

# THE MILITANT

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

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**DALLAS DESEGREGATION:** A federal district court ruling for desegregating Dallas schools is expected by the end of February. Five plans are under consideration. The proposals call for busing from 18,000 to 55,000 students. The first proposal would leave the majority of the segregated schools totally untouched.

The NAACP, Student Coalition Against Racism, and United Parents of Education have called a February 24 meeting in support of full desegregation. Speakers at the meeting will include: H. Rhett James, president of the Dallas Metropolitan-area NAACP; Dr. Emmett Conrad, a Black member of the school board; John Mayes, of the Dallas Student Coalition Against Racism; and Dr. Daniel Georges, an assistant professor in the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Texas at Arlington.

**BUSING IS SAFEST:** The safest way for students to travel to school is by school bus. That's what the National Institute of Education reports. In fact, it's more than three times safer than walking.

With the racist furor against busing, it's interesting to note that very few students are transported in that manner for purposes of school desegregation. Of the 21 million public school students transported by bus in 1974, only 7 percent were bused as part of desegregation efforts.

## Milwaukee Black paper backs socialist

The February 14 issue of the *Milwaukee Courier* announced its support for the Socialist Workers campaign of Bernie Senter for mayor against Democratic incumbent Henry Maier. The Black newspaper gave its reasons in an editorial:

"Unlike Maier or any of his other opponents, Bernard Senter of the Socialist Workers Party has been touring the entire city calling for prompt school desegregation, open housing enforcement, success to the Meatcutters Union in their important strike, and a clampdown on police violence against residents of the inner city.

"Senter, who admits he cannot win, is using this election to raise issues—people issues—that no one else wants to talk about. He agrees with Maier that the city and city government are being squeezed to death by suburban flight and misaligned federal priorities, but he disagrees that this lament should be the response every time a Mayor is called to task about an issue.

"Further, says Senter, a man with the prestige and power of Mayor Maier has no right to throw up his hands and claim that racist school officials and police are outside his jurisdiction and therefore none of his business.

"We share Senter's criticisms of Maier. We like the way the young candidate talks.

"We think Black folks should send Maier a message by casting their ballots for Bernie Senter."

**WOMEN'S TRIBUNAL:** On February 27, a three-day "Crimes Against Women Tribunal" will begin at Columbia University. A wide range of feminist and defense groups are sponsoring the event, which is being held in conjunction with an international tribunal scheduled for March in Brussels, Belgium.

The New York tribunal will bring together victims and experts to discuss economic, sexual, medical, and other crimes against women. It will begin at 7:30 p.m. on Friday night at Columbia's School of International Affairs. Speakers will include authors Kate Millett and Barbara Ehrenreich; Charlotte Bunch, editor of *Quest*; Welfare Rights Organization leader Beulah Sanders; and New York State Rep. Karen Burstein.

**SLP ANNOUNCES CANDIDATES:** At its convention last week, the Socialist Labor party announced its candidates for the 1976 presidential elections. Formed a century ago, the SLP has fielded presidential slates for many years. For president the party is running Julius Levin, a thirty-year SLP veteran. Constance Blomen, a former teacher, is the vice-presidential candidate. The SLP says it is assured a place on the Michigan ballot and will petition for ballot status in other states.

**BROOKLYN HOSPITAL WALKOUT:** On Monday, February 9, 2,000 union workers at Brookdale Hospital in Brooklyn walked off the job. The walkout was accompanied by a twenty-six-hour sit-in in the hospital cafeteria. The workers were protesting the layoffs of fifty employees. Their union, District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, did not sanction the action.

The hospital administration plans to lay off 350 workers, pink-slipping a few at a time. With new contract negotiations scheduled for July, the administration's intention is clear—to demoralize the unionists before negotiations begin.

Walkouts at New York's St. Luke's and Beth Abraham hospitals the same week gave further evidence of New York hospital workers' militant opposition to the layoffs and cutbacks that are tearing apart their standard of living.

**'WOMAN'S EVOLUTION' ON TOUR:** "A breath of fresh air," remarked a woman at Trinity College in San Antonio. She had just left a lecture by Marxist anthropologist and feminist Evelyn Reed. Reed, the author of *Woman's Evolution*, was in San Antonio as part of a whirlwind lecture tour of Texas.

At Reed's University of Houston meeting, she was introduced by Sissy Farenthold, past president of the National Women's Political Caucus. Many came to Reed's talk after reading an interview with her in the *Houston Post*. While in Houston, Reed was also interviewed by Pacifica Radio. In the Dallas area, she spoke to four meetings. The local version of the "Today Show" taped a twenty-minute discussion with Reed. In addition, she was interviewed by the University of Texas at Arlington newspaper, and her tour was covered by Channel 11 news.

**ARGENTINE SOLIDARITY:** On January 31, 100 people turned out to protest the indiscriminate assassination, jailing, and torturing of workers and political activists in Argentina. The meeting at Casa de las Americas in New York was the first in a series of defense activities planned by the newly formed Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People.

Speaking at the event were Gino Lofredo of the Movimiento Anti-imperialista por el Socialismo en la Argentina (MASA)—Anti-imperialist Movement for Socialism in Argentina, Janet Shank of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), Mirta Vidal of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), and Steve Albrecht, author of *The Hour of the Furnaces*. Magda Moyana of SCAP chaired the meeting. *Double Day's Work*, a film about the plight of Latin American women, concluded the meeting.

**WANTED—STATION WAGON:** The weekly effort to efficiently and inexpensively deliver the *Militant* involves making many trips around New York City. This includes delivering bundles to six airline terminals, two train stations, a bus depot, and the post office. The van used for this operation has reached the end of its long and useful days. A replacement is needed. If one of our readers has a motor vehicle—preferably a station wagon—to donate, or knows how to obtain one at a bargain price, please contact the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

—Ginny Hildebrand



## 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.

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## Federal troops needed

# Boston: antibusing terror spreads

By Jon Hillson  
and Larry Seigle

BOSTON, Feb. 17—The Black community here is being confronted by the most sustained and systematic racist violence since school busing for desegregation began in the fall of 1974. The terrorist siege is aimed at overturning the busing plan and compelling Blacks to give up their struggle for equal education.

Anti-Black violence is occurring daily.

In South Boston, 1,000 racists fought a bloody battle with the cops on February 15. The following night the violence spread to Charlestown, also a stronghold of racist resistance to busing.

Flying squads organized by the main antibusing group, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), have broken up meetings of groups they don't approve of.

Black families moving into some predominantly white neighborhoods are targets of Klan-style harassment.

Individual Blacks are assaulted on the streets, in the subway stations, and anywhere else they are caught alone by bands of white racists.

In the face of this lynch-mob hysteria only a handful of white racists have been arrested, and city officials have made no serious moves to provide defense for the Black community.

This onslaught must be answered by a massive display of support for the rights of Blacks. There must be a mobilization of all those—Black and white alike—who are outraged by the atrocities being committed by the antibusing gangs. If there is no such response, desegregation in Boston, and around the country, will be in danger of suffering a terrible defeat.

The refusal of the local authorities to mobilize the physical force needed to halt the racist attacks makes more urgent than ever the need for a federal show of power—including the use of troops—to guarantee the safety of the Black community and to provide protection for the Black students being bused into the white neighborhoods.

### Two-hour battle

The antibusing battalions took to the streets on February 15 for a two-hour battle with city cops. Organized by the South Boston Marshals Association, the bigots were armed with bats, sawed-off hockey sticks, golf clubs, tire irons, and rocks and bottles.

According to news accounts, they were also equipped with tear-gas canisters, which they threw at the cops, and with walkie-talkies with which they monitored the police movements.

The two-hundred-member marshals association has in the past served as a "security" force for ROAR demonstrations. Last December, this highly secretive group invited Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke to Boston for advice on "tactics." The battle with the cops erupted when the racists demanded that they be allowed to enter the grounds of South Boston High School. The cops, under orders from U.S. District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity to prevent demonstrations within 100 yards of the school, refused.

The racists attacked the police lines and the battle was on.

Seventy-four cops were treated for injuries. Thirteen arrests were made. Among those taken into custody were residents of East Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester, as well as South Boston.

There were no Black students inside the school because it was a Sunday. Schools here are closed for a vacation

period that will end February 23. But the message of the rioters was crystal clear: Black students being bused into South Boston High School take their lives in their hands.

The night after the South Boston riot, similar, though smaller-scale, rioting erupted in Charlestown. Some 200 people smashed windows in Charlestown High School, lit bonfires, and skirmished with the cops until midnight. A white reporter for the *Boston Globe* was seized and beaten.

### Cops promise to 'get tough'

In an unusually strongly worded statement on February 16, Boston Police Commissioner Robert DiGrazia announced what he said was a new "get tough" policy toward antibusing goons. The Boston police, he said, would no longer follow a "policy of tolerance."



Racist gangs are equipped with clubs, tear gas, and walkie-talkies. Boston authorities refuse to mobilize the physical force needed to halt anti-Black atrocities.

DiGrazia said that a "violent few" were organizing a "conspiracy against public order."

"It may take 500 or 1,000 police officers in South Boston, but this kind of violence will stop," DiGrazia said.

DiGrazia added that police were investigating the South Boston confrontation and would present evidence to the Suffolk County district attorney. "Hopefully he'll go to the grand jury," DiGrazia said.

However, as of today no arrests of conspirators have been made. In fact, all thirteen of the rioters arrested have been released on personal recognizance.

Racist leaders responded to DiGrazia's statement by announcing that they will hold another march on February 29. "And we'll march," said one, "whether we get [a permit] or not."

The conspiracy that DiGrazia claims to have just discovered is no secret here. For the past year and a half racists have been resorting to violence in their attempt to block the busing of Blacks into previously lily-white schools. This conspiracy has been carried out with the participation of elected officials on the school committee and the city council.

The past week of escalated violence

was promised at a news conference in South Boston.

On February 10, reporters were invited to the South Boston Information Center. There they heard James Kelly, a leader of ROAR and the president of the South Boston Home and School Association proclaim that antibusing forces would "lash out" in defiance of desegregation orders.

"We're being backed into a corner," he said. "We're not going to cower from Garrity. The only way the Blacks in this country got reverse discrimination is that they went to the streets." (In Kelly's mind any government action taken to break down segregation is "reverse discrimination.")

"It could be," the racist leader promised, "a long, hot summer."

The summer began in the second week of February.

On February 12, two days after Kelly's news conference, the racists

allow the meeting to continue. Instead the police escorted out the parents who had come for the meeting, leaving the goon squad inside. Because English High is a predominantly Black school, the racists spent an hour or so tearing up the auditorium before they left. They broke chairs and doors and scrawled racist epithets on the walls.

Later that evening, Sen. Henry Jackson was hooted off the stage in Charlestown by a gang of antibusing demonstrators led by local ROAR figures. Jackson, openly appealing for the racists' vote in the March 2 presidential primary here, has taken out ads boasting that he has the best plan to "curb the power of the federal judges to order forced busing."

ROAR leaders, taking a cue from their favorite presidential candidate, George Wallace, have portrayed Jackson as an insincere antibuser out hustling votes.

struck. They broke up a meeting of Black and White parents called by the Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC), the board appointed by Garrity to monitor the desegregation process.

Two hundred thugs, organized by ROAR, gathered in Boston English High School, on the edge of the Black community of Roxbury, where the meeting was to be held. Some of the racists had traveled to the meeting in school buses from South Boston and East Boston—complete with police escorts.

As the meeting began, the ROAR members chanted, booed, and sang "God Bless America." They seized the microphones, threw books into the air, and threw Afro-pick combs they had purchased for the occasion.

When the organizers of the meeting announced it was being canceled, school committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino took the stage and led the disrupters in chants and jeers.

### U.S. marshals refuse to act

Because the CCC is under the supervision of the federal court, U.S. marshals were on the scene, as were FBI agents, officials of the Justice Department, and city cops.

Not one of them made a move to clear the hall of the hooligans and

When the disruption of his speech began, Jackson was surprised. "Are you trying to be funny?" he asked the first hecklers. They weren't.

The yelling made it impossible to continue the meeting and he left the area escorted by Secret Service agents.

Some of the 300 in the crowd had been seen in the midst of the fracas at English High.

### 'Organize against them'

The ROAR disruption of the CCC meeting prompted an immediate angry response. On February 14, Arthur Gartland, head of the CCC, termed the melee "the ugly work of a mob trampling on the rights of parents of Boston schoolchildren. It was the expression of a minority in the city."

That same day, parents who had been present at the meeting held a news conference to condemn ROAR's brown-shirt tactics and to demand police protection of future meetings.

Rayleen Craig, one of the parent organizers, put it this way: "There are an awful lot of parents really tired of what's been going on with ROAR. That organization is just set up to keep alive a climate of hate and fear. They have organized and intimidated people

*Continued on next page*

## Socialist stresses probusing stand

# Mass. SWP names Evans for Senate

By Donald Gurewitz

BOSTON—Denouncing the refusal of the Democratic and Republican politicians to take action to stop the racist violence in this city, Carol Henderson Evans announced her candidacy for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

The announcement was made at a February 12 news conference at the state capitol here.

The socialist candidate pledged to make defense of the Black community and of the right of Black students to attend desegregated schools a major focus of her campaign.

Evans, thirty, is a secretary at Harvard University. She will challenge the incumbent, Democrat Edward Kennedy.

Kennedy is on record in support of court-ordered busing. But, like the other liberal capitalist politicians here, he tries to avoid the issue whenever possible.

