streets or change direction signs as a "preventive action."

In a December 16 editorial, the *New York Times* commented, "Thus, the projected authority to 'obstruct or prevent' groups planning activities that might 'interfere substantially' with the 'essential functioning of government' might be read to permit the F.B.I. to do anything from protecting the vital work of air traffic controllers to disrupting a proposed peace march in Washington."

All the guidelines require is that the FBI see a "likelihood" that "force or violence" will be used at some time in the future before the disruption can begin.

"Preventive actions," as distinct



LEVI: 'Some activities in Cointelpro were outrageous and others foolish. Nonetheless, there may be circumstances. . .'

from "investigations," must have the attorney general's approval. And the attorney general in turn must report "at least annually" to Congress on the disruption campaigns. That's the extent of the "controls."

As if this sweeping authority to stifle dissent granted by the guidelines isn't bad enough, it may be even worse for some groups.

A single paragraph at the beginning of the guidelines limits their applicability to individuals and groups "not directed by, subsidized by or otherwise undertaken in active collaboration with a foreign power or foreign based political group."

"Standards for determining when there is foreign involvement sufficient to place a subject in the category of foreign counterintelligence investigation are now being debated within the guidelines committee," Levi explained to the Senate committee.

The FBI has long ranted about the perils of "foreign control" and "international terrorism" to justify its illegal acts against radical groups. For example, the SWP's collaboration with socialists in other countries is cited as evidence of "foreign control."

Thus, even the publicly disclosed guidelines may be only a mild version of what the FBI has in store for the SWP and other socialist groups.

More to uncover

The congressional intelligence hearings have ended, and both committees plan to close up shop in early 1976. Committee members and staff admit that large areas of domestic and foreign "intelligence" activity were missed and that there were "gaps" in documents and files that led them to believe there was much more to uncover.

"Only a tiny corner has been lifted on the shroud of secrecy behind which the FBI, CIA, and other secret-police agencies operate," SWP candidate Camejo said in testimony before the House committee in November.

"Ending this secrecy would be a big step in the direction of bringing their crimes to a halt."

Unfortunately, the government has managed to protect much of that secrecy. And the full horror of its involvement in such crimes as Martin Luther King's assassination has yet to be told.

But one thing that is not likely to restore the FBI's esteem, or that of the Congress investigating it, in the eyes of the American people is the legalization of the bureau's criminal schemes.



Parade of disclosures

Milwaukee, Dec. 28-Jan. 1

Come to the Young Socialist convention

By Steve Clark

Hundreds of college and high school students from coast to coast will attend the fifteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance December 28-January 1. The gathering will be held on the Milwaukee campus of the University of Wisconsin.

Delegates from the YSA's more than sixty chapters will participate in five days of plenary discussions of the major issues confronting young people today. These sessions will be supplemented by workshops and panel discussions on the desegregation struggle, education cutbacks, building support for the 1976 Socialist Workers presidential ticket, and the YSA's and Socialist Workers party's lawsuit

against government harassment and surveillance of their activities.

A special event at the convention's first evening session will be a celebration of the YSA's fifteenth anniversary. It will feature a slide show illustrating the YSA's participation in the sit-ins and boycotts of the civil rights movement, the massive anti-Vietnam War demonstrations, the fight for the repeal of anti-abortion laws, and other social movements. Accompanying the slides will be narratives by past and present YSA leaders who were activists in these struggles.

Among the speakers will be the YSA's first national officers, Tim Wohlforth, Jim Lambrecht, and Sherry Finer; current YSA leaders Geoff

Mirelowitz, Mac Warren, and Olga Rodriguez; and Susan Solitsky, a new member of the Brooklyn YSA.

The first convention report, which will be given by Joan Quinn, will review the current American political situation as it affects young people in high school and on college campuses. It will focus on some of the most pressing problems facing young people today: education cutbacks; the summer and part-time job crunch; and the continuing attacks against national minorities and women.

The report will discuss the important role that students have played and will continue to play in achieving social change. It will outline a socialist strategy for students to fight back against attacks on their right to a decent education and a secure future.

YSA leader Nan Bailey will present a report on the struggle for school desegregation and the overall fight against racism. It will stress the importance of continued YSA participation in the activities of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, which has provided national leadership in mobilizing student support for these struggles.

Another report will center on the women's liberation movement and the fight to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. It will be presented by Nancy Brown, a staff writer for the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Tying together these three presentations, a report by Rick Berman will focus on the YSA's tasks and priorities in building a socialist youth organization that can mobilize students behind these struggles and in the fight for a socialist America.

A final report, to be given by Chuck Petrin, will discuss the current situa-

tion in Portugal and the prospects for revolutionary change there.

One of the convention highlights will be a December 29 election campaign rally featuring Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Other rally speakers will be: Michael Murphy, a Milwaukee YSA member facing frame-up charges of assaulting a Nazi party member; Joe Madison, executive director of the Detroit NAACP; Richie Izzo, a leader of the struggle against campus cutbacks in New York City; longtime Socialist Workers party leader George Novack; Omari Musa, SWP candidate for governor of California; and Pat Wright, SWP candidate for Congress from Brooklyn.

The YSA's yearly conventions are its highest decision-making bodies. They are preceded by three months of democratic debate and discussion in all YSA chapters and the printing of discussion bulletins open to all YSA members for their written comments, criticisms, or counterproposals.

Delegates are then elected by the chapters to discuss these questions further at the convention, arrive at decisions by majority vote, and elect a new national leadership.

The YSA convention is open to all young people interested in socialist ideas, and discussion from all participants is welcomed at its many workshops and panels.

Registration for the entire five days is \$3.00. Low-cost and hotel housing are available. For further information on how you can attend, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see *Socialist Directory* on page 26) or write: YSA, Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



Delegates at 1974 YSA convention in St. Louis

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Cal. students protest

How to expose Shockley's racist ideas

By Geoff Mirelowitz

LOS ANGELES—A recent debate here between a noted Black scientist and an exponent of the theory of Black genetic inferiority illustrated how to respond effectively to the rash of racist, pseudoscientific ideas making the rounds of the nation's campuses.

At the November 11 debate, held at the University of Southern California (USC), Black Prof. Richard Goldsby answered William Shockley's racist arguments one by one, stripping them of their "scientific" cover. Goldsby teaches genetics at the University of Maryland; Shockley is a physicist.

An overflow crowd of 1,700 people attended the debate, which had received wide publicity on campus during the previous week. Black and Chicano students comprised more than half the audience.

Prior to the debate, nearly 150 students participated in a picket line sponsored by the USC Associated Black Students (ABS), MECHA (a Chicano student group), and the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). These groups made it clear that their aim was to protest Shockley's racist views, not to stop him from speaking.

In fact, the picket line organizers welcomed the chance for a Black geneticist to refute Shockley's fake scientific theories. They encouraged students to attend the debate.

Members of the Progressive Labor party and its associated organization, the Committee Against Racism, at-

tended the picket line with clearly different intentions. CAR and the PLP were not sponsors of the activity and had done nothing to publicize it.

They distributed a leaflet provocatively headlined, "Stop Shockley," which featured a picture of their members at New York's Staten Island Community College disrupting a Shockley appearance there. Their picket signs carried such slogans as, "We've got a rope, we've got a tree, all we need is Shockley."

As the debate began, the picketers went inside. The picket line marshals, including leaders of the three sponsoring groups, explained again that no disruption was planned. Twenty members of the PLP and CAR, however, gathered near the stage and began to heckle and jeer.

These disrupters, mostly white students, were dispersed by marshals organized by the ABS, MECHA, and SCAR. Chris Winfrey, an ABS leader, urged the audience to listen to the debate. Despite scattered heckling by PLP and CAR members, the majority of the audience applauded Winfrey's remarks.

After that, the two presentations occurred largely without disruption, although the first few minutes of Shockley's remarks were difficult to hear. The disrupters were frequently met with shouts of "Shut up" from Black students in the audience.

The question period at the end of the debate was cut off when another disrupter, evidently not from the PLP

or CAR, seized the microphone.

The organizers of the picket line considered the day's events successful. MECHA leader Richard Madrid told the *USC Daily Trojan*, "It showed that students were receptive to an open debate, but at the same time I think it was clear to him [Shockley] that we rejected his ideas."

In an interview with the *Trojan* before the debate, Professor Goldsby correctly pointed out that for Shockley,



SHOCKLEY: Would rather pose as 'persecuted underdog' than debate his racist ideas.

"probably the best thing that could happen . . . would be to be prevented from speaking."

That way, this racist demagogue could have pawned himself off as a persecuted underdog being deprived of his rights. To Shockley, this is far preferable to hundreds of students hearing a scientific rebuttal of his charlatan ideas.

Goldsby told the *Trojan* that it was important for opponents of Shockley's ideas to confront them head on. "Like it or not," he said, "there are many people in this society who have deep down questions about this subject."

Disruptive actions such as that of CAR and the PLP cannot substitute for the necessary task of convincing the majority of white students and working people to reject racist theories like Shockley's.

The approach of the ABS, MECHA, and SCAR, on the other hand, expressed the confidence that in an open debate, Shockley would come out a loser. It also made it clear that the antiracist movement at USC is a staunch defender of the very rights endangered by Shockley's anti-Black demagoguery—including the right to free speech.

It is through taking these backward ideas head on and mobilizing militant demonstrations and other actions in defense of Black rights that the racist forces in this country will be isolated. The provocations of the PLP and CAR are an obstacle in accomplishing this necessary task.

A portrait of exploitation

With the Mexican farm workers at 'el hoyo'

By Arnold Weissberg

CALEXICO, Calif.—The road to the Mexican border curves down away from the state employment office and seems to disappear in the dark. But out of the dark, in ones and twos, and later in larger numbers, Mexican farm workers find their way to the state office parking lot, which the workers call *el hoyo* (the hole).

El hoyo is where farm workers gather hoping to get picked by the labor contractors or the ranch crew foremen for a day's work.

The early morning temperature is cold, around 35 degrees, but when the sun comes up it will reach 80. In summer, the daytime temperature often reaches 120 degrees. In this normally warm climate, few workers are dressed adequately against the chill.

The workers file across the international bridge and up the dark road from Mexicali. Many turn into the brightly lit parking lot. Some cross the narrow street and wait in front of an abandoned gas station where labor contractors also gather their crews.

Others continue up the hill into Calexico and wait to be hired at still-closed gas stations, on corners, in supermarket parking lots, and at the Jack-in-the-Box restaurant up the street from the United Farm Workers headquarters, a hiring point for a number of contractors. The Calexico Jack-in-the-Box, I was told, is the busiest in the country. But busiest of all in the early morning hours is the hole.

There they stand, or sit, and wait. A few more fortunate ones have cars, or friends with cars, that save time on the

trip over the border and provide a place to wait. But most sit or stretch out on the wooden benches by the state employment office.

By 4:00 a.m., many of the workers have been up for two or even three hours. Since the crew selection begins about then, you have to be at *el hoyo* by 3:30 a.m.

First, there is a long, slow trip from the outlying districts of Mexicali, followed by a one- or two-hour wait to cross the border. The wait may be extended on particular days if the border patrol decides that the farm workers are really potential drug smugglers. Finally, there is the long wait to be hired. Many of the workers leave home early to avoid the crush at the border.

Because not all the lettuce crop is ready for harvesting, fewer workers than usual will be hired today. Several hundred will pass through *el hoyo*, compared with several thousand at the peak of the harvest.

Today there are only about twenty-five of the buses that will take workers to the fields. The buses belong to the labor contractors and the ranches. At peak harvest, the parking lot overflows with them. The buses' bright colors—white, red, yellow—seem out of place, as if trying to make *el hoyo* seem a festive place instead of what it is.

If the cold gets too hard to take, you can cross the street to a gypsy wagon selling coffee and sandwiches. A small cup of instant coffee is twenty-five cents.

