

THE MILITANT

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

Defend Black students!

New racist terror in Boston schools

—PAGE 6



Massive protest by workers in Lisbon one week before abortive November 25 coup. Military regime has used putsch attempt as pretext for antilabor crackdown.

Portugal: lessons of the coup attempt

CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA

GROWING PRESSURE ON
S. AFRICAN IMPERIALISTS
TO PULL OUT. PAGES 3, 10.

PLEA FROM DEATH ROW

LOUISIANA BLACK YOUTH
BATTLES RACIST FRAME-UP,
APPEALS FOR HELP. PAGE 5.

CLUW

WHAT STRATEGY FOR UNION
WOMEN'S RIGHTS? PAGE 8.

ERA

WOMEN DISCUSS ACTION FOR
PASSAGE IN '76. PAGE 9.

COINTELPRO

FBI'S SECRET WAR AGAINST
ANTIOCH COLLEGE. PAGE 25.

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Angola: growing pressure for S. African pullout
- 4 Protests oppose U.S. intervention in Angola
- 5 Letter from death row: Gary Tyler asks support
- 6 New racist violence rocks Boston schools
- 7 Newark cops attack Kawaïda Towers marchers
- 8 What strategy in fight for union women's rights?
- 9 Mpls. speak-out maps drive to pass ERA
- 25 Hoover's secret war on Antioch College
- 26 Is Tom Hayden's campaign 'realistic'?
- 27 Pittsburgh teachers debate terms of new contract
- 28 N.Y. AFSCME hears call for labor party
- 29 Sit-in to fight library cutbacks
- 32 CIA files bare details on 'Operation Chaos'
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 24 Women in Revolt ¡La Raza en Acción! Their Government
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 5
FEBRUARY 6, 1976
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JAN. 28

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

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Washington Bureau: 1345 E. St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 638-4081.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$7.50 a year; outside U.S., \$13.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$35.00. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

AIM LEADER DENNIS BANKS ARRESTED: American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks was arrested January 24 in El Cerrito, California, a suburb of San Francisco.

In July 1975, Banks was convicted by an all-white South Dakota jury on riot charges stemming from a February 1973 demonstration in Custer, South Dakota, that was savagely attacked by police. His trial was conducted immediately after the shooting deaths of two FBI agents in Pine Ridge, during a racist anti-Indian hysteria whipped up by false reports about the incident.

Details of the trial are sketchy, since the judge issued a sweeping gag order to stop reporting on how Banks was being railroaded into prison.

On August 5, Banks was scheduled to be sentenced. He failed to appear, and was declared a fugitive from—of all things—"justice." Since his disappearance, the government has tried to link Banks to a number of alleged incidents involving explosives and firearms.

Banks, who feared being killed in prison, explained after his arrest that he knew he would eventually be caught, but fled South Dakota because he knew the racism there made it impossible for an Indian to get fair treatment.

Banks was arraigned January 26 on a federal firearms charge. A hearing will be held February 9 to see whether he will be extradited to Portland, Oregon, to face charges of allegedly having shot at a state trooper last November. He will also face federal unlawful flight charges later. Banks is being held in lieu of \$100,000 bail.

MORGENTALER FREED PENDING NEW TRIAL: Dr. Henry Morgentaler was released January 26 without bail after having spent ten months in prison on a charge of having performed an illegal abortion.

Morgentaler has already gone through trials on two cases of performing illegal abortions. Both ended in jury acquittals, but in the first case, the Québec Court of Appeals reversed the jury decision and imposed an eighteen-month sentence. Justice Minister Ronald Basford has now ordered a new trial on the first charge, leading to the doctor's release.

Morgentaler faces ten additional cases. As an opponent of Canada's undemocratic abortion laws, he says he has performed 5,000 abortions.

SUPPORT RIGHT OF BLANCO TO ENTER U.S.: The Intellectual Freedom Committee and the International Relations Committee of the American Library Association adopted a resolution January 18 demanding that Peruvian author and revolutionist Hugo Blanco be allowed to enter the United States. The ALA is a national organization of professional librarians.

Blanco was the central leader of a union movement among the Quechua Indian peasants of Peru in the early 1960s. The history of that struggle is recounted in his book *Land or Death*. Blanco had been scheduled to conduct a U.S. speaking tour last fall, but the government has refused him a visa, citing "classified" information and slandering him as a "terrorist."

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which is coordinating the effort to reverse the ban on Blanco, charges that the real reason the government won't let Americans hear Blanco is because he was an eyewitness to the Chile coup and many other U.S.-inspired atrocities in Latin America.

Noting that "threats to freedom of expression of any person become threats to the freedom of all," the resolution says that the government's action "denies citizens of the United States right of access to information as guaranteed by the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution."

S.F. 'EXAMINER' BACKS ELECTION LAW CHALLENGE: The San Francisco *Examiner* declared its support in a January 25 editorial to a suit challenging California's undemocratic election law. What is at stake in the court action, the *Examiner* said, is "the right to differ."

The suit was filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws on behalf of the Socialist Workers party, the Raza Unida party, and several other parties. It seeks to have federal courts strike down the statute because of high petition requirements that make it virtually impossible for a new party to win ballot status.

A three-judge panel has heard arguments in the case and a decision is expected soon.

REACTIONARIES RALLY AGAINST WOMEN'S RIGHTS: The third anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision recognizing women's right to choose abortion brought out thousands of anti-abortionists to Washington, D.C., January 22. Police estimated the crowd at its peak at 18,000, while organizers claimed it was more than 50,000.

About half of those participating in the march and rally were students in Catholic schools, mobilized for the

Thursday demonstration by their church. Students interviewed by reporters said they had been taught in religion classes that abortion is murder and, "You're supposed to go into a marriage to have kids."

Speakers at the protest railed against abortion as "massacre unlimited," and compared those who support the right of women to control their own body to the Nazis who murdered six million Jews.

Among the speakers at the protest were a dozen U.S. senators and representatives, including members of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

BLACK ASSEMBLY ENDORSES JULIAN BOND: The National Black Assembly announced January 21 that it intends to draft Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond as an independent candidate for president of the United States.

Assembly leaders said Bond could represent the group's desire to create "a society based on humanism, democracy, and self-determination, free of oppression and exploitation of humans."

Bond reacted to the move by saying he was "flattered," but, according to the *New York Times*, he added that he has no plans for national politics "until the 1976 legislative session is over in March."

The assembly hopes to formalize its campaign at its March 17-21 convention in Cincinnati. The assembly is the outgrowth of the 8,000-strong Black political convention in 1972 in Gary, Indiana.

'NOT OF PUBLISHABLE QUALITY': In last week's *Militant* we published a statement by Peter Camejo in which the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate castigated proposals contained in the draft of President Ford's Economic Report to Congress. The draft said that government attempts to clean up the environment and upgrade health and safety conditions on the job hadn't worked, and concluded that the government agencies responsible for these areas should have much of their power taken away.

Now, according to a White House mouthpiece, it has been decided to remove these sections from the report before it is submitted to Congress because the analysis "was not of publishable quality." Not that the arguments were invalid, the White House said, but "more research must be done to make the conclusions hold."

The truth is that "more research" isn't really necessary to see why these agencies have had an "insubstantial effect." As Camejo explained in these pages, the reason is that the federal government has consciously sabotaged the enforcement of even the feeble laws and regulations that have been put on the books.

—José Pérez



Special Offer For New Readers

The Equal Rights Amendment still isn't law, and its supporters around the country are stepping up a campaign to get it passed. Keep up with the latest developments in the drive to ratify the ERA by reading the *Militant* every week. Subscribe now.

The Militant—2 Months/\$1

- () \$1 for two months (new readers only)
() \$4 for six months () \$7.50 for one year
() New () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Pressure mounts on South Africa to withdraw troops from Angola

By Steve Clark
From Intercontinental Press

A number of dispatches from southern Africa report that South Africa is withdrawing troops from their positions along battlefronts in south-central Angola.

New York Times correspondent Henry Kamm, in a January 25 dispatch from Kinshasa, Zaïre, reported, "South African troops are withdrawing from frontline positions across the center of Angola, a well-placed official of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA—União Na-

prisoners being carted around the continent."

A report in the January 24 British *Economist* noted the growing unpopularity inside South Africa of the war, despite government attempts through censorship to shield the population from news of the conflict. "Casualties could be high and public opinion in South Africa, already showing signs of nervousness, could become positively hostile," the report said.

Nonetheless, Washington's moves will play the pivotal role in determining the extent and character of Pretor-

with heavy support from Cuban troops.

In the northwestern region of Angola, the MPLA has held on to the towns of Uíge, Abroz, Abrozete, and others, where during the past month it has driven back forces of the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front).

Low morale

Earlier in the week, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi announced that his forces plan to airlift 5,000 soldiers to

earlier indicated some of the problems facing the UNITA itself.

The half of Angola held by UNITA, Kamm said in a January 21 dispatch from Huambo, is "virtually cut off from the world, producing almost nothing and consuming the fruits of its past labor." It "appears to be heading from crisis toward catastrophe," he said.

"The plantation agriculture, mineral extraction and light manufacturing plants of the former Portuguese colony have been paralyzed by the exodus of the settlers who owned or operated them. . . .

"Whatever foreign exchange Angola possessed at independence last Nov. 11 was in the hands of the Popular Movement, based in Luanda, the colonial capital and center of banking."

Breakdown in Huambo

Kamm described the severe shortage of gasoline and other petroleum products; the lack of adequate food and medical supplies in Huambo; the total breakdown of the city water supply; the paralysis of the postal service and internal transportation throughout the area; and the lack of communication with the outside world, since all telephone, telegraph, and telex lines are centered not in Huambo, but in Luanda.

"Although Huambo is the capital of Mr. Savimbi's government," Kamm reported, "there is no evidence of a functioning government." The UNITA's military headquarters is not in Huambo, but in nearby Silva Porto.

Coming on top of the FNLA's reverses, such a picture of the UNITA-held territories could strengthen the hand of those in Washington who believe—as cold-war liberal Hubert Humphrey recently put it—"In fact, we are supporting two political factions about which we know nothing . . . which have the least chance to achieve a military victory."

These ruling-class circles fear that American economic and political interests may suffer unless a quick policy shift is around the corner.

Reflecting this concern, Mark Moran—a top aide to California Senator John Tunney—visited Luanda for several days beginning January 22 to meet with top MPLA officials. Another Tunney aide met during the same period with leaders of the FNLA.

Overtures to MPLA

"The American [Moran] says his conversations here have been very 'useful,' and that they involved to a great extent the suspended oil-extracting operations of the Gulf Company in Cabinda, and the sale of Boeing aircraft to the Luanda government, which has reportedly been blocked by State Department pressure," New York Times correspondent Michael Kaufman reported from Luanda January 23.

The overtures have not all been in one direction, according to Kaufman. ". . . there seems to be less anti-American sentiment in newspaper and radio reports, coinciding with the current visit here of Mark Moran. . . ." he reported.

"Officials of the Popular Movement have sought to convey the impression that there is at least one element in the Luanda government that fears that a lack of flexibility in Washington can lead only to increased Soviet influence in Angola. . . .

"These officials say that they recognize that to a great extent the wealth of Angola—its oil, its diamonds, its coffee—is dependent on Western markets."

Continued on page 30



South African troops training on Angolan border. Pretoria is quick to make clear that despite pressure it has no intention of completely withdrawing from Angola.

cional para Independência Total de Angola] disclosed here today."

But the South African imperialists were quick to make clear that despite mounting pressure, they had no intention of withdrawing completely from Angola. According to a dispatch from Capetown in the January 26 *New York Post*, "Defense Minister Pieter Botha said today South African troops would stay in southern Angola until South Africa received a guarantee that the South West Africa border was safe."

New York Times correspondent Kamm's dispatch from Kinshasa cited the UNITA official as saying that South Africa was leaving behind for UNITA forces "important items of matériel, such as artillery pieces and communications equipment."

Kamm continued, "The official said the National Union had been given to understand by foreign quarters that support the pro-Western movement that the withdrawal was a move to encourage a similar retreat on the part of the Cuban military units spearheading the forces of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]."

Pressures on Pretoria

Washington Post correspondent Denis Herbstein pointed to some of the pressures bearing down on Pretoria as a result of its Angola involvement. Herbstein reported from Johannesburg January 24, "Now, at least, white South Africans are hoping that they will be spared further scenes of tearful parents waving farewell to their teenage sons going off to war, the regular funeral of young men in towns and villages throughout the country, and the sight of manacled South African

ia's involvement. Washington Post correspondent Herbstein's January 24 dispatch pointed out, "Botha clearly blames the Western powers, and particularly the United States, for not helping South Africa and its Angolan allies to match the weaponry of the Soviet backed Popular Movement."

Protests vs. Ford

This highlights the importance of continued protests in the United States and around the world against the Ford administration's role in masterminding the imperialist intervention.

If reports of Pretoria's withdrawal from the battlefronts are true, it is highly unlikely that they signify an end to South African involvement in Angola.

As Botha indicated, Pretoria will almost certainly retain a firm foothold along Angola's border with Namibia. Its interests in this area are twofold.

First, Pretoria wants to protect the \$200 million Cunene hydroelectric dam project, which it began to construct before the downfall of the Salazarist dictatorship in Portugal. Second, it intends to continue its operations on both sides of the border against guerrillas of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which is fighting to sever South African control over Namibia.

With troops amassed along the Angolan border, South Africa could reintervene in the fighting at any point.

Inside Angola, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) continues to hold the offensive in the civil war—reportedly

the northern battlefront to aid FNLA troops, who Savimbi said were suffering from low morale after their recent defeats.

FNLA leader Johnny Eduardo said his organization will accept the offer of support, but that the UNITA reinforcements should have been sent much earlier. According to a January 24 dispatch by Kamm, Eduardo also "ridiculed statements by Dr. Savimbi that National Union troops were needed to raise the morale of the National Front forces."

A dispatch by Kamm several days



Militant/Glenn Campbell

Continued protests against U.S. government's role in Angola are needed to end imperialist intervention.

Teach-ins & rallies hit U.S. war in Angola

By José Pérez

Teach-ins, picket lines, and rallies against U.S. intervention in Angola are being organized across the country.

On January 20 in Philadelphia, eighty people attended a meeting in preparation for a march and rally that have been called for Saturday, February 7. The demonstration will assemble at Broad and Girard streets at 12:30 p.m. and will march to the Gulf Oil offices at Seventeenth Street and the Parkway.

Other street demonstrations for February 7 are being planned in Denver, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Boston.

A scheduled speech by Henry Kissinger February 3 in San Francisco will be met with a protest picket line being organized by Bay Area activists.

The following day, a teach-in will be held at the University of California at Berkeley. The event is being sponsored by a number of organizations, including the *Daily Californian*; the Black Board, an umbrella organization of Black groups on campus; Students for Tom Hayden; Young Socialist Alliance; People's Bicentennial Commission; and the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Among the speakers will be Socialist Workers party leader Tony Thomas; Ageibou Yansan, professor of African studies; attorney Howard Moore; and a representative of the Venceremos Brigade.

Thomas, who is touring the country speaking on the need to oppose U.S. intervention in Angola, has participated in teach-ins, protest news conferences, and meetings. His tour is being coordinated by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Path-



finder Press, which will soon be publishing a new book on Angola coauthored by Thomas and Ernest Harsch, a staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*.

On January 23, Thomas spoke before a crowd of 120 at Texas Southern University in Houston. The meeting was cosponsored by the Houston Militant Forum and the TSU

student government. Sharing the platform with Thomas was Professor Indakwe, head of the Afro-American studies department at the University of Houston.

During a discussion period after the presentations, it was agreed to schedule a meeting to plan protest actions. Thomas also spoke at the University of Houston.

In St. Louis, Thomas spoke on a panel including Wale Amusa of the St. Louis Committee on Africa, and Thomas Crenshaw, a leader of the Missouri Communist party. The event was held January 20 at St. Louis University.

The meeting was covered in a front-page article in the student newspaper, which published in large type the heart of Thomas's message: "The U.S. is trying to take advantage of the Civil War in Angola in order to maintain control of it and other poor African nations."

The article noted that, although there were differences on the role of the three Angolan liberation groups, "all the panel participants agreed that the U.S. is largely responsible for the hostilities."

It singled out Wale Amusa's statement that "the U.S. is the real enemy in Angola and the backbone of oppression in Africa" as typical of the sentiment at the meeting.

In Pittsburgh, Thomas spoke at the Community College of Allegheny County on January 22, and that evening at the Militant Forum. Also speaking at the forum was Yusef Ali, from the Black studies department at the University of Pittsburgh.

Malik Miah, another SWP leader, will also be touring the country in coming weeks. Miah is a member of the SWP National Committee and in 1975 was national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. He is the author of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *The U.S. Role in Southern Africa*, and has been a frequent contributor to the *Militant*. Miah will be speaking in Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

Spain: monarchy clamps down on strikes

By David Frankel

From *Intercontinental Press*

To counter the wave of strikes and demonstrations that has erupted in Spain, the regime of King Juan Carlos I is resorting to further repressive measures.

Police moved in January 20 to smash a demonstration in Madrid that had been called by a wide range of opposition groups, including the pro-Moscow Communist party and the Social Democratic PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—Spanish Socialist Workers party). The action had been initiated, according to the PSOE, "to support peacefully the just demands of wage-earners and to seek the right to democratic liberties."

Calling the demonstration "a clear attempt to disturb public order," the police clamped down hard. Thousands of riot police occupied the center of Madrid. According to a report by Henry Giniger in the January 21 *New York Times*, "... helmeted policemen with truncheons and automatic weapons sealed off the area and charged against people attempting to form into groups on its periphery. On foot, in jeeps and on horseback, they put on one of the biggest shows of force here in years."

The regime's display of force was clearly part of a general approach adopted in hopes of halting the working-class upsurge. On January 18, for example, police in the Basque city of Bilbao attacked thousands of demonstrators demanding amnesty for political prisoners and democratic rights, while in Madrid twenty-two lawyers connected with the labor movement were arrested.

The arrests took place at a private party at which thirty-three other persons were also taken into custody by plainclothesmen with submachine guns. Although those arrested were released the following day, club-swinging police beat 200 lawyers,

economists, journalists, and architects who had gathered outside the police headquarters to request an explanation for the arrests.

On January 19 the government announced it was drafting 72,000 railway workers into the army in order to force them to work under military discipline. This strikebreaking tactic, frequently used by the fascist dictatorship when Franco was in power, follows the conscription of 55,000 postal workers.

Premier Carlos Arias Navarro, speaking to the fascist National Movement the same day, hailed the forty years of Franco's rule and vowed that "the Government is determined to use with energy and firmness all the means the law has put at its disposal."

So far, the repressive measures have not been successful in stopping the strike movement. "In Barcelona, Valencia, Zaragoza and Seville, labor agitation has increased," Giniger reported in a January 20 dispatch. "In the Barcelona area 69 companies are reported affected by work stoppages." On January 21, strikes closed down the coal mines of Asturias.

In the Madrid area, Giniger reported January 19, "when the Chrysler plant in Villaverde employing 12,000 reopened only a few workers appeared and these quickly left because of hostility from pickets."

While the Spanish monarchy is attempting to impose a wage freeze and curb mounting demands for democratic rights, its foreign minister has been visiting West European capitals to trumpet the supposed liberalization of the regime. The Spanish capitalists badly want admission to the European Common Market, both for economic and political reasons.

"Spain applied for an association agreement with the EEC as early as 1962 and originally hoped for full membership by 1970," noted a report in the January 17 issue of the *British*

Economist, "but all that had been achieved by last year was a start on talks about a trade agreement. . . . Now the new-look post-Franco Spain is looking for more than just a revival of those talks: it wants proper association, to be quickly followed by full EEC membership, along with membership of Nato."

According to the *Economist* article, "There is every prospect of the trade talks starting up again soon . . . but beyond that the EEC would want to see more evidence of Spanish democratization before making a move."

In contrast to its European partners, the Ford administration exhibited little hesitation about establishing close links with the new Spanish government. On January 23, the Madrid regime reported that it had reached an accord with Washington on the continued operation of U.S. military bases in Spain.

The agreement, which will be submitted to the U.S. Senate and given full status as a "treaty" in order to underscore the ties between Madrid and Washington, calls for \$1.22 billion in military aid to the Spanish regime over the next five years. This compares with a \$500 to \$600 million figure that had been agreed upon with Franco just before he died.

In a calculated boost to the monarchy's hopes of being admitted to the NATO alliance, the treaty will note Madrid's contributions to that imperialist bloc. Henry Kissinger is scheduled to stop in Madrid January 24 to sign the agreement.

However, even in announcing the accord, Foreign Minister José María de Areilza had to make mention of the "unpopularity" of the U.S. bases in Spain. Residents of Palomares, for example, doubtless remember very well the 1966 incident in which a U.S. B-52 bomber collided with another plane, and four H-bombs were lost.



PRIME MINISTER ARIAS: Francoism without Franco.

Radioactive pollution from the bombs affected crops, soil, and people in the vicinity, and technicians had to ship 6,000 tons of polluted soil to the United States for disposal.

According to Areilza, the new pact provides for the removal of nuclear-armed submarines from the Rota naval base in southern Spain some time before the termination of the five-year agreement.

Gary Tyler tells his story

An appeal from Louisiana's death row

[Following is a letter from a prisoner on death row in Louisiana. Its author, Gary Tyler, is a seventeen-year-old Black who was convicted last November by an all-white jury of a murder he did not commit.]

[On October 7, 1974, a series of fights between Black and white students at Destrehan High School in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, prompted the principal of the school to close it early.]

[Gary Tyler was not at the school while the fights were going on that day. He and a friend were walking along a road several miles from the school when they were picked up by a sheriff's deputy and driven to the school.]

[Tyler arrived at the school just in time to join other Black students being crowded onto buses past a mob of 200 stone-throwing white students.]

[As the buses pulled away, a white student was shot. He died a few hours later. Cops stopped the bus Tyler was in, claiming the shot had come from it. The bus and all seventy-five students on it were searched for two hours. All seats were taken apart, but no gun was found.]

[Then the students and bus were taken to a police station, where further searching ensued. Finally, the cops removed a seat from the bus, took it into the police station, and a few minutes later announced they had "found" a .45-caliber automatic pistol stuffed into a slash in the seat. Mysteriously, the same weapon had "disappeared" from a police firing range earlier.]

[Only one student—of the seventy-five on the bus—testified



Seventeen-year-old Gary Tyler (right) now sits on death row.

that she had seen Tyler fire a gun. Sworn statements obtained by attorneys after the trial showed that this student had been under psychiatric care for seven years, lied frequently, and had drug charges pending against her at the time of Tyler's trial.

[The following letter was transmitted to the *Militant* by Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother. His conviction is being appealed and readers are urged to send contributions to help defray publicity and defense costs to: Gary Tyler Fund, c/o Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird, St. Rose, Louisiana 70087.]

Jan. 11—On October 7, 1974, I was arrested and charged with fatally shooting a white youth. This white youth was one of many who were throwing bricks, stones, and bottles at the bus I was riding.

These racist attacks by white youths and adults had been going on for weeks. The authorities did nothing to stop these brutal attacks, and many Black children were harmed and feared for their lives.

So, when I was arrested and charged with this murder that I did not commit, everyone involved in the stoning of the school bus should have been arrested as accessories to the crime. It was *they* who were at fault for whatever happened that day; that includes the authorities, since they did nothing to stop the attacks. What happened was caused by those who were attacking the school buses, and those who permitted these attacks.

Black people have been brutally attacked and killed by racist whites since the day we were kidnapped and brought to this country of theirs. Look back into the past, at the four little Black girls who were killed as they prayed in a church in Birmingham; four innocent lives taken by racism.

Now look at the present situation in Boston. Every day Black children are attacked in some form as they ride school buses, and their lives are in constant danger. Yet no one, North or South or even in Washington, is trying to put an end to these brutal attacks.

In Destrehan, Louisiana, we faced the same violence on our school buses.

On November 14, 1975, I was found guilty of first-degree murder by an all-white jury and sentenced to die in the electric chair. It is a known fact that no Black can get a fair trial from an all-white jury, especially in the South.

There is no doubt that these white jurors were in sympathy with the parents of the slain youth. We can even speculate that some of the jurors must be friends of the slain youth's family, since they all live in the same

small towns in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. What kind of justice could I get from such a jury? Only injustice.

Are the Black community and the Third World going to let a young Black man become another victim—another statistic—of the racism of this country? I had a right to the education I was trying to obtain, and no one had the right to stop me from trying to receive that education.

On December 15, I was secretly transferred to the Louisiana State Penitentiary and placed on *death row*. I am scheduled to be executed on May 5. My case is an important one considering all the trouble that is going on with busing to achieve school desegregation.

We have all rallied to the defense of Angela Davis, Joanne Little, the Attica Brothers, the San Quentin Six. Now is the time for us to rally to the aid for Gary Tyler, a Black youth who has been railroaded by hatred and racism.

Let us not let a Black youth die in the electric chair or spend the rest of his life behind bars because of some sick people's hatred and racism. Because if we do let them victimize me, we are telling these people to do with our brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters anything they want to do.

I need all the legal help I can get, because it's going to be very hard to get the Louisiana courts to overturn my conviction, a conviction I should not have received at all, a conviction full of hatred and racism. Let's not abandon a young Black brother when he is in need. Anyone wishing to contact me and give moral support can do so at my address.

Gary Tyler

Death Row-C-127

Angola, Louisiana 70712

Agreement brings new cease-fire in Lebanon

By Dick Roberts

A new cease-fire and political compromise has been agreed upon in Lebanon through the intervention of Syria. The terms of agreement on the new government call for a Maronite Catholic president, preserving the chief office for the 40 percent Christian minority, which has ruled Lebanon through a system of religious quotas imposed by France in 1943.

The prime minister, by tradition a member of the Muslim majority population, will now be elected by Parliament and not chosen by the president. And Christians and Muslims will have equal representation in Parliament, where before Christians had six seats for each five held by Muslims.

The settlement thus amounts to a parliamentary gain for the Muslim majority, but it does not solve any of the fundamental problems. Religious discrimination still prevents the Muslims from having full democratic representation in the government, while it assures the preservation of the disproportionate political power of the Christian minority.

Syria's ability to impose a settlement was enhanced by the occupation of large areas of the country by the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) beginning in mid-January. Previously the Christian rightist forces appeared to have had the upper hand.

New York Times reporter Terence Smith wrote from Jerusalem January 26 that "about 3,000 men, four to five battalions of the Syrian-based Palestine Liberation Army, are estimated to have moved across the frontier from Syria during the week before the cease fire."



Prisoners of right-wing Phalangists are lined up against wall in Beirut during fighting. New cease-fire agreement does not solve fundamental problems facing Muslim masses.

There are 300,000 to 400,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. They, along with poor Lebanese Muslims, have borne the brunt of brutal attacks by the rightist Christian forces.

Last week the *Militant* reported the destruction of Beirut slum areas and the massacre of their inhabitants by the Christian Phalangists, who are dedicated to maintaining a Christian state in Lebanon.

The Phalangists have the support of Israel. Recent threats from Tel Aviv have made it clear that Israel is champing at the bit to seize a new "buffer" in southern Lebanon bordering on Syria.

According to Terence Smith, "The Israelis held back during the last round mainly because of American

warnings and a desire not to poison the atmosphere before the 11-day visit to the United States by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, which began today."