"In recent weeks, racist gangs have attacked Black families who dared to cross the color line by moving into homes in previously all-white neighborhoods," Evans said.

"The Black community and many

white people have been aroused by this shocking display of vigilante terror. But Kennedy has been silent.

"Racist mobs have broken up meetings called to discuss further implementation of the court order. But Kennedy can't find time to even issue a statement condemning these atrocities.

"During the past year and a half, while Black students have been under attack for trying to win equal education, where has Kennedy been?"

Evans worked on the staff of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) to help organize the probusing march of 15,000 called by the NAACP last May 17.

"I was there on May 17," said Evans. "Where was Kennedy?"

"In my campaign," Evans said, "I will support actions called by organizations like the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism aimed at winning busing with safety for Black students. I challenge Kennedy to join with me in supporting these actions. If I were in the Senate I would be joining with the Black community in demanding that federal troops be called in to protect those Black students."

Prior to serving on the staff of NSCAR, Evans was active in the Massachusetts Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights. This group was organized in 1974 to oppose attacks on the state's liberalized abortion law and to defend Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion. She was also a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement. She is currently involved in a drive to unionize clerical workers at Harvard.

"Neither the Democratic nor Republican party," Evans told the news conference, "has solutions for the problems facing the majority of us who work for a living. These parties have one common goal—to protect and increase the profits of big business."

Massachusetts, like other states, is slashing social services, claiming there is "no money." In Boston, the Democratic administration is taking the biggest bite out of the school budget. City officials are demanding the firing of up to 600 of the city's 51,000 teachers. The school committee, which is all-white and all-Democratic, is leading this assault.

School committee members blame the supposedly high costs of implementing the federal court's busing order for the money shortage. At the same time, they point to reduced public school enrollment—largely as a result of the racist, white boycott—as an excuse to slash the teaching staff.

"The city officials are trying to shift the blame for the cutbacks onto those fighting for desegregation," said Evans. "This is the crudest kind of scapegoating. It's not the Black community that's responsible for these cuts. It's the members of the school committee and the rest of the Democratic and Republican politicians who are responsible. These fakers will always say they're against busing because they're for 'quality education.' Now they're using antibusing demagoguery to justify reducing the already abysmal quality of education still further.

"The Black community will suffer the most from these cutbacks. But all working people, Black and white, are



Militant/Jon Hillson

CAROL HENDERSON EVANS: Challenges Kennedy on issues.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

'I was there on May 17 march for desegregation,' says Evans. 'Where was Kennedy?'

## ... antibusing terror spreads in Boston

Continued from preceding page

around the city, and now it's time for people to organize against them."

"ROAR supporters will not allow anyone who disagrees with them to speak," Viola Solomon, a Black parent, told reporters. Joined by more than thirty Black, Latino, and white parents, she demanded "guarantees from the CCC, the mayor, and the police commission that our constitutional rights to free speech will be protected."

Today the parent group confronted U.S. Attorney James Gabriel with a demand for a federal grand jury investigation of ROAR.

The hearing disruption, the parents said in a statement, "suggests an ongoing conspiracy to violate the civil and constitutional rights of parents who want to comply with the desegregation order."

"The lives of individuals whose sole act is to send their children to school have been threatened. Homes have been fire bombed; windows have been broken; children stoned; pets poisoned; cars destroyed. Students of all races have been harassed and intimidated by fellow students and school personnel. Black families living in predomi-

nantly white areas have been the victims of racist assaults."

The statement, read to Gabriel behind closed doors, also blasted the police: "Time and time again they have demonstrated by their inaction they will not protect us or our children."

In their request for a grand jury investigation, the parents urged an inquiry into "the financing of ROAR; the active or passive involvement of elected officials in ROAR activities; the involvement of public employees in ROAR; the illegal acts ROAR carried out in conjunction with the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi party, and the John Birch Society."

According to parents in the meeting, Gabriel refused to agree to their requests. "He said absolutely nothing," one woman said. Gabriel refused even to assign members of his staff to monitor the next CCC meeting.

ROAR's organized terror squads number several hundred, at most a thousand. But they know that bold actions by even a relatively small group can shift the political climate to the right—provided there is no united

response from antiracist forces.

ROAR believes it can intimidate all supporters of busing and silence and brutalize the Black community into abandoning the decades-long fight for equal rights.

If these reactionaries succeed, it will be a defeat not just for the Black community but for all working people and for everyone who is fighting against discrimination and oppression.

The only way this movement is going to be stopped is by a massive countermobilization.

In 1957 when white supremacists in Little Rock, Arkansas, tried to prevent Black students from entering Central High School, President Eisenhower was compelled under the pressure of civil rights supporters throughout the country to send in federal troops to protect those Black students.

When the federal government was forced to put bayonets in the face of racist mobs it was a victory for Blacks and the civil rights struggle.

Clearly, similar drastic action is needed to provide protection for the Black community in Boston today.

The Democratic city administration has shown itself to be unwilling and

unable to stop the racist mobs. In fact, far from moving against the racists, city officials have been encouraging their antibusing crusade. Leaders of ROAR sit on the school committee and run the city council.

"The city administration is making it clear that it has no intention of enforcing the law on desegregation," Maceo Dixon, a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, told the *Militant*. "The city has been giving the go-ahead to the racists by its inaction. And when antibusers see federal marshals standing around with their hands in their pockets while meetings are being broken up, they are getting the same message."

An emergency steering committee of NSCAR will be held here on February 21 to discuss plans for coordinated actions to counter the racist offensive.

"We've got to turn this situation around," said Dixon, "we've got to mobilize the Black community and its allies among whites, to demand that the rights of Blacks be protected. If it's going to take U.S. Army divisions in South Boston, in East Boston, and in Charlestown, then that's what we've got to have."



# Latino students boycott 'Southie' High

By Bill Rayson

BOSTON—Puerto Rican and other Latino students are boycotting South Boston High School here.

Pedro Berrios, a leader of El Movimiento Estudiantil Hispano de South Boston High School, told the *Militant* why in a recent interview conducted in Spanish.

"Before the boycott, only thirty-five of eighty-one Latino students assigned to the school actually attended," Berrios said.

Inadequate facilities for Spanish-speaking students and the school's reputation for unchecked racist violence kept the majority of Latino students away, he explained.

Of the students who did attend, twenty-five were in the bilingual program. "We are all Puerto Ricans except one Dominican woman. Most of us have been in this country less than two years," Berrios said.

"We were twenty-five students in one room all day, every day, with the same teacher all day," he continued.

"Three levels were taught by this teacher in one room—ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades, all at once. There was no English, science, or mathematics taught. Teachers changed from day to day.

"It was impossible to learn anything," Berrios said.

Latino students and Blacks have both been subjected to the same harassment from the racist white students.

"The violence was constant," Berrios said. "We had to fight all the time. . . . To them we are all Black."

The Spanish-speaking students also faced intimidation from police assigned to the school and from racist teachers.

"We are not allowed to speak Spanish in the halls because the police think we are plotting something," Berrios said.

Teachers reprimand the students for speaking their own language he explained. "One teacher said, 'This isn't

Puerto Rico, you know, it's America.'"

"One time a Puerto Rican student was in the bathroom," Berrios said, "and a white student bumped into him and told him to apologize. The student did not understand English, and before a friend could explain in Spanish, the white student punched him in the face."

Berrios said the students are demanding that the bilingual program be transferred out of "Southie" High and that it be staffed by "bilingual teachers who understand and are responsive

to the needs of the students and who accept their language and culture."

Since January 12, when they walked out of "Southie," the twenty-five boycotting students have been receiving daily instruction at the Alianza Hispanica in Roxbury.

Although they have been forced to leave South Boston High School to receive an education, and didn't like being there, Berrios said he believes the Latino students "have the right to go there."

"The racists don't think we have the right," he said, "and they don't think the Blacks do either."

Berrios said that the Puerto Ricans have the support of the Black students, although as yet there has been no joint action by these two victimized groups.

"It would be good to unite everyone for action against racism and segregation," Berrios said, "to make a stronger unity—to bring together stronger forces.

"We should not only unite Blacks and Latinos, but whites as well."

The boycott has received support from Puerto Rican community agencies and organizations, and the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism has begun to work with the students to help publicize their struggle against racism and segregation.

"Everybody should unite against racism in South Boston High School," Berrios says. "We need support from everyone."



Militant/Michael Ponoman  
Puerto Rican student leader Pedro Berrios: 'The violence was constant. . . . It was impossible to learn anything.'

## ROAR leader loses a battle in 'Eastie'

By Ken Whithers

EAST BOSTON—The racist antibusing organization ROAR and its chief leader in East Boston, school committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, suffered a small but significant defeat in this neighborhood noted for its resistance to court-ordered desegregation.

On February 5, ROAR forces were stopped in their bid to seize control of an adult education "community school" at the Barnes School. The opposition was led by the *East Boston Community News*, a local alternative newspaper that has spoken out against racism in the area.

The community school project, to be funded by the city, is under the control of elected neighborhood councils.

Meetings to establish such a council here have been packed by ROAR members trying to gain control of the body through use of verbal and physical harassment.

More than 150 people attended the February 5 meeting to choose a chairperson for the neighborhood council. Palladino was there, and so were her accomplices. They included a knot of leather-jacketed youths pledged to raise their hands at the right moment and to intimidate others to do likewise.

Palladino's first motion was to have everyone at the meeting stand up—one by one—and give their name, address, and proof of residency. This was supposedly to make sure they were East Boston residents, not "outsiders" trying to "take over the neighborhood."

When this motion was defeated, Palladino used her prerogative to individually challenge the credentials of everyone who voted against her.

The first person she pointed to was a seventeen-year-old high school student who had lived in the neighborhood all her life and whose mother had earlier

attended school with Palladino.

Next challenged were editors and writers from the *News*, and whole rows of people who had opposed the ROAR leader.

A community physician then challenged Pixie in retaliation. *News* editor Dan MacGregor challenged Palladino's flying squad of racist toughs, who proceeded to corner and rough him up.

In the half-hour tumult that followed, Palladino's neighbors got a real education on the tactics of ROAR—violence, physical intimidation, racist and reactionary name-calling, the works.

When order was restored and the election finally held, Palladino's candidate lost, 76 to 70, to a candidate backed by the *News* and others opposed to ROAR.

The ROAR bigots were stunned—they lost the vote on "their own turf." Those who stayed the rest of the

meeting, including Palladino, sat silently.

The meeting continued without disruption; there was little else the racists could do.



Militant/Jon Hillson  
Antiracists defeated school committee member Palladino's plans for ROAR to take over neighborhood council.

## 'Gave us until Wednesday to move out'

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Otis and Alva Debnam have decided to stand fast against the racist terror that was launched against their family when they moved into their new home on February 1.

They are the first Black family to live on Centre Street, which is in a predominantly white section of Dorchester.

The Debnams have been forced into a round-the-clock vigil. About fifteen young toughs have threatened them, hurling bottles through windows at early hours of the morning.

On February 6 Alva Debnam and her sixteen-year-old daughter, Maria, were accosted by seven hooligans.

"They told me, 'You niggers have no business in this neighborhood,' and gave us until the next Wednesday to move out," Alva told the *Militant*.

"They said my mother wouldn't be

there by Wednesday because they didn't want us 'niggers' living in their neighborhood," Maria said.

On February 16, an elderly white tenant of the downstairs apartment returned home from the hospital. He had suffered a heart attack after a bottle sailed through his window a week earlier.

The Debnams live seven blocks from Templeton Street, where two weeks ago another Black family, the Bradleys, were driven from their apartment. A racist gang hurled rocks through their window and fire bombed their building.

The attack on the Bradleys broke into the press and had an impact on the Debnams and their determination to fight for their right to live where they choose.

"I bought a house to live in," Otis Debnam said, "not move out from.

Nobody is going to run me out of my house."

Although the police have responded to calls they have received from the family, Otis says, "they have not done their jobs. They haven't arrested anybody. They harass us sometimes."

He believes the police collaborate with the racists. "You know, it's like the police are ROAR [Restore Our Alienated Rights, Boston's main racist outfit]," he said. The hooligans wouldn't be acting up "if they knew they would get caught."

"The cops want me to do their jobs for them," he said, "and if I do, then I'll get arrested."

But the Debnams have not been cowed. "They try to sneak up on the house sometimes," Otis said.

"But I'll go out on the porch and holler at them and they'll run away," Alva explained.

The assault on the Debnams, especially in the wake of what happened to the Bradley family, has prompted some white neighbors to come to their defense.

A recent community meeting of seventy-five whites voted unanimously to support the right of the Debnams to live in Dorchester free of harassment.

Meanwhile, the vigil continues. Lights go out early to allow the Debnams to both watch for assailants and identify them. No one gets a full night's sleep. The inadequate police protection is already being pared down.

"Our kids sit in the dark playing records," Alva Debnam said. "We haven't really been able to enjoy the house."

"But no one tells me what to do, and no one is going to move us out."

## S. Africa threatens new attack in Angola

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

In less than a week, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) has made a series of military gains, taking in rapid succession most of the major cities held by the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) in central and southern Angola.

By February 13 the MPLA forces, backed by thousands of Cuban troops, were within 130 miles of the positions held along Angola's southern border by the South African army.

This sudden military shift heightened the danger of an attack on the Angolan nationalists by the South African imperialists.

The racist white minority regime in Pretoria has threatened to throw its military forces into action if the MPLA attempts to extend its drive to the border between Angola and South African-occupied Namibia (South-West Africa).