This morning is unusual. The union representation elections are under way, and both the UFW and the Teamsters have organizers circulating and handing out leaflets. I saw several groups of workers discussing the UFW material. I was told that on occasion the Teamster organizers are jeered and heckled when they appear.

Around 4:30 a.m. the labor contractors have all arrived, and many of the workers gather around them, hoping to be selected for the crews. The contractors take who they please, preferring the youngest and strongest workers, who can produce the most. The rest wait, hoping to be picked up by one of

the later-arriving ranch foremen.

There is no job security here. The crews are selected for work each day, and past performance may mean nothing, especially when you get old or sick. The contractors pay off daily, so they can easily sign on new crews each day.

The remaining buses fill and leave. It is now 5:00 a.m. The air is no warmer. The low temperature means that many of the farm workers, after as much as a three-hour bus trip to the fields, will have to wait even longer, until the sun melts the ice off the lettuce, before they can begin to work. Work may not start until 9:00 a.m. for some. And pay begins when work begins.

After a backbreaking day in the fields, the buses return to *el hoyo*. The workers then slowly make their way home to Mexicali, many getting home only in time to eat and go to sleep—for tomorrow the process begins again.

UFW march boosts boycott

Five hundred members and supporters of the United Farm Workers began a seven-day march through Los Angeles County December 14. The action will culminate December 20 in a mass march and rally in East Los Angeles, the area's principal Chicano community.

Designed to promote the boycott of Gallo wine and scab grapes and lettuce, the action was kicked off with a rally in Pacoima, the starting point of the march. Speakers included representatives of various unions supporting the UFW and a number of farm worker activists.

The main speaker was UFW Vice-president Dolores Huerta. UFW leader César Chávez was to have addressed the rally, but he was hospitalized after a flare-up of a chronic back condition.

UFW members from ranches and various parts of Southern California are participating in the 100-mile march.



After long, cold wait at 'el hoyo,' farm workers still face hours-long trip to fields.

2,000 march to support Pitt. teachers' strike

By Dan Rosenheim

PITTSBURGH—Nearly 2,000 striking public school teachers and supporters demonstrated for several hours on December 16 in front of the board of education offices here.

The 3,800-member Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers has been on strike since December 1.

PFT President Al Fondy called the demonstration "certainly the largest ever staged by the PFT."

In addition to official union picket signs, teacher contingents from different schools carried colorful hand-printed signs with slogans such as, "Dedication does not negate the need for a decent salary."

Another sign declared: "One B-52 bomber costs \$80 million, enough to build ten new schools or satisfy the needs of the entire Pittsburgh school system for five years."

A group of teachers from Latimer Junior High School sang, "Deck the halls with higher salaries. . . ."

The teachers, seeking salary increases, a guarantee against layoffs, and class size limits, are holding firm despite stepped-up efforts at strike-breaking by the board and threats of court action against the union.

During the past week, the board has tried to break the strike by opening

three high schools for seniors only.

In a series of statements to the media, the board threatened that seniors who did not attend these "special classes" might not be able to graduate this year. This was a flagrant attempt to frighten students into acting as strikebreakers and to drive a wedge between students and striking teachers.

The PFT blocked the board's maneuver by mobilizing its members in front of the three high schools, with picket lines of up to 200 teachers in front of each school.

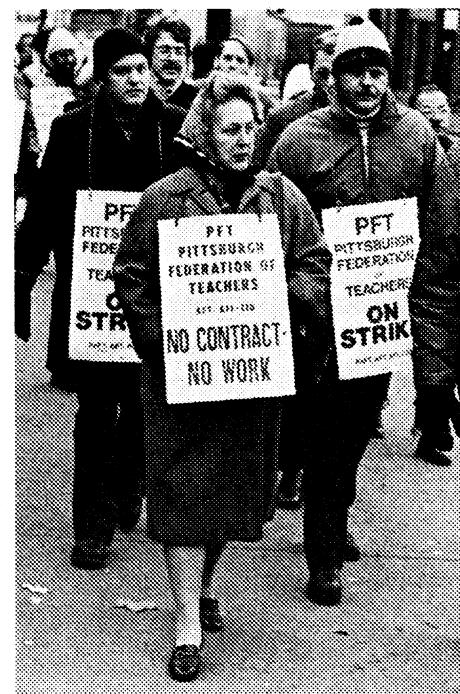
Only about 15 percent of the 4,500 seniors in the school system showed up for these classes—a big setback for the board.

Meanwhile, two groups are threatening court action against the union. The state department of education has announced that it will seek an injunction against the strike if a settlement is not reached quickly.

A spokesperson for the department claimed that the school board might not be able to schedule enough make-up days to fulfill state requirements. These requirements have not been enforced in the case of several past strikes.

The local PTA has also threatened to seek an injunction against the strike.

While the PTA claims that its action would be aimed against both the school board and the union, its real thrust would clearly be against the union, since it would force teachers back to work without a contract.



Picket lines of up to 200 teachers have blocked board's strikebreaking maneuvers.

Meanwhile, the school board continues to claim that it cannot afford to meet union demands. Some school board members have gone so far as to propose laying off 300 teachers.

In the face of these attacks, the PFT has stepped up its efforts to explain the issues of the strike to the public and win broader support. At a news conference here, union President Fondy explained the teachers' position this way: "A school system isn't a bolt factory. You've got to determine what your requirements are. You don't just see what funds are available and then try to pare educational programs to meet the budget."

Recently, the Allegheny County Labor Council unanimously passed a resolution in support of the striking teachers, and individual unions are being encouraged to do the same. And, with the support of the union leadership, about sixty parents and teachers met last week to discuss ways of winning community support for the strike.

Socialist Workers party campaign supporters have met a warm response on the picket lines, passing out thousands of leaflets titled "Socialist Program to Solve School Crisis" and selling more than seventy copies of the *Militant* to striking teachers.

PSP concludes second national congress

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

HATO REY, Puerto Rico—Eight thousand persons attended the closing rally of the second national congress of the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP—Puerto Rican Socialist party) December 7. The gathering repeatedly rose to applaud enthusiastically.

"¡Independencia ya! ¡Socialismo ahora mismo!" (Independence now! Socialism immediately!), the crowd chanted, and "¡Mari, seguro, a los yanquis dales duro!" (Mari, really let the yankees have it!)—addressed to PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás.

Those attending were predominantly young, about 40 percent women, but there was a sprinkling of older persons. A delegation of PSP members and supporters from the United States numbered in the hundreds.

The PSP is the most visible proindependence force in Puerto Rico. Four years ago, when the party held its founding congress, it published a twenty-four-page weekly newspaper with a circulation of 15,000. For the past year it has published a daily paper, with circulation currently reported at 20,000.

The rally came at the end of a nine-day congress. It was advertised as the public presentation of the main decisions of the deliberative sessions, which had been open to 296 elected delegates. Full texts of the documents approved by the congress have not yet been published.

After the members of the newly elected PSP leadership were introduced, greetings were given by Hassan Rahman, Palestine Liberation Organization deputy representative to the United Nations, and Guy Anatole Moyascko, representative of the Congolese party of Labor, among others.

The main shift in party policy came on the question of participation in the November 1976 elections. For the first time since the PSP and its predecessor, the MPI (Movimiento Pro Independencia—Pro-Independence Movement), were founded more than fifteen years ago, the organization will field candidates.

The decision was explained at the rally as one directed at "propagandizing for socialism, making the party grow, and exposing the electoral system as a fake that does not bring about political change."

At the same time, the PSP's motion on the elections stated the goal of electing a legislator who would denounce imperialism, press for workers' immediate demands, and publicize the struggle for independence and socialism.

All substantive decisions on the



Rally at end of convention drew 8,000. For the first time PSP decided to run candidates in elections.

Claridad/Rafael Robles

naming and number of candidates, the timing of the campaign, and the question of whether to use the colonial government's official campaign fund were referred to the Central Committee. No mention was made of the election platform, although a draft of it was presented in the main political resolution to the congress.

The presentations on electoral activity were interspersed with reassurances that the shift did not mean giving up an armed-struggle perspective. This reflected internal disagreements in the PSP, one delegate who attended the congress commented later. About one-third of the delegates opposed running candidates, he stated.

"Does the electoral strategy mean that we set aside the armed struggle?" asked Mari Brás. "We answer definitely and categorically—no! We won't renounce our right to armed struggle until the day the imperialists give up their last gun."

The PSP intends to become a mass Marxist-Leninist party, Mari Brás said. Participation in the elections is viewed as a step that can help bring that about.

Citing Fidel Castro, the general secretary stated, "There can be no victorious revolution if you have the arms and you do not have the masses. But there cannot be a victorious revolution without arms."

Carlos Gallisá, a legislator in the Puerto Rican congress who joined the PSP in 1973, also insisted on the need for armed struggle.

"We must meet violence against the people with revolutionary violence," he said after denouncing the govern-

ment's efforts to intimidate those planning to attend the party's congress.

"In the four years since our first congress, we have faced constant repression," he continued. "Our answer to [colonial Governor] Rafael Hernández Colón's campaign of repression is the biggest and most combative rally ever held by the party."

On the day the PSP congress opened, the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released a 496-page document entitled "Terroristic Activity; the Cuban Connection in Puerto Rico; Castro's Hand in Puerto Rican and U.S. Terrorism." The report named the PSP as a Castroist vehicle to carry out the Puerto Rican revolution and attempted to link the party to terrorist actions that have been carried out on the island and in the United States.

Hernández Colón jumped on the bandwagon, as did the major bourgeois papers in San Juan. They raised the specter of thousands of committed terrorists massing in the Clemente Coliseum.

Mari Brás pointed out that this attempt to link the campaign for Puerto Rican independence to isolated acts of terrorism in the United States made it more urgent than ever to develop a broad campaign of solidarity with those in the United States who support the independence struggle.

This was the only mention made during the rally that would suggest the party's orientation for its section in the United States.

Up to now party policy has been epitomized in the slogan "Una Sola

Nación, Un Solo Partido" (A single nation, a single party). The PSP holds that the most important struggle of Puerto Ricans everywhere, including the nearly two million who live in the United States, is the struggle to win independence and socialism for Puerto Rico.

On questions of foreign policy, the PSP passed motions of warm support for the government and people of Cuba; the People's Republic of Angola and "its only legitimate representative, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]"; the people of Vietnam and "their efforts to swiftly reunify the country"; the solidarity of the People's Republic of the Congo; the struggle of the Panamanian people to recover the Panama Canal; and "the difficult and self-sacrificing fight of the Chilean resistance to overthrow the criminal fascists." No resolution was passed on the struggle in Portugal.

Defining PSP policy as "independent" with regard to international questions, Mari Brás hailed the Soviet Union and its Communist party as "the most powerful bases in the socialist camp" and denounced those who claim that the USSR is "social imperialist."

The party also noted the contribution made by the Chinese revolution in "shifting the relationship of forces on a world scale," but criticized Peking's support to the Chilean junta and its position on Puerto Rico in the United Nations. (Peking did not participate in an August 20 vote to shelve a resolution on the colonial status of Puerto Rico in the UN Decolonization Committee.)

Death of striker hit by scab truck ruled 'accident'

By Joe Sanders

MELROSE PARK, Ill.—A Cook County coroner's jury has ruled that the death of a union leader hit by a scab truck here was an "accident." David Watson, vice-president of Local 7-507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, was struck by a scab truck leaving the Capital Packaging Company on September 9. He died of massive internal injuries ten days later. The truck driver, Richard Mitchell, was charged by police with "failure to yield to a pedestrian at a crosswalk" and fined twenty-five dollars.

The "accident" finding was the latest in a long line of management, police, and judicial attempts to weaken the Capital workers' strike.

The walkout began August 3 after the union had gone six months without a contract. The 237 workers, predominantly Latino and Black women, could

hardly be accused of raising unreasonable demands. They are asking for a \$0.25-an-hour increase—many workers were getting as low as \$2.37 to \$3.36—and very modest increases in hospitalization and other benefits.