Moreover, Israel would not want to have provoked Washington when it was counting on a U.S. veto of the United Nations Middle East resolution calling for establishment of a Palestinian state and withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territory occupied in the June 1967 war. Washington vetoed the resolution January 26.

After Rabin's visit, Terence Smith continued, "and after Congress has acted on Israel's pending \$2.3 billion aid request, the Government will have considerably more freedom of action in Lebanon. Noting this today, a senior military source stressed that Israel's

basic warning remains unchanged: it will not permit overt and direct Syrian intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon."

Israeli newspapers and politicians have already labeled the PLA forces in Lebanon a form of Syrian intervention.

The civil war in Lebanon could explode at any time. On top of this is the danger of a new and escalated Israeli attack on Lebanon that could provoke a war in the Middle East every bit as ferocious as the October 1973 conflict.

The U.S. sent troops in to occupy Lebanon in 1958. A new upsurge in the fighting would also raise again the danger of direct U.S. intervention.

Black students beaten, victimized

New racist violence rocks Boston

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The antibusing movement here, spearheaded by the violent city-wide action of racist high school students, has dealt court-ordered desegregation—and the very safety of Boston's Black students—the biggest blows since mob attacks met the start of busing in the fall of 1974.

Schools remain tense in the wake of a week of disruptions in which white students and some white parents waged a virtual war on Black students at Hyde Park High School.

Bat- and pipe-wielding thugs roamed school corridors and grounds in search of Black students after two days of provocations that led to the explosion.

On January 19, under the guise of "retaliation" for the burning of an American flag by a Black student, the school's racist youth put out the word that "the niggers are going to get it."

On January 20, gangs of white students jumped individual Black students, sometimes as many as ten whites cornering and beating one Black youth.

Hundreds battle

Fighting spilled outside the building at the dismissal of school, as a tiny police force was unable—and unwilling—to stop the racists from going after Black students with hockey sticks. A mob of nearly 100 whites tried unsuccessfully to board a bus carrying Black students, after they had shattered windows and rocked the vehicle.

On January 21, while Black student leaders were meeting with school

Headmaster John Best, fighting again broke out.

Hundreds of students were involved in the battle, with white parents from the neighborhood and South Boston students joining the foray as the outnumbered Black students defended themselves.

Twenty people suffered injuries as Boston police arrested eight white students. No Blacks were arrested that day, but reprisals demanded by the bigots began to take shape January 26 with the arrest of a Black Hyde Park High School leader. She was collared by the cops as she entered the school, on two counts of assault with a deadly weapon—her foot.

The high school was closed January 22-23.

South Boston High School remained temporarily cool, under the impact of Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity's order last December placing the school under receivership.

But as Hyde Park bubbled with tension, large numbers of white students bolted East Boston High School January 20-22. They blocked tunnel exits leading from the area, disrupted traffic, overturned cars, and scuffled with police. Nine people were arrested.

These actions were in anticipation of the transformation of the high school into a city-wide "magnet" technical institution in the fall of 1976 as part of the desegregation plan.

In a carefully planned disruption on January 22, 100 white Charlestown High School students, according to in-school police observers, "ran amok" in the hallways after walking out of their



Militant/Jon Hillson

Bogus 'hearing' by all-white school committee excluded Black students, provided platform for ROAR propaganda.

classrooms. They assaulted a Black teacher, who fought them off. The students clashed with the cops, then, singing "God Bless America," began a sit-in for the remainder of the day.

Media campaign

As the disruptions spread, the city's antibusing leadership went on a hysterical media campaign to blame the violence on the Black community and

the Black students.

Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks, the central leader of the racist drive for more than a decade, declared the tumult at Hyde Park had been "premeditated" by the Black students, charging "100 armed Blacks" had "taken over the school."

Hyde Park ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights, the city's chief antibusing organization) organized a

'You're always waiting for them to jump you'

BOSTON—Last year, racist white students at Hyde Park High School had whistles. And when a whistle went off, young antibusing toughs would appear in isolated corners to grab and beat Black students.

This year, the key racist leader the Black students call "the king" yells "niggers!" out loud and his accomplices rush into action. It happened last week when Hyde Park racist hooligans declared open season on Black high school students.

"We knew something was coming after the flag burning," Bernice, a Hyde Park High School senior, told the *Militant*. She was describing the racist buildup to the January 21 explosion at the high school. Like others inter-

viewed, Bernice had to use a pseudonym as a safeguard against reprisals.

"But those white students were just looking for something to start it off."

The flag burning by a Black student was the pretext for a campaign of physical assaults on the Black students.

"They just want us to be bad so they can start something," Yvonne, who, like Bernice, is a leader of the Black students at the school, told me.

"You're always waiting for them to jump you," she continued. Gang attacks occur, Yvonne said, "in the gym, in the bathrooms, in the corridors."

After the flag incident the harassment was stepped up. Yvonne witnessed a friend of hers being jumped

by ten white students. "My teacher tried to hold me back but I broke away to help him."

The racist students, Bernice said, get their instructions "from their parents. I saw these parents come into the school and fight and beat up Blacks. South Boston students came in the front door. Even some Black parents got beat up by them. That stuff never got on television."

"The Black girls got it bad," Yvonne said, referring to the assault. She said the racists made a point of jumping young Black women. "But we fought back too."

The frustration is high among the Black students. "We come in on the buses and see these old women just watching you from their porches. Sometimes they call us monkeys. Sometimes they give us the finger. You know it's just prejudice," Bernice said.

The teachers are overwhelmingly white and insensitive to the Black students' needs. The headmaster, Yvonne said, "just doesn't do anything. Once he just yelled, 'I know the teachers are prejudiced. What do you want me to do, tell them to stop?'"

The police favor the white students. Last year, Yvonne said, "some whites would beat up a Black student and the police would just let them go. So they say to themselves, 'We can beat up a nigger and get away.'"

"We just want protection," Yvonne said.

In fact, she contended, the administration "knew something was going to happen, but there were hardly any police there. It was a setup."

Blacks, Bernice said, are suspended more often than whites, a fact borne out by statistics. White students roam freely in the halls, while groups of

Blacks, Yvonne said, "get broken up by teachers or white students."

"No Black students can go in the [industrial arts] shop. The whites run it," Yvonne said.

Some of the attackers on January 21 were armed. "They had pipes, bats, ice packs full of rocks, and razors," Yvonne said. Bernice said she was ganged up on by ten or fifteen whites in a phone booth while trying to escape.

"We've got to get organized like those white students, who are really organized," Yvonne said.

"And we've got to stick together. If we stick together they can't break us up," Bernice said.

"We fought to get into Hyde Park," Yvonne said, "and no one's going to drive us out."

Some of the Black students are beginning to work with the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism. Bernice helped to build the January 28 picket line called to defend the Black students and to end racist violence. With the help of Boston SCAR the Black students' side has begun to get out to local and national Black media, and a fact sheet is being prepared on what really happened at Hyde Park.

It's going to be an uphill fight. The antibusing movement is pushing for the arrest of the Black students for defending themselves in the turmoil last week. They want the heads of the leaders. Four days after my interview with these young Black women, Yvonne was arrested the moment she returned to the school, along with Francie, another Black student leader, as the racist reprisals began.

And more victimizations are reported in the making.

—J.H.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Black students leave Charlestown High January 22 after white student riot

schools

news conference where white students echoed Hicks's slanderous charge.

The all-Democratic Boston School Committee conducted a "hearing" on the Hyde Park situation—minus the young Black victims of the assaults—where racist parents and students issued statements and raised demands drawn up by ROAR.

On January 26, with a sharply diminished attendance—and an increased police presence—Hyde Park High School reopened. But the racists remained active and at least one fight broke out in South Boston High School and twelve suspensions were reported.

'White students caucus'

At Charlestown High School, white students began the day by throwing their books at the school administration office. Upwards of 100 of them, organized in the "white students caucus," attended the wrong classes and, when asked by administrators and police to leave, scuffled with the cops. They marched out of the school to the city council chambers to protest "police brutality."

The disrupters were in a surly mood. As they neared city hall, they spotted a Black man and began shouting racist epithets and throwing snowballs at him. Police stopped the hotheads from jumping him. Then, a white city government employee exchanged words with the bigots and was assaulted by a half dozen of them before the cops intervened.

After receiving praise as "ladies and gentlemen" from Louise Day Hicks, the gang marched into the Boston School Committee offices.

Accompanied by ROAR leader Thomas Johnson, the racist students later barred the media from a meeting with Mayor Kevin White at which they called for an investigation of the Black teacher they had assaulted on January 22, for his "attack" on a white student.

Defends desegregation

A public response by supporters of desegregation in defense of the Black students has come from the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and its local affiliate, the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism.

On January 22-23 the National Black Network broadcast statements by NSCAR staff member Hattie McCutcheon that pinned the blame for the disruptions on the antibusing movement.

An emergency news conference on January 23 took place at the offices of School Supt. Marion Fahey, where Black college students and Boston SCAR leaders, along with NSCAR coordinators Maceo Dixon and Cheryl Brown, met with Fahey to demand that she ensure the safety of the Black students.

Boston SCAR initiated an emergency picket line for January 28 at Boston School Committee headquarters to support desegregation, and to demand a stop to the racist violence and that all charges against the arrested Black students be dropped.

The action was endorsed by Black student organizations at Boston College and Boston University; the Puerto Rican Student Union at the University of Massachusetts, Boston; and the Boston NAACP Youth Council. Other endorsers included longtime civil rights leader Rev. Vernon Carter; New England Regional NAACP Youth Council Director Cathy Darby; and leaders of Black student organizations at Tufts University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Kawaida Towers struggle

Newark cops attack Black protest

By Mike Shur

NEWARK—On January 17 a demonstration of fifty people demanding the construction of Kawaida Towers was attacked by the Newark police.

Kawaida Towers is a project to build low- and middle-income housing in the predominantly white North Ward of Newark. The towers, planned by Black contractors, are sponsored by the Temple of Kawaida. The project is supposed to be financed by the New Jersey State Housing Finance Agency.

Starting in 1972, racist mobilizations have taken place at the construction site, stopping Black construction workers from entering the site. On February 22, 1973, Newark police attacked a counterdemonstration called by the Temple of Kawaida.

While the racists were stopping construction physically, their leaders were in court trying to stop the project legally, but in July 1973 the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled the project legal.

Since then, the state housing agency has stalled construction. It finally ruled in December 1975 that further financing for the towers would not be forthcoming. This has stopped construction because costs have risen 15 percent since the start of the project three years ago.

The recent demonstration started as a spirited march through downtown Newark to Military Park, where a rally was to take place. As the rally began a cop claimed he saw something suspicious being passed to a demonstrator and tried to frisk him. Half the demonstrators went over to the cop to see what was going on.

Within seconds, twenty Newark Tactical Police Force members attacked the demonstrators, clubs swinging. At least five people were clubbed. In minutes, five more patrol cars full of



Construction of low- and middle-income housing project has been stalled since 1972 by racist protests. Above, cop assault on 1973 demonstration in support of Kawaida Towers.

cops arrived, along with a police truck with riot equipment.

The police then arrested three people and charged them with assault and battery, atrocious assault and battery on a police officer, and interfering with a police officer.

The rally was able to proceed after the attack. Speakers included representatives of New York and New Jersey tenants' councils, a representative of

United Steelworkers union, and Amiri Baraka, head of the Temple of Kawaida.

On January 22, 100 racists attended a meeting called by right-wing State Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale. He announced plans to file a suit in federal court to permanently stop construction. The Temple of Kawaida plans further actions in response to these attacks.

Blacks hit racist redlining in Detroit

By Paula Reimers

DETROIT—Everyone in Detroit has known for years that housing is segregated. But a five-hour hearing held by the Detroit Common Council brought to light evidence of a conspiracy between mortgage companies and banks to segregate housing and systematically impoverish the Black community.

George Nelson, an official of the Federal National Mortgage Association, admitted that his company practices redlining. Redlining means that mortgages are denied to people who live in "undesirable"—usually all-

Black—areas of the city. The term "redlining" is used because a red line is drawn on a map around areas designated "undesirable."

The FNMA buys mortgage commitments from Detroit banks and other financial institutions across the country. Nelson stated that his firm will not buy mortgages in neighborhoods where there "is a strong chance that homeowners will default on their loans."

Although he was the first mortgage financier in this area to publicly admit to redlining, Nelson insisted that it was "acceptable business practice." He

refused to say which areas had been targeted by his association.

More than 300 people crowded into the hearing room, and many came forward to recount their experiences with discriminatory housing practices.

The testimony showed that redlining has been occurring in Detroit for at least thirty years, is widely practiced by the banks, and has been especially directed against Blacks.

This form of financial discrimination has contributed to the economic decay of Detroit and has driven those residents who could afford to move—mostly whites—to the suburbs, where redlining is less prevalent.

Three Black women testified that their husbands and relatives had no trouble buying expensive cars with a small down payment, but found it impossible to buy modest homes because of the large down payments required.

Testimony showed that redlining is also practiced by companies insuring homes. People living in "undesirable" areas are forced to do without coverage or must pay high premiums for little coverage. Residents of suburban areas with higher crime rates than Detroit for many years obtained better insurance coverage for lower cost. Testimony also showed that the same is true for car insurance.

Blacks and other minorities are trapped by the racist policies of the banks, the mortgage companies, and the insurance companies. It is these policies that segregate housing and schools as surely as Jim Crow laws did. They promote decay of the Black communities and deprive Blacks of the right to live in decent housing, forcing them instead to pay exorbitant rents for the profit of slumlords.



Redlining conspiracy by banks leads to decay of communities, forces Blacks to live in high-rent slums.

What strategy in fight for union women's rights?



Militant/Dave Paparella

own positions inside the labor movement. Why they formed CLUW is not as important as the fact that they did form it.

Mobilize labor

CLUW's purpose is very simple—to mobilize the ranks of labor in the fight for full equality for women on the job, in the unions, and in society as a whole. As the Statement of Purpose says: "Full equality of opportunities and rights in the labor force require the full attention of the labor movement . . . and especially, the full attention of women who are part of the labor movement. . . ."

"The power of unions must increasingly be brought to bear," it continues, in order to wipe out sex discrimination.

Despite the popularity of this concept among union women, indicating the potential for CLUW's growth, CLUW is a relatively small organization today. The challenge for union militants who want to build CLUW is to put forward and win support for an action perspective that will attract new members. Such a perspective means carrying out struggles for women's rights through the unions. To the extent this perspective has not been put into practice in the past, CLUW has remained small.

Groups such as IS have a very different goal. The driving force they see in CLUW is not the struggle for women's liberation among union women, but an abstract struggle of the rank and file against "the bureaucrats."

This view leads supporters of IS in practice to place women's issues and politics in second place, while elevating conflicts over rules and procedure to first place. As a result, whether intentionally or not, IS has often played a disruptive role in CLUW chapters, obstructing campaigns to reach out and involve women.

'Rank and File Action Caucus'

The IS strategy was seen in action at the CLUW convention in the "Rank and File Action Caucus," which numbered about eighty women.

This IS-led grouping was formed around support to an alternate constitution counterposed to the constitution drawn up by CLUW President Olga Madar and other CLUW officials. The alternate constitution, according to *Workers' Power*, "would have made CLUW an organization of rank and file women to fight for their rights."

In reality, this constitution would have done nothing to advance the struggles of the rank and file, or to increase democracy in CLUW. Instead, it would have diverted CLUW from these very goals.

The alternate constitution would have given local CLUW chapters "independence" from international unions. *Workers' Power* explains what this would mean: "Without this right, the organization cannot fight for rank and file women who are opposed by sexist leadership. For example, CLUW will not be able to fight for women's issues in contracts that are coming up unless the unions include them as bargaining demands."

But the fight to raise women's demands must take place *inside* the unions, not from the sidelines. This "independence" proposal would only isolate CLUW from the unions. The convention delegates correctly rejected it.

They also rejected a proposal from the caucus to open CLUW up to women not already in unions. CLUW is and should be an organization of women unionists. Its main job is to get the unions behind women's needs, and to do this it must be based in the labor movement. Without a solid base there, CLUW is powerless to do anything to help women workers, organized or unorganized.

Danger of isolation

As a whole, the proposals of the Rank and File Action Caucus—if carried out—would lead in the direc-

By Cindy Jaquith

The December 1975 convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women has opened up a discussion of perspectives for CLUW as a union women's organization.

This is part of an ongoing exchange in CLUW over how to fight for the needs of women; how to build CLUW into a mass, rank-and-file working women's organization; and what role CLUW should play in the labor movement as a whole.

The December gathering was a constitutional convention, occurring in the midst of intensified attacks on women. Referenda on state Equal Rights Amendments had just been defeated in New York and New Jersey, sounding an alarm for all supporters of women's equality. The use of discriminatory layoffs by the employers to take away affirmative action gains by women and Blacks was—and still is—a topic of heated debate in the labor movement.

Statement of Purpose

CLUW has supported affirmative action and ratification of the ERA from the beginning. Both these demands are contained in the Statement of Purpose of CLUW's constitution.

The Statement of Purpose says in part: "The primary purposes of this national coalition are to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine our common problems and concerns and to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives."

The development of action programs around the ERA and affirmative action were the pressing tasks before the 1,000 delegates at the convention, as part of drawing up and implementing a constitution.

Because of the intensified right-wing

campaign against the ERA, delegates voted to strengthen the Statement of Purpose on the issue of equal-rights legislation. An amendment was overwhelmingly approved stating, "Until final ratification of the ERA is won, CLUW will make the fight for the ERA a priority through a mass-action and educational campaign."

But a discussion on how to clarify and implement the constitution on the issue of affirmative action was prevented from coming to the floor after the officers opposed it. This discussion was very much needed, because the AFL-CIO and United Auto Workers have taken official stands that run counter to affirmative action, upholding strict seniority in layoffs regardless of the effect on women and Blacks.

The burning issue before the convention was affirming the Statement of Purpose in the constitution and chartering action programs around these demands to attract women to CLUW.

Sectarians' view

Some women in CLUW had a totally different interpretation of the real issue before convention delegates. In this article, we will take up the interpretation put forward by the International Socialists.

IS, along with the Maoist October League and a few other small groups, has followed a sectarian approach to CLUW from the start. The biggest problem with CLUW, they argue, is its officials. In the name of "rank-and-file democracy," the sectarians focus their energies on "exposing the bureaucrats."

This dead-end strategy bore bitter fruit for IS and other sectarian groups at the convention. Their demoralization was best summed up by a December 12 article in *Workers' Power*, the newspaper of IS.

"The first Constitutional Convention

of the Coalition of Labor Union Women exhausted both its delegates and any remaining hopes for an effective organization," *Workers' Power* declared.

"... If CLUW's leaders had not already gutted the chapters, this would have been a major defeat for working women. But the original widespread rank and file support and enthusiasm for CLUW has been strangled by the bureaucrats in its 21 month history, and the convention was more like a ritual killing. . . ."

"CLUW is now useless as an organization for working women."

This premature obituary offers some lessons for the more serious union activists who do want to build CLUW. To put this discussion in perspective, we need to begin by reviewing CLUW's origins.

Roots in women's liberation

CLUW's roots lie in the rise of women's liberation struggles over the past ten years and the changing consciousness these struggles have produced. CLUW's founding convention in 1974—3,000 strong—revealed the deep impact the ideas of women's liberation had made on working women. Just as the Black liberation movement had inspired Black workers to form union caucuses, so working women were responding to the feminist movement by organizing to get union power behind the fight for women's rights.

Women union officials played an important role in getting CLUW off the ground. They did so for different reasons. Some of these officials had been influenced by the feminist struggle and they wanted to see unions join the fight against sex discrimination. Some felt pressure from the ranks to take action. Others saw CLUW primarily as a way to enhance their

tion of isolating CLUW, moving it away from the unions and away from the rank and file.

Ironically, in the one important debate over democracy at the convention—the discussion of chapter representation on CLUW's National Executive Board—the Rank and File Action Caucus played no role whatsoever.

This debate was over how many members a chapter needs in order to have a representative on the board. The constitution proposed by CLUW's officers required chapters to have at least 100 members, thus excluding most chapters from representation.

Convention delegates voted to lower this requirement to fifty members in an effort to increase participation in CLUW decision making.

The article in *Workers' Power*, however, ignores this whole discussion. More importantly, *Workers' Power* and the Rank and File Caucus ignore the political issues facing CLUW.

For all their constitutional proposals, they show no interest at all in the constitution's Statement of Purpose and what it says about the ERA, affirmative action, and other issues where union power can make a great difference. *Workers' Power* doesn't even inform its readers that the convention adopted an action campaign to win the ERA!

Nor does the paper express any opinion on the issue of discriminatory layoffs and affirmative action. As a union women's organization, CLUW has an elementary duty to demand that layoffs not be allowed to reduce the percentage of women or Blacks on the job.

Unfortunately, CLUW's National Coordinating Committee, prior to the convention, retreated on this issue. The NCC narrowly defeated a resolution to defend the affirmative-action gains currently under attack through layoffs.

In doing so, the NCC contradicted CLUW's Statement of Purpose, which calls for "affirmative action in the workplace." This stand taken by the NCC must be reversed.

IS, however, ignored this issue altogether. IS supporters were so busy "defending the rank and file" in the abstract that when an issue of critical concern to the rank and file was raised—affirmative action—they did not understand it and were unable to explain it.

Logic of sectarianism

This is the logic of their sectarian approach. CLUW is not going to be built on the basis of who can shout "bureaucrat!" the loudest, but on the basis of a *program* and *action* around it that speak to the needs of rank-and-file women. The division in CLUW is

not between all union officials and the ranks, but between those who are determined to transform the labor movement into a powerful fighter for women's rights and those who aren't up to the struggle. IS has placed itself on the wrong side.

In reality, the IS "rank-and-file" grouping was nothing but a feeble attempt at a power caucus to replace CLUW's current leadership. It failed to win new supporters and demoralized many it had brought to the convention.

Activists genuinely concerned with building CLUW supported a proposal initiated by the Houston CLUW chapter to add time to the convention agenda to ensure a full discussion of how to implement in action the political goals of CLUW. This proposal was aimed at clarifying and implementing the constitution, particularly on the key questions of the ERA and affirmative action. Supporters of the Houston proposal played the major role in winning adoption of the ERA action campaign.

ERA ratification drive

Right now, the best opportunity for bringing new union militants into CLUW is around the fight to ratify the ERA. The challenge laid down by the right-wing opponents of the ERA is a challenge not only to women's liberation activists, but to the trade-union movement. The full power of the unions, in coalition with women, Blacks, and students, must be galvanized into action to stop the anti-ERA forces and make equal rights for women the law of the land.

What is needed to win the ERA is a massive, national campaign of demonstrations, rallies, picket lines, teach-ins, and educational activities to show that the majority of Americans do support the ERA.

The responsibility of CLUW activists is to mobilize their unions behind this campaign. Unions should be organizing ERA action committees, supporting ERA coalitions, and mobilizing their members—both men and women—to march by the thousands for the ERA. If the labor movement's tremendous resources and massive numbers are brought into this battle, the reactionary, racist, labor-hating leaders of the anti-ERA drive can be stopped dead in their tracks.

By taking the lead in the ERA struggle, CLUW will also prove itself to be the organization that fights for rank-and-file women. CLUW has the potential to grow in size and influence in the unions as a result.

How CLUW responds to the ERA challenge will be an important test—a test for the future of this organization and for all those who want to build it.

Mpls. speak-out maps drive to pass ERA

By Mary Hillery

MINNEAPOLIS—One hundred thirty people attended a speak-out for the Equal Rights Amendment here January 16, sponsored by the Twin Cities Militant Forum.

Speakers included Elaine Onasch, president of the Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women; Virginia Watkins, state coordinator of Minnesota National Organization for Women; Ramona Austin, a Black woman who is state coordinator of NOW's Minority Task Force; and Susan Welsh, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1164.

Although the ERA has already been passed in Minnesota, it is in danger in other parts of the country because of a stepped-up right-wing offensive against it. Thirty-four states have ratified the amendment—which would end discrimination based on sex—and four more are needed for the ERA to become law. All four panelists dis-

This shows the need to step up activity in "nationally coordinated demonstrations, teach-ins, and lobbying," she said.

NOW in both Minneapolis and St. Paul has called for local actions in support of the ERA to coincide with International Women's Day, March 8.

Ramona Austin termed the ERA "the most important single issue for the women's movement this year." She emphasized the special impact passage of the amendment will have on Black women and said, "Minority women's participation is going to be a vital part of the massive effort we must muster."

Black people have been involved in the women's movement throughout its history, Austin said, pointing to the support of fighters against slavery such as Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and Frederick Douglass for the early feminist struggles. Yet those who were in power feared this unity of abolitionists and feminists just as they fear the unity of Black women with



Militant/Harris Freeman

United effort involving unions and minority women will be crucial to winning ERA, panelists said.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

cussed the need for national action to win passage of the amendment.

Elaine Onasch centered her remarks on the debate over the effect of the ERA on protective legislation. She pointed out that George Meany defends the fact that the AFL-CIO waited until 1973 before endorsing the ERA with the rationale that women wanted protective laws more than the ERA in the past, but now want the ERA in place of protective laws.

This either/or choice was not made by the union women who pressured the AFL-CIO to come out for the ERA, Onasch said. In fact, she said, much protective legislation should be abolished as it excludes women from workplaces rather than protecting them.

"The great insufficiency and hypocrisy" of the laws, Onasch said, is revealed in the area of maternity rights, "an area where women do need special protection." Not one state guarantees paid maternity leaves, nor does any state guarantee job security to women after childbirth, she said.

Onasch called for the repeal of all laws that perpetuate unequal pay for women and exclude them from certain jobs, and for new legislation to protect the rights of all workers—men and women. She said she was confident that if the women's movement is strong enough to ensure the passage of the ERA, "then we're also strong enough to have the decisive impact on how the ERA is implemented."

Virginia Watkins reviewed the status of the ERA nationally and pointed to six states targeted by NOW as having the best chances for ratification votes: Missouri, Indiana, Florida, Nevada, Virginia, and Illinois. She referred to the shock Minnesota women felt last year when a vote to rescind the ERA lost by only a small margin.

white women in the feminist movement today, she said. "And this is precisely why we must achieve this unity."

Susan Welsh, whose AFSCME local of hospital workers has a majority-female membership, spoke about the character of the ERA opposition movement.

A map published in the *Minneapolis Labor Review* recently revealed that many of the states with the strongest organized opposition to the ERA are the strongest "right to work" anti-union states. Welsh called for counter-mobilization against the right wing that would rely on women and their allies, not elected officials.

The power of the labor movement must be mobilized through its women members to build demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies just as the antiwar and abortion-law-repeal movements did, she concluded.

NOW calls nat'l action for ERA

At its national board meeting January 24-25 in Phoenix, Arizona, the National Organization for Women set Tuesday, April 20, as the date for a national demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

NOW is calling on supporters of the ERA from around the country to come to the Illinois state capitol that day to demand that the state legislature ratify the ERA.

On the weekend leading up to the demonstration, campus teach-ins and debates on the ERA are planned.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Founding convention of CLUW in 1974 adopted strong Statement of Purpose on fight for women's rights. Action perspective is now needed to implement that statement and win new members to CLUW.

In Our Opinion

Stop Ford's war...