There are an estimated 4,000 to 6,000 South African troops in southern Angola occupying a strip along the

The second guarantee that Pretoria is seeking from the MPLA is that the guerrillas of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) not be allowed to use Angola as a base for their operations within Namibia. SWAPO gets much of its support from the Ovambo people who inhabit northern Namibia. Its bases in southern Angola, where about 100,000 Ovambos also live, have been crucial for its continued guerrilla operations.

There appears to have been some discussion of these issues in government circles in Luanda. A February 14 Reuters dispatch from Johannesburg reported:

Dr. Agostinho Neto, head of the Popular Movement, was quoted by the Yugoslav news agency Tanyug yesterday as having said that he had no intention of interfering directly in South-West Africa. . . . And in a French newspaper interview, José Eduardo Dos Santos, the foreign minister of Popular Movement, indicated that his group would be prepared to guarantee safety for South Africa's huge hydroelectric project in southern Angola—provided that South Africa recognize the Popular Movement.

Parallel with its military advances, the MPLA has also made major diplomatic gains. On February 11,

With the FNLA and UNITA driven out of Angola's major cities and the MPLA apparently on the verge of a military victory in the civil war, officials in Washington, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, have indicated that they are also considering a change in policy.

The MPLA has sought to encourage such a shift in Washington. In an interview in the February 10-14 Baltimore *Afro-American*, Foreign Minister Santos stated that the MPLA would accept aid "from all countries around the world on the basis of non-interference in our affairs." When asked if that meant the MPLA was leaving its doors to the United States open, he replied: "Exactly."

Referring to foreign investments in Angola, Santos added, "We made it very clear that we have to give guarantees and to respect and protect private interests in Angola. . . ."

While the MPLA now appears to be the dominant military force in Angola, it may still face challenges from the UNITA and FNLA to its efforts to consolidate control.

In face of the MPLA's military superiority and its use of thousands of highly trained Cuban troops, the UNITA abandoned all the major cities it held in central and southern Angola, including Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa), Benguela, Lobito, Silva Pôrto, Moçâmedes, Sá da Bandeira, and Serpa Pinto.

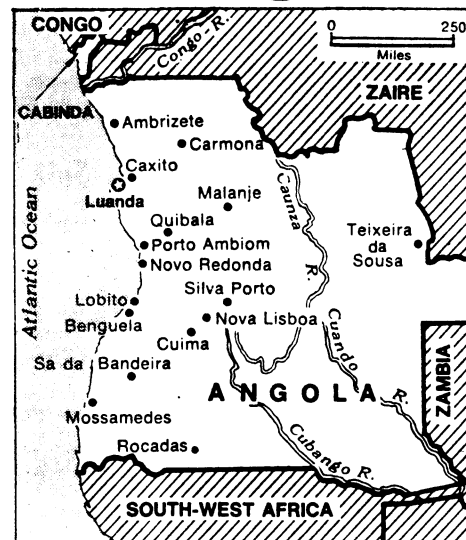
UNITA leaders said that the group was unable to fight a conventional war against the MPLA and that it would return to guerrilla warfare.

The UNITA has a strong base among the Ovimbundu people of the central plateau region. Numbering almost 2.5 million, the Ovimbundu are the largest ethnic group in Angola. Some of the rallies the UNITA held while it still controlled the cities in its region reportedly drew crowds of more than 100,000 persons. (*Christian Science Monitor*, January 27.)

### Ovimbundu fears

One of the factors behind this massive Ovimbundu support for the UNITA appears to be a fear of coming under the domination of the MPLA's Mbundu supporters, who live in the north-central area from Luanda to Malange. Robin Wright reported in the January 29 *Christian Science Monitor* that the residents of Silva Pôrto "enthusiastically back the movement they believe will prevent northern tribes from controlling their territory."

When the UNITA withdrew from the cities, much of the Ovimbundu population did also. According to the January 28 *Washington Post*, a correspondent



Los Angeles Times

for Agence France-Presse reported that as the MPLA drove further into Ovimbundu territory, the villages and towns that came under its control were abandoned. A February 13 United Press International dispatch from Lusaka, Zambia, reported that as many as 250,000 persons were fleeing southward before the MPLA advance.

The UNITA's principal goal in launching a guerrilla campaign appears to be to pressure the MPLA into a political settlement.

While the UNITA has a strong base of support and claims to have enough arms for a long guerrilla war, its plans may be seriously hampered if the regime of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, which backed the UNITA throughout the civil war, decides to block the UNITA's access to that country. During its war against the Portuguese, the UNITA used Zambia as an external base. At the OAU meeting in January, Kaunda indicated that if the organization recognized the MPLA regime, his government would do likewise.

Since the beginning of the year, the FNLA has lost almost all the territory it held in northern Angola, with the exception of São Salvador, the traditional capital of the Bakongo people, and a few areas along the border with Zaire. Tens of thousands of Bakongos have reportedly fled into Zaire with the retreating FNLA troops.

Moreover, the FNLA's continued support from the Mobutu Sese Seko regime in Zaire may also be in question. About 70 percent of Zaire's copper exports from Shaba Province (formerly Katanga) were shipped through Angola along the Benguela railway, which is now in MPLA hands.

Given the present circumstances, Mobutu has indicated a willingness to write the FNLA off.

### Opposition in Luanda

The MPLA still faces continued opposition within Luanda itself to its efforts to stifle dissent and bring the population under control. On February 6, about 600 dock workers and high-school students held a demonstration demanding the resumption of a popular radio program, called "Kudibenguela" (Our Struggle).

Broadcast in the local Kimbundu language, the program had denounced the "new bourgeoisie" working in the government palace, and according to the February 15 *Washington Post*, called for immediate rule by workers and peasants.

Correspondent René Lefort reported in the February 8-9 issue of *Le Monde* that the protesters had also demanded the ouster of whites and *mestiços* (those of mixed African and Portuguese ancestry) from the government.

MPLA leader Neto condemned the demonstrators as "divisionists" who were objectively aiding imperialism. He also denounced the "acts of indiscipline of people who give the impression of wanting to organize a political movement parallel to the MPLA."



An estimated 4,000 to 6,000 South African troops, such as those above, occupy southern Angola.

border up to fifty miles deep. Thousands more are stationed in northern Namibia.

### Pretoria's 'proposal'

Posing the threat of a large-scale confrontation as the alternative, Pretoria has offered to reach an "accommodation" with the MPLA regime. The February 12 AP dispatch said, "Officials have repeatedly declared in Parliament and privately that South Africa is willing to seek a peaceful compromise with the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola."

The South African imperialists have made it clear, however, that such a "compromise" would have to include at least two guarantees from the MPLA.

The first is that the MPLA protect the South African interests in the hydroelectric dam project on the Cunene River in southern Angola, in which Pretoria has more than \$200 million invested. The Cunene project, when completed, is scheduled to supply most of the power for the large diamond, copper, zinc, and uranium mines in Namibia and is a cornerstone of the South African efforts to increase its exploitation of those resources.

The original agreement signed between Pretoria and the Portuguese colonialists in 1969 stipulated that no power from the Cunene project would be supplied to Angola itself during its first phase of operation. Royalty payments to the Angolan administration were also pegged at a low rate. According to the AP dispatch, "South African officials are now saying the project could be modified to benefit southern Angola as well."

William Eteki M'Boumoua, the general secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), announced that the MPLA's People's Republic of Angola had been recognized by the OAU as Angola's "legitimate" government and had been admitted into the organization as its forty-seventh member.

A British diplomatic source was quoted in a February 13 AP dispatch from London as saying that British recognition of the MPLA regime could come "in a matter of days."

The French ambassador to Kenya, Olivier Deleau, declared that French recognition of the MPLA was not far off.

The Portuguese regime—the former colonial power in Angola—has indicated for several weeks that it was considering giving diplomatic recognition to the MPLA. In fact, a wing of the ruling Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) had favored the MPLA over its rivals months before Angola gained its formal independence in November 1975.

On February 11, the MFA announced the suspension of the agreement it signed in January 1975 with the MPLA, UNITA, and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA). In that agreement, the MFA had recognized all three groups as legitimate Angolan representatives.

The suspension of the accord was seen as a step toward possible recognition of the MPLA regime. A Lisbon official said a few days later, however, that the MFA would not recognize the MPLA until it received guarantees that Portuguese interests in Angola would be protected.



MPLA'S AGOSTINHO NETO: Denounces as 'divisionists' demonstrators protesting banning of Luanda radio program that called for immediate rule by workers and peasants.



## Miah, Thomas on nat'l tour

# Socialists hit U.S. intervention in Angola

By José Pérez

Socialist Workers party leaders Malik Miah and Tony Thomas continued crisscrossing the country during the first weeks of February campaigning against U.S. intervention in Angola.

Thomas and Miah, both members of the SWP National Committee, are touring under the auspices of the Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder Press.

Many of their meetings have been marked by lively discussions on a range of issues related to Angola.

One example was a February 6 teach-in that Miah addressed. More than 100 people attended the event, held at the Boston Harbor campus of the University of Massachusetts.

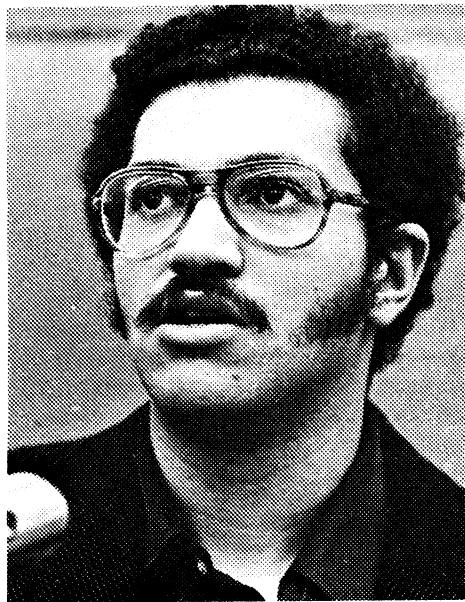
After presentations by several speakers, much of the discussion centered on the role of the Soviet Union and Cuba in the Angola civil war.

A member of the Revolutionary Student Brigade, a Maoist group, said, "There are 12,000 Cuban troops in Angola! We should say, 'Get them out!'"

Miah replied that although the Soviet Union and Cuba are wrong to support one side against the other in the Angolan civil war, there is a qualitative difference between their involvement and the interventions of imperialist countries such as South Africa and the United States.

The latter two countries, he said, are trying to insure the huge profits made by corporations like Gulf Oil by encouraging the civil war. They hope it will result in a very weak government that won't stand up to imperialist pressures.

In addition, Miah explained that such demands as "Cubans out of Angola" play right into the hands of



Militant/Lou Howort  
Malik Miah addressing New York Militant Forum on why U.S. should get out of Angola.

Kissinger and Ford, who have tried to justify their intervention by pointing to the aid given by Cuba and the Soviets to one of the Angolan factions.

While in Massachusetts, Miah also spoke on several other campuses. On February 5 he spoke to 120 students at a teach-in on the Hampshire College campus at Amherst.

Speaking with the Black SWP leader were Dovi Afesi, of the Afro-American studies department at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and Ben Blake, a member of the International Socialists.

The next evening Miah spoke at Boston University along with Barbara Brown of the Angola Solidarity Coalition, Sam Hill of the BU Student

Coalition Against Racism, and State Rep. Mel King.

King announced that the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus intended to introduce a resolution into the legislature demanding an end to U.S. intervention.

Before traveling to Boston, Miah had toured the Chicago area, where he addressed forty people at a February 1 South Side Militant Forum.

The following day he spoke to a meeting of sixty students, the bulk of them Blacks, at Governors State University in Park Forest South, a Chicago suburb.

Miah spoke to some sixty people February 3 at another Militant Forum, this one in Chicago's Loop area. During his four-day visit, Miah also spoke at the University of Chicago, Chicago State University, and at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Interest in Angola is particularly keen in the Black community, and this was reflected in Miah's two-day visit to Philadelphia, where he spoke to four meetings, all of them at least half Black.

Forty people attended a February 10 forum at the Community College of Philadelphia. That evening, Miah spoke at Lincoln University, a predominantly Black school in Pennsylvania.

The following day, 150 people at a Temple University teach-in heard Miah and James Cassell, a reporter for the *Philadelphia Tribune*, a Black newspaper. The meeting also heard a message from Muhammad Kenyatta, of the Philadelphia Coalition for Justice in Angola. Kenyatta, who had been scheduled to speak at the meeting, was in Angola at the time.

That evening, Miah spoke at a

Militant Labor Forum held at the First Methodist Church in Germantown, a Philadelphia neighborhood.

After his Philadelphia meetings, Miah was the speaker at a New York city-wide Militant Forum. Some 150 people attended that meeting, held on the Columbia University campus.

SWP congressional candidate Pat Wright chaired the gathering. She read a telegram to be sent to the South African government demanding the freeing of the SASO Nine.

The nine, Wright explained, are members of the all-Black South African Students Organisation, and have been charged under the Terrorism Act for creating hostility between whites and Blacks.

The evidence? More than 100 pages of poems, speeches, and resolutions protesting white racism. Wright noted that if convicted, the nine could be sentenced to death.

Meanwhile, Tony Thomas was touring the Northern California area.

On February 3, Thomas was one of the speakers at a San Jose State University teach-in, which drew ninety people. Other speakers included Roy Smith, instructor of Afro-American studies, and Dr. Henry Gailey, chairperson of the African studies department at the university.