To the company, a quarter an hour is not the issue. It wants to break the union and is prepared to use any means to do so.

There have been no negotiations since September 30. Incidents of violence, arrests, deportation attempts, intimidation, and harassment against strikers and their supporters occur almost daily. Management personnel and guards have threatened to shoot strikers and have waved crowbars at them.

Physical and verbal abuse from police is continual. On one occasion dogs were brought to the picket line to

terrorize the strikers. Several people have been injured by scab cars and trucks in full view of the police.

On November 26, a judge issued an injunction limiting picketers to four at each of two gates. This ruling has been met with increased determination among the strikers. "We plan to stay out through Christmas and New Year's and for as long as it takes!" they say.

Local 7-507 has sought to broaden support for the strike in various ways. A strike-support dinner held November 22 was attended by more than 400 people. Strike leaders have appealed to other unions, civic and religious organizations, and concerned individuals. A good example to follow comes from United Steelworkers Local 1033, which gave \$300 and pledged \$100 a month for the duration of the strike. United

Auto Workers Local 6 has contributed \$200, and various other union and individual contributions have been received.

A key problem facing strike leaders is how to mobilize support from organized labor in the Chicago area. Plans to bring a support motion before the AFL-CIO's Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council could be supplemented with an appeal to all union officials to use the resources of their unions to aid the Capital strikers.

The strikers plan to take their story to as many people as possible despite the media's five-month silent treatment. A civil suit claiming "wrongful death" and seeking money damages will also be filed soon by the family of David Watson against the truck driver and Capital Packaging Company.

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 26, 1975

Israeli terror raids

Zionism's growing international isolation

By David Frankel

[The following is from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

Shortly after 10:00 in the morning on December 2, thirty Israeli jets turned east over the Mediterranean Sea and headed for Lebanon. Operating in groups of six, wave after wave of U.S.-supplied warplanes bombed and rocketed the people on the ground. Within an hour 75 persons had been killed and 160 wounded. It was the highest toll in seven years of such Israeli raids.

In Tel Aviv, Israeli military officials reported that all their aircraft returned safely. They talked about hitting "terrorist bases," and insisted that "the terrorists can't enjoy immunity."

These ghouls could have given lessons to Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon on how to slaughter defenseless people while talking about the need for peace. Among the "terrorist bases" attacked by the Israeli planes was Nabatiyeh, a town of 50,000 in southern Lebanon.

On December 5 Daniel P. Moynihan, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, announced that while the Ford administration would "neither condone nor excuse" the Israeli air attacks against Lebanon, it would not back any resolution in the United Nations that did not also condemn attacks by Palestinian guerrillas in Israel. This seemingly evenhanded stand against violence in general—

taken while billions of dollars of U.S. arms-aid continues to pour into Israel—equates the individual acts of resistance by Palestinians fighting against their oppression with the terrorism of the Israeli oppressors.

The truth is that the real terrorist organization in the Middle East is the Israeli state. It drove 1.5 million Palestinians out of their homeland, and now follows a policy of calculated mass murder in hopes of terrorizing its victims into giving up the struggle against their dispossession.

Israel's Isolation

Attacks such as the recent one on Lebanon have not succeeded in intimidating the Palestinians, but they have helped to deepen Israel's international isolation. The December 2 raid, in fact, was carried out as part of Premier Yitzhak Rabin's answer to a diplomatic defeat.

Rabin chose the raid as a response to the November 30 vote in the UN Security Council to hold a debate on the Middle East in January that will include representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. An Israeli military spokesman said that the attack on Lebanon underlined the government's policy of fighting Palestinian guerrillas "only on the battlefield," and not politically in the United Nations.

The occasion for the Security Council vote was the expiration of the mandate for the UN truce force on the Golan Heights. The Syrian regime had demanded that renewal of the mandate be linked to the Security Council debate.

The Rabin government asked Washington to veto the resolution, insisting that it was a step in the direction of recognizing the PLO. When the Ford administration declined, right-wing forces called on Rabin to expel the UN troops from Israeli-held territory—an act that would probably have led rapidly to war. But the Israeli regime was in no position to do this without U.S. backing. "Rarely have Israelis felt more frustrated and alone," Terence Smith reported in the December 3 *New York Times*. The regime was forced to take other steps instead.

On December 1 the Israeli cabinet decided that it would proceed with the establishment of new settlements on the Golan Heights, which were seized from Syria during the June 1967 Middle East war. This was a calculat-



Israeli soldiers on occupied Golan Heights. 'Tangible evidence of Israel's determination to carve out new borders.'

ed provocation. The December 2 *New York Times* reported in an unsigned dispatch from Jerusalem that although details had not yet been released, "a minimum of four new settlements would be authorized in the near future."

The writer added "that plans were being drawn up for 20 to 30 more settlements to be established on the Golan Heights, on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza-Rafa area during the next few years."

During the last eight and a half years, Israel has constructed fifty-five settlements in the occupied territories. "These settlements," said Terence Smith in the November 13 *New York Times*, "which range in size from paramilitary agricultural hamlets on the Golan Heights to incipient cities, represent the reality of Israeli policy. They are the tangible evidence of Israel's determination to carve out new borders of the territory taken in 1967."

The *Times* complained in a December 3 editorial about the establishment of more settlements, noting that "this practice is coming to resemble deliberate territorial expansionism."

Greater Flexibility Urged

Israel's isolation has prompted both the Ford administration and the so-called doves in its own political structure to press for greater flexibility. "Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban and leading legislators have argued that Israel must do something to reverse the negative image it is getting as a result of its refusal to consider any negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization under any circumstances," the December 2 *New York Times* reported.

Five of the twenty-one cabinet ministers in the Israeli government have come out in favor of negotiating with any Palestinian group that agrees to support the existence of the Israeli state within "secure and recognized borders," and to renounce the use of terrorism against Israel.

The "doves" offer to talk to the Palestinians if they will first renounce their right to self-determination and promise not to struggle against their

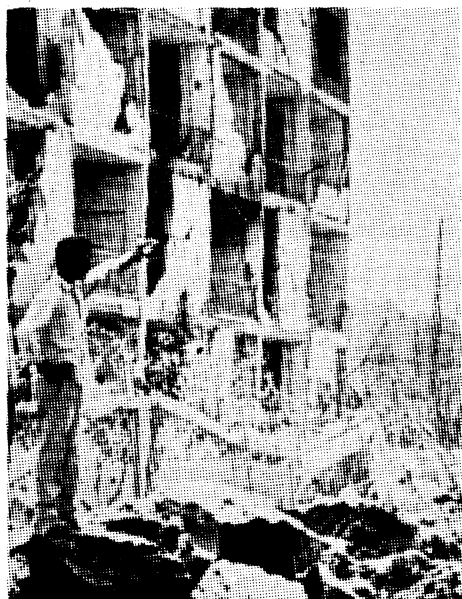
oppression. There are some who believe that such talks would lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip, both currently occupied by Israel. Although such a possibility cannot be ruled out, the Rabin government's decision to build new settlements and its savage attack on Lebanon were meant to convey its attitude on this question.

There can be little doubt that the imperialist rulers in Washington would like to draw the Palestinian leadership into some kind of Mideast deal. So far, however, the Ford administration has not gone beyond the Israeli "doves" in its proposals, and there is no evidence that it is really in favor of the idea of establishing a Palestinian state. Such a proposal, in any case, would be held in reserve as a maximum concession from Washington's point of view.

The calculations of the imperialists were spelled out in a *New York Times* editorial December 2 that said: "The politics of the Palestinian movement—including within the P.L.O. itself—are so fragile and fragmented that, at the first sign of being taken seriously, a wide range of interests and settlement proposals would likely come into the open."

It must be emphasized that even if the maximum concession of a Palestinian state alongside Israel were granted, the basic problem in the Middle East would remain. Because it was created at the expense of the Palestinian people, the Israeli state is irrevocably tied to imperialism. It depends for its survival upon the weakness and backwardness of the Arab world.

In the long run, the existence of the Israeli colonial-settler state is incompatible with the most elementary demands of the Arab masses for social and economic progress and independence from imperialist domination. The Israeli leadership, including the "doves," are well aware of this fact. That is why they continue in their bloody attempts to terrorize the Palestinian people while talking about their desire for peace.



Palestinian camp in ruins after 1974 Israeli raid.

Britain's 'antiterrorist' campaign

Democratic rights under fire by Wilson government

By Tony Hodges

[Two related events have occurred since this article was written. On December 5 the British government declared the end of internment, or imprisonment without trial, in Northern Ireland. In the four years since internment was instituted in August 1971, nearly 2,000 Irish nationalists have been detained under its provisions.

[Right-wing Irish Protestant leader Ian Paisley, who supported ending internment, pointed to the basic reason behind London's abandonment of the policy: "Detention without trial threw the entire Roman Catholic population into the hands of the I.R.A. (Irish Republican Army). It was the best bonus the I.R.A. ever received."

[Similar motives apparently underlay the December 11 vote in the British House of Commons against reinstituting the death penalty for acts of terrorism. The death penalty has not been in effect there, except for treason and piracy, since 1965.

[A December 10 opinion column in the influential London *Times* argued that although the death penalty for terrorists would be "morally permissible," it would be inadvisable since the terrorist groups "would gain support from the Irish Catholic communities that they could not otherwise gain."

[The vote to bring back the death penalty lost by a margin of 361 to 232, reflecting growing sentiment for its restoration. In 1965 only 104 members of Parliament voted against its abolition.]

LONDON—Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins confirmed October 28 that the Labour government would seek to make the repressive Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act (PTA) a permanent part of the British legal code.

"I have come to the conclusion," Jenkins announced, "that the powers conferred by the Act should be continued and I therefore intend to introduce fresh legislation."

One report said that the new law "will be broadly similar, but tighter" than the temporary one.

Jenkins introduced the original bill on November 27, 1974, only six days after the Birmingham bombings in which twenty-one persons were killed.

Accompanied by a well-orchestrated campaign of anti-Irish chauvinism, the Labour government rammed the PTA through Parliament after only seven hours of debate. It did not even bother with a vote—only two Labour MPs said at the time that they opposed the bill.



JENKINS: Intends to introduce fresh legislation.



Irish 'suspect' arrested under Prevention of Terrorism Act. PTA allows conviction without either of evidence.

This draconian legislation was recently used for the first time to put on trial a militant whose only "crime" was leafleting for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. On October 19, veteran pacifist campaigner Pat Arrowsmith was arrested under the act while handing out leaflets in Aldershot for the withdrawal of troops.

Though Arrowsmith was released on bail after several hours, it is still not clear whether she will be charged by the director of public prosecutions. In any event, her case is a symptom of the deep inroads against democratic rights being made by the Labour government. The PTA is the centrepiece in this assault, and the Irish population here have been its first victims.

The PTA is a blatant warning to all Irish people living in Britain, and anyone else who dares to support their rights, that opposition to imperialist oppression of Ireland is punishable by deportation, imprisonment, financial hardship, or a week's grilling by the cops. The act empowers the home secretary to ban any organisation that appears to him to be "concerned in terrorism" or that is supposedly "promoting or encouraging it."

Terrorism is defined by the PTA as the "use of violence for political ends," a vague generalization that could be used to victimize strike pickets as easily as terrorist bombers. Furthermore, it is also illegal under the PTA to "encourage support for a proscribed organisation." Since both the "Official" and Provisional wings of the Irish Republican Army have been banned, a newspaper carrying an article arguing for support to republicanism could be outlawed.

'Exclusion Orders'

Natives of Northern Ireland are defined as second-class citizens by the PTA. Any United Kingdom citizen who has not been a resident of Great Britain for at least twenty years can be deported from the island without charge or trial by order of the home secretary. It is not even necessary for the home secretary to reveal the evidence, if any, on which the deportation is based.