The Ford administration has suffered another setback in its Angola war plans. The House voted on January 27 to deny an administration request for \$28 million. The funds were earmarked for "covert" military aid to the two factions Washington is backing in the Angolan civil war.

The ban had passed the Senate last December by a vote of 54 to 22. In the House the resolution, which was attached to a \$112 billion arms appropriation bill, passed by an even higher margin—323 to 99. The reason for the lopsided vote was clear.

There is deep popular opposition to any U.S. involvement in another Vietnam. Following the House vote, Rep. John Burton of California indicated what was on the minds of many of his colleagues with next fall's elections in sight. Any member of Congress who voted for arms for Angola, Burton said, "might as well start drawing retirement pay."

Despite the vote, opponents of U.S. intervention in Angola should make no mistake. The threat of a Vietnam-type war in Africa has not passed.

Ford issued a statement saying that in "refusing help" to U.S.-backed forces, Congress had caused "serious harm" to U.S. security interests.

A White House aid said a Ford veto was unlikely. While a veto is still possible, Ford may not think it is required. The resolution specifically leaves the door open for funds for "intelligence gathering," which can be interpreted broadly.

The mentality of some members of Congress who voted against the aid was expressed by House Speaker Carl Albert. "One thing about foreign aid, military aid, or war itself," he said, "you either do enough or you're better off not doing anything."

In other words, a full-scale military intervention is more acceptable than a limited one.

As long as the United States interference in Angola continues, those in this country who stand for the right of the Angolan peoples to self-determination have a special duty. United, visible protests are on the order of the day.

The potential for Black involvement in such actions is high. The hypocrisy of Washington's talk of defending freedom in Africa is especially clear in the Black community.

Urgently needed now are picket lines, news conferences, and meetings to block any escalation in the U.S. role and to bring the current intervention to a halt.

...and Boston racists

When it comes to maintaining a foothold for imperialism in Angola, Washington is all too eager to use military force, secret agents, and millions of dollars. But when it comes to enforcing the law on desegregation here at home—in Boston—the federal government seems to be afflicted with paralysis.

Ford's refusal to act against the antibusing gangs in Boston is matched by the shameful conspiracy of silence among the Democratic candidates for president.

Not one of them has uttered a word of protest against the wave of racist terror that has engulfed the Boston schools in the past week. Not a single voice has been raised in defense of the right of Black students to attend desegregated schools!

Their silence has only emboldened the reactionary forces organizing the terror campaign to think they can intimidate the Black community into abandoning the fight for equal educational opportunities.

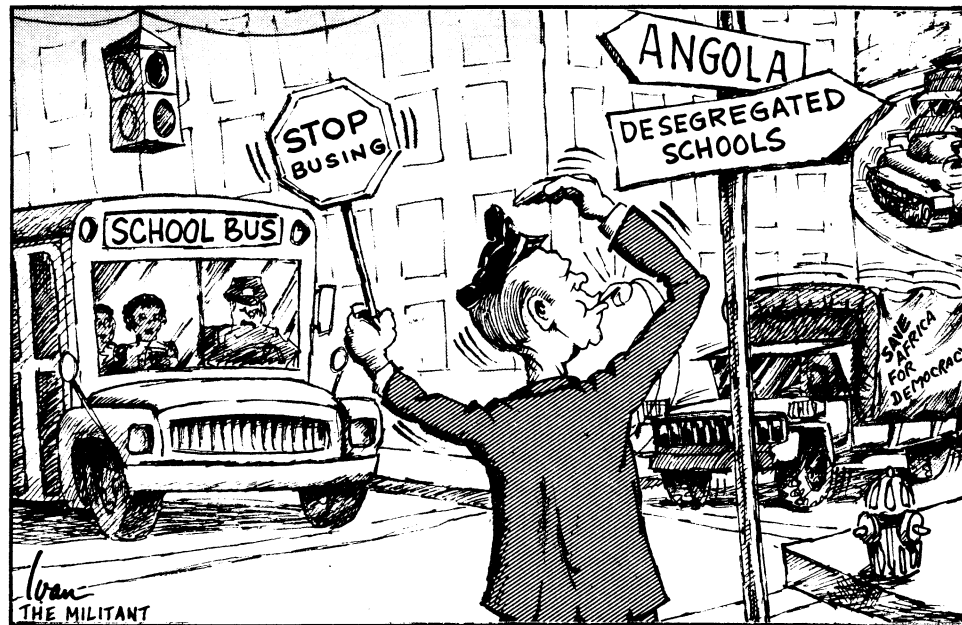
In Hyde Park High School, the racists have roamed the corridors, assaulting Black students. In Charlestown High School, 100 white students left their classrooms and rampaged through the school, attacking Black students and assaulting a Black teacher. In East Boston, white students have overturned cars, blocked traffic, and skirmished with police.

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), issued a statement this week declaring that "the renewed racist offensive against busing is an emergency situation for all opponents of bigotry."

"We demand," said Dixon, "the Justice Department investigate the *real* criminals and the *real* conspirators—the racists, whoever and wherever they are. . . . If the police can't enforce the law, *federal troops must be brought into the racist strongholds.*"

NSCAR, which has been in the forefront of the fight in Boston and other cities to defend desegregation against racist attacks, has issued an appeal for actions around the country to mobilize support for the Black students and backing for the desegregation fight.

We urge our readers to join in the response to that timely call to action.



Letters

New reader

A friend just showed me an article in your letters column that interested me greatly. I borrowed his copy of the *Militant* and after reading from cover to cover decided to take my own introductory subscription.

I now show your magazine to as many people as I can who seem interested in learning what the *Militant* offers or those unaware of what the *Militant* reveals. I am quite pleased with the paper and wish to offer my support and thanks to all those working to educate others by sharing the information the *Militant* gives.

M.M.

Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania

3) The Palestine Liberation Organization has butchered defenseless women and children, both in Israel and Lebanon.

I could go on, since much of what you wrote is typical PLO lies. It is typical of your paper to think that Israel is a form of detested American imperialism and colonialism planted in the Arab world. But the truth is that in 1948 the Palestinian people, in a revolution against British colonial rule, made their own independent state of Israel, through a people's army—the only true liberation army of the twentieth century.

F.R.

East Jerusalem

Ominous similarity

The article in the January 16 *Militant* entitled "'Labor Committee' uses disruption, violence in bid to silence socialists" brought to my memory the experience of the German Nazis in 1933.

I was enraged to hear the National Caucus of Labor Committees spouting the antigay epithet "pervert" at Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo. However, it should be recalled that similar slanders were used by the German fascists, who implemented a genocidal antihomosexual program.

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, tens of thousands of homosexuals were thrown into concentration camps. The very large and active gay movement was exterminated, and one of its central leaders, Magnus Hirschfeld—who the fascists labeled as "un-German"—was driven into exile.

In my opinion, the recent escalation of NCLC threats poses the need for the gay liberation movement to close ranks with the SWP and other movements for social change, to defend themselves against the further harassment and intimidation of these antigay bigots.

Stuart Russell

Montréal, Québec

Zionism-II

Enclosed is \$7.50 for another year. I think you do cover information not so apparent or available in other papers and the media in general.

I take grave exception, however, to your stand on the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism. You should consider how much damage, on balance, such a stand can do toward inciting even more hatred and violence, not only in the Mideast, but everywhere *prejudice* is ready to be used defensively by frustrated people who feel their underdog position.

By supporting this resolution and by presenting very selected facts, which tell only part of the story, you become party to the escalation of the poles-apart position of Arabs and Jews.

Just as you claim Socialist Workers party exemption from political donations disclosure (a position I support) because of harassment, you should restrain yourselves from presenting such a one-sided stance on Israel, or I will hold you partly responsible for another "holocaust," if and when it happens.

Geraldine Hart

Okemos, Michigan

Spreading the word

Please send my friend the two-month trial offer that I am paying for. You're doing a fantastic job! The very best to all of the *Militant* staff in 1976.

H.B.

Wappinger Falls, New York

Zionism-I

I am a Christian Arab educated at Columbia University. I feel compelled to respond to your opinion column of November 21, 1975, on racism.

There are many facts you failed to indicate, such as:

1) Half the population of Israel consists of Jewish refugees who fled from Arab countries.

2) Arab countries could have made a Palestinian state from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip at any time prior to 1967. Yet they chose not to.

SWP 'sectarianism'?

Your article on Angola (special feature in the January 23 *Militant*) has raised several questions as to the conclusions the Socialist Workers party Political Committee has reached. My disagreement is not so much in your analysis of the situation as in

Continued on page 23

international socialist review

PORTUGAL: LESSONS OF THE NOV. 25 COUP ATTEMPT

At its meeting January 1-4, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party discussed the meaning of recent events in Portugal. This article is based on the report given by SWP National Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard and approved by the national committee.

By Barry Sheppard

The attempted coup of November 25, 1975, marked a turning point in the Portuguese revolution.

The strategies of the different tendencies claiming to represent the interests of the working class and socialism were put to the test by the events of those days.

The result of the adventure was to strengthen the hand of the capitalist government. In the wake of crushing the attempted coup the regime has stepped up its offensive against the working class. While it is proceeding cautiously out of fear of provoking a new upsurge, the government aims at restricting and pushing back the economic and political gains made by the Portuguese masses since the April 1974 coup that overthrew the Salazarist dictatorship.

All the details of the attempted putsch are not yet known, although an outline of the events can be pieced together from the various reports.

The American Stalinists denied that there had been any coup attempt. Tom Foley, writing in the November 29 *Daily World*, said, "The Portuguese right, and their U.S. imperialist backers, are trying to justify their harsh actions by stating that this week's fighting was some kind of attempted military coup on the part of the left and the Communists. But any study of how events developed shows that it was the right which provoked the fighting, by insisting on establishing military control of Lisbon at any cost, including bloodshed."

On the other hand, the November 28 issue of *Workers' Power*, weekly newspaper of an American group called International Socialists (IS), carried the headline, "Portugal—All Power to the Workers!"

The lead story began: "The first shots in the Portuguese civil war have been fired. The lines have been drawn and there can be no turning back. It is only a matter of time.

"There is just one question left—who will win, the workers or their exploiters."

While the exploiters were certainly the decisive force involved in the November 25 events, the

workers were most conspicuous by their absence. As is always the case in such adventures, the workers were spectators, not even consulted, much less involved.

The following week, *Workers' Power* printed a "correction." It seems they had been misinformed about what was actually happening by a telephone call from Lisbon. They did not indicate who was on the Portuguese end of the line.

The International Socialists in the United States, like their sister organization of the same name in Britain, politically identify with a group in Portugal called the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado (PRP—Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat). The PRP and the MES (Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left) were the dominant groups in a coalition formed last August called the FUR (Frente de Unidade Revolucionária—Front for Revolutionary Unity).

On December 6, the British IS printed an account of what happened on November 25, based on information supplied by the PRP. "But how was the battle lost?" the IS asks.

"Already a myth is being pushed that the

Also in This Issue:

The Profit System: Root of America's Crisis

By Peter Camejo, Presidential Candidate of
The Socialist Workers Party

extreme left tried to stage a coup.

"The real sequence of events was rather different. The revolutionary left groups, the PRP and the MES, had been arguing that an insurrection was necessary to avoid the danger of another Chile.

"But they expected it only after some weeks of building support for it in the factories.

"However, on the night of 24-25 November, right-wing military figures made a number of provocative moves—putting commandos outside the military police barracks and removing Otel de Carvalho from his command for being too tolerant to the left.

"The paratroopers, who had only just come over to the left, seized airbases and the main radio station in retaliation. The authorities are now claiming that 'elements of the Communist Party and the extreme left participated in the rebellion.'

"But when the paras moved, the revolutionary groups were as surprised as everyone else. The CP seems to have been directly involved. It issued an hysterical call for 'vigilance' and bodies it influenced called people to the barracks. Only after these calls had been made did the revolutionary left join the movement.

"Late on Tuesday morning [November 25], Fifth Division officers sympathetic to the Communist Party visited the PRP offices to persuade them to join in.

"However, at that point the CP did an about-turn and abandoned to the fury of the right those who had followed its initiative—including some of its own key people in the armed forces.

"The marines, who had initially supported the paras, withdrew to the sidelines. CP-influenced officers in key military units began negotiating for surrender, creating general demoralisation.

"The Metal Workers' union [CP-controlled], which had called for a general strike on Tuesday, did nothing to work for it the next day. The Intersyndical, the CP-led trade union federation, did nothing. A CP leaflet called for 'serenity.'

"Suddenly, the left wing soldiers and the revolutionary groups found themselves isolated.

"The left wing army units were divided and confused. Although they were opposed by at most 1000 right wing commandos, the CP-influenced officers advised surrender.

"But why did the CP leadership do a somersault that amounted to nothing more than betrayal of its own military supporters?

"The rumour in Lisbon is that, at the height of the rebellion, Cunhal, the leader of the CP, made contact with the President of the Republic.

"Jointly they agreed that the CP would be allowed to remain in the government, providing it would oppose strikes in future and would work with the government to clamp down on the revolutionary left.

"Certainly, the evening the revolt was crushed, Melo Antunes, one of the leading 'moderates,' appeared on TV to say that the CP should still be in the government.

"The tragedy was that the revolutionary left did not have the foresight to see the scale of the treachery, nor the strength in the factories to gain support for the soldiers once the CP had changed sides."

The Government Sets a Trap

Both Foley in the *Daily World* and the PRP account point to a "provocation" by the sixth provisional government that led to the adventure. The events leading up to November 25 indicate that the regime did indeed do just that.

Early in November, a demonstration by

construction workers surrounded the Palácio de São Bento, trapping Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo inside until he granted their demands for higher wages. This massive, militant demonstration was the first action on that scale to challenge the government's austerity program.

General Otel Saraiva de Carvalho, head of the military security forces and commander of the Lisbon military region, refused to send troops to clear the construction workers away. Carvalho's personal reasons for doing so may have had something to do with his attempts to refurbish his "leftist" image. Indeed, he had by then apparently allied himself with the Communist party. But the facts are that any attempt to send radicalized troops against the massive construction workers' demonstration could have failed and run the risk of triggering a reaction in wider layers of the working class and among the soldiers. The government was interested in provoking the kind of thing that happened on November 25, not a confrontation with the working class itself.



Lou Howort

Barry Sheppard speaking last September at New York meeting in defense of Portuguese revolution.

The government was forced to give in to the construction workers' demands. This encouraged other workers, in the face of soaring inflation and unemployment, to begin to challenge the austerity program. A demonstration called by Lisbon-area workers commissions under CP leadership on November 16 drew 100,000 people, perhaps more.

Leaders of the Socialist party, which plays a major role in the sixth provisional government, had been issuing warnings against a "leftist" coup attempt. They were aided in this by the calls, for the previous month, of the PRP and MES for an "insurrection." The government made plans to shift communications from Lisbon to the northern part of the country.

Azevedo and other key ministers in the government, including the SP ministers, claimed they could not govern, and suspended official activity. Then the Council of the Revolution, the military body that wields real power in Portugal, meeting the night of November 24-25, ordered Carvalho dismissed as the Lisbon region commander. As Foley and the PRP indicate, the government knew this would be interpreted as a provocation to the CP and the groups of the self-

styled "revolutionary left." The removal of Carvalho signified a further reduction in the power of the "leftist" officers, that is, those who sought part of their support from the CP and even the groups in the FUR.

The "leftist" officers fell into the trap. The CP issued a call for a mobilization against a "shift to the right" during the night. Although its actual involvement in the planning of the coup attempt is unclear, the CP certainly did not mobilize the forces it controls for a concerted attempt at taking power.

During the night, the paratroopers, under orders from first sergeants, many of whom were pro-CP, seized four air force bases. The paratroopers' spokesperson demanded that Carvalho be retained, and that Gen. José Morais e Silva be removed from the air force command.

Pro-CP officers of the Fifth Division marched into the television stations. Along with them was the former head of the national television network under the previous regime headed by Gen. Vasco Gonçalves. He announced that "People's Power is giving the orders now."

The PRP and other groups in the FUR were apparently taken by surprise. Only after they heard the appeals from "bodies [the CP] influenced" did "the revolutionary left join the movement," according to the information from the PRP. It must have been at this point that the American IS received that telephone call from Lisbon.

The paratroopers, up until a few weeks before, had been known as among the most conservative units in the armed forces. They were among the units that Gen. António de Spínola relied on for his abortive right-wing coup attempt on March 11, 1975.

The paratroopers had been used by the government on November 7 to blow up the transmitters of Rádio Renascença, a station occupied by oppositionists who had used it to mobilize demonstrations with demands aimed against the sixth government. The rank-and-file paratroopers reacted against being used this way, and claimed that the government had tricked them. They also became apprehensive that they were about to be demobilized, which means being pushed into the army of the unemployed in today's Portugal.

Report From a Rank-and-File Paratrooper

Paratroopers at the Tancos air base had removed their officers about two weeks before November 25. In an interview published in the December 6 issue of *Combate Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers party in Portugal, one of the Tancos paratroopers explained how this happened (a translation of the full interview is contained in the January 26 issue of *Intercontinental Press*):

"[Morais e Silva] came [to the base] to explain the case of Rádio Renascença, to say that this was an order and could not be discussed. It was the draftees who attended the meeting with Morais e Silva. They were taken there by the officers. Almost all the privates were there who had been in the general assembly. The crowd began to boo Morais e Silva, to say that they were sick of him, that they already knew what he thought, that they didn't want to hear anything more, and that they wouldn't let him keep on trying to deceive the paratroopers.

"Then, he said the paratroopers had three choices—to support the sixth government unconditionally, to support a leftist minority, or to forget about politics. Finally, when he was

CONTENTS

Portugal: Lessons
of Nov. 25
Coup Attempt
By Barry Sheppard 1

The Profit System—
Root of America's
Crisis
By Peter Camejo 8

Letters 12

International
socialist
review

Editor: Caroline Lund
Associate editors: Nan Bailey, George
Breitman, Fred Feldman, George No-
vack, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas

The *International Socialist Review* ap-
pears in the *Militant* that is published the
first week of every month.

Copyright © 1976 Militant Publishing
Association



Inspired by construction workers' victory against government austerity program, 100,000 workers demonstrated in Lisbon on November 16. The government used November 25 adventure as pretext to launch offensive against the rising demands of workers.

Sipa-press

leaving, he said: 'The paratroop corps is going to be done away with soon.'

"So, all the officers left; we drove them out. We were on alert. The same night we got information that the barracks was going to be flattened, and so we stayed at the ready. This was the background for everything that happened later, for the position of the privates and the first sergeants who wanted to drive out Morais e Silva and Pinho Freire [the second in command of the air force]."

Most of these newly radicalized paratroopers did not know they were participating in a coup attempt when they began their action. The same paratrooper reports:

"The occupation was carried out at night [November 24-25]. In the preceding days, there had been no general assemblies. The personnel rushed to the bases. 'We are going to get rid of Morais e Silva,' that was the idea. But it was certainly part of a putsch attempt. The first sergeants knew about it. They were the ones who gave the orders. And they were also the first ones to leave Tancos on Thursday night [November 27]. First sergeants influenced by the CP were involved.

"We were surprised by the coup. 'A coup, but what we wanted was to get rid of Morais e Silva, and the men knew nothing about this.' If we had been sure we had the support of the population, we were ready to go right to Lisbon, to throw out the sixth government, Mário Soares, Alvaro Cunhal, and all the rest of the government who aren't doing anybody any good. If the population had been ready to move ahead, if they had supported it—but this was a struggle for the working masses. We did not go to carry out a coup. Besides, we knew very well that the military personnel in the northern and central regions were with the sixth government. In addition, some paratroopers also supported the sixth government. It would have been lunacy to stage a coup.

"Then, when we saw that we did not have the support of anyone, we thought: 'We are alone. OK, let's throw them out.' Before this we never thought about overthrowing the government."

With the advantage of hindsight, the paratrooper continues: "We knew that it was not a good government; we were against it. But a thousand paratroopers are not going to overthrow a government. After falling into an error—I think it was adventurism to occupy bases to get rid of Morais e Silva—we were inclined to push ahead."

But by November 28, "everybody was already leaving. There was a total demobilization, which had been started by the sergeants. The men were demoralized. ('Before they [the sergeants] supported this; it was they who started it. And now they are running away.') There were also paratroopers who did not want to fight or shed blood, and they began to leave. Fewer and fewer

men were left. And then we held a general assembly: 'We've lost, let's go home. There's no possibility to continue the struggle.'"

Once the paratroopers' action began, units under "leftist" control took action. The Lisbon military police took control of several buildings. The Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment on the outskirts of the city set up armored vehicles and recoilless rifles to guard the northern approaches to the city. Carvalho's military security command took control of the national radio station.

The Trap Shuts

The move by these pro-CP and "far left" officers was what the government had anticipated and was waiting for. The military Council of the Revolution, with the support of the SP leadership, moved swiftly to close their trap. Using commandos that had been tested in a number of situations for their reliability, the regime swiftly put down the challenge, isolated the paratroopers, and waited for their surrender. "People's Power" wasn't able to give very many orders after all.

The workers had basically nothing to do with the whole affair. They observed from the sidelines.

The CP, seeing how things were going and never intending a confrontation with the main force of the military, reversed engines, called off the mobilization of its followers and the unions it leads, and issued appeals for "serenity."

The government was able to present its emergency measures against freedom of the press, assembly, and other democratic rights as a defense of "democracy" against a minority putsch.

The regime moved quickly to strike other blows for capitalist "law and order." A state of siege was proclaimed for six days, with the military empowered to make summary arrests. Military courts were established to deal with "crimes against the public order." Meetings and demonstrations were prohibited, and censorship imposed.

The government announced a wage freeze that, among other things, annuls the victory of the construction workers on the wage front.

Political parties were banned from the armed forces in a drive to restore traditional hierarchical discipline.

Capitalist Offensive

In one fell swoop the government was able to regain the initiative against the workers. The upsurge in the workers' determination to fight for their basic needs evidenced in the construction workers' demonstration was cut short.

On December 20, Azevedo called for "voluntary and conscious acceptance of sacrifices." In a television speech three days later he warned that "unrealistic wage claims and overemployment had caused many enterprises to close."

Since it came to power in April 1974, under all the various provisional governments, the military, with the support of its CP and SP allies, has been trying to force the masses to pay for the capitalist economic crisis. At one point this objective was cloaked in the demagogic call to win the "battle for production." Now Azevedo states the same objective more openly, talking about "overemployment" at a time when 13 percent of the work force is unemployed.

The government removed subsidies on essential goods, with a resultant jump in prices, while it clamped down on wages. The price of eggs leaped 33 percent, potatoes 21 percent, and carrots 140 percent, according to an article in the January 11 *New York Times*. The price of public transportation has gone up 100 percent, and gasoline 40 percent.

Another aspect of the government's offensive was manifested January 9 when it announced that the land-reform program would not be applied at all in the northern two-thirds of Portugal, nor in parts of the South.

The regime also launched new attacks on the rights of assembly and protest. To test its repressive options it chose the occasion of a January 1 demonstration in Oporto called to demand the release of 140 persons arrested in the wake of the November 25 adventure.

Members of the Republican National Guard opened fire on the crowd of 3,000, killing three and wounding many others. A similar demonstration in Lisbon was broken up by commandos driving armored cars and firing over the heads of the crowd.

The regime's use of the Republican National Guard, a paramilitary police force known for its right-wing character, was hardly accidental. A report from Oporto in the January 3 *Washington Post* pointed out, "A massive recruitment campaign for 10,000 extra men is being boosted by television commercials."

The latest probe in the regime's offensive against the working class came on January 13 when the ruling Council of the Revolution proposed a plan that would ensure continued military rule in Portugal until 1980. In a dispatch from Lisbon in the January 18 *Washington Post*, Bernard Nossiter said that "the military plan would enable the Council to dissolve the elected legislature and veto many of its decrees on everything from nationalization through foreign affairs to defense.

"To be sure, this blueprint is not the last word. The civilian political parties are examining it and their agreement must be obtained before it becomes effective. They are likely to insist on a reduced military role and should gain some concessions. But in the end, it appears the power will rest where it has been, with the men who made the coup of April 25, 1974."

So far, the CP leadership has remained a strong supporter of continued military rule. Socialist party chief Mário Soares was quoted in

the January 18 *New York Times* as opposed to the plan. "The new proposal is antidemocratic and consecrates military guardianship over our political life," he said. But the SP leaders have strongly supported the capitalist offensive that has prepared the way for this latest attack.

Rightist forces have been emboldened to organize more openly. In January, the regime released from prison key hangmen of the Salazarist regime.

Blow to Workers

It is the workers who have suffered most from the November 25 adventure of the pro-CP and "far left" officers. A number of points highlighted by November 25 fix the blame for that primarily on the leaderships of the Socialist and Communist parties. The forces that consider themselves the "revolutionary left" also share a large part of the blame.

The "leftist" officers who carried out the adventure were not demanding a workers government to replace the capitalist regime. They demanded only the retention of the command of a "leftist" officer, Carvalho, and the dismissal of Morais e Silva. The logic of their challenge, if successful, would have been to recompose the Council of the Revolution and the government, putting different officers, with ties to the CP, in key positions. This would amount to returning to a situation similar to the one during the fifth provisional government last summer under Gonçalves, in which the CP played the role of favored junior partner to the Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

It was not an attempt to establish a government that excluded bourgeois political forces such as the MFA and the Democratic People's party (PPD—Partido Popular Democrático), a government that would represent the interests of the working class and poor peasants.

The November 25 adventure, therefore, was not an attempt to go beyond the policy of class collaborationism followed by both the Stalinists and the Social Democrats. Both have sought to keep the workers they influence subordinated to the military, while they vie with each other to prove how indispensable they are to the Portuguese capitalist class.

The Armed Forces Movement

Faced with the upsurge of the Portuguese masses following the April 1974 overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship, the Portuguese capitalist



General Carvalho. November 25 coup attempt was in support of Carvalho and other 'leftist' officers.

class found itself in a weak political position. Virtually the only force to emerge from the old regime with credibility among the masses was the Armed Forces Movement. The MFA was the political arm of the rebellious officer caste.

From the beginning the aim of the MFA was not to overthrow capitalism and begin the construction of socialism. Quite the opposite, as is now apparent for all to see.

The MFA cultivated the image of being above the classes, in a bonapartist fashion. As the radicalization deepened both among the civilian population and in the armed forces, it was compelled to adopt correspondingly more "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" rhetoric in order to maintain support. It combined attempts at selective repression with concessions and demagogic promises to the masses.

There have been sharp divisions and conflicts within the MFA over how much to use either the carrot or the stick at each stage. Sections of the MFA became identified with either the Socialist or the Communist party, or the bourgeois parties. Officers like the president, Gen. Costa Gomes, succeeded in maintaining an appearance of being "above it all" while using all these forces and shifting among them. Throughout, the MFA remained a capitalist political instrument.

Arrogating to itself the role of bonapartist arbiter of the class struggle, the MFA more and more needed arbitration to settle its own internal differences. The struggles within the MFA always carried an implicit threat of violence from the contending factions. There were even two right-wing coup attempts (September 1974 and March 1975) and now an attempted "leftist" coup. More and more power has been delegated by the MFA to the much smaller Council of the Revolution. Today, all key decisions are taken by the council, without formal consultation with the 200 or so officers of the MFA general assembly.