The highlight of the SWP leader's Northern California tour was a teach-in of some 200 people at the University of California at Berkeley. This event was cosponsored by more than a dozen groups, including the Black Board, an umbrella organization that groups together all the Black organizations on the campus.

Thomas also spoke to a total of 125 people at Laney and Merritt colleges in Oakland, California.

# Demand halt to Klan harassment in New Orleans

By Craig Gannon

NEW ORLEANS—Fourteen community leaders here issued a statement February 12 demanding that Mayor Moon Landrieu take action to halt Ku Klux Klan harassment and intimidation.

The statement was released in response to the KKK picket line that greeted the February 1 opening of the Pathfinder Bookstore here. The pickets in black KKK uniforms chanted, "Hitler had the right idea: kill the niggers and the Jews."

"We feel that the Klan came to Pathfinder Bookstore that day not only to harass those in attendance at the opening, but that they also came to try to intimidate the Black people in the community where Pathfinder Bookstore is located," the statement

said.

The statement was presented to the mayor's office at a February 12 meeting with James Duffy, New Orleans Commissioner of Human Relations.

"Mr. Mayor, we are here to demand that you make it quite clear to the Ku Klux Klan that you and other city officials will not tolerate any vigilante, night-riding, or cross-burning activity in the city of New Orleans," the statement continued. "As citizens of this city, we hold our public officials responsible for protecting our democratic rights."

"We are also here, Mr. Mayor, to protest the harassment carried out against those attending the opening by members of the New Orleans Police Department."

"Ten minutes before the scheduled

2:00 opening, several plainclothes detectives stood across the street from the bookstore taking pictures of everyone who entered the building. They continued their photographing all during the Klan provocation and finally left when the picket line disbanded."

"We demand assurance that this type of police intimidation will not be tolerated by your administration."

Signers of the letter included Nat LaCour, president of United Teachers of New Orleans; Stephen Ambrose, Pulitzer Prize-winning history professor at the University of New Orleans; and David Billings, executive director of St. Mark's Community Center.

Also signing were Jim Hayes and Ron Chisom, Treme Community Improvement Association; Jack Peebles, attorney; and Lena Craig, secretary-treasurer of Hotel, Motel and Restaurant Employees Local 166.

Attending the meeting with Duffy were Pearl Chertov and Craig Gannon of the Socialist Workers party and Pathfinder Bookstore; and Larry Jones, executive director of the St. Bernard Neighborhood Development Association and a well-known leader of civil rights struggles here.

The meeting was preceded by a news conference outside the commissioner's office. Coverage of the protest appeared in both major New Orleans daily papers, the *Times-Picayune* and the *States-Item*.

The NBC and CBS affiliates, as well as three Black radio stations also carried news of the action.

When asked about the police visibly photographing people entering the bookstore, Duffy told reporters that it was "normal surveillance."



Militant/Walter Lippmann  
PEARL CHERTOV: Demands a halt to police surveillance of Pathfinder Bookstore.

As for the Klan harassment, he said that he didn't "see the need for added police protection, but that is a police matter."

Duffy reiterated this position during the meeting. Jones reported that he was attending the meeting not as a person who necessarily agreed with the views of the Socialist Workers party, but to ensure that all those who wanted to visit the bookstore could do so without intimidation.

Duffy did say he felt Klan activities were bad for the "image" of New Orleans.



Militant/Greg Nelson  
Ku Klux Klan members picket opening of Pathfinder Bookstore. Statement by community leaders demanded city government 'not tolerate any vigilante, night-riding, or cross-burning activity.'

# How ERA would affect women

By Ginny Hildebrand

On May 16, supporters of women's rights from all over the country will converge on Springfield, Illinois.

They will be rallying to a call from the National Organization for Women to demonstrate for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The ERA states: *Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.*

Equality for women before the law—that is the simple meaning of the ERA. Yet in this bicentennial year, a basic affirmation of sex equality is still not incorporated into the U.S. Constitution.

## Where the ERA stands

The ERA was first proposed in Congress in 1923 after the victory of the woman suffrage movement. But for nearly fifty years, the Democrats and Republicans in Washington voted it down every time it was introduced.

Finally, in 1972, the powerful new wave of feminism forced Congress to pass it.

But the fight for the ERA didn't stop there.

As a proposed constitutional amendment, the ERA then entered the long road of state-by-state ratification. Before it becomes law, thirty-eight state legislatures must ratify the measure within seven years of its passage in Congress. Thirty-four states have ratified the ERA thus far. The deadline is 1979.

If final approval doesn't come by then, the ERA dies.

A Gallup poll taken last spring showed that ERA supporters outnumber opponents 2 to 1. In view of that sentiment, you might think ratification is close. But things are not that simple.

A right-wing campaign of national proportions now threatens the ERA.

This campaign is backed by the John Birch Society, Young Americans for Freedom, the Knights of Columbus, Conservative party, and the Catholic church hierarchy. At the head of this reactionary pack is the antifeminist and staunch conservative Phyllis Schlafly, organizing Stop-ERA chapters across the country.

The right-wing drive is having a serious impact. Only one of the eleven states that considered the ERA in 1975 ratified it. That was North Dakota.

Tennessee and Nebraska have rescinded their previous ratification.

And in 1975, referenda on state versions of the ERA in New York and New Jersey were defeated.

In future articles we will look at how to answer arguments raised against the ERA and discuss what strategy is needed to secure ERA ratification. First, it is important to understand how the ERA would affect the status of women today.

An 1873 Supreme Court decision prohibiting women from practicing law illustrates what women have been up against in their centuries-old struggle against discrimination. In that decision Justice Joseph Bradley stated:

"The civil law, as well as nature herself, has always recognized the wide difference in the respective spheres and destinies of man and woman. . . . The paramount destiny and mission of woman are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator. And the rules of civil society must be adapted to the general constitution of things, and cannot be based on exceptional cases."

According to this point of view women are vastly different from men and limited by "nature." Women's biological capacity to bear children prescribes their primary social roles as wives and mothers.

Today this view is not simply held by a neanderthal, antiwoman minority.

It is fundamental to the capitalist

social order.

Capitalism requires superexploited layers of the population—women and oppressed national minorities—to increase profits and to divide and weaken the entire working class.

That explains the function of defining women on the basis of their biological makeup and their "preordained" role in the family. This view of women lays the foundation for their unequal treatment in all spheres of life.

## Women's role in society

Women are shuttled in and out of the labor market according to the needs of the capitalist economy. The justification for this is the argument that women's "real" place is in the home—economically dependent on men, the "breadwinners."

The same rationale is used for paying women lower wages and stereotyping them into certain kinds of jobs. It's also the source of their denigration as sex objects. It's the justification used for limiting women's opportunities in education, sports, the arts—all facets of public life.

But this myth—that biology determines women's destiny—stands at odds, more than ever, with obvious developments in the real world.

Women have moved into new roles in society. A look at today's work force illustrates some of these changes.

In 1975, 47 percent of all women age sixteen and over were in the work force. They held two out of every five jobs.

The overwhelming majority worked because they had to. Their income was essential for the survival of themselves and—if they didn't live alone—their immediate families.

As women have swelled the work force, they have demanded equal treatment. Some gains have been won.

In 1963 the Equal Pay Act was adopted, establishing penalties for employers who pay women less than men working similar jobs.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act included a provision in Title VII prohibiting discrimination in hiring on the basis of sex. Through the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, set up by that law, women have won millions of dollars in sex discrimination suits.

However, all these laws have loopholes and exemptions that leave many aspects of job discrimination untouched.

The weakness of existing legislation is shown by the fact that the income gap between men and women has widened. In 1974 the median income of women workers was 57 percent that of men's compared with 63 percent in 1956.

In part, this is the result of women being channeled into less-skilled, usually nonunion, job categories, such as clerical and service jobs. Only 2 percent of the highly skilled crafts and trades workers are women.

There are a host of laws, covering many facets of life, that deny women equality. Some of them include laws that:

- give heavier criminal penalties to women than men convicted of the same crime;
- permit state colleges to discriminate against female applicants;
- prohibit women from working certain jobs;
- establish dual pay schedules allowing women to get paid less than men for doing the same work;
- enable women to get less return on their Social Security than men in the same income bracket; and
- restrict the rights of married women to engage in business independent of their husbands.

Ratification of the ERA would make these laws unconstitutional and strengthen existing antidiscriminatory legislation.

But a constitutional amendment is not a cure-all for sex discrimination. The ruling minority will do everything in its power to block full implementation.

**Continued on page 26**



Women are currently stereotyped into low-paying jobs. ERA would provide constitutional basis to fight such discrimination.

# Urge national women's rights actions

Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment (GERA), the organization that built a pro-ERA demonstration of 3,000 in Atlanta January 10, has issued a national appeal to supporters of women's rights to back the March 6-8 and May 16 actions called to demand ratification of the ERA.

The appeal was made in a letter signed by Mary Atkeson Trawick, state coordinator of Georgia National Organization for Women (NOW); Laurie Perkus, GERA; Darthula Stanfield, vice-president of Local 1644, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Panke Bradley, Atlanta city council member; and Pearl Lomax, director of communications for the city of Atlanta.

"We join GERA in calling on supporters of the ERA to plan activities on March 6-8 in support of the ERA," the letter states. ". . . We can think of no more proper date to begin a nationwide show of support for women's rights than International Women's Day. . . .

"The Illinois chapter of NOW has called for two days of activities on May 15 and 16," the letter continues. "An Illinois Rally for Equal Rights is planned for May 16 at the state capitol in Springfield. NOW is encouraging support from around the country. The International Women's Day activities can help build support for the effort in Illinois and help make the May action the kind of powerful national support

that is so vital to the passage of the ERA."

The letter concludes: "We ask you to join us in making the message of the Georgia demonstration ring throughout the country this Bicentennial year. Two hundred years is enough! Ratify the ERA in '76!"

One city where plans are already under way to build the May 16 Springfield march is St. Louis. On March 6, St. Louisans for the ERA will sponsor a demonstration in the morning and a conference that afternoon. The featured speaker on building May 16 will be Mary Ann Seday, Midwest regional coordinator of NOW and a member of the May 16 steering committee. Well-

known suffragist Florence Luscomb will also speak.

In Philadelphia, NOW has initiated an ERA demonstration and teach-in for March 6, endorsed by the women's centers at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University; Women's Political Caucus; Socialist Workers party; National Black Feminist Organization; Gray Panthers; Philadelphia PUSH; and others.

Karen DeCrow, national president of NOW, will speak at the teach-in.

March 6 ERA rallies have also been called in St. Paul, Minnesota, sponsored by the March 6 ERA Coalition, and in Frankfort, Kentucky, sponsored by NOW.



## Canada's Dr. Morgentaler

# An abortion-rights fighter tells his story

Dr. Henry Morgentaler was released from prison in Canada on January 26. He had served more than ten months of an eighteen-month sentence for performing an illegal abortion.

Morgentaler was arrested in the summer of 1973. He operated a clinic in Montréal and made no secret of the fact that he had performed thousands of medically safe abortions and believed that the restrictive Canadian abortion laws should be repealed.

The French-speaking jury that heard the case acquitted Morgentaler, but the government appealed the verdict to a higher court.

In an unprecedented move, the Canadian Supreme Court upheld the higher court's decision overturning the jury's verdict, and sentenced the doctor to jail.

During his trial Morgentaler had suffered a mild heart attack. In prison he was denied medicine for his condition; he had a second heart attack after being confined naked in an unlit isolation cell.

In addition, Morgentaler was subjected to another trial on a second charge of performing an abortion. Again the jury acquitted him, and again the government appealed.

Meanwhile, the Canadian abortion-law-repeal movement organized a campaign throughout Canada to demand Morgentaler's release.

On January 20, 1976, a Québec appeals court upheld the jury acquittal on the second charge. Shortly after, Justice Minister Ronald Basford ordered a new trial for Morgentaler on the original charge, and the doctor was released on bail. A hearing on March 1 will set the trial date.

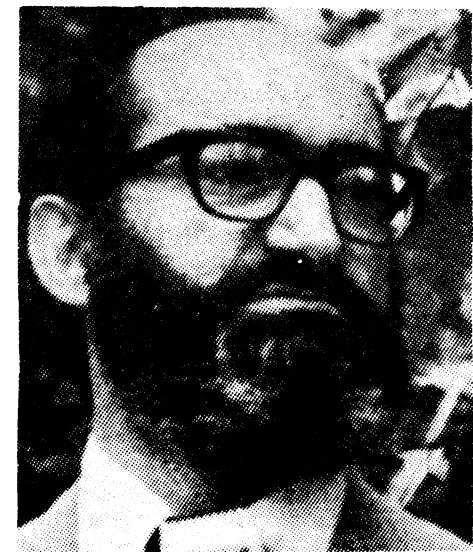
Morgentaler is faced with eleven more charges after this one is heard.

Telegrams and letters demanding that all charges against Morgentaler be dropped can be sent to Fernand Lalonde, Solicitor-General, Province of Québec, 225 Grande Allée Est, Québec City, Québec, Canada, with copies to the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws, Post Office Box 460, Station Z, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5N 2Z6.

The following excerpts are from an interview with Morgentaler obtained by Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. president Peter Camejo during a recent tour of Canada, and Suzanne Chabot of *Libération*. *Libération* is a Québec-based monthly newspaper reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

\* \* \*

**Camejo.** What is your goal as far as the abortion laws are concerned?



Dr. Henry Morgentaler still faces eleven charges of performing illegal abortions.