Jenkins released figures October 13 showing that sixty-nine persons had

been issued with "exclusion orders" since the act was passed eleven months earlier. Four major leaders of Clann na h-Eireann, the support group for the "Official" republican movement in Britain, have been deported under the PTA, even though it is well known that the "Officials" do not support terrorist activity.

The PTA, like the Emergency Provisions Act in Northern Ireland under which hundreds of republicans have been interned without charge or trial, is designed to victimize people when there is no conceivable evidence that could convict them of any actual crime.

In addition, the PTA allows the police to detain persons without charge or trial for up to seven days. Only 44 of the 946 persons detained so far under the act have had any charges placed against them. The purpose of this provision is to allow the police to engage in "fishing trips," using blanket arrests and interrogations to intimidate the Irish population and to accumulate political files.

Unfortunately, the PTA has been only one of the many antidemocratic measures taken to bolster the imperialist domination of Ireland. Others include the following:

- The ban on public meetings in Trafalgar Square. Three years ago the Tory government banned all rallies concerning Ireland from Trafalgar Square, London's traditional location for major political demonstrations. The

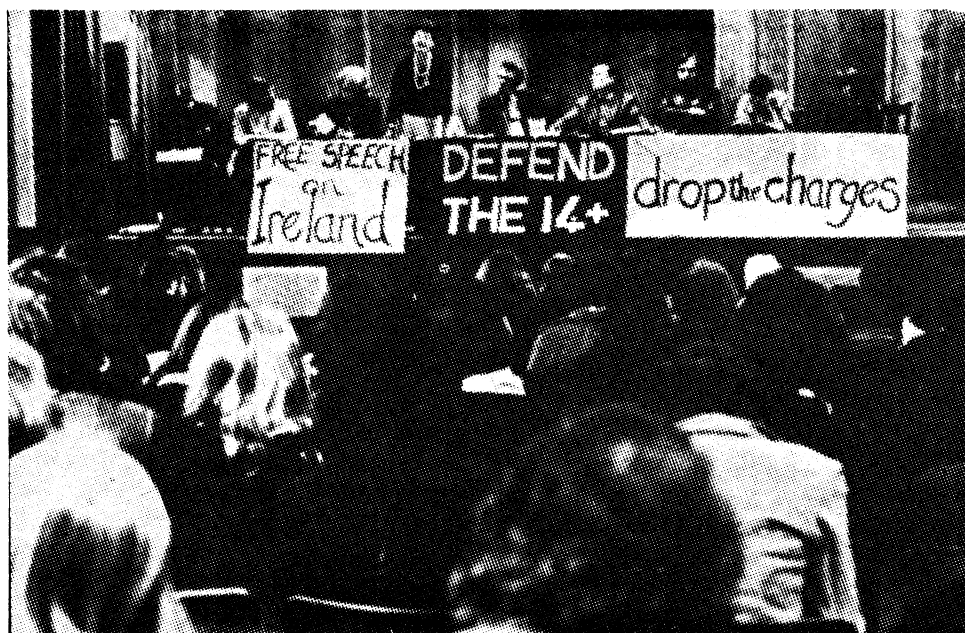
that it will adopt the fourteen defendants as political prisoners if they are convicted.

By the fourth week of the trial, eight more BWNIC supporters had been arrested on similar charges under the Incitement to Disaffection Act and the Army Act in different parts of the country. Pat Arrowsmith was jailed under the Incitement to Disaffection Act in 1974 for distributing BWNIC leaflets, and spent nine months in prison.

- Frame-up trials against "bombers." On October 22, three Irishmen and a British woman (Gerard Conlon, Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong, and Carole Richardson) were sentenced to life imprisonment after being found guilty of charges of murdering five persons in the Guildford pub bombings on October 5, 1974. Hill and Armstrong were also found guilty of charges of killing two persons in a pub bombing in Woolwich last November.

All four were convicted and given these vicious sentences on the basis of statements made to the police before the trial opened. In court, the four vehemently denied any involvement in the bombings and accused the police of forcing the statements out of them through physical assault and threats against their friends and relatives.

Though the immediate objective of the Labour government's attacks against civil liberties is to cow the Irish community in Britain and pre-



September 1975 meeting in London to support BWNIC 14, British pacifists arrested for leafletting soldiers.

Labour government has refused to lift the ban, charging that rallies on Ireland endanger "public order."

- Twenty-two pacifists on trial for leafletting soldiers. Fourteen supporters of the pacifist British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (BWNIC) went on trial at the Old Bailey September 29, charged with "conspiracy to endeavour to seduce" soldiers under the 1934 Incitement to Disaffection Act.

The charges stem from the group's distribution to soldiers of a leaflet described by the prosecution as "highly subversive and insidious propaganda." The leaflet ("Some Information for Discontented Soldiers") merely provides information for soldiers who wish to leave the army and does not itself argue that soldiers should desert.

Conspiracy to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act carries a penalty of up to life imprisonment. Amnesty International has announced

vent a mass movement against British aggression in Ireland from gathering strength, the ultimate aims are much broader.

Broader Aims

To begin with, the government's "antiterrorism" campaign is aimed at labeling the entire left as violent and subversive. On September 27, for example, 100 police raided a house being used by the Workers Revolutionary party (WRP) as a study centre. After a six-hour search, the police claimed to have found nine .22 bullets.

The raid coincided with a sensationalist article in the September 28 *Observer* claiming that WRP members had hinted at hidden arms caches. The WRP is well known on the British left for its opposition to terrorism and has stated that "any member of the party found with firearms or explosives would be expelled."



Des Warren (right) and Eric Tomlinson, imprisoned in 1973 for organizing mass picketing at strike site.

British capitalism is seeking to strip away many of the democratic rights won in the past by workers in struggle. The working class as a whole will pay if the ruling class is successful in its assault.

The Incitement to Disaffection Act, for example, could be used to imprison trade unionists who try to persuade soldiers not to break a strike. Some trade unionists of Irish descent have already been deported under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, in circumstances that indicate that their role as active trade unionists rather than any connection with "terrorism" was the factor that provoked the government's ire.

The most dangerous attack explicitly directed against the democratic rights of trade unionists was the Industrial Relations Act. Brought in by the Tory government in 1971, it placed severe restrictions on the right to strike.

Five dock workers were jailed under the act in 1972, but were rapidly released after spontaneous strike actions by workers throughout the country forced the Trades Union Congress (TUC) to threaten a general strike. The act was repealed by the Labour government last year shortly after its election victory because of the scale of union opposition to the legislation.

'Conspiracy' Ploy

However, Wilson's government is attacking the democratic rights of the workers and their allies in a host of other ways.

Building worker Des Warren is still in jail after being sentenced in December 1973 to three years imprisonment for "conspiracy to intimidate" during the militant 1972 national building workers' strike. Warren was one of twenty-four building workers (the Shrewsbury 24) arrested under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act for their part in the building workers' "flying pickets" in the 1972 strike. Eric Tomlinson, sentenced to two years imprisonment, was released in July.

Warren and Tomlinson were never convicted of any act of intimidation, but for *conspiring* to intimidate simply because they organised a large picket!

Twenty-one Iranian students are to be tried in February on charges of "conspiracy to trespass" because they staged a peaceful, twenty-minute occupation of the Iranian embassy on April 29 to protest the brutal murder of nine political prisoners by the shah's police.

If convicted, these students face the threat of deportation and delivery to the shah's prisons after completing their sentences in Britain. While "trespass" is no more than a civil offence, "conspiracy to trespass" is a crime carrying an unlimited prison sentence.

Nineteen activists who staged a peaceful, thirty-minute occupation of the Iberia Airlines London office on September 10 to protest the death sentences imposed on anti-Franco militants have also been charged with conspiracy to trespass and are scheduled to appear in court November 25.

Conspiracy charges are becoming more and more common because they allow judges to hand down heavier sentences. In the 1971 trial of the "Angry Brigade," a small group that believed sensational actions would spur the masses into anticapitalist action, four defendants received ten-year sentences for conspiracy to cause explosions even though they were not found guilty of actually causing any explosions.

Right to Picket

Direct attacks have also been made on the right to picket. It is at present illegal for pickets to stop trucks approaching a strike-bound factory for the purpose of peacefully persuading the driver not to cross the picket line. Pickets halting trucks can be charged with "obstruction of a public highway."

On June 28, the Law Commission proposed in a working paper that trespass and remaining on property after being told to leave should become criminal offences and carry jail sentences. These changes are designed to arm the state with greater powers to deal with factory occupations, student sit-ins, and squatters.

The Trades Union Congress voted overwhelmingly at its annual congress on September 2 to urge the government to make factory occupations legal. Workers have had to resort to this tactic with increasing frequency in order to defend themselves from redundancies by preventing the employers from moving out machinery.

If adopted by the government the new measure could also be used against squatters occupying empty houses. More than 30,000 persons are estimated to be squatting in London alone as a result of the acute housing crisis.

The Immigration Act has been used to hound political activists. Last December Franco Caprino, a supporter of the Italian organisation Lotta Continua, was threatened with deportation under Immigration Rule 42, which permits the home secretary to deport any person whose presence is deemed "not conducive to the public good." The victim of such an order has no right to appeal it, or even to know the grounds for the deportation order. After one month in police custody Caprino was released and allowed to remain in Britain as a result of the barrage of protests his case provoked.

The ongoing struggle in Ireland and the deepening economic crisis of British capitalism can only lead to a continuation and escalation of these attacks on democratic rights. A powerful opposition movement must be built to meet this threat.

The methods of mass action which freed the five dockers imprisoned under the Industrial Relations Act in 1972 are those which can today beat back the attacks of the Labour government. Above all, the labour leaders—in Parliament and in the unions—must be forced to oppose any extension of the Prevention of Terrorism Act when it comes up for renewal in November.

World news notes

Africans charge bias in Soviet Union

African students studying in the Ukrainian city of Lviv issued a public protest in early November against the racist treatment they have been subjected to. The African Student Union in that city asked African ambassadors in Moscow to help stop racial assaults on them and arbitrary expulsions of Black students from the university.

The ASU cited nine separate incidents in which African students were attacked, including one in which a pregnant Nigerian student was assaulted. In a memorandum the ASU described one incident that occurred in April, when "a Nigerian, Mr. Adeogba, was attacked by a drunken Soviet citizen with a chisel while sleeping in his room." He was rescued by two friends, but all three Nigerians were expelled for "attacking and beating up a Soviet citizen in Mr. Adeogba's own room."

"The ASU complained about insults by Soviet hosts, lack of recourse to correct grievances, disregard of permission from African embassies in Moscow to travel to Moscow or abroad, forced participation in politics, and harassment in the form of constant new regulations," according to a report by Elizabeth Pond in the November 11 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The ASU asked the African ambassadors to "please let the Russians know that if they want our respect, they should respect our countries and peoples," and to "keep in contact with us so as not to give the Russians the idea that we are outcasts."

The Lviv protest came shortly after about 500 African students in Kiev, another Ukrainian city, went on strike at the university there and marched on the Czechoslovak consulate. They were protesting the withdrawal of the scholarship of a Czechoslovak woman who married a Nigerian, and the lifting of her residence permit by the Soviet regime.

17.1 million jobless in major capitalist nations

Unemployment in the major capitalist countries has soared to 17.1 million workers, the highest level in forty years, according to figures released by the International Labor Organization November 28.

"This represented a massive increase of six million, to a level of 5.2% of the total labor force, compared with September, 1974," the ILO said.

The regional breakdown of the total number of workers officially without jobs was 8.1 million in the United States and Canada, 2.9 million in western Europe, 2.7 million in southern Europe, 2.1 million in northern Europe, and 1.3 million in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

Italian women march for abortion rights

Ten thousand women marched through central Rome December 6 demanding legalization of abortion. A dispatch from Reuters said the action was the largest such demonstration ever held in Italy.