The real power in Portugal has remained in the hands of the military. The various provisional governments were set up mainly to draw in the support of one or another or both of the major working-class parties, the SP and the CP. The policy of the leaders of both parties has been to practice coalitionism with this bourgeois military scheme, blocking the thrust of the workers toward forming their own government.

One of the objectives of the military regime was to divide the working class, in order to progressively demoralize and demobilize the workers and dispel the threat of united action that could lead toward a socialist revolution.

To this end, the MFA worked to set the Communist and Socialist parties against each other. The policy of both of vying to be the favored junior partner with the military played right into its hands.

At first, the military leaned more on the CP. The Stalinists had an effective apparatus, which they put at the service of the MFA. The CP became the labor policemen for the military, portraying the "battle for production" as in the interests of the workers and socialism.

In return, the regime supported the Stalinists' position in the labor movement. For example, the Trade Union Unity Law passed early in 1975 froze CP control of the union structure.

Before the elections to the Constituent Assembly last April, both the SP and CP signed a "pact" with the military, guaranteeing that military rule would continue. In the vote, the SP and CP together got a majority. The vote for the bourgeois parties was a distinct minority. The SP received the highest vote of any party, 38 percent. The election results reflected the desire of the masses for socialism.

In response to the setback suffered by the capitalist forces in the election, the MFA launched a demagogic campaign against the Constituent Assembly as merely a "bourgeois democratic" institution.

The MFA began to promulgate a program for what they called "people's power," which would supposedly be a higher form of democracy than the Constituent Assembly. This plan called for the creation of "people's assemblies" under the control of the MFA. The plan itself was never implemented.

At the same time, the MFA sought to deepen the division in the working class by denouncing the SP, charging it with being the "main danger" to socialism. The Stalinists became supporters and organizers of this campaign. They passed off

their low vote relative to the SP as simply an example of the evil results to be expected from "bourgeois democracy" and attacked the Constituent Assembly in favor of the MFA's fake "people's power" plan. They even resurrected the old Stalinist charge of the early 1930s that the SP was "social fascist."

Attack on Democratic Rights

The CP gave full support to the takeover of the newspaper *República* from its Socialist party editors. Then it unsuccessfully attempted, along with the MFA and the "far left," to block mass mobilizations called by the SP to protest the government's restrictions on democratic rights, including the takeover of its newspaper.

The popularity of the Stalinists had already dropped, as was shown by its vote for the Constituent Assembly, about 13 percent of the total. In large measure, this could be attributed to its support for speedup in the plants. Over the course of last summer, as it stepped up its campaign against the SP and against the democratic rights of the majority of workers who supported the SP, its popularity dropped further. As this happened, the CP began to rely more and more on the MFA to defend its positions in the labor movement. Its stance was that the "socialist revolution" would be made by a minority—by the CP in alliance with the MFA—against the "moderate majority" of workers who supported the SP.

The CP's campaign for the "battle of production" and against democratic rights helped pave the way for restoration of one of the props of capitalist rule—the fear of the masses that socialism constitutes a threat to their rights and subjugation to a tyrannical machine.

The Stalinist campaign played into the hands of reactionary forces. For the first time since the April 1974 overturn, rightists at the end of July and in August were able to mobilize mobs that attacked and burned CP headquarters, especially in the north.

The SP leadership saw a good issue being handed to them. Radicalized workers and petty bourgeoisie more and more turned to the SP as a result of the Stalinist campaign. In July, the SP resigned from the government. It did this not out of revolutionary desire to defend the democratic rights of the masses, under attack by a capitalist government; nor was its intention to fight for a class break with the MFA, for a united front of the workers in defense of their rights and interests against the capitalists.

The SP leadership's goal was to further its own campaign to displace the CP as the dominant workers party in the coalition government.

Under the impact of the mobilizations of SP workers and supporters, the MFA decided to make a shift. At the end of August, officers most closely identified with the CP, such as the premier, General Gonçalves, were dumped from the ruling Council of the Revolution and officers favoring at least a temporary alliance with the SP were elevated. Along with this change in the composition of the top MFA body, a new—the sixth—provisional government of collaboration with Portuguese capital was installed. The CP was reduced to a token role, with the major role of junior partner of the military being filled by the SP.

The Sixth Provisional Government

The new government made new efforts to implement the military's austerity program. Like its predecessors it called for capitalist law and order in the factories and barracks.

But the continuing revolutionary dynamic hindered their plan. Early in September, there were demonstrations by soldiers in an organization called Soldiers United Will Win (SUV). It was organized independently of MFA control. The SUV, while embracing only a small minority of soldiers, reflected the continuing radicalization among the rank and file, which was leading toward greater breakdown of military discipline.

The militant demonstration by construction workers in November indicated growing willingness of the workers to fight for their interests.

The CP leadership gave support to one degree or another to the SUV demonstrations, the action by the construction workers, and the mass mobilization November 16 that was called by the Lisbon workers commissions under CP leadership.



May Day, 1974. Sailors mingle in crowd of hundreds of thousands in Lisbon. After overthrow of the dictatorship, upsurge of Portuguese masses challenged continued capitalist rule.

The CP's oppositional stance, like the SP's during the summer, provided openings for the masses. Its support to the construction workers, for example, ran directly counter to its policy, up through the fifth government, of opposing such struggles in the interests of the "battle for production."

But its support to mobilizations against the sixth provisional government did not signal any break with its policy of subordination to the military. The Stalinists did not call during these actions for a class break with all bourgeois forces, including the MFA. On the contrary, they called for a return of Vasco Gonçalves, in essence a return to the fifth provisional government.

Thus the November 25 adventure occurred within the framework of the rivalry between the CP and SP leaders as to which could better sell out the workers to the military regime.

The FUR Bears Responsibility

The groups that call themselves the "revolutionary left" share responsibility with the Stalinists and social democrats for the grave setback that the November 25 events and their aftermath have meant for the workers.

The largest of these groups are the PRP and the MES. But far from being the "revolutionary left," they are at best centrist formations. Their political positions are class collaborationist, presented in revolutionary-sounding phrases. Their course oscillates between, and combines, rank opportunism and adventurous actions.

An element that remains constant in their politics is sectarian contempt for the majority of workers who still follow the CP or SP. They place their own concerns above the needs of the great masses.

It was these groups that dominated the FUR formed last August. In addition to the centrists, the FUR included a CP front organization, the Portuguese Democratic Movement. The FUR was formed on the opportunist basis of critical support to the fifth provisional government.

The Internationalist Communist League, a Trotskyist organization with an ultraleftist bent, also joined the FUR. While it criticized the support to a capitalist government, it held that this was secondary to the importance of the organization of the FUR itself. The other Trotskyist group in Portugal, the Revolutionary Workers party, opposed the FUR because of its class collaborationism.

The reasons the "super-leftists" had for supporting the fifth provisional government were different from those of the Stalinists, however. Their view was that a "left" MFA government of "revolutionary unity" should be set up in place of the sixth government. This government would then turn power over to the "workers organized in a structure that culminates in a National People's Assembly," as the PRP put it in the November 21 issue of its paper.

The MES declared about the same time, "We must create the conditions for the formation of a government of revolutionary unity that holds power until the creation of the National People's

Assembly."

This schema amounts to placing faith in a "left" capitalist government to turn power over to the workers.

To understand this reactionary utopia, we have to back up a bit and examine the centrists' ideas of building "soviets."

These groups presented a false picture of the real extent of the formation of soviets, or workers councils, in Portugal.

The workers commissions that appeared in the period following the fall of the old dictatorship were primarily a response to the need for economic organizations representing all the workers in an enterprise, a need that the workers felt acutely because of the fragmentation of the trade-union-type organizations of workers under the dictatorship. These bodies have generally remained in the framework of organizations of economic struggle, and have not functioned as soviets. They do not as a matter of course discuss and act on the broad social and political questions before the working class and its allies.

The workers commissions have been further limited and weakened by the deep division in the working class. They tend to be dominated by one or another of the political tendencies, and utilized by them in their rivalry. In many cases, their character as united-front committees of all the workers has been virtually destroyed.

Some of the centrist groups have set up their own "soviets," which are little more than caucuses of their own supporters. The neighborhood commissions are even more fragmented—sometimes even giving rise to several commissions in the same neighborhood—each dominated by a different tendency.

The most advanced revolutionary-democratic forms of organization that have yet appeared in Portugal were the assemblies and committees of soldiers and sailors that sprang up at certain times in various units. However, they did not become standing committees on a national scale.

Thus, dual power—a situation where organs of a soviet or council type emerge out of united-front action committees, embrace the masses of workers, and begin to function as centers of authority and power on all economic and social questions, parallel to and competing with the government—has not existed in Portugal up to now.

The revolutionary phrasemongers made propaganda for "building soviets" the axis of their work, without regard for the major political obstacles to building united workers' actions that could lead toward the creation of genuine council-type organizations. This led the PRP to set up its own sectarian "soviets," and made the centrists easy game for the MFA's "people's power" demagoguery.

Will the Capitalist Government Bring Socialism?

When the MFA announced its "people's power" plan during the summer, the centrist groups thought it had come over to their position on building "soviets." On July 16, the "far left" of the centrists, ultralefts, and Maoists organized a demonstration in support of "people's power" that marched on the Constituent Assembly under the slogans, "MFA—People's Power" and "Dissolve the Constituent Assembly."

In this campaign of support to the MFA, the centrists played the role of "leftist" cat's-paws for the Stalinists. The majority of the Portuguese toilers, for whom the elections to the Constituent Assembly were the first and only national elections they had been allowed to participate in for five decades, could only interpret this campaign as directed against their interests and rights.

By counterposing "MFA—People's Power" to the Constituent Assembly they not only reinforced illusions that the MFA would lead the struggle for socialism. They presented the idea that workers democracy, socialist democracy, is contradictory to defending and extending the democratic rights that the workers wrest from the employing class under capitalism.

The Socialist party workers could only interpret the campaign to abolish the Constituent Assembly as being aimed against them, because their party had won a strong plurality in the elections.

The "revolutionary contingent" of centrist, Maoist, and ultraleft groups supported a Stalinist campaign that resulted in strengthening the hand of the reactionary and bourgeois forces

generally, as well as the class-collaborationist leadership of the SP.

These sectarians failed in general to understand the relation between bourgeois democracy, workers democracy, and socialist revolution. To them, Lenin's injunction that the proletarian revolution "... means a gigantic, world-historic extension of democracy, its transformation from falsehood into truth, the liberation of humanity from the shackles of capital, which *distorts* and truncates any, even the most 'democratic' and republican, *bourgeois* democracy" remains a mystery. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 371, emphasis in original.)

During the summer they joined the Stalinist campaign against democratic rights. They supported an attack on the real rights of a workers party under a bourgeois regime in the *República* case, claiming that was the road to workers control of production. They called for the capitalist military regime to abolish the Constituent Assembly, seeing that as the road to soviet democracy.

And, they placed confidence in the ability and willingness of at least a wing of the MFA to lead the way to socialism. This leaves out the fact that the transition from a bourgeois regime to one of workers democracy takes place through a



Workers from Lisnave shipyards were in vanguard of workers' struggles. Stalinists and social democrats view the workers as a base for their class-collaborationist policies, while centrist groups view the workers with sectarian disdain.

revolution that dismantles the capitalist state apparatus and replaces it with the new power of a workers state—and that it is a fatal illusion to think this step will be carried out by a section of the capitalist state apparatus, no matter how much its spokespeople talk of "people's power."

This was the background to the goal of the PRP and MES during the fall: Form a "government of revolutionary unity that holds power until the creation of the National People's Assembly."

Sectarianism

The groups that dominated the FUR combined this rank opportunism with extreme sectarianism and adventurism. They attacked the Socialist party as a "phase in the transition to fascism," and called for an insurrection against the sixth provisional government.

Early in November, the MES wrote: "Thus, the Social Democratic forces serve the advance of the fascist forces; consequently, we cannot separate our slogan 'Death to the ELP [Exército de Libertação Portuguesa—Portuguese Liberation Army, a right-wing terrorist group] and those who support it' from the slogan, 'Down with Social Democracy.' That, comrades, is why the MES says—and this is ever more correct and appears ever more clearly—that the Social

Democracy is a phase in the transition to fascism."

This sectarian campaign, cavalierly contemptuous of the working class, also throws further light on just what the small centrist groups mean by "soviets." Their concept has nothing whatever to do with real soviets, which arise out of united-front struggle committees.

Their campaign was to "centralize" commissions and committees that had become little more than organized supporter groups of one or another Stalinist or centrist tendency.

Their campaign was part of a political offensive that blocked the development of united-front struggle against the capitalist government and cut across the formation of genuine workers councils to organize and generalize these struggles.

Soviets or workers councils represent the highest form of the united front—they seek to embrace all the workers, of all tendencies, lead them in action against the enemy class, and provide an arena where all the tendencies in the workers movement can try to win a majority to their proposals.

But the "revolutionary" new leftists of the FUR had renounced the united front in practice through their sectarian campaign against the majority of the workers that support the Socialist party.

Real soviets can be built only on the basis of fighting to unite the working class in struggle around concrete issues and demands, not by calling for the "centralization" of organizations that the majority of workers have no confidence in.

Adventurism

The FUR leaders have a utopian-sectarian conception of a *minority revolution*. They had consigned the majority of workers to the extreme right. The British supporters of the PRP express this view openly. In a recent press statement, the British IS declared, "We completely disagree with those, like [the French] Lutte Ouvrière, who pin their hopes on co-operation—on whatever level—with the Portuguese Socialist Party. It is Mario Soares who is attempting to organise gangs of storm-troopers ... to drown the revolution in blood. It is the PS, *leadership and membership*, who cheer the blowing up of the Radio Renascença transmitter—symbol of workers control." (Emphasis added.)

The petty-bourgeois revolutionists of the FUR do not believe that the fundamental job in Portugal remains that of winning the majority of workers from the policy of the class-collaborationist leaders of the SP and CP and from illusions in the MFA.

They reject the Marxist view that this must be accomplished before the question of power can be placed on the agenda. They believe that the determined action of a "militant minority" can spark the majority into action or bring it to give tacit support to their "insurrection."

Related to this is an incorrect view of the role of the soldiers. The PRP and MES saw the radicalization that developed among the soldiers and that deepened in the fall period as a sufficient basis for revolution. If the revolutionary soldiers made a bold move, the workers would support them.

This was especially so since, in the impressionist view of the FUR leaders, the government was powerless. On November 10 PRP leader Isabel do Carmo declared at a press conference: "For us, at this moment, there is no solution except armed insurrection. As all history shows, the bourgeoisie unleashes a civil war every time it wants to defend its interests. Fortunately, the forces of the right possess no army in Portugal."

The PRP's Views on November 25

The PRP version of the adventure itself indicates these elements in the centrists' policy. Nowhere does the PRP criticize the class-collaborationist objectives of the rebelling officers. Its criticisms are technical, not political.

The statement printed by the British IS quoted earlier indicates that the PRP and MES would have carried through the attempt if they were stronger, even against the CP: "The tragedy was that the revolutionary left did not have the foresight to see the scale of the treachery, nor the strength in the factories to gain support for the soldiers once the CP had changed sides."

Here again we see a reversal of the real relation between the workers and soldiers in a genuine revolution. In his *History of the Russian Revolution*, Trotsky took issue with those who "portray Bolshevism as a soldier movement."

Trotsky answers: "Fundamental historic facts were here ignored: the fact that the proletariat was the first to come over to the Bolsheviks; that the Petrograd workers were showing the road to the workers of all countries; that the garrison and front much longer than the workers remained bulwarks of compromise; that the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks created all kinds of privileges for the soldier at the expense of the worker in the soviet system, struggled against the arming of the workers and incited the soldiers against them; that the break in the troops was brought about only by the influence of the workers; that at the decisive moment the leadership of the soldiers was in the hands of the workers. . . ."

Their Criticisms

The complaints of the PRP and MES about November 25 are that they were not informed of the attempt and thus not prepared, and that they needed "some weeks" more to build support in the factories for the "insurrection." Their self-criticism is that they should have had enough "foresight" to see that the Stalinists are treacherous!

The CP did apparently turn its back on the forces it helped set in motion on November 25, which compounds their criminal role in the whole affair. But the FUR muddleheads themselves believed the CP was capable of following a revolutionary course and helped foster illusions in the Stalinists.

In early November, the MES wrote: "It is not the 'revolutionary left' that is being dragged in the wake of the Communist party, but the Communist party that, since giving support to the COPCON document systematically at decisive moments of the struggle, has been dragged in the wake of the revolutionary left."

Copcon was the military security force headed by Carvalho, which was disbanded following the crushing of the November 25 adventure. The Copcon document was drafted last August as a demagogic proposal from this section of the armed forces as a plan for building "people's power" committees under MFA control. Support to this document was a fundamental aspect of the FUR's platform.

The Road Forward

The military is using the moment to assert its authority and make as many inroads on the gains of the workers as it can. How far this process will go depends upon the response of the masses. The workers have not been defeated, nor have their organizations been dismantled. As the demonstration of the construction workers showed, there is deep opposition to the MFA's policy of forcing the working class to bear the brunt of the soaring inflation and unemployment.

The workers are cautious and confused in the aftermath of the coup attempt. It remains to be seen how and when they will regather their forces for a new rise of struggles capable of upsetting the plans of the regime to reestablish capitalist law and order.

The SP and CP leaderships have renewed their pledge of loyalty to the military in the wake of the coup attempt. The sectarian schemes and revolutionary phrasemongering of the FUR have been exposed as barren and only capable of leading to adventures and a demoralizing dead end for the Portuguese workers.

In the forefront of a revolutionary strategy in Portugal must be the campaign to mobilize the workers and their allies in united actions in defense of their basic interests, their economic gains, and their democratic rights. This united front is necessary to overcome the bitter sectarian divisions in the working class, to strengthen the defense of the workers against the growing threat from the bonapartist regime, and to prepare the ground for a new wave of upsurge of the toiling masses.

The revolutionary process has not reached the point where forms of workers power have emerged. What have appeared are sporadic and scattered mass initiatives, factory committees, and elements of workers control. These developments point the way toward the emergence of



Portugal l'An 1

Banner reads 'Free union of railroad workers.' After fall of dictatorship, workers revitalized their trade unions, and assemblies in factories elected delegates to workers commissions.

broader action committees and eventually dual power. Progress along this road hinges on a correct political course. The fundamental political task is to break the workers from the basic class-collaborationist course of the Stalinists and Social Democrats of subordination to the Armed Forces Movement. Instead they must assert their right to put a government in power that represents and fights for *their* interests, a workers and peasants government.

The strategic line of march of the revolutionary struggle of the workers and their allies in Portugal at the present stage can be summarized as follows:

1. Defense of the gains of the workers and other layers of the masses against the attempts by the capitalist government to make the workers bear the cost of inflation and unemployment. This includes fighting for a crash government program for jobs, for a reduction in the hours of work without any reduction in pay to spread the available work, and for escalator provisions in union contracts to protect the workers from capitalist-caused inflation.

The struggle of the construction workers illustrates both the need for a determined fight on this front and the potential for workers to be mobilized in struggle on these issues.

Included in the demands to be raised are those for a radical agrarian reform designed to meet the needs of the small peasants, as well as the promotion of state-assisted cooperatives and state farms in the area of extensive farming. Demands for state support for the individual small peasants have become especially acute, as the policy of the capitalist government, with the support of the CP and SP leaderships, has become identified with "socialism," pushing many of the small farmers into the hands of the right wing.

In addition, special attention is needed to defend the rights and gains that have been won by women and by the youth and to support the struggles they launch.

2. The struggle for democratic rights in the armed forces. The MFA is attempting to use the adventurist coup attempt of November 25 to clamp down on all democratic rights of the soldiers and sailors. Rejecting sectarian and putschist propaganda, the rank-and-file soldiers need to organize to defend their civil rights. The broad masses must be educated that citizens in uniform retain every basic right to organize themselves and participate in the political life of the country.

3. Defense of the democratic rights of the citizen-soldiers is closely linked to defense of democratic rights and democratic decision-making in every area of social life. The political rights of most of the workers organizations have come under attack at various times since April 1974, including the rights of both mass reformist parties. Now the MFA is using the adventurist coup attempt to strike additional blows against democratic rights. The principle of solidarity of the entire workers movement against such attacks is yet to be established.

4. Opposition to any attempts by the capitalist government to intervene in the affairs of the former colonies.

5. The struggle for effective workers organizations. The workers commissions and nuclei of industrial unions that have developed are still not adequate on a national scale to effectively defend the elementary interests of the workers. In this situation, propaganda and agitation for industrial unions, a united and democratic union structure, free of government interference such as the Trade Union Unity Law, and the transformation of the workers commissions into united-

front-type action committees that can mobilize and represent the workers and poor masses in the industrial centers combine closely with other revolutionary tasks.

The fight for workers control under present conditions also fits in with these tasks. The workers have already asserted control in many instances to protect their specific interests in the face of government assaults, employer sabotage, and mounting unemployment and inflation. Workers control is necessary to obtain the economic information and organization to defend jobs, to prevent the flight of capital, to fight inflation, and to administer a sliding scale of wages and hours.

Workers control cannot serve its purpose unless workers make clear that they do not accept any responsibility for the functioning of the economy until they have real political power over it. This means fighting against the "workers control" promulgated by the military government and supported by the CP and SP leaderships, which amounts to workers disciplining themselves to accept the capitalists' austerity program.

6. The struggle for a workers and peasants government. On the political level, the workers in their great majority look for leadership to the Socialist party, the Communist party, and the Intersindical, the trade-union federation. At present no alternative to these mass organizations has credibility among large layers of workers. Nor can any alternative develop except as the masses learn in practice the limitations of the current class-collaborationist leaderships of these organizations.

Concretely, at the current stage, the slogan for a workers and peasants government means calling upon the Socialist and Communist parties, as the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese workers and the majority of the Portuguese people, to break with the pact-program that codified their capitulation to the military junta, and establish a new government without any bourgeois forces, by exercising their majority in the Constituent Assembly and appealing to the workers, peasants, and the rank and file of the armed forces to mobilize in support of it.

The Intersindical should remain independent of any government, including a workers and peasants government, since the unions must be the direct defenders of the economic interests of the workers.

The only national politically representative body chosen by the workers and masses in Portugal up to now is the Constituent Assembly, in which the workers parties hold an absolute majority. The fight for a workers and peasants government cannot be waged without defending popular sovereignty and all democratic gains, against efforts by the ruling class to restrict them. Concretely, this means defending the Constituent Assembly against attempts by the military junta and the leaderships of the SP and CP to undermine its authority and limit or destroy its sovereignty.

Making this demand on the two mass reformist parties of the working class, as a fundamental part of a united-front campaign of struggle, is an essential part of the process of advancing a working-class governmental alternative to the military regime and exposing the incapacity of these parties to provide such an alternative.

Incipient organs of workers power can only arise out of united mass struggles of the working class along these lines. Workers councils or soviet forms cannot be imposed on the workers.

Advancing the independent organization of the working class is necessary so that the proletariat can meet the tasks of the class struggle in this period of crisis and win in a confrontation with the bourgeoisie. This involves pushing for broader and broader forms of workers organizations, industrial union structure, action committees, and democratic factory committees that can unify and mobilize the broad masses of the workers in the industrial zones and draw in other exploited layers. This process would culminate in regional and national congresses of workers organizations that can adopt general policies and lead the working masses in taking decisive initiatives.

The arming of the masses to defend their rights against attacks by reactionaries likewise cannot be accomplished separately from building united-front struggles along these lines. No



People line up to vote in elections for Constituent Assembly, April 1975. Socialist and Communist parties together received a majority of the votes, reflecting desire of the masses for socialism.

minority, no matter how heroic, can substitute itself for the masses themselves in the decisive showdown.

This strategic line of march begins with the immediate and elementary needs of the working class, and leads toward the establishment of a workers and peasants government and the organization of soviets as the basis of a workers state.

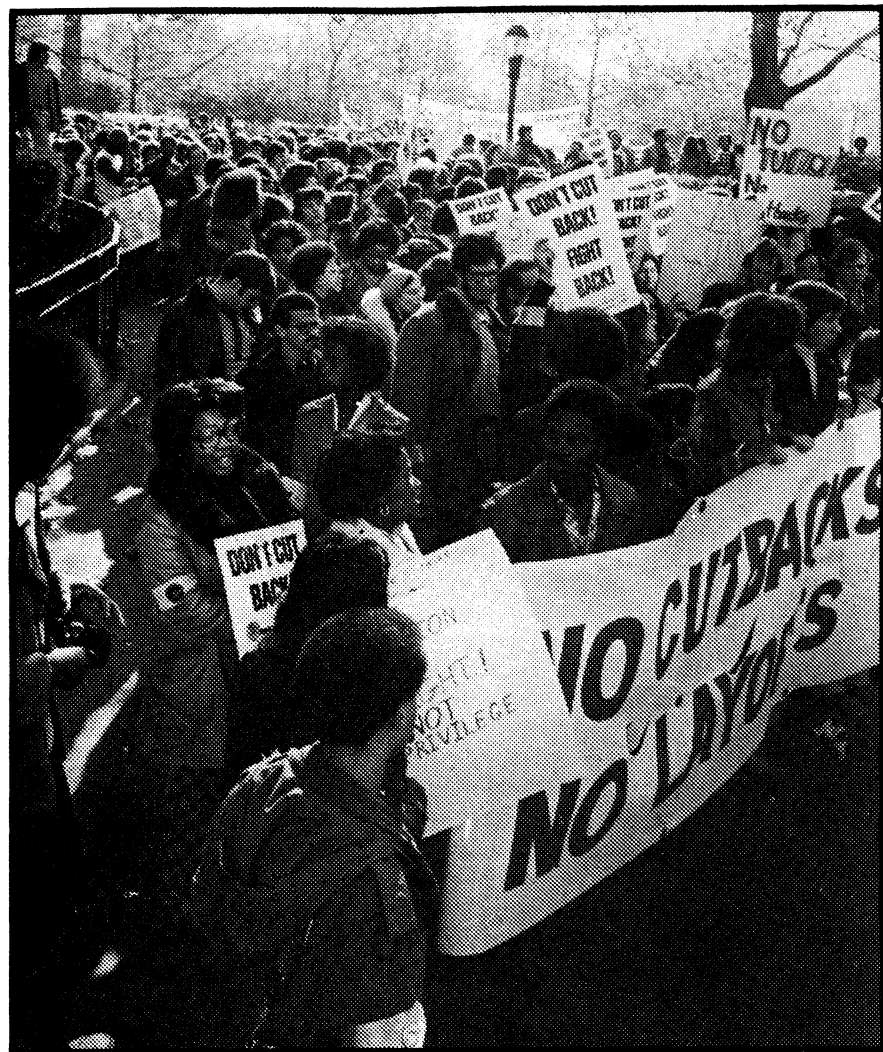
The traitorous policies of the SP and CP and the confused lurchings of the centrists and

Maoists have taken a severe toll. A Marxist course based on the independent organization and mobilization of the working masses assumes ever greater importance. The construction of a revolutionary party to provide correct leadership assumes ever greater urgency. Such a party does not yet exist in Portugal. It must be created in the heat of the struggle itself.

But even a small nucleus of revolutionists, armed with a correct program and strategy, can make swift gains. By fighting along the basic

axes indicated, such a nucleus can play a decisive role in building the revolutionary party necessary to resolve the crisis of leadership in the Portuguese revolution.