Labor Challenge/Isolde Belfont

Morgentaler's recent release from prison is victory for Canadian movement for repeal of restrictive abortion laws

**Morgentaler.** My view is that abortion should not be something that is regulated by the state, that it should be a woman's individual decision, and that freedom of choice is an important issue.

A woman should have the right to control her body. She should have the right to decide whether she wants an abortion or not for an unwanted pregnancy. If she has decided she does want an abortion, the state should not interfere in any way. She should be allowed to have a safe medical abortion. It's just as simple as that.

This is basically what happened in the United States. This is not achieved overnight. It comes as a result of many groups and the feminist movement and others fighting for it.

In the United States this resulted in the Supreme Court declaring the abortion laws unconstitutional. Well, in Canada you have a different situation in the sense that the power structure is much more based on and related to the Catholic hierarchy. That makes it harder to advance in this particular area.

**Chabot.** What do you think is the significance of the appeals court decision in your case to uphold the jury verdict of not guilty?

**Morgentaler.** The appeals court's decision is perhaps a step forward. A small step forward.

I don't think that this was a big victory. The only thing you could call a big victory is the repeal of the abortion law, which will allow women to obtain abortions on demand; that is, when they need and want one.

The fact that the federal justice minister ordered a new trial is also a step in the right direction, even though I was expecting to have all the charges against me dropped. I think that the struggle must continue until the day when we achieve real victory—when Canadian women have the same rights as American women.

A lot of work and a lot of energy are still necessary.

People should remain active in the struggle. It is far from won.

**Camejo.** In the United States we formed very broad coalitions to fight for abortion rights. Do these exist in Canada?

### Majority support abortion

**Morgentaler.** Well, I'm not sure that there is one big coalition. I think there are many movements that have as

their goal the repeal of the abortion law.

There have been a number of Gallup polls similar to Gallup polls carried out in the United States, which showed that at least two-thirds of the people interviewed were in favor of abortion being a private matter between a woman and her physician.

There was a poll taken in the French-Canadian newspaper *La Presse* that asked French Canadians—who were all brought up as Roman Catholics—their opinion about abortion. A surprising majority of about 84 or 85 percent thought that for reasons of physical or mental health, women were entitled to have medical abortions.

So I think we have won the battle as far as public opinion goes. I think the obstacle now is in the power structure.

**Camejo.** Do you think that public actions are an effective way to make clear the majority support for repeal of the abortion law in Canada?

**Morgentaler.** I think this is happening already in the sense that many groups that were considered conservative a while ago have now come around to the point of view that abortion should be a private matter.

There was a recent declaration by the Fédération des Femmes du Québec, [Québec Federation of Women], which is not noted for being very progressive. It has now come out in favor of repealing the abortion law and allowing abortions up to twelve weeks for any woman on demand.

One of the biggest labor unions, the Québec Federation of Labor, has come out in support of me and also has come out for the right of women to have legal abortions on demand.

Even the Parti Québécois, which is the independentist, middle-of-the-road party here in Québec, asked for my release for the first time a few days ago.

**Camejo.** Your case has taken on several different aspects, I understand.

### Symbol of fight

**Morgentaler.** Yes, it has taken on the aspect of a symbolic fight for repeal of the abortion law, and the aspect of the right of a jury to be supreme—that is, the right of any citizen to be tried by a jury of his peers without higher courts being able to reverse the jury verdict.

This is what happened in my case and it's a unique case. Just yesterday, the amendment [to the criminal code]

was passed through the House of Commons that will prevent the state or higher courts from reversing a jury verdict of not guilty.

I'm very proud of the fact that it's called the Morgentaler amendment. It's my small contribution to extending civil rights for Canadians.

**Chabot.** Is this a good moment to relaunch actions by women for repeal of the law?

**Morgentaler.** Yes, I hope so. I think this is a good time to relaunch the struggle. There's been a sort of "break-through" in the situation—a kind of sharp turn, really. The majority of people have understood that the law as it stands is truly unjust and victimizes women.

**Chabot.** What are your immediate plans?

**Morgentaler.** I understand there's a conference of CARAL [Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws] coming up, and I'll certainly be there. My first goal, above all, is to regain my health a bit, so that I can once again apply myself to the struggle.

### What Americans can do

**Camejo.** What do you think Americans could do to help your situation in Canada?

**Morgentaler.** As far as public protest goes, I think the best thing at the present time would be to ask the Québec justice minister to drop all the charges against me.

I have been harassed legally for the past six years. I have been acquitted by two juries. There are still eleven outstanding charges against me that they might proceed with. And, frankly, I've had enough. I don't think that the arbitrary, awesome power of the state should be used against one individual in that way. It is unfair and unjust and everybody recognizes that this is so in Canada.

**Camejo.** Is there any message you would like to send to American women?

**Morgentaler.** Yes. It is always necessary to remember that justice is not automatic. Justice can only exist if we keep fighting for it, fighting to protect it. And it is a process that we must repeat constantly.

## Ford's secrecy act

President Ford has officially announced his solution to disclosures of massive government spying, disruption, and manipulation.

The solution? End the disclosures.

At a news conference February 17, Ford proposed an official-secrets act to outlaw future leaks of "classified" material. His plan would make it a criminal offense for any government employee to reveal information that has been tagged "secret." And from now on all employees of the executive branch will be sworn to silence with a mandatory gag statement.

This particular solution is not confined to the White House or to the executive branch. Both houses of Congress are planning legislation and new congressional rules to impose stiff penalties on anyone who lets the American people know about government crimes.

"The overriding task now is to rebuild the confidence as well as the capability of our intelligence services," Ford said. He brushed aside any violations of democratic rights with the assertion that "there won't be any abuses" by the spy agencies.

Few people are going to fall for that. The American people, and victims of CIA crimes around the world, deserve to know the full truth.

Open all the CIA and FBI files!

## Frank Stagg's death

A new victim in the centuries-old struggle of the Irish people for self-determination died February 12.

Frank Stagg, a thirty-four-year-old Irishman, had been on a hunger strike for two months to protest his treatment at Wakefield prison and to demand that he be transferred to a prison in Northern Ireland.

Stagg was jailed in November 1973. Although he had committed no criminal action, he was sentenced to a ten-year term for "conspiracy to commit arson, conspiracy to cause criminal damage, and management of a unit of the Irish Republican Army."

British authorities tried to break Stagg through degrading strip-searches, solitary confinement, and the torture of forced feeding. But he stood firm.

The British Labour government refused to transfer Stagg to a prison in Ireland, even though his entire family lives there. The British Home Office, on the basis of the imperialist-imposed division of Ireland, claimed that Stagg had "no known connection" with Northern Ireland.

Stagg's connection with Ireland was the only reason he was in prison to begin with. When the British rulers were unable to break Frank Stagg, they made the criminal decision to let him die.

Frank Stagg's death was meant to be an object lesson to those who would resist British rule in Northern Ireland.

Called by its right name, it was murder.

## 'Aid' to Guatemala

The earthquake that struck Guatemala left in its wake 19,000 dead, 66,000 wounded, and at least one million homeless.

Working people all over the world were moved by pity and compassion. Millions realized that they too could one day find their homes, families, and lives devastated by an unforeseen natural catastrophe.

Such sentiments found no echo in Washington. The big-business interests who run the government measured out aid with an eyedropper. Ford and Company came up with a paltry \$3.6 million for relief of Guatemalan victims—about as much as the Pentagon spends *every seventeen minutes* for warfare.

Magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek* hailed the government's magnanimity for sending "a fully staffed 100-bed field hospital."

One hundred beds for 66,000 sick or wounded people. That is the measure of the generosity of the rulers of the wealthiest country in the history of the world.

There are people dead in Guatemala—people who need not have died—because the capitalists who rule this country would not forego even one day's profits from the war industry.

### Persistence of Palestinians

It is very unfortunate that the attitude of the U.S. toward the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis reflects a policy which lacks both humanness and realism.

The U.S. upholds a state for the Israelis in the usurped land of the Palestinians that is characterized by exclusivity, and does not as much as consider the important concession made by the Palestinians—that one democratic and secular state in the whole of Palestine be formed for both Jews and Palestinians.

Such a policy is only capable of perpetuating and intensifying the conflict between the two peoples.

It has been demonstrated beyond doubt that the insistence of the Israelis on the status quo, with unqualified U.S. support, is matched by the persistence of the Palestinians to occupy their rightful place in the world as a nation, in full possession of their property and with unabridged rights.

In this, the Palestinians have the full support of the Arab masses and much of the Third World.

The U.S. cannot succeed as mediator unless it recognizes the whole reality of the conflict by: discouraging exclusivity; giving priority to Palestinian return in place of the "law of return"; and working for the integration and cooperation of the two peoples.

The fact that the contrary has long been held is no refutation of the realism and humanness embodied in the approach proposed.

Michael Warren  
Adelphi, Maryland

### East Texas

The appearance last semester of Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid has stirred some new activity here at Sam Houston State University.

Some right-wing students say they are trying to change the image of today's campus youth as "a communistic, flag-burning faction." That is the purpose of a new group on campus, according to its president.

This organizing effort became necessary when the Black Student Union invited the socialist to "spew out her Marxist poison," in the words of the right-wingers.

I am now in the process of getting campus recognition for a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. It is important for the socialist alternative to reach into East Texas, and even more so now.

Bob DeMoss  
Huntsville, Texas

### UFW medical clinic

The United Farm Workers union is in the process of setting up a desperately needed medical clinic for farm workers in the Coachella Valley.

This clinic will deal specifically with the vast medical needs and problems of the migrant farm workers.

We are a poor people's union and therefore have to rely heavily upon our supporters for assistance.

We are in need of doctors (resident and intern), nurses, medical students, and paramedics to staff our clinic on a regular or semiregular basis (salaries to be determined).

Medical supplies are needed in the specific areas of urinalysis, hematology, microbiology, and blood sampling. Our general needs are also numerous, ranging from an incubator

to Band-Aids. All types of donations accepted.

Medical textbooks are also needed.

Farm worker clinics are an integral part of the struggle to secure better lives for all farm workers. Help to build the best health-care system for farm workers and the poor people in the country.

Staff volunteers and those with donations can contact:

Julie Moncada  
1434 West Olympic Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90015  
Telephone: (213) 381-1136

### Strength and determination

Prisons are filled with Black, poor, and Third World people. They will continue to cage us until we all unite.

The women prisoners in North Carolina's concentration camp attempted, in a peaceful way, to gain our human rights and equality. The gun-slinging henchmen became vicious; they indicated their fear and inability to govern by any other means than sadistic, brutal violence.

Despite this, we sisters have stood strong. Now the henchmen show they fear us by continuing to keep us locked up in maximum-security cells.

This same strength and determination is being demonstrated by our people in Angola. They do not fear because they know that they are fighting to gain what belongs to them—their independence from imperialism.

The capitalists resort to electric chairs when they do not succeed in killing us by "justified homicide" by their law enforcement pigs.

A prisoner  
North Carolina

### Job discrimination

An interesting case of job discrimination recently came to my attention. A short while ago Irene Lore applied for a job with New York's Chase Manhattan Bank. A few days later she received two letters from the bank.

The first was addressed to "Miss I.R. Lore" and the second to "Mr. I.S. Lore."

The "Miss Lore" letter said that they were sorry, but there were no positions open. However, the letter to "Mr. Lore" informed the applicant that an interview could be set up for a possible job.

The job discrimination, which may have come to light through a simple computer error, could cost Chase Manhattan a pretty penny. Irene Lore and nine other women are taking the bank to court on charges of sex discrimination.

V.H.  
New York, New York

### 'Post' strike

Missing from Andy Rose's analysis of the *Washington Post* strike (*Militant*, February 13) was a socialist stand on the uses of technological advances.

*Post* owner Katherine Graham speaks of "savings we ought to achieve from modern technology" but have not achieved due to "archaic union practices."

The question of who benefits from modern technology is an important one for the working class. Under capitalism, the labor movement has been put in the position of opposing many technological advances on the job because the resulting "savings"—





## Test in transit

Contract negotiations between the Transport Workers Union and the New York Transit Authority began February 10. The current contract covering 32,400 subway workers and city bus drivers will expire April 1.

The talks are seen as a test for the wage-freeze policy of the city and state administrations.

City officials are taking a belligerent posture, based on their expectation that the unions will remain tied to the Democratic party and that the disillusionment of workers with capitalist politics will not lead to independent political action and mass demonstrations by the union movement.

Right off, David Yunich, head of the Transit Authority, announced that there could be no wage increase because there is no money and wages are frozen. Further cuts in the work force and a rollback of overtime pay are necessary, he said, to "save" the fifty-cent fare. Continuing reductions in service must be expected.

TWU International President Matthew Guinan countered with a statement that the union is not bound by any wage freeze, that he will fight to improve transit service, and that the Transit Authority has "grossly abdicated its responsibilities under the law." He said that the "TWU may have to assume the burden of protecting not only its members' interests but also the interests of the riding public."

"The city of New York still owes over two billion dollars for the construction and purchase of its subway systems," Guinan said. "Its total investment in its mass transit facilities is over twice that figure."

The problem is more political than financial. The financial aspect arises because interest payments by the city to the bankers on the \$2 billion transit debt keep rising. The political side of it involves the solution: whether to pay high interest rates to bankers or living wages to workers, and how the money will be found in either case.

The Emergency Financial Control Board, chaired by Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey, sits as a guardian of the bankers' interests, with power to veto negotiated wage increases.