In parliament a few days before, the Christian Democrats were defeated in an attempt to amend the abortion bill under consideration. They sought to maintain the classification of abortion as a legal offense, but one that would not be punished under certain circumstances. These would include danger to the pregnant woman's physical or mental health, danger of deformity if the pregnancy were carried to term, economic hardship, incest, or rape.

The draft bill, according to Reuters, "would permit abortion under just these circumstances during the first 90 days of pregnancy." It has been strongly criticized by women's groups as insufficient because it gives doctors, rather than the women concerned, the right to decide whether an abortion should be performed.

Black activists freed in Australia

All charges against the Brisbane Three, three activists in the Black movement in Australia, were dropped November 25. The Queensland judge presiding over the case of Lionel Fogarty, John Garcia, and Denis Walker accepted the defense motion that insufficient evidence had been provided by the prosecution to justify continuing with the trial.

Fogarty, Garcia, and Walker had been charged with conspiracy to obtain money with threats and menace, and faced fourteen years in jail if convicted.

Commenting on the importance of the case, the November 27 issue of the revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Direct Action* said: "The release of the three is a great victory for Blacks facing police attack around the country, and for the national movement which was built to defend the Brisbane Three."

Fifty-five tortured to death in Brazil

Brazilian political prisoners have accused the Geisel regime of torturing to death at least fifty-five political prisoners since 1969, the Reuters news agency reported from Rio de Janeiro December 6.

In a signed document smuggled out of prison, thirty-five political prisoners in São Paulo said they themselves had witnessed the torture of sixteen victims. They gave details of more than twenty forms of torture they had been subjected to and cited the names of 233 torturers, including an army general and other high officers.

According to Reuters, "The 35 prisoners said they themselves had suffered beatings, electric shocks, the 'ice box,' a tiny cubicle with temperatures changing from searing heat to freezing cold, immersions in water and sexual abuse."

Largest demonstration since 1968

150,000 march in Mexico City for union democracy

By Cristina Rivas

MEXICO CITY—More than 150,000 persons demonstrated here November 15 in support of the struggle waged by the Democratic Tendency in the electrical workers union, SUTERM.*

The fight of the electrical workers in support of trade-union democracy is not a new one; it goes back to the nationalization of the electrical industry in 1960. At that time the government created a decentralized body, the Comisión Federal de Electricidad (CFE—Federal Electricity Commission), and nationalized the Compañía de Luz y Fuerza del Centro (LyF—Central Mexico Light and Power Company). These two bodies were entrusted with administering the electrical industry.

The LyF continued to function as a cover for direct imperialist penetration, since involved in it was the U.S. Light and Power Company, whose name it took. The workers in this enterprise were organized in the Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas (SME—Mexican Electrical Workers Union).

The workers at the CFE were split between two unions, the Sindicato Nacional de Electricistas, Similares y Conexos de la República Mexicana (SNESCRM—National Union of Workers in the Electrical Industry and Allied Occupations of the Republic of Mexico) and the Sindicato de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana (STERM—Electrical Workers Union of the Mexican Republic).

The SNESCRM was a typical "charro" (labor gangster) union, totally integrated into and subordinated to the government and the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party). Naturally, it was an antidemocratic union in which the workers were permitted to play no role.

The SUTERM was a rather democratic union, although its leadership was not politically independent of the government.

The conflicts began at the end of 1971, when the "charro" bureaucracy of the SNESCRM tried to deprive the SUTERM of its bargaining rights. The "charros" decided that they had to wipe out a dangerous center of democratic infection that might spread to other electrical workers and other sections of the proletariat.

Since the SUTERM represented a minority of the workers in the CFE, a purely legal struggle did not promise positive results. So, the union leadership found itself forced to mobilize the ranks in order to save the life of the organization.

In 1972, the SUTERM organized demonstrations in all the important cities of the country, with the exception of Mexico City. Not just electrical workers from the SUTERM went to these rallies; workers from small factories, students, slum dwellers, and in some places, peasants, began to join in the struggle.

In November 1972, these constant mobilizations bore fruit; the "charros" and the government temporarily abandoned their aim of breaking the democratic tendency among the electrical workers. They offered a compromise—

unification of the two unions and formation of a United Electrical Workers Union (SUTERM).

Unification

Needless to say, the SUTERM accepted the compromise. This provoked a chorus of abuse from the Mexican ultraleftists, who accused the union leadership of being betrayers. Once again these ultraleftists showed their inability to understand the most elementary problems of the class struggle.

At the time, revolutionists supported the unification of the two organizations but pointed out that the methods employed in this process were not democratic.

Subsequently, the national leaderships and all the locals and local leaderships fused. Thereupon, the compañeros who had belonged to the SUTERM began to spread their democratic ideas and their experience in mobilization throughout a broader segment of workers in the electrical industry.



Part of November 15 march in Mexico City in support of Democratic Tendency in SUTERM

In this way, they won the majority of the workers in the SUTERM for their struggle.

From the time of the unification in 1972, the government posed the need for a fusion between the SUTERM and the SME, so that there would be only one electrical workers union. Now perhaps some people in the government realized that this was not as good an idea as it first seemed.

The SME has strong traditions of democracy and struggle, but it has become the most narrowly economist union in Mexico. The result has been a hesitation on the part of the rank and file toward unification. Furthermore, it is controlled by a bureaucrat who very much resembles the "charros," although he is not so brazen.

Nonetheless, the advance of the democratic tendency in the SUTERM and the SME members' strong feelings against the "charros," led the "charros" in the SUTERM to move once again to get rid of the democratic elements.

To this end, they resorted to provocations, terror, and finally a "convention," where they decreed the expulsion

of the leaders of the democratic tendency who were members of the National Executive Committee of the SUTERM.

It was at this time that the Democratic Tendency (Tendencia Democrática) formally took that name.

Mobilizations started up again throughout the country. But this time the struggle had to be harder and more determined because the government had recognized the rigged "convention" and "legally" ratified the expulsion of the compañeros.

The "charros" resorted to getting workers belonging to the Democratic Tendency fired, shooting at them, and sending gangsters against them.

The Democratic Tendency

There had already been demonstrations of 10,000 to 30,000 persons in many cities, and there were only two things left that the Democratic Tendency could do to win reinstatement of the compañeros who had been fired as well as recognition of their leaders—a mass mobilization in Mexico City followed by a nationwide strike.

However, for the march to be a demonstration of strength and not weakness, it had to attract more than 60,000 persons. If the attendance had not gone over this figure, harsher repression against the Democratic Tendency would have been facilitated.

The electrical workers who supported the Democratic Tendency began to publicize their struggle and seek solidarity in all quarters. In Mexico City, the most prominent role in this work was played by the SUTERM Secciones Nucleares (the sections of the union that include workers in the nuclear industry, who are distinguished by their militancy and political activity) and the Liga Socialista (LS—Socialist League, a Mexican sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

The rise of the class struggle we have begun to witness in Mexico made it possible for the electrical workers to achieve their goal. Many unions gave their support, as did almost all the left political organizations, the students, and some sections of the slum dwellers and peasants.

All these sectors joined forces to

build the biggest and broadest demonstration this country has seen since 1968. On November 15, there were 150,000 persons in the streets. The majority were members of unions who have taken up the struggle to regain control of their organizations and drive out the corrupt "charros."

The political importance of this demonstration lies in the fact that one of the fundamental sections of the Mexican working class, one that holds a key position in the country's functioning, has now taken a step that no lesser force could have taken. It has brought tens of thousands of persons into the streets and created a center around which the various sectors can organize their struggles.

The working class and its allies have begun to regain confidence in their own strength, a confidence they lost with the defeats of the railroad workers' strike in 1958-59 and the student struggle in 1968.

The next step in the struggle of the Democratic Tendency—if the government and the "charros" do not rein-

state the workers who have been fired and recognize the democratic leaders—is a national electrical workers' strike.

Of course, several important unions may go out on solidarity strikes. This might be the response, for example, of the Sindicato de Trabajadores y Empleados de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (STEUNAM—Union of Personnel at the Autonomous National University of Mexico).

The SUTERM leaders have also proposed forming a Movimiento Sindical Revolucionario (MSR—Revolutionary Union Movement), which would embrace all democratic currents and opposition groupings in the union movement. However, so far they have done little to put this proposal into practice.

The leaders of the Democratic Tendency encourage the workers to believe that the government is going to solve their problems. They do this because they are not politically independent of the PRI. However, the fight they have been forced to lead is a resounding demonstration of the dynamic that the struggle for trade-union democracy has in Mexico.

*Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana (United Electrical Workers Union of the Mexican Republic).

Steel union tops default

No gains in safety for coke-oven workers

By Jack Rasmus

OAKLAND, Calif.—Nearly five years after Congress passed the Occupational Safety and Health Act, more than 15,000 workers employed in the coke ovens of the steel mills still suffer one of the highest death and disease rates in all U.S. industry.

And if the backroom dealings between the corporate executives, government officials, and union bureaucrats this past year are any indication of what lies ahead, coke-oven workers will continue to suffer for some time to come.

Created in December 1970, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) was looked to by many as the answer to the abominable safety and health conditions throughout U.S. industry. Its importance to coke-oven workers was emphasized in late 1971, when the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) indicated in a study that coke-oven workers suffer a rate of lung cancer ten times that of the population as a whole.

But the safety and health act, like any other law, is only as good as its enforcement and the standards upon which that enforcement is based. And it soon became apparent that inadequate standards and lax enforcement were rendering the law ineffective.

About nine months after the NIOSH study, some 150 officials of the United Steelworkers of America converged on Washington to begin what was called an "intensive lobbying effort." Their goal was to get the "friends of labor" in Congress to press the newly established OSHA to adopt tighter standards and stricter enforcement regarding coke-oven emissions.

Steelworkers President I.W. Abel said at the time, "The steel industry constantly violates the [existing] standard and they know it." Abel added that the companies had a policy of "environmental blackmail" in the form of threatening to close down plants in response to demands for pollution controls, and could be expected to react similarly with regard to in-plant safety and health.

Relying on 'friends of labor'

Unfortunately, little was done following this much-publicized lobbying effort. Union officials settled back into a strategy of relying on their so-called friends in Congress to do their job for them. As a result, establishment of standards was delayed and delayed, and coke-oven workers continued to die



Steelworkers at Pittsburgh's Allegheny Ludlum plant. 'Only action independent of steel bosses and capitalist parties can achieve coke-oven safety.'

at an increasing rate.

Not until more than two years later, in November 1974, did the OSHA even get around to naming a committee—composed of three members each of labor, management, and "the public"—to develop standards. This development was praised by top-level Steelworkers officials as "a reasonable approach to the problem."

But their trust in the bosses was soon repaid in typical fashion. The standards finally published by the committee in early 1975 were viewed as too stringent by the Department of Labor and were thrown out this past July.

The Labor Department ruled that some emission from the ovens was allowable; that specific engineering controls to see that standards were observed would be too burdensome on the companies; and that management did not have to transfer workers medically harmed by coke-oven emissions to other jobs with their pay and seniority rights guaranteed, as the union had requested.

In short, the government accepted the industry argument, voiced by F.C. Langenberg, president of the Iron and Steel Institute, that the union demand for coke-oven safety was "an unrealistic goal" that was "not in the best interests of the industry or its employees."

The "labor-management committee" approach therefore proved no more effective than the "lobbying labor's friends in Congress" approach in

establishing coke-oven safety. What it revealed was that whenever the capitalists fail to get their way through a labor-management committee arrangement, all they need do is turn to their servants in government to accomplish the same thing.

'Come out swinging'

The reaction of top Steelworkers officials to this double cross might be described as mixed. On the one hand, one union member of the joint committee whined, "It's inconceivable to me how they could have done this." On the other hand, in a less comical reply, James Smith, an assistant to Abel, promised, "We're going to come out swinging."

Unfortunately, as events have revealed, the union bureaucrats have not been swinging very hard or accurately. In fact, they seem to be pulling their punches to appease the steel industry.