Then the Portuguese working class will have the leadership it deserves. The misleaders will be swept aside, and the workers and their allies will storm to the victory of the Portuguese socialist revolution.



Jean Vertheim

The Profit System: Root of America's Crisis

Peter Camejo Discusses the Issues Before Working People

Peter Camejo is the Socialist Workers party candidate for president. The following are major excerpts from a speech he gave at the University of Chicago on December 2, 1975. The vice-presidential candidate on the Socialist Workers party ticket is Willie Mae Reid.

By Peter Camejo

When Willie Mae Reid and I announced our campaign in December 1974, the first organization that took an interest was the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Through the lawsuit against government harassment launched by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance in 1973, we were able to force them to give us more than 4,000 pages of secret FBI and CIA documents. These documents prove that the FBI has infiltrated every kind of organization of dissent in this country—the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, the women's movement, the labor movement, the socialist movement. These documents prove that the agency's policy in all of these organizations is to attempt to destroy them so that dissenting points of view cannot be heard, to attempt to strangle the voice of the oppressed and exploited. And we now know that assassination at home and abroad is one of their "normal" policy tools.

The FBI employs all kinds of methods—wire tapping, mail tampering, and visiting employers and landlords to get people fired from their jobs or kicked out of their

apartments. One of their favorite techniques is poison-pen letters designed to set one organization against another or members of an organization against each other. Here in Chicago the police went so far as to hire people to burglarize offices and beat up members of the Socialist Workers party.

Why is the federal government doing all this behind the backs of the American people to try to stop dissent? What do they fear?

What happens in this country is that they tell us we have a free choice, that we can listen to all ideas, but at the same time the federal government very consciously harasses and tries to intimidate all those who dissent, trying to create an atmosphere in which the only points of view we can hear are those of the Democrats and Republicans.

What they are trying to do is prevent people from hearing a point of view which they are afraid could get very positive response and in fact is beginning to get a positive response. What I would like to do here is explain some of the major issues that we are raising in our campaign, the ideas they are afraid to let people hear.

Why is There a Crisis?

Let me begin with the most obvious issue: the economic crisis.

Everybody agrees that we are in an economic crisis. We face inflation, we face unemployment. But why? It seems like a mystery. For a long time the economy was doing relatively OK, and then suddenly inflation hit us.

Everybody is against it. Have you seen any candidate who says, "I'm the one who is for inflation and unemployment"? No, every senator and congressperson, the president, management, labor, every religious denomination is against it. But if everyone in this country is against inflation and unemployment, how can it be happening?

Obviously it must be like tornados. Everyone is against tornados, but they happen.

This is the way the capitalist economists explain economics to us. When we walk into a supermarket we're supposed to think to ourselves, "Oh, inflation struck last night!" They try to portray it as an event that human beings have no control over and that cannot be explained.

We socialists think there is a very simple explanation. But there is a reason why the newspapers and the media will not explain it. That reason is that the United States is a class society. We have a ruling class. This class benefits from unemployment and inflation.

But they don't want to tell us that. Because if we knew that, we might know who to get mad at.

The first problem you run into here is that most teachers and professors tell you that there is no ruling class in America. That is supposed to be Marxist jargon from the nineteenth century. Every sophisticated person knows that we are a society of many different types of pressure groups, a pluralistic society. Can we speak of a ruling class?

If you look in the daily newspaper and turn to the society page, you can see pictures of people dancing. Have they ever come to your party to take a picture of it? Try calling up a photographer from one of these papers and tell him, look, I'm going to have a terrific party, come and take some shots of it. Do you think they would come?

Ask your economics professor how the newspaper photographers all over this country know which parties to go to, if there is no ruling class? The truth is that these photographers know more about the class structure of America than the professors do!

Let's take a more concrete example, the case of Nelson Rockefeller. When Rockefeller was called before the United States Senate for confirmation of his appointment as vice-president last year, he made some

very revealing statements that show how the ruling class functions.

They asked him how much money he had. Now, most people in this country would have no trouble estimating how much money they had, at least within a million dollars. But not Nelson. They had to question him at that hearing for weeks trying to figure out how much money he had. His first answer was \$20 million. Finally he got up to over \$400 million before the senators stopped pressing him. I hear he claims he misunderstood the question at first; he thought they meant how much he had on him.

They also asked him what he did with his money. And he answered that he had nothing to do with his money. He hires people to run it for him. These people invest the money on one criterion: what will bring the highest profit. In deciding where to invest that money, they are deciding what is going to be produced, how it will be produced, whether the air will be clean or not, how many jobs there will be. They make all kinds of decisions that affect your life and my life and we have no say. And they do it on one criterion: profit.

Who made the decision that Nelson Rockefeller should have all this money? The day he was born, Nelson's mother did not have to worry, "I wonder if he'll get ahead." He was already way ahead. He started out with more money than all of us here will see in a lifetime. And he didn't even know it; his eyes were not yet even open.

This is how it is decided who has the money. The Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Mellons, the DuPonts, the Kennedys, and the rest of the families who run this country pass on their wealth and power through inheritance. And they make the decisions that affect our lives.

Let's stop and think about what our role is in the economy.

Get a Job

As we grow up, our parents continually bug us and say, you've got to get ahead, you've got to get a skill, you've got to get a college degree in order to get a good job. By "get ahead" they mean get ahead of other people.

All we do is fight with each other and compete with each other trying to get the best job.

This question of a job is a really interesting subject. We are taught to accept that our role is simply to prepare for getting a job. Think about the weird things you do when you go to get a job. You get up in the morning and put on special clothes. Not the clothes you feel comfortable in, but special clothes.

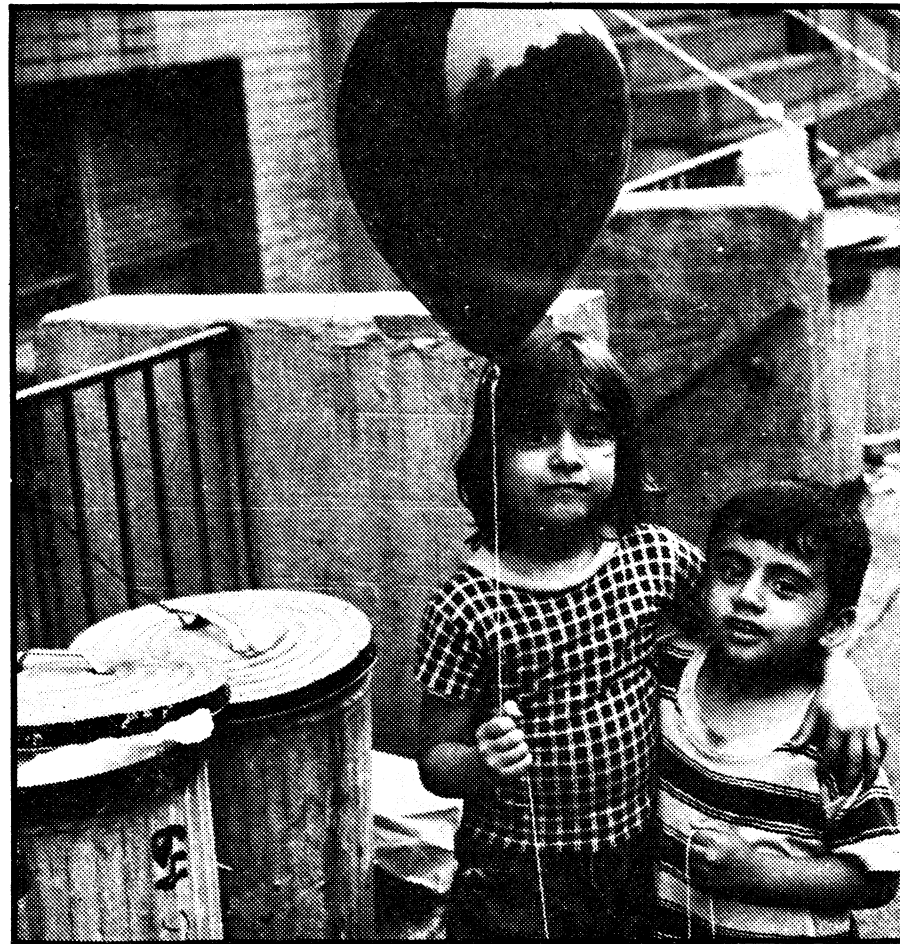
Then you go for an interview. And they ask, "Are you going to work at McDonalds just for the summer?" And you say, "Oh, no, I want to work here for twenty years."

Or they ask, "Why did you pick Chrysler to apply for a job?" So you say, "Well, I'm looking for a corporation with a future"—you make up something like that. You probably worked on the answer the night before.

They know you are lying. The people who interview you lied when they got their jobs, too.

Can you imagine what would

happen if you told the truth? You get up in the morning and put on the clothes you want to put on. You walk in, and when they ask you questions, you answer honestly. For example, if they ask why you picked Chrysler, you'd say, "Chrysler, Ford, General Motors, frankly it doesn't make any difference to me. What I want is a good stereo, and I want to pay my rent, and I'd like to buy a car. In other words, I want some money, and you have all the money and the only way I can get some is getting a job from you. So that's why I'm here and



Alan Mercer

'Eight million of the nation's 12 million welfare recipients are children. These are the people—five-, six-, seven-year-olds—who "refuse to work."'

don't ask me stupid questions."

Then when they ask you how long you are going to stay, you'd answer, "Well, if I get a better offer next week I'll quit, of course."

If you did this, they would know you were telling the truth. But what would they think of you? They would consider you a potential troublemaker, or a subversive.

Everyone knows this is the truth.

Everyone knows you have to lie. And you don't just have to lie when you get a job. You have to keep right on lying. Because you have to act as if you believe there is some sort of rational reason for the existence of General Motors, or Chrysler, and the rest of them.

When you get a job, there is no democracy. You don't have a say. There are people on the top, and you come in on the bottom. They introduce you to your supervisor, who tells you what to do. He is appointed by another supervisor who is appointed by another supervisor, and it goes all the way up to the board of directors and the chief stockholders. They are not appointed; they are born.

You come in at what they call an "opening." You pick up the newspaper and look in the want ads, and there they list the "openings." Or in school you go to counselors who tell you what to major in, depending on the "openings."

What is an opening? An opening is where a corporation can make more money out of you than what

they will pay you. That is, where they can exploit you. If you will not make more money for them than what they will pay you, they don't hire you. So the only right working people have in this country is to go around asking the capitalists, "Excuse me, are you exploiting today?" And either they hire you, or they answer, "I'm very sorry, we have no openings."

There are more than eight million people unemployed in the United States today. There is only one reason they are unemployed: There is no rich person who can make

raising their prices. The rate of inflation starts slowing down, and the number of people unemployed starts going up.

If the economy starts declining too fast, and the unemployment is threatening to spark protests by working people, the capitalists "pump" the economy. For instance, they institute tax cuts, a tax rebate, or increased war spending. The point on the Phillips Curve that the capitalists consider "stability" is where unemployment is 3 or 4 percent and inflation is also only a few percentage points.

This is why we are taught that it is "healthy" for America to have 3 or 4 percent unemployed.

If you translate this into human terms—that is, that it is good for America to have millions of people out of work—of course it is totally irrational.

If we understand this, we can understand what Ford has done in office. When Ford became president, he gave a speech to Congress. He said he was a conservative; he wanted to balance the budget. This was in August 1974. The way most people probably remember that speech is because of the WIN button. Everybody was supposed to wear the WIN button—Whip Inflation Now. The main enemy was inflation. And what did Ford prescribe? A policy of cuts aimed at slowing down the economy to stop inflation.

Within four months the gross national product had gone into a fast dip, unemployment was shooting up, and Ford was up in Vail, Colorado, skiing. All the economic specialists went up there and told him, "Look, you have to go before Congress now and make a proposal that is the exact opposite of what you said in August."

And that is exactly what he did. He went back to Washington and proposed the largest budget deficit in the history of the United States, the most inflationary budget ever. A \$52 billion deficit. This is the same man who gives speeches about how New York City doesn't balance its budget.

Why? Because the capitalists decided that they had to try to stem the downturn by pumping money into the economy.

Then they gave us the \$100-to-\$200 tax rebate. The purpose of the rebate was very simple: to create demand. Don't you remember how they told us to spend it, spend it? They claimed this would help lead to a recovery, which would effectively lower unemployment. But the jobless rate remains above 8 percent.

But the problem the capitalists are having, and the reason they are beginning to get a little panicky, is that now they are starting to get inflation and unemployment at the same time. How can they fight inflation with unemployment, and unemployment with inflation, when we get inflation and unemployment at the same time? Their entire Phillips Curve is moving upwards.

You have all heard the famous statement that socialism is beautiful on paper but it won't work in real life. Well, capitalism doesn't even work on paper.

Crisis of 'Overproduction'

What solution do the capitalists have? Every single advanced industrial country is having inflation and unemployment at the same time. The reason for it is simple.

Capitalism needs an expanding market just to stand still. And the markets the United States was able to gain from the Second World War are now saturated. Capitalism has entered a crisis that the economists call "overproduction." This does not mean that they produce too much for human needs, but that they can't sell what they produce.

How do they explain the crisis? They blame the Japanese because they produce radios and cars. They blame the Italians because they produce shoes. Isn't it terrible that other countries are producing more, they say. What a system we have! The more the world produces, the worse the economic problems get!

Now let's look at the "solutions" the ruling class proposes and what they are doing right now in view of the crisis.

One place to begin is with the federal budget. The first thing to note is that the largest item in the budget is war spending. They are spending \$100 billion on the military. They are spending more on war now than when we were in Vietnam.

You know why this is. If we want peace, we are told, they have to have a big war budget. That's how we supposedly get peace.

The next-largest thing in the budget this year (not counting transfer funds like Social Security, which you pay and then get back when you retire) amounts to \$36 billion. No one knows about this. This is the least-talked-about budget item in the United States. If you look up the budget in the almanac, you will find it listed under the word "interest."

Welfare for the Rich

This is \$36 billion in welfare for the rich. \$36 billion in taxes collected from everybody, which is just given to the rich. This is interest payments on bonds. The richest 2 percent in this country own 90 percent of all bonds.

All you hear about is that our tax money is going for welfare to the poor. The articles every day in the newspapers about how our taxes go for welfare never tell us about the welfare for the rich. The way they always put it is this: The hard-working American is getting sick and tired of paying for all these welfare chiselers who are too lazy to work.

How many poor people are on welfare in this country? Twelve million. About 5 percent of the population. This is an enormous number. But eight million of these twelve million are children. Five-, six-, seven-year-olds who "refuse to work." The others are primarily elderly people, or the mothers of these children, who have no other way to take care of them.

And how much money do these people get? They get \$9.5 billion. And this includes not only federal government welfare payments, but city, state, and federal all combined. This averages out to be no more than \$67 a month per person. They are really living it up, aren't they?

An average worker in this country pays forty cents a working day in taxes to provide welfare payments. We pay more than two dollars a day in taxes that goes for welfare for the rich (this includes state and city taxes), and we pay nearly five dollars a day in taxes for the war budget.

But what do the capitalists propose to cut? The forty cents to the

eight million children who live on the border of starvation. The poorest people in this country.

They give us propaganda articles about all the money we spend for welfare and Medicaid. But the poor never get a penny from Medicaid. It is the doctors and the drug companies who get all the money from Medicaid.

The Big Show

Now let's look at what is happening in New York City. Every few nights on the television news we hear, "Will New York City default or won't it? Tune in tomorrow and find out." And we have Mayor



New York teachers protest discriminatory layoffs. Racism is part of profit system in America, and every economic downturn hits Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos the hardest.

José Pérez

Beame saying, "This city is being sold out." And Ford is saying, "New Yorkers have to put their house in order and balance their budget. . . ." All the politicians and bankers have been putting on a big show.

Meanwhile, what they are doing in New York is destroying the city. They are shutting down schools, shutting down hospitals, laying off sanitation workers, laying off fire fighters, applying discriminatory layoffs against Black and Puerto Rican teachers, closing down child-care centers, and cutting back on every single social program. They have just raised the bus and subway fares from thirty-five cents to fifty cents. And they are proposing to raise the sales tax up to ten cents on the dollar. Already, four cents goes directly to the banks through Big Mac.

Actually, the crisis in New York is not primarily a "New York" crisis, but an acute instance of the growing crisis of American capitalism. The campaign by the politicians and bankers to "avoid default" in New York through massive layoffs and cutbacks is an opening battle. What the capitalists are aiming for is to apply these policies of cutbacks and speedup nationally, in order to make all working people bear the burden of the crisis of the national economy—both in layoffs and cutbacks of social services—while keeping profits high.

To cover this up, they put forward a big myth: New Yorkers

have been living it up. The truth is the opposite. One of the reasons New York has such a deficit is because of the poverty and unemployment of the majority of the people who live there, many of whom are Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Look at Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, or the Lower East Side. These are among the poorest people in this country, living in horrible slums. Unemployment in the city is 12 percent. It is racist oppression that has condemned these people to greater unemployment and lower wages.

Now let's look more closely at the actual budget of New York City. Out of the total budget of a little

more than \$11 billion, one of the largest items is \$2 billion in "debt service" to the rich. This includes tax-free interest on city bonds.

In all the talk about the New York budget, one big fact is rarely mentioned. That is that New Yorkers pay \$22 billion a year to the federal government. Of this, more than \$6 billion goes to the military budget.

In addition to this, New Yorkers pay another \$2 billion out of these federal taxes in interest payments to the rich on the federal debt.

So the citizens of New York City are paying more than \$6 billion a year for bombs and weapons, as well as \$4 billion a year to the wealthy. And then they try to tell us there is no money for jobs, schools, hospitals, or day-care centers.

What the Socialist Workers party proposes is complete elimination of the military budget and turning that money over to solving the problems of the cities. This would easily enable us to rehire all the workers that have been fired in New York, to restore the cuts in education and medical care, and start building some decent homes for people living in slums.

And in regard to the interest payments, what I would propose is that anyone with an income of more than, say, \$30,000 a year simply shouldn't get any more interest payments. That's all.

This nation has 6 percent of the population of the world, and produces one-third of the wealth of the world—and they tell us we can't

afford to provide jobs for all of us?

What the Socialist Workers party would do is to make a job a right. Medical care should be a right. Education should be a right. A secure retirement should be a right. We would reorganize our economy so that it was run democratically—working people would decide what is produced.

Capitalism is Killing Us

Not only do we need a say over what is produced so that we can all have a job, but also so that we don't simply kill ourselves. Because their system is killing us. It is estimated that in New York City in ten years—from 1963 to 1972—108,000 people died from pollution. And that is an underestimation. For example, cancer is now rising very rapidly because the air we breathe is being destroyed.

They have destroyed the rivers in this country. They are destroying the oceans. Right now they are going back to strip mining. And they are even cutting back what pollution controls we had because their drive for profits is so overwhelming.

When the capitalists can't make a profit, they turn off the machines and they turn us off like we were part of the machines. If General Motors can't make enough money, they just lay off 10,000 people, as if they were turning off a machine.

Socialists have a different concept. We say that since working people produce all the wealth, we should have a say over the machines. We shouldn't have to be slaves to the machines and their owners.

What was 1776 all about? We said to King George: "Just because you were born king doesn't mean that you can make the decisions. We want some decision-making power over our lives."

The people who are now running this country got their power by birth. What we need is a second Declaration of Independence in which we say: "We are going to run this country since 1) we happen to be the majority of the people who live in it, and 2) we are the people who produce all the wealth that you have."

The Scapegoats

The problems we face are not just economic. Deep social problems exist, such as racism and the oppression of women. These problems are interconnected with the economic crisis, which exacerbates race and sex discrimination as well as increasing pollution and other problems, including the danger of war.

The connection between these economic and social problems is reflected in the methods by which the Democrats and Republicans attempt to divert our attention away from the real problems and toward scapegoats.

National chauvinism is one important aspect of their campaign to "explain" the present crisis. We are told that our problems are being caused by foreigners; that we should blame foreigners.

Take the example of the wheat deals with the Soviet Union. The United States produces three times the amount of wheat consumed in this country. So the big wheat capitalists sell it to the Russians and make a huge pile of money. Then they tell us that because they sold it to the Russians and made a lot of money, now you are going to have to pay higher prices for a loaf of

bread. They have the American people hating the Russians because the Russians supposedly drove up the price of bread. So while agribusiness makes millions extra from us by raising the price of bread, and millions from the Russians, they have us blaming the Russians.

Or take unemployment. What creates unemployment? "Illegal aliens," they say. Think about those words. "Illegal." That means some sort of criminal. "Aliens" suggests something like Martians. Who are they talking about? Everybody in this country is a foreigner except the Native Americans.

By "illegal aliens" they mean mainly Mexicans. First the United States conquers a big part of Mexico, and then they tell Mexicans they are "aliens," in their own land.

But despite all the talk about the need to crack down on "illegals," the government does not seriously try to deport them at all. That is just a show for you and me. The employers *want* to bring Mexicans across the border to superexploit them. They make them work for less than the minimum wage. The bosses know that many won't dare to complain because they have no legal status and can be thrown back to Mexico where there is massive unemployment. So the capitalists bring them across the border and then use them as a scapegoat to get us to blame someone else for the problem of unemployment. The trade-union bureaucrats join in this campaign to turn one worker against another.

Code Word: 'Antibusing'

Another form that scapegoating takes is racism. A new racist campaign is on the rise.

For the past ten years, before this economic crisis broke out, we did not see any mobs of 1,000 whites yelling "Kill niggers." All of a sudden racist mob violence reappeared, under the codeword "antibusing."

"Forced" busing, they call it. Did you ever hear anyone refer to stop signs as "forced" stops? Any law implies force. So if there is a law saying that schoolchildren have to be integrated, of course it is forced. Forced desegregation. The phrase "forced busing" is used to play a trick on people's minds.

Let's look at the real situation in Boston. Columbia Point housing project in Boston is all Black. For these Black children from Columbia Point, their "neighborhood school" is South Boston High School. Many of the children you have seen on the TV screens facing the stoning and violence when schools opened last fall and the fall before were trying to attend their neighborhood school!

The only reason these children were in buses at all was for protection; they could walk!

Before "busing," the children from Columbia Point used to be bused to an all-Black school, beyond their neighborhood school.

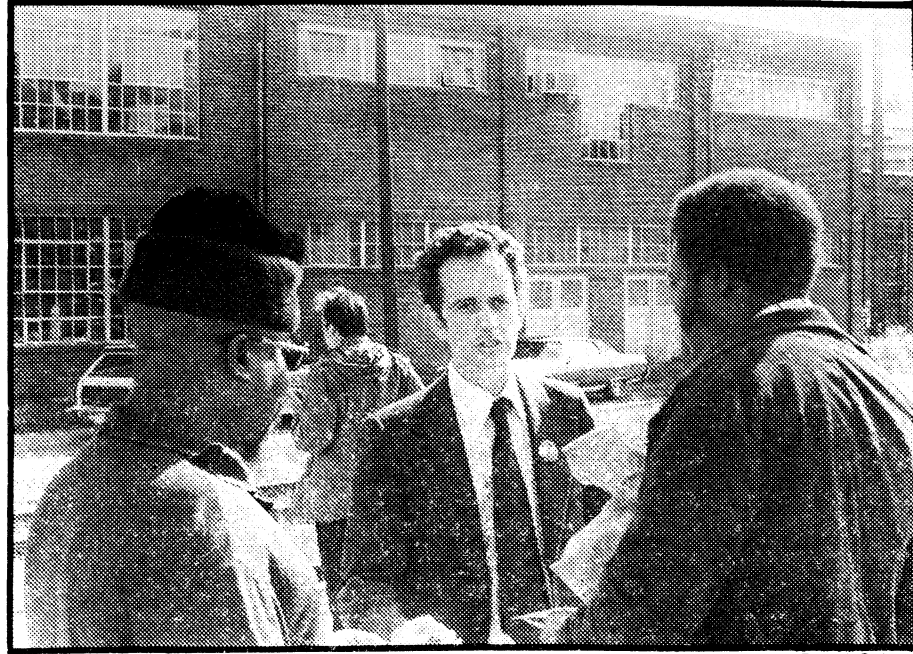
The very best high school in Boston, by the way, is right in the Black community. It is called Boston Technical High. That school used to be almost all white. How do you think the white children got to this school in the middle of the Black community before "busing"? They used to be bused.

In other words, Boston has always had a busing system. The busing system before Judge Garri-

ty's ruling was designed to keep Black children in the inferior schools and white children in the better schools. So the issue is not whether busing should be used, but whether Black people are going to be allowed an equal education or not.

The issue is racism; and Ford and the Democrats will not protect these Black students.

The policy of the Democrats and Republicans who run this country is nothing but hypocrisy. They are racists through and through, and yet they put on a big act claiming that they are for equality, while they give backhanded support to



Camejo campaigning in front of Scullin steel plant in St. Louis

the racist mobs.

And the capitalist-controlled media cooperate. The newspapers try to portray it as if the racist mobs represent all whites in this country. They don't represent whites. The majority of white people are for integration, even though they are confused on this busing question because of all the propaganda.

Last November, 6,000 students from New York marched on Washington to protest the cutbacks and demand federal money for education. Not one daily newspaper in the country featured that news, to my knowledge. But three weeks before, about 2,500 racists came to Washington from Louisville to protest busing, and that was front-page news in newspapers throughout the country.

As in every economic crisis, the first to suffer are Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women. In 1970 Blacks were earning 61 percent of the income whites were making, and now it is down to 56 percent.

'Free World' versus 'Communists'

I want to go into one last example of scapegoatism, and that is the international "anticommunist" campaign that the Democrats and Republicans try to whip up. Let's look at the example of Vietnam to see how this works.

After Lyndon Baines Johnson started bombing and sending American troops into Vietnam, we socialists, along with others, began as a tiny minority campaigning against that war. Slowly an anti-war movement grew up and was able to win a majority by mobilizing millions of people in the streets and changing the attitudes of the American people.

The Democrats and Republicans used a gimmick on us then, which they still use today. They try to

explain their foreign policy in these terms: The United States is for freedom and democracy. We're fighting communist totalitarianism, which is trying to conquer the world. They try to whip up an anticommunist crusade.

Remember how they gave the casualty reports on the radio and TV during the Vietnam War? "Last week 22 Americans were killed, but before they went down they took 1,889 communists with them." On one side they would give the figures according to nationality, but on the other side they would give it according to ideology. Why was this?

If you read history books on

wars, they don't give the casualty figures this way.

Think how it would sound if they had given us a full ideological run-down—"Last week in Vietnam there were twenty-two communists, fifteen socialists, fifteen fascists, five conservatives, six liberals, and ten middle-of-the-roaders killed; and five existentialists were missing." But if they gave the figures in terms of nationality, they would have had to tell us that so many Americans killed so many Vietnamese in Vietnam. This way of reporting would have helped the American people realize that we were the foreigners killing people in their own country.

The way the politicians tell it, we Americans don't kill people of other countries, we only kill "communists." Think back to when the United States invaded Santo Domingo in 1965. Did we kill any Dominicans? No. They looked like Dominicans. But they were all "communists." The reason they looked like Dominicans, I suppose, is that the commies are so tricky they manage to have their agents born in the country they are going to "take over."