Transit workers currently get an average of \$6.56 an hour. That is not enough, after taxes, to provide a decent living for an average family. Guinan says that without a substantial increase the union will be guided by its "no contract, no work" policy on April 1. However, he has agreed to a panel of mediators to "assist" in negotiations, hoping that an agreement can be reached as in the past.

The difference is that these negotiations are not like those in the past, not even those of two years ago. This time the employing class is organized to impose its austerity program.

Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve Board, thinks New York has "unwisely" imposed too much tax on business and the banks. "If they had instead raised the sales tax, this would have been very productive," he says.

William Proxmire, Democratic senator from Wisconsin and head of the U.S. Senate Banking Committee, agrees. He is worried that New York City "might lose businesses and their tax base."

As if in response to this idea, the New York State Assembly, prodded by the governor, voted to repeal the bond transfer tax enacted only six months ago to help solve the money crisis. It was expected to raise \$25 million, but the politicians were afraid it would drive away the bond business.

Somewhere down the line the unions will discover that their policy of separate negotiations for small economic concessions is a sure loser. They will learn that united political action to turn out the Democrats and Republicans and elect working men and women on their own labor party ticket is the only way to make gains in these times.

## Capitalism in Crisis

## Andy Rose



## Profits from 'slow growth'

The newspapers are filled with glowing reports about the upturn in industrial production, profits, and the stock market. But despite the "recovery," unemployment remains at the highest levels since the Great Depression.

Is this cruel disparity—poverty in the midst of plenty—an accident, a trend that will soon be reversed as the recovery proceeds? Or is it a necessary part of how the capitalist system operates?

Buried in the back pages of the February 4 *New York Times* was a remarkably frank answer by *Times* financial editor Leonard Silk. Silk's article was entitled, "Virtues of Slow Growth." Slow growth is a polite way of saying high unemployment.

"There is no contradiction between the ebullience of the stock market and slow growth in the general economy," Silk says. "On the contrary, the first is a consequence of the second."

He poses the question: "Why does Wall Street like slow growth—however painful it may be for the unemployed?"

Silk's answer is that *high unemployment keeps wages low*. "Even if wage settlements in major union contracts run as high as 9 percent this year, persistent unemployment is likely to hold the average level of wage settlements well below that level."

In addition, Silk points out, the recovery means a rapid increase in *productivity*—the average amount a worker produces per hour. Rather than hire more workers, the employers find it cheaper—and therefore more profitable—to increase production by getting more out of those already employed. This is done through speedup, more "discipline" on the job, and more advanced technology.

And the long lines of jobless, desperate for any work at any pay, make it easier for the employers to impose speedup as well as low wages.

A forecast issued by the United States Commerce Department spells out what this will mean in various industries. Automobile production, they predict, will increase 13 percent this year. But jobs for auto workers

will increase only 2.6 percent.

The steel industry is an even more dramatic case. There a 13.4 percent expected rise in production will be accompanied by a less than 1 percent expected increase in jobs.

The combination of low wages and high productivity means that *labor costs per unit of output*—the capitalists' key measurement of how much they are paying for labor power—are hardly rising at all. In the second and third quarters of last year—the turning point that marked the start of the "recovery"—unit labor costs actually *declined*.

The result? "With total demand strengthening in the economy, costs held down and prices free to move

### 'RECOVERY' AT A GLANCE

Annual rate of change during third quarter of 1975:

<b>Total production</b>	<b>Up 17.1%</b>
<b>Productivity</b>	<b>Up 12.4%</b>
<b>Real wages plus 'fringes'</b>	<b>Down 1.3%</b>
<b>Labor costs per unit of output</b>	<b>Down 4.7%</b>
<b>Profits per unit of output</b>	<b>Up 98.0%</b>

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

upward, the profit outlook is extremely favorable," Silk says. After-tax profits are expected to climb to \$100 billion in 1976.

"Such an increase of nearly one-third in after-tax corporate profits is consistent with an increase of only about 6 percent in real gross national product," Silk writes, "too slow a rise in output to shave as much as one percentage point from the unemployment rate."

That is the essence of the economic "recovery": profits are soaring *because* wages are low and unemployment is high. Under capitalism, that's the name of the game.

unpaid wages—accrue to the bosses.

To save jobs, unions have in fact supported archaic practices such as adherence to rigid craft lines, opposing time-saving job consolidation and opposing automation.

We support modernization at the workplace. But we demand that the "savings" be ours—in the form of reduced work load, fewer hours with no pay cuts, increased benefits, etc. And we demand these not as forms of "profit sharing," but as our rights as the producers and builders of society.

J. Pellusch

Houston, Texas

### 'Muy importante'

I'm just now reading Felix Morrow's account of the Spanish civil war. What an electrifying and terrifying book!

As a friend of mine at work commented, "*Es muy importante*." If not in scope and intimacy of detail, at least in breadth and clarity of analysis, it compares with Trotsky's 1905 or *History of the Russian Revolution*.

But I see the Pathfinder catalogue does not have it listed in a Spanish-language edition. Now with the opening of La Librería Militante in New York and your new emphasis on rooting yourselves in the Spanish-speaking section of our class, I hope you are able to remedy this situation soon.

If I had to recommend to anyone only one book that would explain what class struggle and Bolshevism are all about, it would be without a doubt *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain*.

S. Manty

Williamsburg, Massachusetts

### Women in sports

The March *Tennis* magazine contains a string of letters to the editor taking issue with Aussie star Margaret Court's criticisms of Billie Jean King in a January article.

In the piece, "Margaret Court's Tennis Secrets," Margaret accuses Billie Jean of being haughty and feisty, and infers that this is because she is a women's liberation supporter.

Readers—nearly all women—parried: "I believe Margaret Court owes Billie Jean an apology," "Billie Jean King is a better sport than she can ever hope to be."

"As for Mrs. Court's secrets—she should have kept them to herself," and "Billie Jean has been an inspiration to all women. Without her drive and determination, her never-ending battle against tradition, male-oriented tournaments, and unequal prize money, women's tennis would never have had its rebirth. Without Billie Jean's efforts in the Women's Tennis Association and World Team Tennis, Margaret would not be enjoying a financially successful career right now."

Forward to women's equality in sports!

B.S.

New York, New York

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



**Food for thought**—"What is the public to think after years of assurance that its food supply is the safest upon learning the food is not free of filth—that there are only filth guidelines allowing certain percentages of insects, rodent droppings . . . and other debris in food; that fish contain unacceptable levels of mercury, that chickens are contaminated with industrial compounds. . . ?"—*Eating May Be Hazardous to Your Health* by Jacqueline Verrett.

**Keeping American Heritage American**—A *History of Railroads in America* declared, "The battered New Haven Railroad, bankrupt in 1935 . . . was plundered again during the Dumaine and McGinnis regime." American Heritage, the publisher, ran an

ad announcing this was "false" and that future printings would state that the railroad merely "suffered reverses" during the cited period.

**Like cool**—Jesse Rodgers, a teacher of "practical mysticism" for the Inner Peace Movement, says, "When you feel the chills or goose bumps, that's the key. It means your angels are very close to you." It occurred to us that a winter in many New York apartments would get the same results.

**Cheap shot**—A story about a county Democratic meeting in the Monroe, Michigan, *Evening News* was headlined, "Some Eligible for Cheap Power." The headline, the editors said, was intended for a story on electric rates for senior citizens.

**Catastrophe plan**—"The President's catastrophic illness insurance plan . . . would cause most Medicare patients to pay more in doctor and hospital bills. It is designed to protect from financial ruin elderly persons hit by long-term illness."—February 10 *Los Angeles Times*.

**Judicious breakthrough**—Mattel, the toy people, will market what they say is one of the first anatomically correct baby boy dolls. "We believe the time is right and the consumer is ready," a spokesperson said.

**Something for that Maoist friend**—A rare-car dealer offers this: "1950 Alfa Romeo Convertible ('Stalin model.')"—This extremely rare car is one of only fourteen. . . . The original

model was commissioned to be built by Alfa Romeo in 1949, by the Communist workers of Italy, for presentation to Soviet premier Josef Stalin on his seventieth birthday. . . . This extremely rare car could easily bring close to \$20,000."

**Nice for diapers**—I. Magnin, the West Coast quality chain, is offering an 18-karat safety pin with a diamond-paved head, \$1,100. For more modest budgets, there's a white gold version with smaller diamonds for only \$200.

**A real trip**—A British tourist outfit is offering a four-day "Alcoholiday" at a Majorca hotel where for ninety dollars drinkers can swill down all they can hold.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

### 'Soaring wages' in Mexico?

LOS ANGELES—For nearly ten years, U.S. businesses have been carrying out a highly profitable operation in Mexico, under a program set up with the cooperation of the Mexican government.

Its purpose is to enable American corporations to take advantage of starvation wages in Mexico.

To American businesses they are known as inbond or twin plants. Mexicans call them *maquiladoras*. American labor officials call them runaway shops.

At its peak last year this operation involved some 550 plants that employed 84,500 Mexicans. In the last six months of 1974, workers in these plants assembled more than \$200 million worth of goods.

The electronics industry is one of those most heavily involved. Since this industry is fairly well unionized, electrical workers are not among the worst-paid U.S. workers. So, outfits such as RCA and General Electric found a welcome way to cut back on paying union wages.

Those operations of electronic equipment manufacturing that require sophisticated machinery or highly skilled labor are still done in the United States, sometimes very near the border. But the assembly end of the job is done in Mexico for a

fraction of the wages they would have to pay union members here.

The goods are then shipped back here. The manufacturer can then claim his product is "made in the USA," although "assembled" in Mexico, and can thereby beat the system on both sides of the border. An obliging Mexican government gives dispensations from taxes to these border plants.

The *Wall Street Journal* reports that some U.S. businessmen are worried about what they call "soaring wages" in Mexico. Some are saying that the whole program may be endangered if this situation keeps up.

Curtis Mathes, Jr., the eloquent head of the Curtis Mathes Corporation of Dallas, says, "We got a big wage increase and could see more coming. When we plugged in these higher costs and pushed the button, it didn't spell mother any more."

However, even the *Journal*, the businessman's friend, is skeptical. "Part of this outcry can obviously be written off," it wrote, "as an effort to bring pressure on the Mexican government to create new concessions for the border industry."

The figures cited by the paper speak for them-

## Miguel Pendás



selves. If anything is "soaring," it is U.S. corporate profits.

For example, in Nogales, on the Mexican side of the Arizona border, the minimum wage has climbed 91 percent since 1970. Pretty impressive. In the United States it has only climbed 31 percent, businessmen will tell you. But when you look at the actual dollars and cents, the wage gap between the United States and the Mexican border region has increased in that period.

In 1970 the Mexican minimum wage was a big \$0.34 an hour, while in the United States it was \$1.60, a difference of \$1.26. Today the Mexican wage is \$0.65 while the U.S. rate is \$2.10, a difference of \$1.45.

It is also important to keep in mind that the actual wage differential is greater because, while gringo corporations pay only minimum wages in Mexico, here they generally are forced to pay union wages. In a plant the *Wall Street Journal* reporter visited, he was informed that a skilled worker who was making \$0.82 an hour would be making \$5.00 an hour for the same job in the United States.

For the corporations that still spells mother, and then some.

## Their Government

### The buy-centennial

WASHINGTON—The buy-centennial image of the American Revolution's 200th anniversary has the birthday administration chief in a tizzy.

"This commercialism thing is the key issue in the bicentennial across America," says John Warner of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. "It is the Achilles heel that could bring the whole thing down."

Warner is not disturbed so much by the commercialism itself—his own outfit has sold \$26 million worth of patriotic medals—but by the attention its critics draw to it.

It's part of our heritage, says Warner, who points out that the "1876 centennial was commercialized to the sky."

In 1876, however, they had to settle for mundane wares like china and mugs. One hundred years later, our imaginative entrepreneurs have brought us bicentennial toilet seats, caskets, and septic tanks.

Then there is the Uncle Sam-shaped soap, the \$100 pen with a plastic-enclosed wood chip from Independence Hall, and the special bicentennial

tattoo. For those young-at-heart patriots, there is the red, white, and blue teddy bear that recites the Declaration of Independence or the Pledge of Allegiance in a southern drawl.

The most ambitious gimmick to date—dubbed by Warner as possibly the "most significant national undertaking"—is the proposed July 4 human chain. According to Marvin Rosenblum, who has copyrighted the idea and set up a corporation to carry it out, it would involve 3-to-5 million people holding hands from Boston to Los Angeles.

"Post-Vietnam and post-Watergate disillusion would be dispelled" by this inspirational accomplishment, explains Rosenblum.

That, after all, is the whole point of the bicentennial bonanza—not to ponder and commemorate the American *revolution*, but to revitalize some of that "my country right or wrong" sentiment that was almost completely wiped out by the Vietnam War.

But for its architects the bicentennial has happened upon us at an inopportune time. Daily disclosures let the American people in on how this government assassinates foreign leaders, manipu-

## Nancy Cole



lates the news media worldwide, and tries to destroy those who dissent in this country. It puts a damper on celebrating 200 years of "freedom from tyranny."

One of the groups in the United States for whom the flashy bicentennial is painfully ironic is Native Americans. "Who would want to participate in the 200th year of the rip-off of our country?" asked Grace Thorpe from the Sac and Fox Indians in Oklahoma.

"If the government would say, 'Okay, we'll honor all your old treaties on water and fishing rights and we'll give back land that was stolen,' that would give the Indians something to celebrate," she said.