For example, at the opening of public hearings in Washington in November on the Labor Department's revised standards, it was revealed that secret meetings between the union and the steel companies had been occurring. The aim, it was said, was to come up with a joint recommendation for the Labor Department. Since they still needed more time, both union and company officials requested a further two-week delay in the hearings.

Union representative James Smith said, "It would be more comfortable if both parties were in there supporting the same position." What Smith didn't

say was how the union hoped to achieve an agreement in two weeks on issues that hadn't been resolved in four years.

A more likely motivation for this surprisingly "cooperative" turn of events between the union and company officials is the concern by Abel that sharp clashes and criticism of the companies in public hearings might damage his present cozy relationship with the bosses, including the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which bars strikes.

When industry officials asked Abel to postpone his testimony at the public hearings, he agreed to do so. As a consequence, the fate of coke-oven workers was once again relegated to backroom wheeling and dealing instead of being open to scrutiny and criticism by the workers themselves.

Their stake is their own future health and safety. Abel's stake is the smooth functioning of his comfortable Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

However, in recent weeks it has been revealed that even these backroom negotiations have broken down. Thus, after five years, coke-oven workers are still no better off in terms of safety and health than they were when the law was passed in 1970.

These five years are a sad lesson in how *not* to get the job done. By now it should be clear that relying on the capitalist politicians of either the Democratic or Republican party is not the answer. Nor can this life-and-death

Continued on page 26

Denver 'Post' axes laid-off employees' benefits

By Frank Lord

DENVER—Workers laid off by the Denver *Post* can no longer assume they will be able to keep their unemployment benefits. The *Post* is challenging all claimants, charging that they are "basically not unemployed" or accusing them of "failure to conduct an active search for work."

In Colorado, employers are liable for part of the cost of unemployment compensation. Any money the *Post* can take out of the pockets of the laid-off workers goes into its account with the State Department of Labor and Employment.

Betty Gaylor is one of the employees whose benefits are being challenged. She was laid off from her job as a printer for eight months out of the past year. Now the *Post* is trying to force her to pay back \$170 in benefits she received.

In a recent interview, Gaylor described what has happened to her.

After working at the *Post* for more

than two years, she was laid off in December 1974. She applied for unemployment benefits and began receiving eighty-five dollars a week. Then she was notified that the newspaper was appealing her claim on the grounds that she was "basically not unemployed."

Finally, a hearing was held this past October. But it was more like a trial—with Gaylor the defendant. The roles of judge and jury were played by a referee appointed by the state.

"I was on the stand for one hour," recalled Gaylor. "They asked me questions like, 'How did you arrive at the conclusion that you were laid off?'"

"When the *Post* filed their appeal, they said I was 'basically not unemployed.' They never did explain what they meant by that. At the hearing, they said I refused to work."

"They asked if I would accept work as a secretary at \$150 a week. I said no, that I have worked in the printing trades for fifteen years prior to coming

to the *Post*."

"Then they asked, 'What makes you think you have a right to a \$15,000-a-year job?'"

During the time she was laid off, Gaylor made herself available for work four or five days a week. Initially more than a month went by with no work available. "They are trying to deny me my benefits because I didn't show for work seven days [a week] even during that time," she said.

There were several times during the eight-month period that Gaylor did not make herself available for work.

On one occasion, they accused her of not showing up for work on a Saturday morning, after she had worked the Friday-night shift. "When I pointed out that that was against union law, they quickly changed the subject." Another time, she was unable to work because she and her family had to move into a new home.

"They made me feel like a criminal!" exclaimed Gaylor. "I feel I have a right

to unemployment compensation. It affects my life and my family."

The referee ruled in favor of the *Post*. Betty Gaylor was found guilty of "failure to conduct an active search for work." She was held liable for repayment of \$170 in benefits, which will be credited to the account of the Denver *Post*.

Gaylor's union, International Typographical Union Local 49, is providing legal help, and the ruling will be appealed.

"I realize my local union has felt it has supported me 100 percent and will in the future. However, due to the fact that my case becomes more and more complicated—no decision in my favor, and extreme stress on me—I do not feel very secure in my rights."

Gaylor is not the only printer at the *Post* to face this experience. All the printers laid off by the *Post* last winter have had their unemployment benefits challenged. Almost a year later, most of the hearings have yet to take place.

Behind CIA plots

Why the Kennedys wanted Castro

By Dick Roberts

The Russians and the Chinese, containing within their borders nearly a billion people, totally mobilized for the advance of the Communist system, operating from narrow, interior lines of communication, pressuring on Southeast Asia with the masses of the Chinese armies potentially ready to move—[against] the Russians who hold great power potentially in the Middle East and Western Europe—the United States stands as the chief defender of freedom.

—President John F. Kennedy
April 28, 1961

Sen. Frank Church's report on CIA assassination plans tries to absolve President John Kennedy of direct involvement in the plots to murder Fidel Castro, although Church's report devotes a third of its space to these plots. Most of them took place during the Kennedy administration (1961-63).

In appraising Church's contention it is important to underline the political dynamics of those times.

Kennedy was in power at the peak of the cold war.

Around the globe, in bases ringing the Soviet Union and China, and throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia, U.S. military forces policed the empire of finance capital.

Anticommunism

Under the veil of anticommunism, Republicans and Democrats at home had purged the government, the press, trade unions, and the campuses of dissent.

President Truman had thrown a million U.S. troops into Korea. Washington hoped not only to crush the advance of socialist revolution in North Korea but also to deal blows to China.

The Eisenhower administration had intervened to crush popular movements in Iran in 1953, in Guatemala in 1954, and in Lebanon in 1958.

President Kennedy led the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust no less



Cuban revolution, led by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, was in vanguard of worldwide colonial revolution. Kennedy set top priority on crushing it.

than four times in his three-year term.

Only two months after taking office, Kennedy threatened to launch a war in Southeast Asia to rescue the tottering U.S.-backed military regime in Laos.

In April 1961 Kennedy ordered the Bay of Pigs attack against the new revolutionary government in Cuba.

In the second Laotian crisis of his administration, in May 1962, Kennedy dispatched 4,000 U.S. troops to Thailand and mobilized the Seventh Fleet for a war in Indochina when it was "revealed" that the North Vietnamese were aiding the Laotian revolution. This "revelation" turned out to be a CIA fabrication.

And in October 1962, the saber-rattling New Frontiersman threatened a U.S. nuclear attack on the Soviet Union for giving missile bases to Cuba. Kennedy instituted the economic blockade designed to strangle the Cuban economy. His brother Robert, as attorney general, prosecuted Americans who dared to visit the revolutionary island.

Last week the *Militant* took a close look at Church's report. In fact, the report traces a direct line of command

from the Kennedy White House to the CIA operatives in Miami who were trying to kill Castro in the early 1960s.

Church's report also suggests that there was another set of ties between the Kennedy brothers and Mafia members who took part in these anti-Castro plots.

More importantly, however, the Church report itself indicates that "the plots against Fidel Castro personally cannot be understood without considering the fully authorized comprehensive assaults upon his regime."

Cuba stood at the vanguard of a colonial revolution that was sweeping the capitalist world.

Its leaders, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, began their rebellion by demanding from a U.S. puppet dictatorship merely the elementary democratic rights that most American citizens feel they are entitled to.

Fidel and Che had demonstrated in struggle that it is necessary to go over to a socialist revolution to win these rights in a semicolonial country.

Steps in Cuba to eliminate discrimination, educate all the people, bring health and medical care to everyone,

and provide all with employment were setting a model for semicolonial nations.

In the October 1962 missile crisis Kennedy mobilized 150,000 U.S. troops and threatened a nuclear war against Cuba. Osvaldo Dorticós, the Cuban president, appealed the Cuban case to world opinion from the floor of the United Nations:

"Cuba is not a problem of this continent nor of this hemisphere," said Dorticós. "Underdevelopment is a hemisphere problem; we are not a hemisphere problem. Hunger, famine, need are hemisphere problems, but Cuba is not. Lack of education and illiteracy are hemisphere problems, not Cuba. United States interference in the domestic affairs of the countries of this continent is a hemisphere problem, not Cuba. The training and preparation of armed forces, specifically on the part of the government of the United States, in various countries of this continent to be used in the suppression of popular movements in the continent until the danger of a new colonial war has been controlled in the Americas—this is a hemisphere problem, not Cuba.

"Cuba is not a hemisphere problem; the United States is, because of its lack of respect for the sovereignty of other states. Cuba is no problem for the countries which respect it. Cuba can be a problem only for those governments which fear it—not our capacity for subversion or for hypothetical aggressive intentions, but only the example of the Cuban revolution."

These were not words the Kennedy administration wanted anybody to hear. The lessons of Cuba were lessons the White House wanted to obliterate. Kennedy would stop at nothing to wipe out the example of the Cuban revolution, including attempts to assassinate its famous leaders.

Strategic policy

The turning back of the tide of revolution, from the Caribbean to the South China Sea, was the central strategic objective of the Kennedy administration.

"We intend to show that the 'war of liberation,' far from being cheap, safe, and disavowable is costly, dangerous, and doomed to failure." So spoke Gen. Maxwell Taylor in open testimony as the Vietnam War was escalated in 1966. Taylor, retired at the time, was merely enunciating the policies of the Kennedy administration, in which he served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It is helpful to look at the Pentagon papers to grasp the full scope of the counterrevolutionary policies and practices of the Kennedy administration's "best and brightest." The Pentagon papers include documents on strategy that Church's committee chose to overlook.

An important example underlines this point.

The *Militant* noted last week that overall anti-Cuban policies emanated from the Special Group that had been set up under Taylor and Robert Kennedy after the failure of the Bay of Pigs. The *Militant* drew attention to "a January 19, 1962 . . . meeting in Robert Kennedy's office" in which a CIA assistant had attributed to Robert Kennedy the concept that "overthrow of Castro" was "the top priority in the U.S. government."

The Pentagon papers reveal that on the previous day, January 18, 1962, the National Security Council had issued a memorandum defining the purposes of the Special Group. Adding the paren-

The true face of 'Camelot'

Three members of the Mafia were involved in a CIA plot to murder Fidel Castro that spanned most of the Kennedy administration, according to Democratic Sen. Frank Church's report on CIA assassination attempts.

John Rosselli, a thug who "was deeply involved in hotel and gambling operations in Las Vegas" while working for the CIA, had been contacted by the CIA to help poison Castro.

The idea was to put poison pills, manufactured by the CIA, into a drinking glass in a Havana restaurant frequented by the Cuban leader.

Rosselli's access to the restaurant was arranged by "Momo Salvatore Giancana, a Chicago-based gangster and . . . Santos Trafficante, the Cosa Nostra chieftain in Cuba," according to Church's report.

Sam Giancana's role is worth noting because of possible ties between Giancana and Robert Kennedy, who was U.S. attorney general at the time of the anti-Castro plot, and President John Kennedy.

Both Giancana and Trafficante were "on the Attorney General's ten-most-wanted criminals list" when they were working with the CIA.

Giancana was well known to Robert Kennedy because he was one of the major crime figures examined

by a Senate committee on which Kennedy served as counsel in the 1950s. "After becoming Attorney General, Robert Kennedy had singled out Giancana as one of the underworld leaders to be most intensely investigated," Church's report states.

Moreover, a memorandum in FBI files dated October 18, 1960, revealed that "Giancana had earlier talked about an assassination attempt against Castro."

And on May 22, 1961, *Giancana's assistance to the CIA in the anti-Cuban activities was revealed to Robert Kennedy by J. Edgar Hoover.*

Hoover's intervention with Kennedy stemmed from an apparently unforeseen development in the CIA plot. The FBI had discovered that Giancana, Rosselli, and Robert Maheu, the CIA operative who was directing the murder plot against Castro, were wiretapping a Las Vegas hotel room.

If the FBI had pressed this discovery it might have ended up publicizing the whole CIA-Mafia murder plot against Fidel Castro.