The United States has troops on every continent of the world protecting people, especially from the danger that they might invade themselves. Because we are the "free world." That is why we went down to Chile and helped overthrow the Allende government and put in General Pinochet. Now democracy is safe there.

Or what about Spain? The ruling Democrats and Republicans have never complained over forty years of totalitarian rule there. This fall they gave the Spanish government \$750 million to help them maintain what they have now—fascism.

The United States government doesn't care about totalitarianism. Washington supports more dicta-

tors in the world than any other country. They don't oppose the Soviet Union because a dictatorship exists there. They don't oppose China because the people there don't have democratic rights. What they don't like about China and the Soviet Union and Cuba is not the lack of democratic rights, but the fact that Rockefeller and others are not free to invest there the way they would like to.

The Socialist Workers party's attitude toward the Soviet Union and China is similar to our attitude toward trade unions. We think the Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the Cuban revolution were tremendous steps forward for those peoples. But in many of those countries a bureaucracy has taken over.

What needs to be done is not to get rid of what is positive—the planned economy, which has made the Soviet Union the second industrial power in the world and has lifted the Chinese people out of their previous condition of misery and periodic famine. What is needed is to institute real democracy, democracy of the working people.

It is similar with the trade unions. I am for the trade unions, but I'm against the bureaucracy that is running the unions. I'm for getting the unions back under the control of the working people. The fact that unions were built was an enormous step forward. So I am for the economic system in the Soviet Union, in China, and in Cuba, but I am against any bureaucracy that denies those people their rights and that doesn't reflect the real interests of those people.

I am often asked when I speak on radio or TV: "Name a country that is the way you want it to be." I answer that there is no country like that. It doesn't exist yet.

In Czechoslovakia during the revolutionary movement of 1968, the people had the right of freedom of speech, they had a planned economy, there were no capitalists there, no rich. That country was moving in the direction that I am for. They were moving toward socialism; that is why Moscow crushed it.

But this is the same question that Sam Adams was asked in 1776. They asked Sam Adams, "You say you want to set up a republic. Point to a republic." There was no republic in the entire world.

They would tell him, "You want to try a revolution to set up a parliamentary democracy, but they tried that in England in their revolution of the 1640s and did it work? No, they ended up right back with a king."

Adams kept answering, "I don't care what happened in England. I'm telling you a republic is what we need."

And with all its failings and all its weaknesses, the revolution of 1776 was progress. It set an example that helped spark the French revolution. After the French revolution the same thing happened as in England. The revolution went forward and wiped out feudalism, but then the historical process went somewhat backward to reinstitute a king. That didn't mean that the French revolution was not progressive. Our position should be to keep all the progressive things that came out of the French revolution.

That is what we socialists want to do in this country. We want to keep all the progressive things that came out of the American Revolu-

tion; we want to keep the Bill of Rights, and we also want to keep the bill of rights that came out of the Civil War, the second American revolution—that is, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

Today the conflict between the needs of the American people and the needs of the small elite that is running this country is going to drive this country toward a third American revolution.

The masses of Americans are already far along in their thinking in terms of wanting social change in this country. What does not exist yet is any mass party that can pose an alternative to the capitalist politicians. People are more and more turning their backs on the Democrats and Republicans. In 1974, 62 percent of the people refused to vote at all. In a Harris poll released last July, people were asked whether they had confidence in the federal government. Only 13 percent said yes. A Hart poll from last September asked people if they would favor the working people running and owning the factories themselves, and 66 percent said they would prefer this. Only 20 percent said they preferred the system we have now.

That is, when this poll put forward basically socialist concepts

without using the word socialism, the majority of the American people supported these concepts.

If the American people could be won away from the capitalists' solutions on the question of the Vietnam War, which was happening 10,000 miles away, then we can win them on the economic and social problems that are happening right here. But we have to create that mass movement that will fight for the needs of the working class and provide a credible alternative to the masses of people. And that is what we are trying to do in the Socialist Workers party.

No basic change—whether it was the ending of Jim Crow, or the winning of the right to vote for women, or the building of unions, or stopping the war in Vietnam—was won by electing Democrats or Republicans. They were won only by mass campaigns independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Socialist Workers party presidential campaign is very different from the campaigns of all the other candidates. Our campaign committees are active every day in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, in support of the United Farm Workers, in support of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and in support of

strikes and protests against the cutbacks.

Who Can Represent Working People

As working people are forced to organize and to struggle against the present attacks on their standard of living, against the racism and sexism that are part of the economic crisis, and against new wars such as in Angola, many people will begin to draw new political conclusions. They will be able to see more clearly that the Democratic and Republican parties do not represent working people. They will begin to see the need to organize politically on a mass scale.

Today more people can recognize that the problems we face—from unemployment, to antilabor laws, to pollution, to racial segregation, to the New York City crisis—require governmental solutions. That is, these issues are political, and cannot be resolved simply at the factory level or within one industry. What is needed is a new mass party of the labor movement, based on the trade unions, that could provide a political voice and fighting instrument for the needs of working people.

Even if socialists were only a small minority at first, the forma-

tion of such a party would be an immense step forward and a step toward our goal of building a mass party of socialist workers.

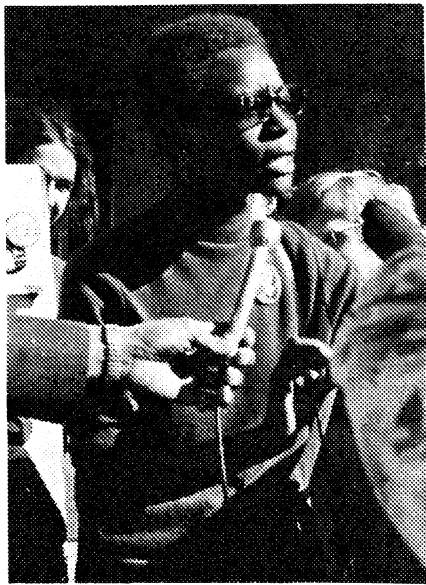
We are at the beginning of an enormous historical change in this country. After the rise of the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and the antiwar movement, and now with the economic crisis, we are going to see the rise of a socialist movement, a new socialist wave that can sweep this country, winning the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

I have explained what our campaign is about, and if you agree with us you should join the Socialist Workers party. If you don't completely agree yet, start working with us. And if you don't agree but are active in any of the struggles that are going on today, we extend our hand to you and want to work with you. What we would like to do is help build every struggle for social justice that is developing. We are convinced that out of those struggles will come the hundreds of thousands and millions of people who, after learning from experience the nature of capitalist society, will become fighters for socialism.

Support the Socialist Workers Campaign!

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president propose a Bill of Rights for Working People aimed at protecting us from unemployment and inflation, wars, racism, and the oppression of women.

They are campaigning against



Debby Woodroffe
Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate.

the cutbacks and the racist attacks on school desegregation and busing. They are campaigning in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and the United Farm Workers, in defense of political prisoners like Delbert Tibbs and J.B. Johnson, and for an immediate end to all U.S. involvement in Angola.

Join with other supporters of the Camejo-Reid campaign in the fight for a decent society. Check off below how you want to become involved in the Camejo-Reid campaign.

— I want to join the SWP.

— Send more information, including a copy of the campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

— I want to help set up a meeting for a campaign speaker.

— Enclosed is my contribution of _____.

(Funds are urgently needed.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Occupation _____

Business Address _____

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

Committee Officers: 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.

LETTERS

Editors: The January issue of the *International Socialist Review* contained a comment I wrote in response to the 1976 resolution of the Socialist Workers party. The article contained a mistake.

The sentence reading "That there will be no serious attempts to unionize the military in the near future is almost certain" is incorrect. Thus far, three major unions have expressed an interest in organizing the military, the most serious bid to date coming from the American Federation of Government Employees.

AFGE, the nation's largest federal employee union, already represents 650,000 workers, including more than 390,000 Department of Defense employees. Final approval or disapproval for the organizing of soldiers will take place at the AFGE convention in August 1976.

It seems likely that the union will

approve soldier membership. Union President Clyde Webber spoke positively of "the mutual benefits of bringing military personnel into AFGE" in testimony before the Defense Manpower Commission on August 18, 1975. Recent legislation has linked federal civilian and military pay increases, and AFGE has sought to mobilize soldiers in 1974 and 1975 to pressure Congress for a full cost-of-living pay increase. According to Webber, soldiers reacted positively to these efforts.

If the organizing drive is approved, it will be a real battle to win union recognition. To even begin organizing, the union will have to overcome many restrictive, anti-free-speech policies aimed at dissident soldiers. A GI Fort Sill, Oklahoma

Editors: My comment is about the January *International Socialist Review's* story by Leon Trotsky, "A New Year's Discussion on Art." As one who fancies himself a poet, I particularly liked the picture of a future socialist society embedded, rather than merely adorned, by artistic crea-

tions.

Though Trotsky's ideas on art are particularly broad and open, one would never get that impression from the caption accompanying the Renoir painting reproduced with the article. The caption quotes the journalist of the story protesting that "... the peasant will not understand this [impressionist] art!" The journalist is not attempting to justify censorship of impressionism but is instead attempting to put the painterly mode used in a historical context. Unfortunately, art in the deformed bureaucratic states had descended to such narrow-minded depths that an inexperienced reader might assume that this was Trotsky's voice chiming in with the regular Stalinist, philistine, horror-show chorus.

My point in brief: A better quote could have been used.

Otherwise, thanks for keeping Truth in the mails.

Albert Cassorla
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Editors: First of all I think I should introduce myself. I am a political

prisoner in Turkey. I am sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. Two years ago our jail sentences were reduced and as a result mine was reduced to twenty-four years. At the moment, in this prison there are forty-one political prisoners and two of us are women.

I have heard about your magazine *International Socialist Review*. From time to time we are able to read some excerpts from it in Turkish weeklies. But this is not enough for us. We need to learn more about the world Marxist movements and especially about the world communist parties. Here in prison it is rather difficult to get detailed information on these subjects by means of the daily newspapers, so we hope that you could help us by sending your issues regularly. A prisoner Turkey

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of 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 initials instead.

Continued from page 10

your failure to draw a revolutionary conclusion.

The conclusion that was reached was that "no political support ought to be given to any" of the three groups fighting in Angola. This is a clear case of abstention, or what Trotsky saw as being a characteristic of "sectarianism." Is the SWP, the well-known polemicist against sectarianism, itself taking a sectarian position?

Does the question have to be one of political support or of no support whatsoever? Are the three groups in fact equally unsupportable as you have stated? My answer is no to both of these questions.

There is an alternative to "political" support. It was used by the SWP during the Second World War; this is the concept of "military" support. While not politically supporting the USSR's Stalinism, the SWP called for the "military" defense of the USSR. Why not extend this concept to the MPLA?

Your article stated: "The workers and their allies need to break from each of these groups and form a party of their own based on a revolutionary working-class program."

If this program is one of "permanent revolution," I surely agree with this statement. However, if the MPLA is allowed to be smashed, there will be little chance of building a Trotskyist party of "permanent revolution" in Angola.

Rodney D. Estvan
Chicago, Illinois

Two points

Here is four dollars to continue my subscription for another six months. I find information in the *Militant* I can't find elsewhere, but I have two criticisms.

First, every article, after presenting the facts and differing opinions and posing the question of what is to be done, gives the same answer—a workers party, whose elected officials will truly represent working people.

For those of us who have no faith in the electoral system and see it as *inherently* corrupting, it ruins a good paper to read your line all the time. I know what the Socialist Workers party position is, and as a dissenter to that position I would still like to get news unbiased by a "line."

My second criticism is simply that you do not cover gay oppression and legal/political struggles (since I have been reading the paper). Most gays are workers and are doubly oppressed by heterosexist prejudice (or triply, if they are women).

Please take these criticisms in the constructive sense in which they are intended.

Betsy Firestar
Los Angeles, California

Another point

Please send me a one-year subscription. The reason I want it is that I think you have a reasonable view of the world, but I do wish you would cover women's issues more thoroughly.

R.O.
Madison, Ohio

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

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Shanker's divisive game

Teachers in New York have been harder hit than most by the drastic nationwide cut in funds for education.

In general, where teachers unions—both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers—have conducted determined strikes, school boards and local governments have been forced to slow down their attacks. In some cases teachers have won temporary victories, gained new allies among parent organizations, student groups, and the union movement, and are in a better position than before to campaign for school improvement and more teacher jobs. Not so in New York.

In New York City the United Federation of Teachers conducted a five-day strike soon after schools opened last fall. The strike ended on the promise of a contract that granted nothing beyond the dictates of the school board and was then promptly discarded by the board and the city administration. This settlement was accepted on the recommendation of UFT President Albert Shanker, who is also president of the AFT nationally.

Meantime, Shanker and others in the New York City unions continue their political support to New York's Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey. They hope for favors from these politicians that will benefit teachers, the school system, and other city workers. It hasn't happened.

Shanker reported on January 11 that "New York teachers have had the roughest year in their history. There have been more strikes than ever, with huge fines and penalties. Large numbers of teachers have been thrown in jail for striking. Teacher unemployment and layoffs are high. School districts across the state are faced with default, and politicians are proposing a statewide wage freeze. There are proposals to reduce state aid to education in the current legislative session. If this should happen, more than 15,000 teachers outside of New York City would face layoffs next September. Class sizes would soar, school conditions further deteriorate. Teachers in New York

City are already facing these disasters daily. . . ."

Under these circumstances it would seem reasonable if Shanker and other officials of New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) tried to mobilize their 217,000 members to unseat the Republicans and Democrats who are undermining public schools and attacking teachers.

It would seem reasonable if the teacher leaders took the lead in organizing a political party of working people to dislodge the two parties of the bankers and industrialists.

It would seem reasonable if they demanded of the federal government that the \$100 billion annual military budget be used for schools and other useful purposes.

Such an effort, of course, would seek support from Black and other minority communities, parent associations, all teacher unions, and the entire labor movement. But all this is alien to Shanker and other self-serving bureaucrats of his kind.

He is more worried about holding organizational and political control of New York teachers than trying to build a broad movement in defense of public education and teacher rights. His present number one project is a move to pull NYSUT out of the National Education Association and retain all 760 NYSUT locals as AFT and AFL-CIO affiliates. In this way, Shanker hopes to keep for his own purposes the \$5 million yearly dues that NYSUT currently pays to the NEA.

Most likely the vote on NEA disaffiliation, conducted by the Shanker-controlled executive board of NYSUT, will split that organization.

The AFT has 450,000 members nationally; the NEA has 1.7 million. They represent a two-million-member force that can defend public education and teachers, but only if they break their ties with the Democratic and Republican parties in the course of their struggles for survival. Shanker's game is to block any such development at all costs.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



On getting into Angola

This week Black journalists denude the fears and fancies of the racist mind.

"A vision": "I fell into a deep sleep and a vision came to me. . . ."

"First thing they did was called a campfire meeting to decide on a name to call the enemy; something like 'jap, kraut, gook, chink, injun, spic, guinea, etc.' One young white soldier thought that he had it. 'How about nigger,' he said. The majority voted against it after they saw the trouble it caused when one Black soldier in the group was thrown in the stockade, charged with kicking the young soldier's teeth in. So they all decided to stick with 'golas.'"—Ray Jenkins, writing in the January 3 *Carolina Times*.

"Primitive": "A tremendous number of words have been written and spoken in recent weeks about the tragic civil war in Angola. Some 'experts' have even said that a war was inevitable after the Portuguese pulled out because of the 'primitive' nature of the natives. . . ."

"As for the allegation that the people of Angola are somehow primitive because they are engaged in a civil war, anyone making this charge apparently forgets that this country fought a bloody four-year civil war that left over one million persons dead, more than in any other war in the nation's history."—January 6 editorial in the *Philadelphia Tribune*.

"Neglect": "After years of neglect so benign that it amounted to no policy, here we have President Gerald Ford making a major address to an audience of farmers who hardly know where Angola is on the map and calling for its right to self government without outside interference. Meanwhile, the lights are burning far into the night in the Bureau of African Affairs at the State Department and Henry Kissinger is hurriedly adjusting his schedule to hold talks with African diplomats whose names he has had to learn

hastily."—Ethel Payne, in a column in the January 17 *Florida Courier*.

"Angolan brides": "Think for a minute what the parents of a GI from Muskego will say when their son, Johnny, writes and tells them he is bringing home a bride from Angola.

"Is she Portuguese?" the parents would hopefully ask.

"Well, yes," the son would answer, 'only she has never lived in Portugal.'

"Is her father a government official or in business?"

"Well, sort of."

"What do you mean sort of?"

"You see, Dad, her father was the chief in the village up in the jungle near where our unit was stationed."—Edward Blackwell in the January 5 *Milwaukee Journal*.

"Black-white relations": "Well, we have a report from Sen. Joseph Bidden, D-Del., on the closed-door briefing. Here is what he told the press: 'The State Department and the CIA have been urging us not to cut off economic and military aid to Angola. They believe a Soviet-dominated government in Angola would exacerbate black-white relations. . . .'

"It is not necessary to dwell at length on the barbarity of South African society which is governed by those who publicly vow to fight to the death to maintain total white supremacy. . . ."

"The Union of South Africa has troops in Angola. They are fighting against penetration by the Soviets and the rationale for their action is clear. They too fear that a Soviet dominated government in Angola might threaten the 'black-white situation' in South Africa."—Louis Martin, in a column in the December 27 *Florida Courier*, entitled "A snake raises its head in Angola."

Women in Revolt

Fasten your chastity belts

Fasten your chastity belts—the pope has just blessed us with another declaration on sexual morality. This time it's called the "Declaration on Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics."

"In the present period, the corruption of morals has increased, and one of the most serious indications of this corruption is the unbridled exaltation of sex," warns the document.

So serious, in fact, that it is "infecting the general mentality." This infection has reached epidemic proportions, the declaration asserts, with respect to three practices: premarital sex, homosexuality, and masturbation.

These are contrary to morality—as the pope sees fit to dictate it—because "every genital act must be within the framework of marriage." Therefore, masturbation is "a grave moral disorder," while homosexuality is "a serious depravity."

As for premarital sex, the document says, "Experience teaches us that love must find its safeguard in the stability of marriage if sexual intercourse is truly to respond to the requirements

of its own finality and to those of human dignity. These requirements call for a conjugal contract sanctioned and guaranteed by society."

Translated into terms we mortals can understand, sex is supposed to end in procreation, not pleasure.

It's outrageous enough that the Catholic church should tell us how to run our private lives, but even more disgusting to do so in the name of "morality" and "human dignity." For if there is any institution in capitalist society that has helped destroy human dignity through repressive sexual codes, it is the Catholic church. The church has taught that sex is dirty, that abortion and birth control are sinful, and that men by nature are dominant and women passive. To violate these codes, the high priests say, is to violate the sanctity of that God-given institution, the family.

The reactionary ideology of the church has been used for centuries to help reinforce the family system, portraying it as the institution that "safeguards love." But in reality, the roots of the nuclear family lie in the economic needs of class society, a

Cindy Jaquith



society based on private profit. Instead of organizing society so that the needs of human beings are met as the social responsibility of all, the crushing burden of feeding, clothing, and caring for people is thrust upon individual family units.

Women are set in the role of bearing and raising children, whether they want to have children or not. Sexual repression is aimed especially at women, instilling in them a sense of guilt and fear toward their own sexuality.

But the impact of the women's liberation movement and the struggle for gay liberation has shaken up medieval myths and taboos about sex and the family. Today, traditional "morality" is undergoing a profound questioning in every layer of society, including among Catholics.

This questioning ultimately points to the real source of depravity and corruption in this society, the profit system. Only when society is transformed into a socialist system will human relationships be able to develop free of the distortions and repressions of capitalism.

iLa Raza en Acción!

New plot by California growers

LOS ANGELES—California's growers are trying to cut down the state's new agricultural Labor Relations Act. Funding for the farm labor law, which has given *campesinos* the right to hold union representation elections for the first time, is due to run out February 1. Without funding, the farm labor board will no longer be able to conduct elections on the ranches.

The law went into effect last August 28 with only a \$1.5 million appropriation. Soon after, a \$1.2 million loan had to be floated to conduct an unexpected volume of balloting as tens of thousands of farm workers began demanding elections to determine which union they wanted to represent them in contract negotiations with growers.

At the time, growers went along with the legislation, engineered by Gov. Edmund Brown, thinking they had found a way to curtail strikes led by the United Farm Workers union. They thought the elections could be manipulated to bring official certification and respectability to the sweetheart contracts they had signed with the Teamsters.

But it didn't happen that way. Despite massive

grower fraud, intimidation, and corruption, when given the chance to cast secret ballots, California farm workers have overwhelmingly chosen the UFW to represent them.

Faced with the prospect of the elections going completely sour on them, *rancheros* are trying to prevent renewed funding of the farm labor board with a little help from their friends in the state legislature. A proposal by Governor Brown for \$3.8 million of temporary funding now before the legislature is in danger of not passing. A two-thirds majority is needed for approval, and a coalition of Republican and rural Democratic grower flunkies says it has the necessary "nay" votes to block it.

A leader of the opposition, Sen. Clare Berryhill, a Republican grape grower, says they might vote for the appropriation if a few amendments are made. One amendment would extend the waiting period between the time when the workers file for an election and the voting from one week to three weeks. In an industry as fluid as agriculture, a crop can be harvested and all the workers gone in three weeks.

Miguel Pendás



Growers also demand that they not be liable for back wages for failing to bargain in good faith.

Those are bad enough, but the real cripple is the grower amendment that invokes the sacred right of "private property" to deny union organizers access to the fields even during nonworking hours to talk to the field hands and collect signatures on election petitions.

The bipartisan attempt to cheat *campesinos* illustrates once again that it is impossible for farm workers to rely on either Democratic or Republican politicians to assure even their most elementary rights. Governor Brown has given the public impression that he is opposed to any compromises with growers to refund the labor board. But a Democratic leader of the opposition, Assemblyman John Thurman, has stated that in private discussions the governor "gave us hope of discussing it further."

Farm worker supporters are organizing protest actions demanding, "Fund the board!" Mobilizing the movement is the only way to prevent the hard-won victories from going down the drain.

Their Government

Big Brother meets the press

WASHINGTON—Having digested your morning newspaper, have you ever been left with the unpleasant feeling that you were just the target of some not-so-subtle government propaganda?

Well, you were probably right. According to testimony before congressional intelligence committees, the CIA maintains a worldwide news media network to carry out covert propaganda campaigns. This network is made up of journalist-agents, subsidized newspapers, radio stations, and international wire and news services.

There are two varieties of the reporter-spy. Some use their journalist entrée exclusively as a cover. They devote all their time to spying, without ever writing a word that sees the printed page. Others, according to the House committee report, are "directed to insert agency-composed 'news' articles into foreign publications and wire services."

One of the largest propaganda efforts was directed at Chile's Salvador Allende beginning in 1970. Prior to Allende's election as president, the

Forty Committee of the U.S. National Security Council gave the go-ahead for one of the CIA's fabricated news operations.

The CIA began shelling out money to news services and radio stations. Within a month, eighteen foreign journalists arrived in Santiago, all directly or indirectly under control of the CIA. More than \$1.5 million was funneled to the Santiago anti-Allende newspaper *El Mercurio* during the CIA campaign.

Another CIA operation involved intercepting newspapers sent out of China. Subscribers' copies of the papers would be held by cooperating post offices while CIA agents removed a story, replaced it with their version, and reprinted the entire paper. After a substitution at the post office, the phony issue would be mailed around the world.

In the early 1960s, the CIA used its resources to deepen the rift between China and the Soviet Union. Posing as Chinese radio stations, CIA-controlled stations in Taiwan and elsewhere in Asia

would broadcast attacks on Soviet leaders.

One peripheral problem for the disrupters is that the U.S. news media—always hungry for anticommunist propaganda—often picked up the CIA lies. This is welcomed gravy as long as it only affects the thinking of the American public. But how are top government officials to differentiate between legitimate news items and CIA plants?

To solve this, the CIA set up a top-secret coordinating committee with the State Department and the U.S. Information Agency. The committee meets before each major covert slander campaign so that a few of the top "policy makers" will know what is CIA fabrication and what is just plain old distorted news.

The CIA has a regulation barring propaganda operations that risk influencing American public opinion. Denying that any of their actions violate that rule, one former top CIA official mused, "We're preventing suppression of truth."

With truth like that, who needs lies?

Nancy Cole



Hoover's vendetta against Antioch College

By Arnold Weissberg

Not satisfied with Cointelpro plots against individual students and professors, or against campus organizations, the FBI targeted an entire college for a "disruption" plot. This and other new disclosures are contained in FBI documents recently made public by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The target was Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Student activists at Antioch had aroused the ire of the FBI watchdogs in Cincinnati.

The newly available documents tell the story of the FBI war on Antioch. They also provide details on FBI recruiting of campus informers, plotting of illegal break-ins, framing of activists on marijuana charges, and other activities designed to "disrupt and neutralize" movements protesting government policies.

An FBI memo of June 1968 outlined some of the reasons for picking on Antioch. The college was a "center for New Left activity."

The Cincinnati FBI office explained that such groups as the Socialist Workers party, the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, and "Black Power" had adherents on the campus. There was no charge that any of these groups had engaged in any illegal activity. "In . . . protest-type demonstrations of a national character," the memo noted, "Antioch and Yellow Springs have been represented by numbers exceeding their enrollment and population."

The Cincinnati office recommended that the FBI check on the "achievement" of thirty to forty radicals who had left the school. If their level of achievement was "low," this information would be fed to a friendly reporter on a Cincinnati paper.

"Low achievement," to the FBI mind, meant discrediting the school. The FBI wanted to put the Antioch administration on the spot and force it to "curtail the activities of those students . . . engaging in anti-social activity, protest demonstrations, and affiliation with subversive groups."

Drug frame-ups

Of particular interest to many in the radical movement is a memo dated July 1968, addressed to all FBI offices from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover:

"Since the use of marijuana . . . is widespread among members of the New Left, you should be alert to opportunities to have them arrested by local authorities on drug charges. Any information concerning the fact that individuals have marijuana . . . should be immediately furnished to local authorities and they should be encouraged to take action."

The FBI also encouraged cracking down on antiwar GI coffeehouses by passing along information about drug use to local cops.

Exposure of this FBI policy underscores the importance of political activists not leaving themselves open to this kind of victimization by using illegal drugs. The government will use all the means at its disposal to silence political opposition, and locking up radicals on drug charges is one way they do it.

'Bombings & assassinations'

The FBI portrayed the Black struggle and the student antiwar movement as terrorist conspiracies to justify stepping up its repressive measures. In September 1970, an FBI memo declared:

"Terrorist violence is all around us and more has been threatened. . . Bombings, assassination of police



officers, kidnapping and torture murder are all part of the picture. These violence-oriented black and white savages are at war with the Government and the American people."

Hoover decided to escalate this "war" by setting up a vast network of campus informers. He ordered FBI offices around the country to "immediately institute an aggressive policy of developing new productive informants who can infiltrate the ranks of terrorist organizations, their collectives, communes and staffs of their underground newspapers."

It is clear now that these campus spies infiltrated groups that had nothing whatever to do with terrorism, such as organizations that opposed the war in Vietnam, Black student groups, and socialist organizations. In fact, we now know, where there was terrorism and violence—either against government institutions or against radicals—the odds are that the FBI was involved in it.

The FBI also had another approach to harassing campus activists. The plan was to encourage conservative state legislators to crack down on the state campuses.