Last year Warner met in Washington with some Indians to talk about their part in the nation's "celebration."

Glancing up at the wall-sized Declaration of Independence, Robert Burnette, tribal head of the Rosebud Sioux, responded, "Look at all those words. Justice, justice, justice, justice. We've never had any of that justice—and now you people want us to celebrate!"



# Malcolm X: his ideas still remain

[To mark the eleventh anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X, February 21, we are reprinting excerpts from speeches he made in 1964 and 1965.]

[Malcolm broke with the Nation of Islam in March 1964 because of the group's policy of shunning involvement in the social and political struggles of Blacks. After he left the Nation, Malcolm began to put together a new group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, that aimed to be a part of and help lead struggles for Black liberation from oppression.]

[To a large degree, Malcolm's political development was also shaped by opposition to the moderate outlook of the accepted leaders of the Black movement. Unlike them, a central tenet of Malcolm's thinking was firm opposition to relying on the whims of Congress or waiting for the government to fulfill its promises.]

[Malcolm castigated liberalism and blasted illusions about Black progress. He concluded that Blacks would have to view their struggle in a new light and broaden their horizons. They would have to organize their own power to realize Black liberation.]

[In the face of such power, Malcolm warned, the government would use repression. But it would also offer concessions, reforms, and Black figureheads as safety devices against social explosions.]

[The ideas that Malcolm was presenting were a major threat to this country's rulers. He was saying no to segregation, and no to second-class citizenship. They had to go; and if the system or any individuals stood in the way, they had to also go.]

[It is easy to understand why the country's rulers would be relieved to see Malcolm gotten out of the way. It is still not known to what degree they had a hand in doing it. But on February 21, 1965, assassins removed Malcolm from the scene. His ideas, however, remain.]

**On broken promises:** It was the Black man's vote that put the present [Lyndon Johnson] administration in Washington, D.C. Your vote, your dumb vote, your ignorant vote, your wasted vote put in an administration in Washington, D.C., that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that.

And your and my leaders have the audacity to run around clapping their hands and talk about how much progress we're making. And what a good president we have. If he wasn't good in Texas, he sure can't be good in Washington, D.C. Because Texas is a lynch state. It is in the same breath as Mississippi, no different; only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent.

And these Negro leaders have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Southern cracker—that's all he is—and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to be better for us because, since he's from the South, he knows how to deal with Southerners. . . .

In this present administration they have in the House of Representatives 257 Democrats to only 177 Republicans. They control two-thirds of the House vote. Why can't they pass something that will help you and me?

In the Senate, there are sixty-seven senators who are of the Democratic party. Only thirty-three of them are Republicans. Why, the Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them. And what have they given you for it? Four years in office, and just



now getting around to some civil rights legislation.

Just now, after everything else is gone, out of the way, they're going to sit down now and play with you all summer long—the same old giant con game that they call filibuster. All those are in cahoots together.

Don't you ever think they're not in cahoots together, for the man that is heading the civil rights filibuster is a man from Georgia named Richard Russell. When Johnson became president, the first man he asked for when he got back to Washington, D.C., was "Dicky"—that's how tight they are. That's his boy, that's his pal, that's his buddy. But they're playing that old con game. One of them makes believe he's for you, and he's got it fixed where the other one is so tight against you, he never has to keep his promise. . . .

Look at it the way it is. What alibi do they use, since they control Congress and the Senate? What alibi do they use when you and I ask, "Well, when are you going to keep your promise?" They blame the Dixiecrats. What is a Dixiecrat? A Democrat. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise.

The titular head of the Democrats is also the head of the Dixiecrats, because the Dixiecrats are a part of the Democratic party. The Democrats have never kicked the Dixiecrats out of the party. The Dixiecrats bolted themselves once, but the Democrats didn't put them out. Imagine, these lowdown Southern segregationists put the Northern Democrats down. But the Northern Democrats have never put the Dixiecrats down. No, look at that thing the way it is. They have got a con game going on, a political con game, and you and I are in the middle.

It's time for you and me to wake up and start looking at it like it is, and trying to understand it like it is; and then we can deal with it like it is.—"The Ballot or the Bullet," April 3, 1964.

**On Black progress:** When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great double cross experienced by Black

people here in America in 1964.

The power structure started out the new year the same way they started it out in Washington the other day. Only now they call it—what's that?—"The Great Society?" Last year, 1964, was supposed to be the "Year of Promise." They opened up the new year in Washington, D.C., and in the city hall and in Albany talking about the Year of Promise. . . .

But by the end of 1964, we had to agree that instead of the Year of Promise, instead of those promises materializing, they substituted devices to create the illusion of progress; 1964 was the Year of Illusion and Delusion. We received nothing but a promise. . . .

Right after they passed the civil rights bill, they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the civil rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems.

Since we see what they did in 1963, and we saw what they did in 1964, what will they do now, in 1965? . . .

I just read where they planned to make a Black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, Black boys, and put him in the cabinet,

so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other.

And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people, "Look how much progress we're making: I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House."—"Prospects for Freedom in 1965," January 7, 1965.

**On segregation:** . . . Anyone who puts forth any effort to deprive you of that which is yours, is breaking the law, is a criminal. And this was pointed out by the Supreme Court decision. It outlawed segregation. Which means segregation is against the law. Which means a segregationist is breaking the law. A segregationist is a criminal. You can't label him as anything other than that. And when you demonstrate against segregation, the law is on your side. The Supreme Court is on your side.—"The Ballot or the Bullet."

**On our investment:** . . . We're justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return—I mean without a *dime* in return. You let the white man walk around here talking about how rich this country is, but you never stop to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich because you made it rich.

You take the people who are in this audience right now. They're poor, we're all poor as individuals. Our weekly salary individually amounts to hardly anything. But if you take the salary of everyone in here collectively it'll fill up a whole lot of baskets. It's a lot of wealth. If you can collect the wages of just these people right here for a year, you'll be rich—richer than rich.

When you look at it like that, think how rich Uncle Sam had to become, not with this handful, but millions of Black people. Your and my mother and father, who didn't work an eight-hour shift, but worked from "can't see" in the morning until "can't see" at night, and worked for nothing, making the white man rich, making Uncle Sam rich.

This is our investment. This is our contribution—our blood. Not only did we give of our free labor, we gave of our blood. Every time he had a call to arms, we were the first ones in uniform. We died on every battlefield the white man had. We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today. We have made a greater contribution and have collected less. Civil rights, for those of us whose philosophy is Black nationalism, means "Give it to us now. Don't wait for next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough."—"The Ballot or the Bullet."

## Books by & about Malcolm X

**BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY** by Malcolm X. Edited by George Breitman. 192 pp., \$8, paper \$2.45

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**THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X** by George Breitman and Herman Porter. 60 cents

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## By Malik Miah

On February 25, 1975, Elijah Muhammad, the founder and leader of the Nation of Islam, popularly known as the Black Muslims, died. Since that time a number of significant changes of potentially great importance to Black people and our allies have taken place within the Nation.

The latest is the announcement that the Nation's temple in Harlem has been renamed the Malcolm Shabazz Mosque No. 7 in honor of Malcolm X, a key figure in the Nation of Islam and second only to Elijah Muhammad when he broke from the Nation a year before he was assassinated in 1965.

These changes have aroused speculation (and hopes) on the part of many Blacks that the Nation of Islam can contribute to the emergence of the new militant leadership urgently required by our community.

What follows is some information about the changes of the past year, mainly gathered by reading the Nation's paper, *Bilalian News*, and from impressions obtained from remarks made by members of the Nation. I had no access to "inside" information, and my conclusions are necessarily tentative.

When he died, Elijah Muhammad, who called himself the "messenger of Allah," was replaced by one of his sons, Wallace Muhammad. Wallace Muhammad now bears the title of chief minister of the Nation.

This selection was not made by the members of the organization, but by the inner circle of leadership in Chicago, presumably members of the Muhammad family.

### New chief minister

The new chief minister, who is responsible for the changes since then, had a certain reputation for independent thinking before he assumed command. Around the same time that Malcolm X began to have doubts about certain Muslim policies in the early 1960s, Elijah Muhammad suspended Wallace from the Nation because of ideological and organizational differences over the direction the movement was taking. These differences were never publicly clarified, but Wallace was reinstated in 1965.

Last June Wallace Muhammad announced the change that attracted the most attention: a shift away from the previously overwhelming emphasis on race (and racial mythology) as the chief factor of society and ideology. From now on, he said, membership in the Nation would no longer be restricted to Blacks and would be open to whites, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Arabs, Asians, and others.

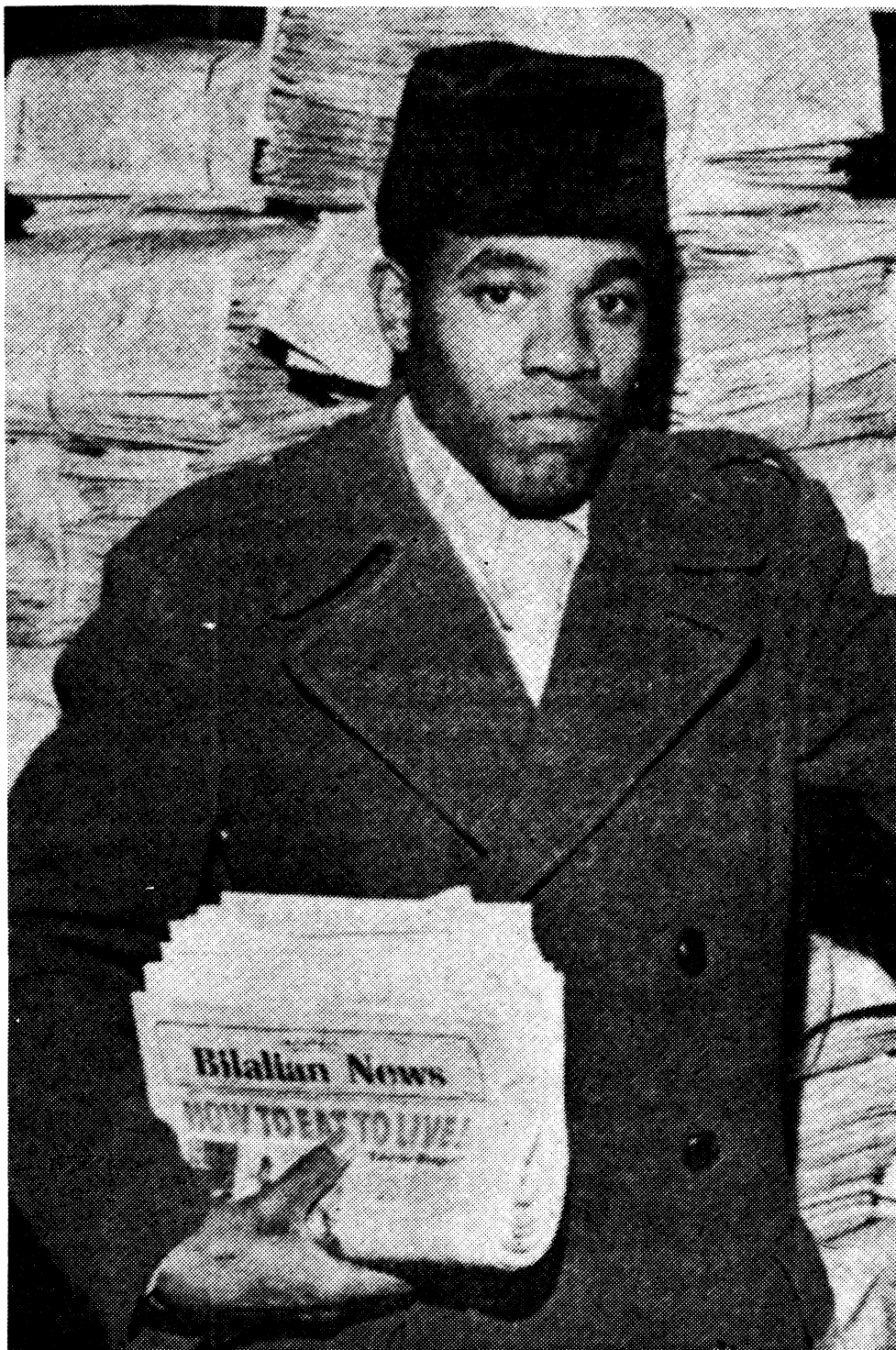
Some observers predicted that such a change would wreck the Nation and destroy its influence in the Black community. But it hasn't turned out that way at all. The number of non-Black recruits still seems very small, but even if it was larger the Nation would remain a basically Black movement.

The Nation was founded more than forty years ago by Elijah Muhammad and his followers to improve the condition of Afro-Americans. This remains its basic goal. In my opinion, the move away from some of the racial mythology and rhetoric of the past will in fact make the Nation more appealing to many Blacks.

Wallace Muhammad also announced that the Nation was going to become more closely involved in the life and struggles of the Black community. But he did not explain publicly how and to what extent this was going to be done.

One problem connected with this is the fact that the Nation is a religious movement. This hasn't changed at all, except, according to some reports, that the Nation is moving closer to the practices and norms of orthodox Islam. This may be important to a small minority of Blacks, but the overwhelming majority are not interested in the Nation's religion. What interests most Black people is the hope that the

# Where is the Nation of Islam going?



Bilalian News

Nation can contribute to the struggles of Blacks to change their economic, social and political conditions.