Furthermore, the Church report showed that a friend of President Kennedy's "was also a close friend of John Rosselli and Sam Giancana." It was subsequently revealed

that this person is Judith Campbell, whose testimony before the Church committee was kept secret by unanimous consent of the committee members. Some of Campbell's phone calls to Kennedy were made from Giancana's home.

The report says, "Hoover had a private luncheon with President Kennedy. There is no record of what transpired. . . . According to White House logs, the last telephone contact between the White House and the President's friend occurred a few hours after the luncheon."

Robert Kennedy decided to drop the FBI's examination of the Las Vegas wiretap.

On June 20, 1975, Giancana was shot to death at his home in Chicago.

In March 1975, *Time* magazine had publicly linked Giancana's involvement in the Castro assassination plot to the CIA and the Kennedys.

In May it was leaked to the press that Giancana had been implicated by the Rockefeller commission, which was looking into CIA activities.

In June, when he was killed, Giancana was scheduled to testify before Church's committee.

—D.R.

killed



CHURCH: Another cover-up

thetical title "Counter-Insurgency," the memorandum declared:

"The functions of the Special Group (C.I.) will be as follows:

"a. To insure proper recognition throughout the U.S. Government that subversive insurgency ('wars of liberation') is a major form of politico-military conflict equal in importance to conventional warfare. . . .

"d. To insure the development of adequate interdepartmental programs aimed at preventing or defeating subversive insurgency. . . ."

Interestingly enough, the Pentagon papers assign Laos, South Vietnam, and Thailand to the Special Group. Church's report shows that Cuba was its biggest concern. And it is quite obvious that the complete list of the countries where the Special Group recommended terrorization of popular groups and their leaders would be much longer.

Warfare

Moreover, there is the reality of the bloody counter guerrilla warfare that the Kennedy administration carried out in Vietnam. Here the murders ordered by Kennedy took place on a routine basis. The front page of the November 9, 1962, *Wall Street Journal* gives an early glimpse:

"While some 10,000 U.S. military men now in South Vietnam are flying helicopters and providing advice under Communist gunfire," said the *Journal*, "a few of their comrades mainly are taking notes. They are experts from a number of Defense Department agencies who are using the struggle against the Viet Cong guerrillas as a proving ground for new tactics and weapons."

The *Journal* quoted the commanding U.S. officer in Vietnam: "Our military advisers here are gaining firsthand knowledge for the kind of war the U.S. might have to fight elsewhere."

It also noted: "Army advisers who complete their regular 12-month tour of duty in Vietnam generally are assigned to such posts as Fort Bragg, N.C., home of the Special Warfare School and to other centers that specialize in counter-insurgency."

Perhaps the *Wall Street Journal's* tone would surprise a reader today. It accurately captures the Ivy League arrogance of the Kennedy administration as its Special Group New Frontiersmen, with their "Alliance for Progress," provided barbed-wire prison camps, antipersonnel bombs, and napalm for the rebelling populations around the globe in order to defend and extend the empire of U.S. imperialism. Kennedy did not order the death of Fidel Castro? Who is Church kidding?

Senate hearing on CIA

Heisler: 'Open the secret files!'

By Evan Hart

WASHINGTON—Ed Heisler, a representative of the Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, told the Senate Armed Services Committee December 16 that the American people have the right "to know the full truth about" the CIA's activities at home and abroad.

Heisler testified at hearings on the nomination of George Bush for top boss of the CIA.

"The Socialist Workers party," said Heisler, "is demanding that all secret CIA and FBI files be opened. We can be sure that those revelations that have already been published are just the tip of the iceberg, and that even more horrible atrocities remain shrouded in secrecy."

"We think bringing all the facts about the illegal activities of the CIA into the open can be an important first step in putting an end to them."

Heisler described to the committee the campaign of illegal surveillance and harassment against the SWP carried out by the CIA, the FBI, and other government agencies. "It's not only members and supporters of the Socialist Workers party who have been victimized by the CIA," he said. "The rights of thousands of Americans—be they trade unionists, civil rights activists, or opponents of wars such as the one in Southeast Asia—have been, and continue to be, violated by this agency."

"As part of the effort to halt these illegal activities, my party has filed a lawsuit against the CIA and the FBI. We are seeking \$27 million in damages for the attacks we have suffered on our right to express our ideas, run candidates for public office, and win people

to our point of view. If Mr. Bush is confirmed as CIA director, he will become a defendant in our suit."

"Under Democratic and Republican administrations alike," said Heisler, "the CIA has acted to crush popular movements abroad, overthrow democratically elected governments, and assassinate political figures judged to be threats to the investments of American corporations."

During his testimony the day before, Bush had been asked if he would direct the CIA to organize the violent overthrow of a democratically elected government. Bush refused to rule out such an action: "I would say we should tread very, very carefully with governments that are constitutionally elected."

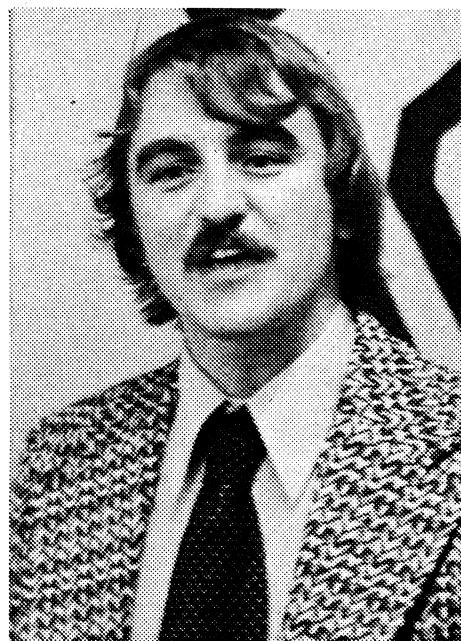
Rather than pledging to uncover the secret crimes still concealed in the CIA files, Bush went out of his way to express his concern about former CIA employees who have disclosed some facts about the CIA's activities.

Nonetheless, these issues received only passing attention from the members of the Senate committee. Most of the questioning focused on whether Bush could be an "effective" CIA chief if he was also interested in running for vice-president with Ford in 1976.

Senator Frank Church, who testified in opposition to Bush on these grounds, went out of his way to laud Bush's "distinguished record in government service and high personal integrity."

But, Church said, the nomination might look bad because of Bush's political ambitions.

Church appealed to the committee to reject the nomination because "many



Militant/Terry Guilico

HEISLER: 'The American people have the right to know the truth.'

Americans have lost confidence in important government institutions" and there is a need to improve the "appearance" of agencies like the CIA. "I think intelligence gathering functions are critical to the country," intoned the senator.

David Cohen, speaking for the so-called people's lobby, Common Cause, called on committee members to ask Bush such questions as, "What would he do to reduce duplication and waste" in the CIA?; "what would he do to coordinate intelligence agencies?;" and "would he arrange the CIA hierarchy so that a definite chain of command existed?"

'Antisocial' groups targeted

Local Cointelpro plot bared in Chi.

By Elizabeth McNulty

CHICAGO—Mayor Richard Daley's police department has its own version of the FBI's notorious Cointelpro designed to disrupt and destroy groups with dissident views. It was revealed December 9 that the police department's "Intelligence Division Special Order 74-3" is a "neutralization" program aimed at groups engaged in what the police consider "antisocial" activities.

The purpose of "neutralization," according to the order, is to "expose, cause to cease or change in direction" organizations targeted by police.



GROGAN: Denounces Daley's 'neutralization' program.

The order was issued April 1, 1974.

The "Special Order" was released in response to interrogatories in a lawsuit brought by the Alliance to End Repression.

The order doesn't spell out what is meant by "antisocial" or indicate which organizations were targeted, but an official police report released in an earlier lawsuit shows that the National Lawyers Guild was an object of the "neutralization" program.

The National Lawyers Guild was never accused of any illegal activities. It is described in the police report as "a National Organization of Leftist Attorneys and Law Clerks who were associated with many different Radical Organizations. In recent months, it has been ascertained that members of the Guild have allied with different organizations for the purpose of gathering information on Police and Public officials and using this information to file lawsuits against them." This is an example of what the police department considers "antisocial."

John Hill, executive coordinator of the Alliance to End Repression, said, "The 'neutralization' program constitutes a direct attack on political organizations' very right to exist. A society in which the police target peaceful political organizations for destruction is indistinguishable from a police state and is completely inconsistent with our constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and association."

A grand jury report issued November 10 found the Chicago Police Department guilty of widespread illegal

activities and violations of civil rights. In response to the report, Police Supt. James Rochford called a news conference in which he disclaimed any official responsibility and said that "if there were excesses, they were well-intentioned, motivated by people who acted wholly in the public good."

Faced with evidence that the disruption program was official police policy, Rochford could only lamely comment that he wasn't sure whether the 1974 order is still in effect. "They've been rewritten and written in the last few years. . . . We're all bewildered."

The revelation of the police "neutralization" program bolsters the cases of the many individuals and organizations who are plaintiffs in lawsuits against the Chicago Police Department for illegal spying and harassment.

Patricia Grogan, a spokesperson for the Socialist Workers party, said that "the goals of the 'Special Order' are as repugnant as the 'neutralization' goals of the FBI's Cointelpro." She said her organization would press ahead with its federal court suit demanding \$7.9 million in damages and an end to Chicago police harassment.

The suit draws on revelations earlier this year that the local police "red squad" financed and directed the Legion of Justice, a right-wing terrorist group that burglarized the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance headquarters and physically assaulted the groups' members. Grogan said that all documents connected to "Special Order 74-3" that relate to the SWP and YSA will be sought through the lawsuit.

...Reid

Continued from page 9

for a serious fight to be waged here in New York, it's going to take new leaders who come from the struggles of the rank and file. It's going to take leaders who are fighters, who will sweep aside these labor fakers and transform the unions into fighting instruments.

The bureaucrats say that the workers won't fight. But every time the workers see a way to fight, they respond. The problem is not that the workers won't fight. The problem is that the bureaucrats won't lead a fight.

The reason we don't see a bigger response from the union ranks and from the communities right now is that people see no alternative. Their consciousness is changing. They have less faith in the Gotbaums and Shanksers now than ever before. But they still see no alternative to the Gotbaums and Shanksers.

We have to begin to create that alternative. We have to begin to build that new leadership.

No, it's not going to be easy. It's going to take time and a lot of work. But this is the most important task before us. It's not enough to see the problem. We have to do something about it, starting now.

That is where we come in—all of us here in this room. That is where the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance come in. What can we do right now?

First, we can tell the truth. We don't tell people the crisis will be over in a few years and then things will get better. We tell them the truth: that things are only going to get worse, and we have to start fighting back now.

We don't tell workers to rely on the Democratic party. We tell them the truth: that we have to have our own party.

Second, everywhere people are fighting back, we are there. We are part of that fight. And we are part of efforts to bring together in a united struggle all those who want to fight back.

Third, we are setting an example through our own election campaigns. We are showing that a working-class party can run against the Democrats and Republicans and expose their lies.

[Socialist Workers party candidates] Pat Wright, Catarino Garza, Ruthann

Miller, and Robb Wright are putting forward the program that is needed. They are the kind of candidates, with the kind of program, that the entire labor movement ought to be running and supporting.

...Post

Continued from back page

strikers as a handy rationale for not missing a paycheck.

Calvin Zeller, president of the *Post* unit, says the majority of the Baltimore-Washington Guild members are still fully behind the strike. Charges of strikebreaking have been filed against guild members crossing the picket lines, and they are subject to fines, suspension, or expulsion from the union.

"I tell them," Zeller said, "look at the people's jobs you've lost. Over 200 people have lost their jobs because of what you have done."

The need for broad labor solidarity with the embattled unions was a central theme of the December 13 demonstration.