In 1969, for example, Hoover approved a plot devised by the Newark FBI office to anonymously send a copy of a newspaper called *Screw*, which had been distributed on a state campus, to a state senator. Accompanying the magazine would be a phony letter, signed by "A Concerned Student," asking the senator to do something about the distribution of "filth."

In addition, the FBI letter called to the senator's attention a short story, which had been published in *Evergreen Review*, that some professors of literature had distributed to their classes at Paterson State College.

The FBI memo informed Hoover that the story contained "79 obscene terms referring to incest, sexuality and biology, four dozen 'cuss' words and a dozen instances of taking the Lord's name in vain."

The Newark FBI office believed the operation would give the bureau "an opportunity . . . to focus lawmakers [sic] attention on the depraved nature of the type of student now infesting

campus activities as exemplified by New Left adherents."

Just what connection *Screw*, not to mention the short story, had with the "New Left" was not explained.

A similar episode occurred in 1968 when the San Antonio FBI office devised a plan to send a copy of a newspaper article on communal living at the University of Texas to several state officials, along with an anonymous cover letter.

'Bleeding hearts'

Another group of documents indicates the FBI's concern with covering up the truth about the brutal police attacks on demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago.

In a memo dated August 28, 1968, Hoover noted, "Once again, the liberal press and the bleeding hearts and the forces on the left are taking advantage of the situation in Chicago . . . to attack the police and organized law enforcement agencies."

The bureau chief never contradicted any of the well-documented charges against the Chicago cops, nor did he indicate any interest in investigating violations of the civil rights of the demonstrators. Rather, he ordered his

agents to "consider measures by which cooperative news media may be used to counteract these allegations" of police brutality.

Hundreds of FBI documents released earlier have revealed the government's role in attempting to sabotage the antiwar movement. This latest batch contains still more examples of FBI dirty tricks aimed at disrupting the movement.

In 1965, the San Francisco FBI asked for and received authorization to distribute an article from the San Francisco *Jewish Community Bulletin* entitled "'Withdrawal Not the Answer,' A Rabbi Writes from Vietnam." The scheme included mailing the article to all active members of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee "who have no other subversive organizational affiliations."

The supersleuths hoped that the article, which opposed the "unilateral withdrawal" of U.S. troops, might convince the recipients to change their minds about the war.

'Black bag' jobs

Another memo documents illegal break-ins, or "black bag" jobs, by the FBI. Marked "Do Not File," the memo casually notes that the bureau "do[es] not obtain authorization for 'black bag' jobs from outside. . . . Such a technique involves trespass and is clearly illegal; therefore, it would be impossible to obtain any legal sanction for it."

Because the "black bag" jobs were so valuable to the FBI, the memo said, they were going to be continued.

Hoover, however, wrote at the bottom that "no more such techniques must be used."

An FBI report to the Senate Intelligence Committee last September admitted that the FBI had carried out 238 break-ins between 1942 and 1968. Several were carried out after Hoover ostensibly ordered a halt to them.

The documents released so far represent only a tiny part of the total number the committee received from the FBI. Moreover, the FBI holds still more that it did not turn over.

The major source of documentary information about Cointelpro has been the suit against the FBI and other federal agencies by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Although these files reveal only a small part of the FBI's criminal conspiracies, they help to fill in the picture of systematic violations of civil liberties by both Democratic and Republican administrations against individuals and organizations challenging their policies.



Student participation in mass antiwar demonstrations of '60s and '70s enraged FBI

Is Hayden campaign 'realistic'?

By Nelson Blackstock

LOS ANGELES—The scene was the posh clubhouse of the Villa del Mar apartments. That's where the Marina Democrats meet on the second Wednesday of the month.

The Villa del Mar apartments, like others in the Marina area, sit on a narrow strip of land jutting into the Pacific Ocean west of Los Angeles. Downstairs there's a place to park your boat.

A "no host bar" opens a half hour before the meeting. Some of the stylishly attired Marina Democrats were still sipping their wine as the meeting began.

"This is a CDC club," the elegant chairwoman explained for the benefit of newcomers. The CDC is the California Democratic Coalition, an alliance of liberal Democratic clubs. "We're committed to a strong Democratic party in L.A."

The CDC has had some problems in recent years. Unfortunately, there were "polarized opinions on the war" that "split up the CDC," she said.

"But there were still people who were interested in politics, and now we are growing," the woman asserted.

Next, she introduced another club member, a doctor, who in turn introduced the evening's guest speaker—Tom Hayden. The 1960s student radical leader is now seeking the Democratic nomination to the U.S. Senate. He hoped to get the Marina Democrats' endorsement.

Two days earlier I had seen another candidate for the U.S. Senate speak—Omari Musa, the Socialist Workers party nominee. The place was Pasadena Community College, where Musa talked to more than 100 Black students in a series of Afro-American studies classes.

The socialists are also growing, and Musa was especially looking forward to meeting with the Pasadena students that day. The SWP was in the process of setting up a branch in that city—the scene of a confrontation between racists and probusing forces.

Before the first class began, a Musa supporter circulated among the students. He discovered that one was a longtime *Militant* subscriber. Another had bought a subscription from a socialist who had visited her house just the day before.

The subject of the Democratic party also came up during the Musa meeting. But nobody seemed concerned with building a strong Democratic party in Los Angeles or anyplace else.

Democratic party

Tom Hayden's campaign squarely poses the question of the relationship between the Democratic party and the struggle to change society.

Polls are repeatedly showing that Americans in record numbers are ceasing to identify themselves as Democrats. Yet on every campus where I saw Hayden speak, he called on students to register in that party.

But even some of his active supporters appear to have doubts about Hayden's decision to run as a Democrat. For example, Arlene Rubinstein, the Musa campaign coordinator at San Francisco State, reports that many of the Hayden campaign activists on that campus have some questions on this score.

At least one active Hayden supporter at the school, a Vietnam veteran, switched his allegiance to Musa last fall. A former Hayden activist in the Los Angeles area is now in the Young Socialist Alliance.

"Realistic" is the word that most frequently comes up in discussions with defenders of Hayden's Democratic party strategy.

Bill Ritter is Hayden's San Diego regional press coordinator. We talked



Tom Hayden's flight into capitalist politics serves to create illusions about Democratic party. Sign next to Hayden table gets across the message.



while waiting for Hayden to show up at a meeting at Grossmont College.

"This doesn't mean I'm embracing the Democratic party," Ritter insisted. "What we are after are the rank-and-file Democrats."

"Register Democrat," urged the big sign standing beside the Hayden table. Nearby was another table, where two young people—presumably Hayden supporters—were registering voters.

Ritter said that the Democratic party in Southern California was particularly open to "activists." Other Hayden backers voiced the opinion that the party throughout the state was unusually open to their participation.

But the "openness" of the Democratic party in California is not really out of the ordinary. It could hardly play the role it does if it barred the door to all but bona fide members of the ruling class.

The socialist view of the Democratic party begins with a basic premise: political parties in the modern world represent social classes. In the United States the capitalists have two parties—the Democratic and Republican. The working class has no mass party.

"Everytime they run, they win, and we lose" is the way Omari Musa put it during one of his talks in Pasadena.

At one of his meetings Tom Hayden said, "Of the two parties, the Democratic party is the most responsive to the forces of change." In a certain sense he was absolutely right.

The Democratic party is set up to act as both a magnet and a political graveyard for such forces. By drawing into the orbit of capitalist politics potential challengers of this economic and social system, the Democratic party has been remarkably effective in blocking the development of any truly independent mass political alternative.

Labor movement

Probably the clearest example of this process happened in the 1930s and 1940s. The American labor movement surged ahead in organizing powerful unions in basic industry. It threatened to also move forward on the political level by setting up its own party—a labor party.

Instead the misleaders of the labor

movement, including many "radicals" of the day, steered it into the Democratic party.

Omari Musa talked about something that happened more recently. "The Black movement in the 1960s had a powerful impact on this country," he said. "But almost an entire generation of Black leadership got sidetracked into the Democratic party—rather than breaking with capitalist politics by forming an independent political party, a Black party."

One hopeful sign, Musa noted, is that some Black activists are now beginning to take a second look at these Black officeholders. "They haven't been able to produce," he said. "Just look at these cities with Black mayors. Nothing happening."

At the same time, Musa pointed out, the employers' offensive against the wages and working conditions of American workers has made clear—clearer than it has been in many years—the need for the trade unions to quit supporting the bosses' parties and to form a labor party. "The policy of backing Democrats is not producing results."

And it never has. "It was the huge strike waves and the CIO movement that won unions and a higher standard of living," Musa said.

Any real gains for Black people, he explained, were the result of the protest of millions during the civil rights movement.

The key was *independent* action. By masses of people. Not walking into the ballot booth to elect Democrats trying to get into office through appeals to popular sentiments reflected in the actions.

Similarly, what was decisive in ending the war in Vietnam was the big demonstrations.

"It is realistic to run in the Democratic party," said Bruce Marcus, state campaign manager for Omari Musa. "It's realistic if your main aim is to get elected."

However, if you start from the proposition that capitalism has nothing left to offer but wars, human misery, and ecological destruction, then it's not very realistic at all.

The Hayden campaign tries to sell its candidate on his vision. He was

farsighted in opposing the war.

"It's necessary to be farsighted right now," Marcus said. "Few could see the possibility of a mass antiwar movement back in the mid-sixties. But the way ahead now is even less clear to most people."

Before any substantial progress can be made, Marcus asserted, working people will have to get out of the capitalist Democratic party.

"That is the cold truth of the matter," he added. "In drawing people looking for change into that party, Hayden is proving to be shortsighted. At least as far as the workers' interests are concerned."

As public sentiment moves to the left, it is likely that Democratic politicians using even more radical rhetoric will come along.

But the ground rules don't change. The Democratic party exists to maintain capitalism.

Nature of party

It's the nature of Democratic party politics to shape those who get involved in it in ways they may not expect. A future article will discuss some of the stands Hayden has been taking. For right now, it is instructive to look at how Hayden answered an interesting question at the Marina Democrats:

What Democratic presidential candidates would he not support? He only named one—George Wallace. But, he added, "I probably would not support 'Scoop' Jackson unless he changed on certain questions having to do with defense spending. I want to hear it from 'Scoop' Jackson, not from Jess Unruh."

If it's "realistic" to become a Democrat, it's also realistic to make any number of concessions in order to get yourself elected.

The Jesse Unruh Hayden mentioned is an old-time political boss in California. He heads cold-warrior Henry Jackson's campaign in the state.

Unruh hasn't endorsed Hayden yet. But last fall he had lunch with the candidate and attended one of his fund-raising parties. That made Hayden look like a more serious Democratic contender. At the same time it improved Unruh's image with some of the liberals and radicals supporting Hayden.

While Hayden's experience in the Democratic party has led him to rub shoulders with the likes of Unruh, Musa is doing something far more realistic with his campaign. He's building the socialist movement.

"We're going to be opening up our new campaign headquarters here soon," Musa told the Black students in Pasadena. "I urge you to come by."

"And when the campaign's over, we'll still be here. Fighting for jobs and to defend busing."



Militant/John Gray

Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, is campaigning for independent working-class politics.

End eight-week strike

Pitt. teachers debate

By Dan Rosenheim

PITTSBURGH—Pittsburgh teachers voted on January 26 to end their eight-week strike and return to work.

At a meeting of the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers, a new thirty-month contract was ratified by a vote of 1,486 to 657. The secret-ballot vote came after five and a half hours of discussion by the union membership.

The ratification meeting began on an optimistic note. PFT President Albert Fondy opened his explanation of the proposed contract by stating, "When this meeting is over, you will be fully satisfied and fully aware that you fully won this strike."

As the discussion went on, however, the mood of the meeting grew steadily less jubilant, and rank-and-file teachers put forward widely varying assessments of the new contract.

Salary gains

The new contract calls for salary increases averaging 25 percent over the two-and-a-half-year period. Salaries now range from \$8,700 to \$16,700. By March 1978 the range will be \$10,500 to \$20,300.

The salary package was generally seen by teachers as a substantial gain.

The opposition to ratification of the contract came from the many teachers who felt that significant improvements had not been made in other areas.

For example, the union had originally asked for fifty new reading teachers. Instead, the contract calls for one new full-time reading "diagnostician" and a guarantee that the currently employed reading teachers will not be laid off.

Even this guarantee, however, is

made "subject to the continued availability of federal funds for that purpose."

The section on reading teachers represents a setback both to the union and to the students.

Class-size limits

In much the same way, the provision limiting class sizes falls short of the union's original goal. Although the inclusion of average class-size limits in the contract for the first time is a step forward—Fondy called it "the major achievement of this settlement"—the figures themselves are significantly higher than the union had wanted. In addition, the wording in the contract would allow large variations in the size of individual classes so long as certain averages are maintained.

Because of provisions like these, the initial reaction of some parent leaders—who had supported the strike as a fight for better schools—was one of disappointment and disapproval.

Probably the most serious setback for the union is the loss of the no-layoffs provision that had been in the previous contract. In its place, the new contract calls for the school board to pay unemployment benefits to teachers laid off with more than two years' seniority.

This is little consolation to the teachers most likely to be laid off—those with less than two years' seniority.

'I don't call that unity'

One teacher from Reizenstein Middle School responded: "When he was in town to address our meeting last week, Albert Shanker [president of the American Federation of Teachers] spoke about staying united until the end. I'm afraid we're going to lose 200 teachers, and I don't call that unity."

Another teacher said, "I've been trying to recruit people to the union on the basis of job security. Now we can't guarantee that. I feel we're selling people down the river and giving the union a black eye. We've gone for the money and given up on all the other demands."

Fondy responded by saying, "We cannot guarantee, I'm sorry to say, every teacher's job. There are teachers laid off all around the country. There is no union that can really guarantee everyone a job."

Union faced severe attacks

Fondy also pointed to the severe attacks aimed at the union during the strike. These included an antiunion propaganda campaign by the city administration and the mass media, an injunction against the union, fines levied against both the union and individual members, and the threat of arrests and imprisonment of union officials.

"Under the circumstances," he said, "we have achieved all that is possible."

By Bill O'Kain

ATLANTA—On January 17, 5,000 angry Georgia teachers marched on the state capitol here to demand higher salaries and more money for education.

The march, organized by the Georgia Association of Educators (GAE), an affiliate of the National Education Association, was in response to budget cutbacks in educational programs and the elimination of a salary increase won in 1975.

The GAE organized its membership from around the state to participate in the march. Teachers came from as far away as Valdosta, Albany, and Savannah for the action.

The central demand of the demon-

new contract terms



Militant/Mark Zola

Picket line during recently concluded strike. Demands for smaller classes and more teachers won backing of parents, but these were weakest areas of settlement.

Fondy said that the \$100-a-day fines against each union member were being dropped, although fines totaling \$105,000 against the union will not be rescinded.

Despite the inability of the union to win a number of its demands, it is clear that the board of education fell short in its attempt to deal the union a crippling blow. The willingness of the PFT leadership to mobilize the ranks of the union—not only in daily picketing, but also in a series of demonstrations and mass indoor rallies—played an important role in maintaining unity and determination among the strikers.

It is also clear, however, that the board intends to continue its attacks on the union. In fact, as soon as the agreement was announced and ratified, school Supt. Jerry Olson stated that a substantial number of city school employees, including teachers, will lose their jobs "because of the cost of the contract settlement."

An ongoing struggle

Measured against other recent teachers' strikes, the Pittsburgh strike was reasonably successful. The settlement, with all its inadequacies, is better than what many teachers around the country have been forced to accept.

But Pittsburgh teachers, parents, and students still face an ongoing struggle to defend their schools, their jobs, and their standard of living. To score lasting victories, new methods are needed.

The struggle is a political one, and teachers need a political instrument.

They are up against antiunion laws, strikebreaking courts, and politicians who are cutting funds for social services while demagogically trying to blame public employees for rising taxes.

From the local school board to the

White House, this war on public employees and social services is the bipartisan policy of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Certainly teachers here cannot help noticing that not one elected official of either party supported their struggle. The Democrats and Republicans either lead the attack or stood silent in acquiescence.

To effectively challenge these bipartisan antilabor policies, working people need their own party, a labor party based on the trade unions. Such a party could help to organize mass action by the entire labor movement to win funds for schools and other social services instead of war.

It could fight to shift the tax burden off working people and onto the corporate profiteers.

It could call a halt to the use of strikebreaking injunctions and antilabor laws.

This fall, the Pittsburgh Board of Education—previously an appointed body—will be up for election for the first time. The present board members have shown their disregard for education, and there is no reason for teachers and their allies to support them—or any others of the same class allegiance.

Teachers could take the initiative in running working men and women for the school board, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties and supported by the organized labor movement, on a program to defend the schools.

Such a move toward independent labor political action could mark a big step forward in the fight for better schools. It could also set an example for working people across the country, who face the same problems as the Pittsburgh teachers and are also looking for new answers.

GAE President Ed Deaton told teachers that the reason Georgia students had scored so low on national standardized tests (8 percent below the national average) was because the per-pupil expenditure of funds in Georgia runs 25 percent behind the national average.

Other speakers at the rally included Terry Herndon, executive secretary of the NEA. His speech concentrated on the need for Georgia educators to build a large and strong organization to win their demands.

After the rally, hundreds of teachers went into the capitol to present letters from all over the state to the legislators, underlining their demands for better wages and funding.



Militant/Fred Stanton

Albert Fondy, president of Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers.

5,000 in Georgia march for school aid

Cutbacks, layoffs by Democrats cited

N.Y. AFSCME hears call for labor party

By Jim Little

NEW YORK—"Now I'm going to say a few words about the Democratic party national convention," said Victor Gotbaum, "and then Ray Markey can have equal time."

Gotbaum, the executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, was addressing a district council delegates' meeting on January 22.

Markey is a delegate from AFSCME Local 1930, the New York library workers, and a member of the Socialist Workers party.

After the report and Markey's response, it was obvious why Gotbaum had expected opposition from the socialist.

Gotbaum first reported on the state of the union.

He asserted that other city employees—police, fire fighters, teachers, and sanitation workers—had been harder hit by layoffs than AFSCME. According to Gotbaum, other unions had lost 10 to 20 percent of their members, but District Council 37 had suffered "only" a 3 percent loss of permanent employees.

In Gotbaum's opinion, "overall this has been a good year for D.C. 37, but the perspectives for the year ahead are perilous." His only solution to the impending attacks is a publicity campaign against patronage jobs in the city administration.

Kicking off this campaign in the January 16 issue of *Public Employee Press*, the district council's newspaper, Gotbaum had written:

"Yes, I am very much aware that the main culprit is my party, the Democratic Party; I want to see the Party cleansed of this disease of political patronage so that it can be a more effective political instrument in behalf of our membership and all other New Yorkers."

Presumably in the spirit of this cleansing operation, Gotbaum proposed that District Council 37 send fifteen delegates to the Democratic party convention.

He said all the contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

GOTBAUM: 'Cleanse Democratic party so it can be effective political instrument for N.Y. workers.'

had "supported" New York in the budget crisis, except for Jimmy Carter and George Wallace. Of the two, Gotbaum said that Wallace was the serious danger. He said AFSCME's delegates would block with those of the auto workers and the electrical workers to "stop Wallace."

Gotbaum offered little positive motivation for any of the candidates and said the D.C. 37 delegates would not be committed to any of them ahead of time.

The only other speaker on this topic was Ray Markey. He strongly disagreed with any union support to Democratic party candidates, citing

the antilabor actions of Democrats elected with AFSCME support.

"When we voted to endorse all these members of the city council," Markey said, "I voted no. I voted against every single one of them."

"And when we endorsed [Abraham] Beame for Mayor and Hugh Carey for governor, I voted no. I think I was almost alone in voting no."

"Now I can say that I feel proud to have done that."

Markey described the severe cutbacks that have hit the library workers and others, adding:

"Every time we turned to these politicians and asked for support, asked for their help, we were told 'No.'"

"'No—you should accept a wage freeze. No—you should accept wage cuts.'"

Markey continued: "If we printed in *Public Employee Press* a statement from each one of these people that we endorsed, showing what they actually said about the New York City crisis, it would be a scandal, a scandal! There wasn't a politician in sight that supported us."

"What we need should be obvious by now," Markey said. "We need to run our own candidates, candidates that come out of the union movement. We need an independent labor party."

At this there was scattered applause. Some delegates and observers at the meeting nodded their heads in agreement. Not many, but a few.

Even this modest expression of support for a break with the Democrats was something new in the district council where Markey has on many occasions been alone in opposing endorsement of capitalist candidates.

Markey went on to say he agreed with Gotbaum that AFSCME should unite with the auto workers, electrical workers, and other unions for political action. "But," he said, "we should get together to run our own candidates."

"If we elect candidates from our own ranks," he said, "whether it be Victor Gotbaum, or the president of a union local, or one of the rank-and-file members, we will know they won't be down there voting to have us fired."



Militant/Walter Lippmann

MARKEY: 'Unions should run our own candidates who won't lay us off or cut our wages.'

They won't be down there voting to cut our wages."

Markey ended by saying that there are candidates in 1976 who stand for this perspective of independent labor political action. He urged union members to support the Socialist Workers party presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

The delegates' meeting was larger than usual, even though temperatures were below freezing that night. The turnout probably reflected the fear of union members that an even colder winter is on the way as New York's Democratic administration prepares another round of cutbacks and layoffs.

Columbia clericals win right to vote for union

By Ruth Cheney

NEW YORK—Women workers at Columbia University are jubilant at a January 16 order by the National Labor Relations Board directing the university to hold a union recognition election within thirty days.

The NLRB order, covering nearly 1,000 workers, climaxes an organizing drive that began in 1972. The drive has

Ruth Cheney is a clerical worker at Columbia University and an activist in the union organizing committee.

been spearheaded by feminists who realized that the affirmative-action plan they forced Columbia to adopt in 1971 was not sufficient to protect their interests as women and as workers.

Fully 90 percent of Columbia's non-unionized work force is female. Nearly all are in low-paid, dead-end, boring jobs providing clerical services and generally catering to the needs of the university administration and the distinguished, 99 percent-male faculty.

Women active in the organizing committee believe a union is necessary for them to achieve recognition as people whose work is vital to the functioning of the university.

If we win the election, wages and benefits will be the primary demands.

The current starting salary is only \$115 a week.

District 65, Distributive Workers of America, has supported the organizing drive since it began. The union has opened a new "university division" to oversee organizing drives on a number of campuses.

District 65 organizers say the union is "going all out to win the Columbia election." In addition, District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, has pledged full support to the election campaign. District 1199 represents 400 library workers at Columbia.

The District 1199 members recently won a new contract after eight months of negotiations. They will receive a 13 percent pay increase over eighteen months, and the university will increase its payments to the union benefit plan.

One of the most important demands of Columbia clerical workers, if we get a turn at the bargaining table, will be for increases in minimum starting pay. Nonunion workers now receive twenty to thirty dollars less per week than those represented by District 1199.

We will also seek changes in the job-grading system so that jobs can be reclassified through the union. Now the only way a worker can gain

reclassification is through the personnel office or their own supervisor—the same people who gave them a low job classification to start with.

When the staff at Barnard College was organized into District 65, more than half were reclassified and consequently got raises of twenty to forty dollars a week—in addition to contractual raises.

With a union, we will no longer be dependent on the university administration and our supervisors for job security. A strong union can prevent arbitrary layoffs and firings and provide guaranteed procedures for workers' grievances.

The administration has tried to undercut the organizing drive by granting improvements in benefits and 10 percent raises last July—the best Columbia workers have ever seen. The credit for these gains should, of course, go to the union, as many workers realize.

The biggest obstacle to union recognition has been Columbia's stalling tactics in the procedures for gaining an NLRB election.

District 65 filed the required pledge cards with the NLRB and requested an election last April. Columbia protested that we did not have an "appropriate"

bargaining unit. Then the NLRB called hearings on the dispute. Then the transcript of the hearing had to be taken to Washington because Columbia insisted that the national board make the ruling.

It took that body more than five months to decide whether clericals working ten hours or more a week could vote in the election. Because of the high turnover in the clerical work force, women on the organizing committee had to continuously sign up more co-workers on NLRB pledge cards during the entire period to be certain of having a majority when the election was called.

The NLRB finally ruled that twenty hours' work would be required to vote in the election, but we hope to add the ten-hour workers to our union later.

As soon as the organizing committee got the news about the NLRB decision, we leafleted the entire campus announcing the election.

The organizing campaign has gone on so long that many of the workers who were activists at the beginning had given up hope that an election would ever take place. But now the mood is one of confidence that a majority of the votes will be cast for the union.

Community debates strategy to fight cuts

By Flax Hermes

*Have it our way, we want to read;
Have it our way, we have minds to feed;
Leave our tables, leave our books.
Or we will grow up as schnooks.*

NEW YORK—A column of twenty students from the Children's Free School marched down Broadway singing their newly composed song (to the tune of Burger King's "Have it your way"). Their parent-teacher, Ruthann Miller, who is also the Socialist Workers party candidate for New York State Assembly from Manhattan's Seventieth District, had brought her entire Friday afternoon class to the Columbia branch of the New York Public Library system to see for themselves what was happening.

Community residents had started a sit-in the previous night to make sure the library wouldn't be shut January 17, as ordered by the library board of trustees the previous Monday. Citing lack of funds, the trustees ordered eight New York City branch libraries to lock their doors, pack up their books, and lay off their workers (or, if the branch library workers have high seniority, transfer them to another library and lay off workers there).

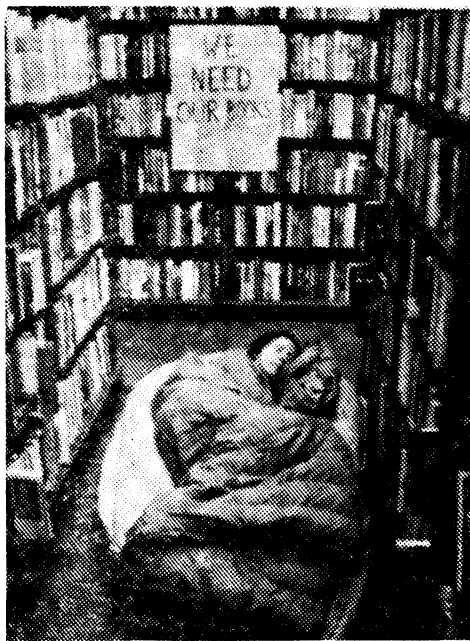
The closing of the library has outraged the community, and support for the sit-in is widespread. In the past few days there have been strategy meetings of 150 people crammed into the stacks. Each evening 10 to 15 people bring out the donated mattresses and bed down for the night or settle in with a big enough pile of whodunits to last until dawn. Poetry readings, lectures, and a slide show on Mozambique all help the hours pass productively. During the day the library is open for business pretty much as usual.

Every single politician who has said anything about the sit-in has said

something favorable, and a number of aides from the offices of elected officials and elected district leaders have been sitting in at the library.

But what to do next is the big question, and the debates over strategy have been important not just for the survival of this library but for the fight against the cutbacks in New York as a whole. Three issues are under debate: where the money to run the libraries should come from, who should staff the libraries, and who represents our interests in this fight.

The issue of where the money can be found to run the libraries is hotly debated. The Democratic party officials have done everything they can to confuse the issue. Some say it's the library trustees' responsibility to come up with money for the libraries. Others say it's the city's responsibility to finance the libraries, but since the city has no money we'd be wasting our time blaming them.



Library users slept in to make sure it stayed open.

All the politicians agree that the community should come up with some alternate way to fund the libraries, such as getting donations from businesses, forming a community corporation, or taxing library users a dollar or two. All of the elected officials, however, oppose the suggestions of Ruthann Miller.

For example, at a meeting called by the politicians to "hear the views of the community," Miller explained that our tax money should be used for our needs and that the money to reopen the libraries would be available if the city stopped sending money to Washington for its war budget. Her ideas received the biggest applause of the day. State Sen. Franz Leichter angrily retorted that it is a "sterile and unrealistic attitude to rail against where the money goes."

The second issue, who should staff the libraries, has been a confusing one primarily because of the default by the New York City unions, which have allowed tens of thousands of workers to be fired without putting up a fight. So when the proposal is made to run the library with volunteer workers, it sounds to many like a good way to save money. Or when Marie Runyon, the present assemblywoman from the Seventieth District, suggests laying off provisional city workers to provide additional funds, people seriously consider the idea.

But as Ruthann Miller pointed out, these are union-busting proposals and part of the strategy that is being used to pit worker against worker, drive thousands out of work, and lower the level of social services throughout the city. As another protester put it, "If we agree to volunteer librarians, why not volunteer firemen, volunteer sanitationmen, volunteer hospitals? Has anyone ever heard of such a thing as volunteer politicians?"

Several members of Local 1930 of the



Militant/Flax Hermes

SWP's RUTHANN MILLER: 'Take money needed for library out of war budget.'

library workers union have been at the sit-in and community meetings. They point out that already more than 500 library workers have been laid off or lost through attrition, many others have been forced to take pay cuts, and that this is just the beginning. The trustees have announced that another eight branches will be closed by July and an additional seventeen branch libraries are scheduled to have their doors permanently locked by July 1977.

The third question is who represents our interests in this fight. Miller says, "The problem is not a shortage of funds, but a shortage of politicians and political parties that represent our interests."

A growing number of people involved in this struggle are realizing that the proposals of the capitalist politicians would destroy the library system. They may not yet support the socialist alternative, but they are agreeing more and more with the ideas of the socialist campaign.

Colorado rightists on book-banning drive

By Chris Janos

DENVER—Textbook censorship has moved from the Appalachians to the Rocky Mountains. A few self-appointed censors have been working Denver-area school board meetings for the past year, trying to impose their reactionary views on entire communities. Recently, these forces had some success in Aurora, Colorado, a suburb of Denver.

The attempt to censor textbooks started last spring with sex education. Calling themselves Concerned Parents, the right-wingers put out the John Birch Society line verbatim: "Sex education, water fluoridation, and the Girl Scouts are all part of a Commu-

nist conspiracy. . . ."

During the summer, they tried to censor textbooks in Denver, on the grounds that telling the truth about the history and culture of Chicanos was "racist" against Anglos. In this effort, the "League of Housewives" worked in collusion with the Community Association for Neighborhood Schools (CANS), Denver affiliate of the national antibusing coalition, Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR).

The reactionaries lost that round after protests by Black and Chicano leaders. So they moved back to Aurora, where they found fertile ground.

The school board in Aurora was elected by 5 percent of the voters. Four

of its five members are ministers.

The rightists succeeded in getting the school board to ban eleven books, all of them optional reading in elective high school English classes. The banned works included poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti's *A Coney Island of the Mind* and *Starting from San Francisco*; Allen Ginsberg's *Kaddish and Other Poems*; Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*; and J.D. Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye*.

Among the reasons cited for banning a particular work were: "lewd," "depressing," "disenchanting," "bad language," "the movie was X-rated," "advocates the overthrow of the government," and "pernicious."

Several teachers have protested the antidemocratic action, announcing that they will continue using the banned books in their classes. The American Civil Liberties Union has publicly warned the school board that it intends to go to court to defend teachers' right to academic freedom.

A revealing sidelight to the book banning is that while the board spent two-and-a-half hours discussing censorship, it only found four minutes to talk about a new contract for the teachers. The 1,000 teachers represented by the Aurora Education Association have been working without a contract since September and the board is refusing to negotiate.

Judge orders end to Michigan 'red squad'

By Paula Reimers

LANSING, Mich.—Ingham County Circuit Court Judge Thomas Brown ruled January 16 that the Michigan State Police must immediately disband its "red squad" and ordered it to "cease and desist" from gathering any further data on "subversives."

The ruling came on a suit filed by Zolton Ferency of the Human Rights party.

Judge Brown declared Michigan's Subversive Activities Act, part of the legal basis for the squad, unconstitutional. The act was passed in 1950 as part of the McCarthyite witch-hunt.

In his decision, Brown stated that the law "acted to inhibit the lawful, constitutional and God-given rights of individuals." Even Attorney General Frank Kelley, whose office directs the activities of the state police, had conceded recently that the law was unconstitutional.

The red squad has collected files on the political and union activities of more than 50,000 Michigan citizens since its founding. In one example, the squad provided information to the Chrysler Corporation that resulted in the firing of workers organizing to redress grievances around health and safety conditions on the job.

The fate of the files is undecided. The judge's order directs that they be destroyed, but allows anyone who has evidence—"not theories or possibilities"—that his or her name is in the files to petition the court within sixty days for access to the file.

This aspect of the ruling would perpetuate the cover-up of the unconstitutional harassment of political dissidents and union militants by the state police.

Detroit attorneys Richard Soble and George Corsetti have declared they will appeal the order to destroy the files since it does not say how individuals

can find out whether files were kept on them.

Soble and Corsetti have filed a separate lawsuit on behalf of thirteen people charging that the Michigan and Detroit police departments illegally collected information on them and used it to ruin careers and reputations. If the files are immediately destroyed, valuable evidence will be lost forever.

The attorneys argue that the files should be destroyed, but not until everyone on whom a file was kept is notified and given a chance to see the file to decide whether to sue the state for damages.

Calendar

ATLANTA

HOW TO FIGHT THE CUTBACKS. A panel discussion. Panelists: Robert Beavers, president, Atlanta Junior College Student Government Association; Rev. Ted Clark, chairperson, Bedford-Pine Project; Bill O'Kain, SWP; and others. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610

BROOKLYN: DOWNTOWN

CUTBACKS: PRIVATE PROFITS BEFORE HUMAN NEEDS. Speakers: Andy Rose, *Militant* staff writer, Deborah Allen, day-care centers director; and others. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

BROOKLYN: EAST FLATBUSH

JAMAICA: THE MYTH OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Speaker: Lloyd D'Aguilar, former member, New Beginning Movement. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. Brooklyn College Student Union Bldg., Campus Row. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

ANGOLA: THE NEXT VIETNAM? Speaker: Malik Miah, author of *The U.S. Role in Southern Africa*, former YSA national chairperson. Tues., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 428 S. Wabash. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CLEVELAND

THE HISTORY OF LABOR THROUGH SONGS. Speaker: Dick Tussey, Amalgamated Meat Cutters international representative. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

PITTSBURGH

DO WOMEN NEED THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT? Speaker: Carla Hoag, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Fourteenth District; Carol McCutbush, president, South Hills NOW; and others. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

PORTLAND

THE CRISIS OF THE CITIES—A SOCIALIST ANSWER. Speaker: George Kontanis, SWP candidate for mayor. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

TWIN CITIES

A FORMER NEW LEFTER TALKS ABOUT THE RISE AND FALL OF THE NEW LEFT. Speaker: Glen Boatman, founding member of Honeywell Project and *Hundred Flowers* newspaper, SWP. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Angola

Continued from page 3

Some of these overtures are coming from MPLA leader Agostinho Neto himself, according to a dispatch from Kaufman January 22. "Dr. Neto and other leaders here have in their public statements developed an approach to the United States in which Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and his Angolan policies are depicted as advancing imperialist designs while the Senate and to some extent American companies that have holdings here are carefully praised."

Meanwhile, in the wake of the Organization of African Unity's failure to reach an agreement on Angola, there was widespread speculation in the world press that several African nations are themselves seeking to hammer out a "compromise solution."

A report in the January 24 *Economist* summarized the broad outlines of the proposal that has generated the most speculation. "This calls for the formation of a two-party coalition government," the report said, "the stronger partner in which would be the Popular Movement under its leader, Agostinho Neto, but which would include representatives of the third Angolan nationalist group, Unita. Mr. Holden Roberto's National Front, long an implacable enemy of the Popular Movement, now holds only a fringe of territory on the Zaïre border, and would therefore be excluded."

According to some press reports, Savimbi has done little to halt talk of such a proposal. In a January 21 dispatch from Huambo, Kamm quoted him as saying, "Neto is 60 and thinks he should be President. Let him be President. I am 40 and can wait."

Kamm said that another UNITA leader, Miguel Nzau Puna, stated the group's willingness to accept a "compromise in which the National Union would be acknowledged as the most popular force in Southern Angola," while the MPLA would remain the dominant force in Luanda, the capital.

Talk of such a deal has aroused interest in a number of other capitals as well. In the January 20 *Christian Science Monitor*, Robin Wright report-

ed from Johannesburg, "This latest peace initiative . . . will reportedly be one of the main subjects of talks between Dr. Kissinger and Soviet officials."

...CIA

Continued from page 32

the Militant Bookstore. There were at least seven foreigners and they remained for about two weeks."

What countries these "foreigners" were from, and what plots they supposedly hatched during their two-week confinement in the bookstore, were not included in the portion of the file released by the CIA.

Another document, labeled "Radical Activity on Campus of Utah State University," dated May 3, 1971, reported: "Source said on 27 April [deleted] The Utah State Campus is more politically active than most in the state. There is an active chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). A number of small groups also exist but are not as important."

Judging from the volume of material, the CIA was especially concerned with trips by socialists from other countries to the United States, and travels overseas by members of the SWP and YSA.

When SWP member Andrew Pulley toured the Far East in the summer of 1970, during his campaign for U.S. Congress, a barrage of "Eyes Only" cables flew back and forth between the CIA's headquarters and its stations in each of the countries Pulley was to visit.

A typical message reads: "Pulley DOB CA. 51. Formerly associated with GI's United Against the War in Vietnam. Was a member of Fort Jackson Eight (eight GI's accused of breach of peace for holding antiwar discussions on post). Member YSA. Member steering committee of New Mobe in 69. . . Pouching photos. . . Please keep HQs informed activities of subjects. Have queried (FBI) for additional data and will advise."

Reports on each of Pulley's meetings, along with clippings from the press on his tour, were sent to the CIA head-

quarters.

A similar treatment was accorded George Fyson, a leader of the Trotskyist group in New Zealand, when he came to this country to attend the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1969.

The CIA also focused a great deal of effort on keeping track of the antiwar movement, both in the United States and in other countries.

One document from 1968 reported that Peter Camejo was on his "way to Chicago where a world-wide student strike would be planned at a weekend conference of the Student Mobilization Committee."

When a number of American delegates attended a "World Assembly for Peace" in Paris in 1972, the CIA compiled detailed reports on their activities and prepared "personality sketches" on each member of the delegation.

A memo from the CIA to the FBI, dated February 17, 1972, begins, "A sensitive and reliable source reported on 15 February 1972 that Debby Bustin, national coordinator for the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). . . ." However, what follows is entirely deleted except for one sentence: "Bustin claims the SMC raised \$150,000 last year and has raised \$25,000 this year."

Throughout the files, there is not a scrap of evidence that the subjects of this surveillance were engaged in anything other than exercising their rights to travel, to speak out, and to organize politically to express their point of view.

There is nothing pointing to any illegal activity. Nor is there a single mention of, to use Colby's phrase, "hostile intelligence services."

The 141 pages of Operation Chaos files are only a tiny fraction of what still remains locked in the CIA's vaults. According to the Rockefeller report, there were 300,000 names in the Operation Chaos computer index. From among them, the CIA chose approximately 7,200 names of U.S. citizens for the development of separate "personality files."

Don't the American people have a right to know what's in *all* these secret files?

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

CALIFORNIA: Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center), Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Oakland-Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

Denver: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

Fort Collins: YSA, 325 E. Myrtle, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Dave Bouffard, 754 El Rancho, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., NE, Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfin-

der Books, 1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West-North: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

Chicago: City-wide SWP and YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0748.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401. **Indianapolis:** YSA, 3138 Perkins Ct. #C, Indianapolis, Ind. 46203. Tel: (317) 783-6447.

Muncie: YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Sunflower Apts. #23, Lawrence, Kans. 66044.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

Louisville: YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, P.O. Box 51923, New Orleans, La. 70151. Tel: (504) 899-7684. YSA, P.O. Box 1330 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Mark Cerasoulou, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, Militant Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Viewpoint/New England and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Militant Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 6404 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48202. Tel: (313) 873-8836.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Andy Robins or Dave Evans, Box 125 Union Desk, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA,

Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o UMKC Student Activities Office, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP and YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mary Ann Kellogg, 468 Madison Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 463-5330.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Doug Cooper, 105 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 273-7625.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York, Lower East Side: YSA and SWP, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227. Tel: (513) 272-2596.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Warren Duzak, 3523 Byron Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37205. Tel: (615) 269-9455.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Dorothy Taylor, 317 W. Evergreen, Apt. 2, San Antonio, Tex. 78212. Tel: (512) 223-9802.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

VIRGINIA: Richmond: SWP, c/o Michael Pennock, 2310 Park Ave., Richmond, Va. 23220.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E. St. NW, Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: Central Area: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

Seattle, City-wide: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Eau Claire: YSA, c/o Tom Brill, 221 1/2 Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701.

La Crosse: YSA, c/o Derek Norskogg, 4625 Mormon Coulee Rd., Box 95, La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.

Socialist campaign forum

WHY THE LOWER EAST SIDE NEEDS A SOCIALIST IN CONGRESS.

Speakers: Nicomedes Sánchez, resident and community activist in the Lower East Side; Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from 18th C.D. Sánchez will explain why he is campaigning for a socialist. Fri., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 221 East Second Street (between Ave. B and Ave. C). Donation: \$1. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

Sponsored by East Side Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. Chairperson: Katherine Sojourner; treasurer: Naomi Vega.

Classified

Announcing

2nd Term: Feb. 4-April 6

Registration: Jan. 30-Feb. 11, 4-8 PM

SCHOOL FOR MARXIST EDUCATION

186 W. 4th St., 7th fl., New York City

Marx's Capital / the Russian Revolution

History of U.S. Capitalism / Indochina

Puerto Rico / Portugal / Black History

Film / Women's & Gay Liberation

Philosophy / Science / NYC Crisis

What Is Socialism?

For info & catalogs, write:

Marxist Education Collective

P.O. Box 560, Old Chelsea Stn.

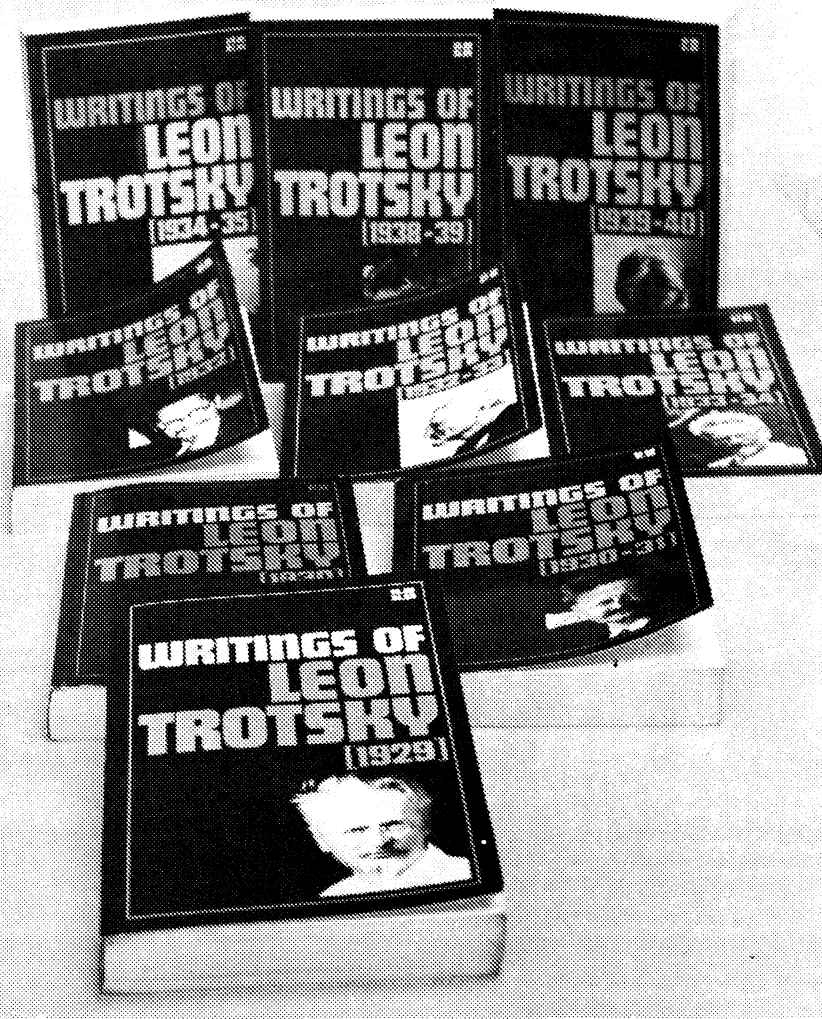
NYC 10011

Which Way for Teachers?

Anthology. 24 pp., \$.50

Includes: "A Fighting Program for Teacher Unionists," "In Defense of Quotas: A Reply to Shanker," "'Teacher Unity' in New York: The Real Record," and "Teachers Discuss the Fight to Defend Jobs, Salaries, and Schools."

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



Writings of Leon Trotsky

1929-40, in Twelve Volumes

•"[Trotsky's] writings in his last exile represent the richest, most mature expression of his political thought, presented in the most lucid and effective fashion. . . . A unique kind of educational tool for people who are willing to do a little work to learn what Marxism really is."—George Breitman, interviewed in the Nov. 21 *Militant*

Leon Trotsky was expelled from the Communist International by Stalin in 1928 and exiled from the USSR the next year. From this time until his assassination in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky closely observed and analyzed the tumultuous events that shook the world in the 1930s—the global depression, the rise of fascism, the labor radicalization in the capitalist countries, the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy's rule in the Soviet Union, the invasions of China and Ethiopia, and the outbreak of World War II.

In this series a special place is given to the struggle against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy. A record of his correspondence with leaders of the Left Opposition and articles dealing with the political problems raised by the Opposition's struggle is included along with Trotsky's articles and manifestos. These writings rallied the International Left Opposition for a fight first to reform the Communist International and then to establish the Fourth International.

Each volume has notes, photos, a chronology of Trotsky's life during the period covered by the volume, a list of Trotsky's other writings during these years, and an index.

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1929)

From the Turkey period, 464 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1930)

From the Turkey period, 443 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1930-31)

From the Turkey period, 442 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1932)

From the Turkey period, 415 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1932-33)

From the Turkey period, 365 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.45

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1933-34)

From the France period, 368 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1934-35)

From the France period, 416 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1935-36)

From the Norway period, 152 pages, 8½ x 11 format, paper only \$2.95 (Second edition in regular book format in preparation.)

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1936-37)

From the Mexico period, in preparation.

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1937-38)

From the Mexico period, in preparation for publication in the spring 1976.

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1938-39)

From the Mexico period, 430 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

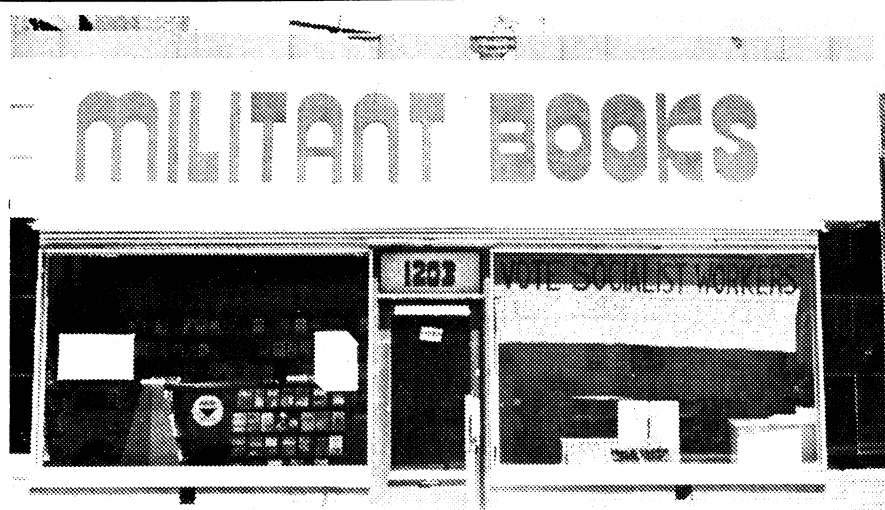
WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1939-40)

From the Mexico period, 465 pages, cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.95

Order from:

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.

410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a complete catalog of books and pamphlets.



Where You Can Find

Socialist Literature

The *Militant*, the *Young Socialist*, *Intercontinental Press*, *Pathfinder Press* books and pamphlets, and other socialist literature can be obtained from the bookstores listed in the *Socialist Directory* on the facing page. Contact the store in your area for hours and information.

Revolution & Counter-Revolution in Spain

By FELIX MORROW

Includes "The Civil War in Spain" 262 pp., \$11.00, paper \$2.95

The Spanish Revolution

By LEON TROTSKY

416 pp., \$14.00, paper \$3.95

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

Secret Documents Exposed FBI Plot Against the Black Movement by Baxter Smith with reprinted FBI memos

\$35

PATHFINDER PRESS
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The *Militant* is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

THE MILITANT

Illegal spying continues

CIA files bare details on 'Operation Chaos'

By Larry Seigle

Despite claims that the CIA's Operation Chaos was ended in 1974, newly released files prove that the agency's spying is continuing. The documents were made public January 25 by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is representing the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance in a lawsuit against the government.

Among the papers are heavily censored portions of the CIA's massive dossier on Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers presidential candidate. The dossier contains reports on Camejo's political activities in this country and trips abroad.

Other documents detail surveillance of other SWP members, antiwar leaders, campus groups, foreign students, Black organizations, and women's liberation activists. They cover activities both in this country and abroad.

In one case, a document indicates that Operation Chaos included "disruption" tactics similar to the FBI's Cointelpro activities.

In none of the documents is there any indication that any of those spied on were engaged in or even suspected of illegal activities.

The day the documents were made public, NBC-TV reporter John Hart interviewed CIA chief William Colby. The exchange went like this:

Hart: I have to ask you this because it came up in tonight's news. Is the CIA still supplying information to foreign intelligence agencies on Americans overseas traveling abroad?

Colby: Well, I don't think it's so much a matter of supplying intelligence on Americans, but if we have a request from the FBI or somebody to look into the activities of some potential subversive, we may ask some friendly service to help us on that problem instead of doing it ourselves. We obviously have to identify who we're talking about.

Hart: So the ending of Operation Chaos does not mean the ending of that operation?

Colby: It doesn't mean the ending of all counterintelligence, because there still are hostile intelligence services trying to recruit Americans and turn them against their country.

'Same old line'

Responding to Colby's statement, Camejo declared: "This is more of the same old line the CIA and the FBI have used to justify their secret-police operations against my party, and against other political groups, for years.

"The CIA says it has the right to spy on 'potential subversives.' But who isn't a potential subversive in their view? Is anyone who dares to criticize U.S. intervention in Angola a 'potential subversive'? Is anyone who demands an end to U.S. backing for the brutally repressive regimes in Chile, in Spain, or in South Korea a 'potential subversive'?"



Militant/Brian Shannon

Peter Camejo, standing at right, speaks to 1970 antiwar rally on Boston Common. Newly released files contain portions of CIA's massive dossier on Camejo, who is now Socialist Workers party candidate for president.

"Does Colby's admission that the CIA cooperates with 'friendly services' in other countries mean that the CIA feeds them files on foreign students in the United States who are engaged in perfectly legal political activities against the dictatorships that rule their own countries?"

"As far as the CIA and the FBI are concerned, any of us who insist on our right to speak out against policies we disagree with are legitimate targets. That's how they have justified everything that has been done, from having socialists fired from their jobs through poison-pen letters, to compiling complete reports on my trips abroad."

According to the Rockefeller commission report on the CIA, the agency stopped keeping files on legal political activities of American citizens when Operation Chaos was discontinued on March 15, 1974. However, as late as November 22, 1974, the CIA circulated to at least one unspecified overseas station information about Camejo.

In addition, the CIA told Camejo it has, but refuses to turn over, a cable about him from an overseas station, dated November 20, 1974, that was "based on a request of a foreign intelligence service."

The CIA admits to having 108 documents on Camejo. But it released only 47 heavily censored items. The others are still being withheld on grounds such as, "These documents contain information which reveals investigative techniques and procedures and information which, if disclosed, would constitute clearly unwarranted invasions of the privacy of other persons."

The files that have been released show the CIA was interested in everything from Camejo's involvement in campus protests and antiwar activities in the United States to his trips to Europe and Latin America to hold discussions with socialists in other countries and to help organize aid to political prisoners.

"But none of these activities are illegal," Camejo said. "This CIA harassment is a result of the U.S. government's opposition to my views and the views of all those who oppose its imperialist designs on the rest of the world."

'Sheep-dipping'

Some of the documents contain reports from agents involved in what the CIA called "sheep-dipping" or "reddening." The technique was for agents, in the words of the Rockefeller commission report, to "acquire the theory and jargon and make acquaintances in the 'New Left.'" Later, they "would be sent to a foreign country on a specific intelligence mission."

One "sheep" submitted a report dated February 15, 1972, on activities in Boston. The document is heavily censored, with blotted-out areas containing the notation: "Activities which would reveal Asset's identity." However, the report contains a list of upcoming meetings and activities of the SWP and the YSA.

The "sheep" also attended a meeting of Boston Female Liberation, a feminist group, and noted: "Audience was a mixture of radicals, i.e., SWP, YSA, SDS, FL; liberals; apoliticals; and even a couple of Catholics!"

One comment in this agent's report provides the first documentary evidence that the CIA was actually engaged in efforts to foment splits and dissension in the radical movement. The agent wrote: "'Red Baiting', having traditionally come from the Right, is apparently more common now from Left groups, excluding SWP, which feels it destroys united action. . . ."

Then in a remark that apparently escaped the notice of the CIA censors, the agent added, "SWP says that the CP sends 'Red Baiting' agents to Left gatherings (which they cannot prove), but they cannot tell the difference between CP and the CIA!"

The activities of foreign students attracted close attention from the CIA. A report on a 1970 meeting on "The Mideast Crisis" sponsored by the YSA at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, appears in the files. "The main theme," the agent reports, "was anti-US and anti-Israel relative to the Middle East conflict, but it was quite evident that the YSA is intent on creating a revolution in the US. Among the participants at the seminar were Black Panthers, various Arab students at Brown, and disenchanted members of the US Jewish communities."

The agent subsequently attended an "Arab coffee hour at Brown. . . . The Arab students were polite, respectful and courteous. Their program was not political in any way."

A 1970 report from Seattle, also in the files, contains the notation: "Recently, within the past two weeks there was quite a gathering of foreigners at

Continued on page 30