William Simons of the teachers union commented, "We recall not too long ago, last February to be exact, what the labor movement did for us when we were in our crisis. And certainly we are going to do everything possible to help you."

Ron Richardson of Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 25 pointed out that the *Post* has replaced its unionized cafeteria workers and brought in the Marriott Corporation, a notorious antiunion outfit, to staff the cafeteria.

With the events of the past week, the strike at the *Post* has reached a new stage. Management has decided that negotiations are no longer necessary. Enough members of the guild are crossing picket lines to write needed articles. Scabs are being flown in under police protection to staff the presses.

The *Post* owns its own paper supply and is getting support from other scab papers like the *Miami Herald*, which prints all the *Post*'s advertising supplements.

Graham and Meagher feel confident that their propaganda about alleged "violence" can undercut the growth of public support for the strikers.

Ed Heisler, chief labor spokesperson

for the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, marched with the strikers and, with other socialist campaigners, distributed a statement of support for the strike.

"What is needed is a massive campaign to get out the truth," the statement said. "The plight of the press operators, the mailers, and the stereotypes should be a rallying call to the whole union movement."

"The powerful resources of the *Post* must be matched by a massive area-wide campaign by the entire labor movement and its allies. . . . The boycott must be extended and additional mass pickets and rallies must be organized with the aim of mobilizing massive numbers in this effort."

More than 1,000 copies of the statement were distributed, and 115 of the demonstrators bought copies of the *Militant* featuring coverage of the strike.

...safety

Continued from page 23

issue be resolved by studies and recommendations by committees in which labor participates and is outnumbered by management and pro-management "public" representatives. The name of their game is delay, and there has already been more than enough of that.

What should be done? The first step that ought to be taken is for coke-oven workers to insist within their unions that their locals and districts go on record demanding that the steel companies open their books. One of the main arguments of the steel bosses is that safety would be too expensive and they can't afford it, even though it is a fact that the companies have reaped record profits in the past few years.

As a first step, therefore, the unions ought to show that the only obstacle to protecting workers from unnecessary disease and death is the greed of the corporations.

Equally important, workers and their unions could run representatives from their own ranks for public office. If elected, they could use these offices as public platforms to further expose the companies and press for legislation to have the necessary engineering

controls installed in the plants and mills.

In the process of striving for these objectives, workers will have to reach out and form alliances with workers in other unions, as well as with community, health, and environmental groups.

One thing is certain: the past five years show that only action independent of the steel bosses, and of the capitalist parties, can achieve coke-oven safety.

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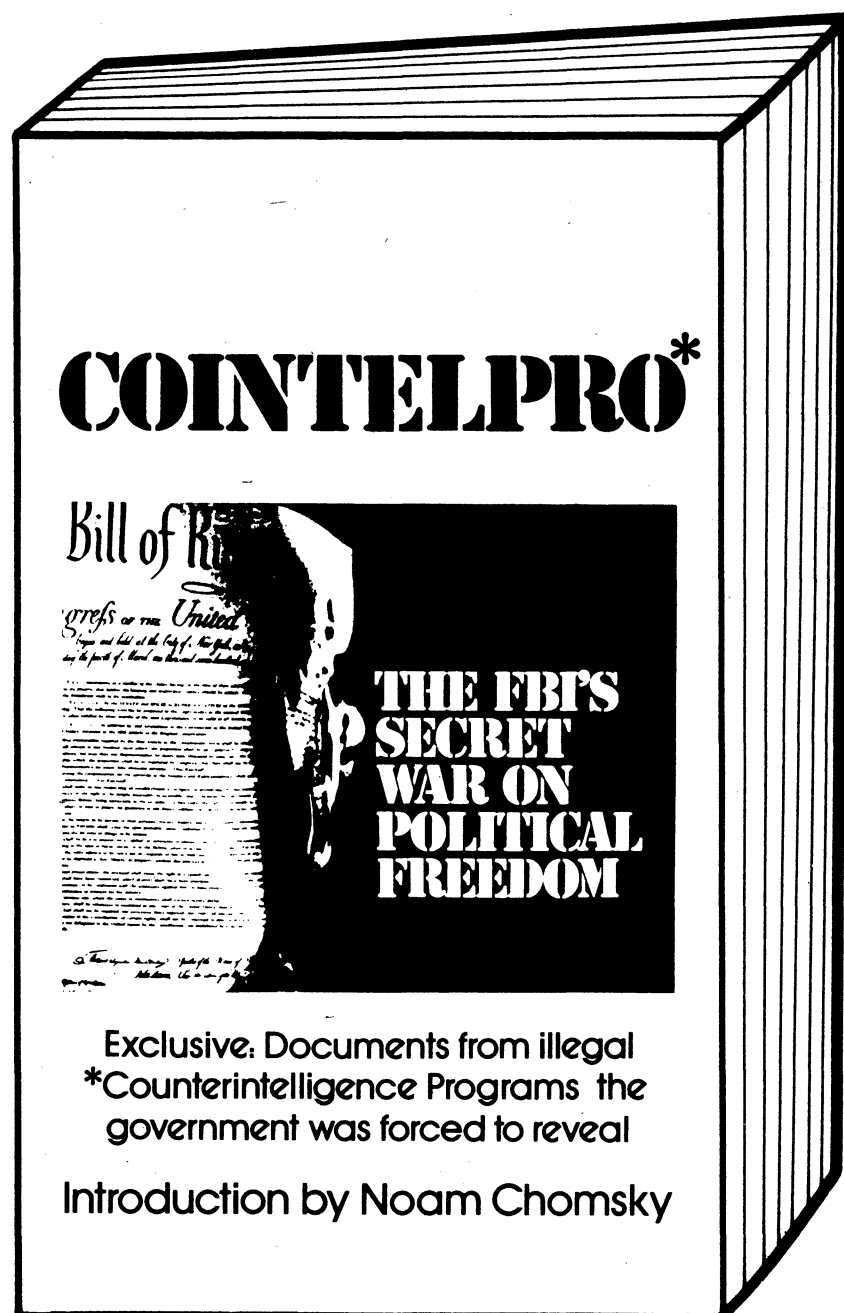
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200 strikers fired

D.C. 'Post' declares war against unions

By Jim Gotesky

WASHINGTON—In a declaration of war against the printing-trades unions and a challenge to the entire labor movement, the management of the *Washington Post* has fired all 200 striking press operators and stereotypers and moved to replace them with permanent scabs.

On December 13, the same day the *Post* owners announced their "hard decision" to fire the strikers, 2,000 unionists and supporters demonstrated here in solidarity with the striking unions.

Demonstrators hoisted picket signs reading, "We won't crawl back," "Break the strikebreakers," and "People over profits." Marching around the shuttered and heavily guarded *Post* offices, they chanted, "On strike, shut it down!" and "Boycott the *Post*!"

A rally heard declarations of support from William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union; Robert Peterson, head of the Greater Washington Central Labor Council; Jim Curtiss, head of the Building Trades Council; representatives of the Service Employees International Union and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers; and local and national leaders of the printing-trades unions.

A message of solidarity was also read from César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers.

Antiunion conspiracy

Post management's latest move confirms what union leaders have charged since the strike began October 1: The *Post* owners are out to destroy the printing-trades unions, which pose an obstacle to their plans to speed up production, eliminate jobs, and raise profits.

Mark Meagher, executive vice-president and general manager of the *Post*, said that firing the press operators was "a good, healthy conclusion" to the walkout. It is also intended to blackmail all the craft unions now honoring the strike into returning to work. "I just can't imagine these unions letting the number of jobs we have here just go down the tubes," Meagher said.

While continuing to hypocritically insist that "we are a union paper," *Post* owner Katherine Graham has organized for an antilabor war. Indicative of the siege mentality at this "union paper," scabs are being landed by helicopter on the roof and then housed in makeshift dormitories inside to insulate them from any contact with picket lines.

Meagher has admitted that two years ago the *Post* decided to take the offensive against union work practices



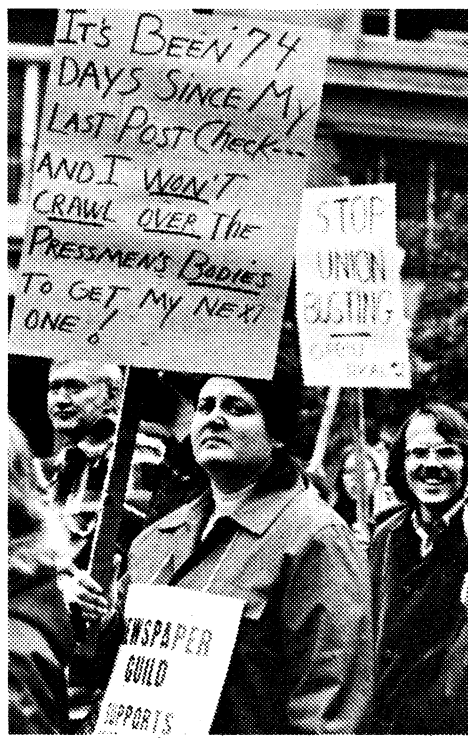
Two thousand unionists and supporters demonstrate December 13 in solidarity with 'Post' strikers.

News & Views

and, expecting to provoke a strike, began secretly training nonunion and executive personnel to take the places of strikers.

It is also clear that the union-busting conspiracy extends far beyond the *Washington Post*. The *Post* executives were sent to a special scab training school in Oklahoma set up by an antiunion publishers' association.

After a long interview with Meagher, *New York Times* labor writer Ben Franklin pointedly observed that craft unions had been ousted "already at other papers in Miami, Dallas, Kansas City, Mo., Los Angeles and New Haven, among others."



Militant/Ed Mattos

The difference, Meagher told Franklin, was that the *Post* decided to eliminate union working conditions "over a short period of time rather than an extended time" as at the other papers.

Meagher emphasized that if the *Post* succeeds in getting rid of a "maverick, intransigent" union, it would have "major implications in other big city newspaper negotiations as time goes on."

To set the stage for firing the strikers, the *Post* on December 4 made a "final offer" to press operators Local 6, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union.

In return for slight wage increases over a three-year period, the *Post* demanded elimination of current overtime provisions, a staffing reduction of 45 percent, abolition of virtually all union control over pressroom operations, and freedom to bring in nonunion labor.

This offer, which Graham termed "all we have to give," was rejected by the press operators in a vote of 249 to 5. The *Post* responded by purchasing a full-page ad in the *Washington Star* voicing the threat to replace the strikers permanently.

Speaking at the December 13 rally, Local 6 President James Dugan explained that he and leaders of the other striking unions had offered to sit down with Mayor Walter Washington or the city council to open areas of discussion. Graham, however, flatly refused to meet with the strikers.

Dugan was cheered by the crowd when he said the *Post*'s real aims should now be clear to all. The strike is "not a strike for money," he said. "It is

not a strike for manning. It is a strike for dignity. They don't want us to have any!"

Role of Newspaper Guild

All newspaper unions, including the Newspaper Guild, which represents reporters and other white-collar workers, have pledged full support to the press operators' strike. The *Post* unit of the Baltimore-Washington Newspaper Guild, however, has voted by a narrow majority to scab on the other workers.

Along with executives and imported scabs, some guild members are playing a crucial role in enabling the *Post* to publish despite the strike.

On December 15, the *Post* unit met to discuss Graham's latest moves. The meeting was called at the urging of guild members who support the strike and who argue that the methods used against the press operators will surely be used, sooner or later, to reduce the guild to impotence as well.

A rank-and-file strike support committee has been formed that writes and circulates a newsletter to guild members still working inside.

After a stormy four-hour debate, a resolution to support the strike, proposed by eighteen reporters, was defeated in a vote of 361 to 219. The vote represented a defection of 15 former strike supporters to the side of the *Post* owners.

Guild members told the *Militant* that it is mainly the higher-paid writers who are scabbing, while lower-paid clerical and commercial employees are backing the strike. The scabbing guild members have seized upon Graham's charge of "violence" on the part of the

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