### Strong economic base

With temples in more than fifty cities, the Nation's economic assets include restaurants, bakeries, stores, a bank, and the largest-circulation Black newspaper in the country.

Meanwhile, more attempts are certainly being made to get involved in community struggles. Both officials and members seem more outgoing—readier to discuss and exchange ideas, more interested in what other organizations are doing, and more willing to speak at non-Muslim meetings. Recently, for example, when I was in Boston and Philadelphia speaking about the civil war in Angola, members of the Nation helped build and came to my forums.

But there are limits to this. The Nation remains a strictly hierarchical organization, as in Elijah Muhammad's time; and local leaders are unwilling to sponsor united activities with other organizations without approval from Chicago.

And the leadership in Chicago has

apparently not decided, as yet, to do more than probe the possibilities of "greater involvement."

Other changes have occurred. One of the most welcome has been a change in the status of women. They are no longer barred from becoming ministers merely because of their sex and are beginning to play more prominent roles in the organization.

Styles or codes of dress are no longer as stringent as they used to be. I have been told there is less direct pressure on members for high financial contributions and high quotas of newspaper sales.

All in all, such changes must make membership more attractive for the average person.

### 'Bilalians'

In November, the Nation announced a new name for people of African descent: Bilalians, after a former Black Ethiopian slave, Bilal, who was prominent in Islamic history. All Black members of the Nation are now called Bilalians. The same term is used for all non-Muslim Afro-Americans or Blacks, and the term "Black Muslim" is strongly rejected.

The Nation's weekly paper changed its name from *Muhammad Speaks* to *Bilalian News*. It is still the biggest Black paper in the country. The February 13 issue, for example, reported the sale of more than 320,000 copies of the previous issue by the twenty mosques having the highest sales.

When Wallace Muhammad announced the new membership policy last summer, there were many rumors that this represented the first step by the Nation away from Elijah Muhammad's ban on Muslim participation in electoral politics. If so, the second step—participation—has still not been taken.

However, according to Minister Abdul (formerly Louis) Haleem Farrah Khan, national spokesperson for Wallace Muhammad, Muhammad is scheduled to announce at the Nation's annual gathering on February 29 the decision to have their members register and vote. It is not known for what party members will register.

*Bilalian News* carries a lot of stories about politics; it must if it intends to report the condition of people whose oppression is enforced by the two-party political structure of this country. But most of its reportage is uncritical of the two-party system, and it is especially uncritical of the Black politicians promoting that system.

In the January 9 issue of *Bilalian News*, for instance, they refer to Black Democratic Mayor Thomas Bradley as "an example of the kind of governmental and political leadership which practically every large American city desperately needs." And in the same issue Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley, no friend of Black people, is portrayed as a "true statesman" because he welcomed Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to Chicago last year.

In 1963 Elijah Muhammad toyed briefly with the idea of endorsing and having the Nation help found an independent Black political party. But when nonmembers began to rally to that idea and tried to form the Freedom Now party in several states, Muhammad gave orders that his ministers and members were not to get involved.

### What kind of politics?

Until now the Nation's policy in political matters has been abstention—which is also a form of politics. If the Nation is really going to become more involved in politics and community struggles, it will have to resolve the question of what kind of politics to support.

And unless that means breaking with the political parties of the Fords, Reagans, Wallaces, and Kennedys, it's hardly worth doing at all.

Taken together, the changes so far seem significant. They show an awareness by the Nation's leaders that the Black community has serious needs not being met, and a desire to adapt their organization to play a bigger role. It took courage for them to discard some of Elijah Muhammad's most rigid dogmas.

But will they also have the courage to abandon his main strategy? That strategy is to abstain from the struggles of the Black community, to stand on the sidelines and restrict the Nation to propaganda (mainly religious propaganda), justifying the abstention on the grounds that this is the only way to preserve the organization from governmental repression.

Will they dare to join and help lead the battles of Black people for busing and school desegregation in cities like Boston and Louisville? Will they join the fight for more jobs, better housing, and decent schools? Will they join the struggle for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, for more child-care centers, and for women's rights in general?

And most importantly, will they organize independent political action, or help create a new nonsectarian movement dedicated to such an objective?

I don't think the answers to such



questions have been decided yet. At the same time they seem to be under consideration. It is from this two-sided perspective that I think the recent decision to honor Malcolm X is significant.

### Renaming of mosque

The renaming of the Harlem mosque was decided by Wallace Muhammad in late January. And it was publicly announced by Farrakhan on the "Black Journal" television program presented by the Public Broadcasting System on February 15. He explained the decision along the following lines:

Recognizing "the great work that Malcolm X did when he was among the Nation of Islam" was not a "departure from previous teachings of the Nation of Islam."

"It is historically true and world-known that Minister Malcolm made great contributions to the Nation of Islam," he said. "But when he departed from the Nation of Islam there was no mention of Malcolm's accomplishments."

"Now, since the Honorable Wallace D. Muhammad has taken over and his mind is a mind of balance and justice," Farrakhan added, "he wants to give balance to the whole Nation of Islam."

Thus the matter is presented as purely a case of historical justice, balance, and accuracy. If that is so, it surely would be more just, balanced, and accurate to add the history of how Malcolm was treated and viewed by the Nation of Islam after he left the organization.

Besides making "no mention of Malcolm's accomplishments," the Nation's leadership, at Elijah Muhammad's orders, harassed and slandered Malcolm after he left the Nation. This, in my opinion, at the very least contributed to the atmosphere in which Malcolm's enemies, organized or protected by the government, felt they could assassinate him with impunity.

### What is at stake

Much more is involved than historical justice for Malcolm, important as that is. What is involved is an understanding of the future of the whole Black struggle, including the future of the Nation of Islam.

Farrakhan tries to portray Malcolm as having been ahead of his time and impatient. In an interview he gave Charlayne Hunter of the *New York Times* on February 1, he said that Malcolm X's "mistake" was that he "knew where the Nation [of Islam] should go and would ultimately go, but as a leader he lacked the patience to wait for the development of the minds of the followers toward that direction."

The opposite is actually the case. Malcolm X was the first leader in the Nation to recognize the blind alley that Elijah Muhammad's abstentionism was leading to. He was the first to realize the absolute necessity for "greater involvement" in the real, ongoing Black struggle. He tried to convince Elijah Muhammad of this necessity, and when that failed, he left the Nation to try to achieve it anyhow.

Malcolm had a gigantic impact on America and the Black community. His militant views spread rapidly. In his all-too-short life he tried to develop a program of militant action to unite Black masses in a struggle for our liberation.

No, Malcolm was not ahead of his time or impatient. The perspective he fought for is the same perspective we as a people are fighting for today.

The leaders of the Nation should especially honor this contribution of Malcolm as they try, in their own way, to cast off abstentionism and become involved in the struggles in the Black community.

Hopefully, the Nation of Islam's changes and new attitude toward Malcolm, which is very welcome, will encourage more Blacks to study the example and perspectives of Malcolm X as we seek to build the kind of movement we as Black people need to win our liberation.

# Socialist demands government foot bill for benefits to elderly

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—"The Social Security system as it is presently structured and financed is misnamed," Ed Heisler told a congressional subcommittee here February 5.

"It has provided little or no real economic security for the elderly and the handicapped. The present financial benefits for the needy are a national disgrace."

Heisler, a railroad worker, is chief labor spokesperson for the Socialist Workers party presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. He was testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee against proposals to raise Social Security taxes.

Retirement means a drastic cut in income for older workers, Heisler said. "The average monthly benefit for retired workers is only \$205 a month. Millions receive far less."

"For example, those people who worked for employers who refused to pay a living wage are penalized by the government when they retire. Their Social Security checks are based on the poverty-level wages they made while working for profit-hungry businesses. In many cases they receive under \$100 a month in benefits, if you can call such a miserly check a benefit."

Social Security is paid for by an across-the-board payroll tax of 5.85 percent on all wages up to a certain limit. (Employers make an equal payment and pass the cost on to workers through higher prices.) It is a highly "regressive" tax—one that falls hardest on the lowest-income workers.

President Ford proposes to raise the tax rate to 6.15 percent of wages. Some liberal Democrats call for leaving the rate unchanged while increasing the wage base on which taxes must be paid to \$24,000 per year.

Heisler condemned both proposals as "part of the escalating drive to impose



Elderly man forced to find shelter in cardboard box because he only gets \$139 monthly Social Security. SWP favors payments equal to union-scale wages.

cutbacks" and "shift the burden of this economic crisis onto the backs of the working class."

The Socialist Workers party opposes all schemes to make workers "foot the bill for their own retirement" through payroll taxes, Heisler told the committee.

"The Socialist Workers party advocates full government-financed benefits for senior citizens and the handicapped, including a decent income, comfortable housing, and complete medical care. We favor much higher Social Security payments that are equal to union-scale wages," Heisler testified.

He added that benefits should be increased monthly "based on the

actual increase in the cost of living."

Heisler proposed that the Bill of Rights be expanded to include the right to a secure retirement and free medical care.

Congress could easily appropriate the funds needed to do this, he said. "End all of the tax loopholes for the corporate rich and that will provide us with tens of billions of dollars. Tax the rich, not the poor."

Second, Heisler proposed that Congress empty the Pentagon and CIA budgets. "If you are really concerned about the 'national security' of the people," he challenged, "what about the security of a job with a secure income? How about a secure retirement?"

# Protest killing of Minn. Black

By Mary Hillery

*Did you hear what they said?*

*They said another brother's dead.*

*They said he's dead, but he can't be buried.*

MINNEAPOLIS—This refrain opened the Twin Cities Militant Forum on February 6. The 175 people in the audience stood in silence.

One-third Black, they had gathered to protest the cold-blooded murder of a twenty-one-year-old Black man by a white cop.

Eric Benford was shot and killed on January 13 by an Eagan, Minnesota, policeman, George Kasat.

Benford's family, backed by the Minneapolis Black community, is demanding that Kasat be indicted for murder. Also, a civil suit has been launched, and efforts are being made to initiate a federal grand jury investigation of police violations of the Civil Rights Act.

The all-white Dakota County Grand Jury refused to indict Kasat. Meeting in secret, it refused to accept evidence gathered by the Benford family and their attorneys.

Robert Benford, Sr., father of the slain man, was the featured speaker at the forum. Martha Smith, Eric Benford's aunt, also spoke.

Tragically, Smith died at the age of thirty-seven the following night. Some 300 Blacks attended her funeral February 12.

Smith had played a central role in organizing the rallies and protests following the murder of her nephew.

Speaker after speaker at the funeral referred to her as a "soldier struck down on the battlefield" of the fight for equal rights.

The amount of support for the Benford family was shown at the forum by the broad array of speakers. These included Lynn Castner, president of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union and an attorney for the Benford family; John Poupart, project director of Anishinabe Longhouse; Harold Ironshield, president of the American Indian Student Association at the University of Minnesota; and Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement. Each drew parallels between the Benford killing and the many unprosecuted murders of Indi-

ans by white cops.

Young students from Heart of the Earth Survival School led the chanting of an Indian prayer dedicated to Eric Benford.

Other speakers included Sam Richardson, state conference president of the NAACP; Spike Moss, director of the New Way; and August Nimtz, a professor at the University of Minnesota.

Fifty demonstrators turned out at the Federal Building February 5, when Robert Benford, Sr., visited the U.S. attorney's office to press for a federal investigation.

A collection for the Eric Benford Civil Rights Fund raised \$262.42 from the Militant Forum audience.



Militant/Greg Cornell

Martha Smith addressed meeting to protest cop killing of her nephew, Eric Benford.

## Announce ballot effort

# United Farm Workers widen boycott drive

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Responding to the grower-inspired throttling of California's farm labor board, the United Farm Workers announced an expansion of its boycott and moved to place a proposition on the state ballot for a new farm labor law.

UFW head César Chávez announced the union would open a major boycott drive against Sunmaid and Sunsweet, two major California growers' cooperatives. Sunmaid markets raisins for its affiliated growers. Dried fruits, nuts, and fruit juices are distributed under the Sunsweet label.

Several hundred growers are affiliated with the two organizations, which the UFW charged played a key role in lining up members of the state legislature to block funding for the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB).

The board, which conducted union representation elections for five months, went out of business February 6 when its operating funds ran out and further funding was not forthcoming.

With a two-thirds vote of the state senate required for a fund appropriation, a minority of legislators were able to block passage. As a condition for



Militant/Henry Snipper

UFW is expanding boycott to Sunmaid and Sunsweet products as well as grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine. Renewed effort is needed after demise of farm union election board.

voting in favor, they had demanded amendments to the already weak law that would have effectively destroyed it.

Speaking with Chávez at a February 11 news conference at the state capitol in Sacramento, UFW attorney Jerry Cohen said the draft of a ballot initiative had been filed with the attorney general and that the union was ready to launch a drive to secure the 312,000 signatures necessary to qualify for the ballot.

### Predicts approval

Chávez was confident that the union and its supporters could obtain the necessary signatures. He predicted the voters would approve it by a 60 percent margin.

If the legislature should reconsider and move to fund the ALRB, the UFW representatives said, they would not press ahead with the initiative effort.

However, to place the proposition on the November ballot, the necessary signatures must be filed in June. The next time the legislature is formally

slated to consider the issue of funding for the ALRB is when it acts on the entire state budget in July.

### Big job

Obtaining the petitions would, of course, be a big job. But there is no question that the committed activists of the union and its growing body of supporters could do it.

Effectively utilized, a massive campaign to place such a measure on the ballot, and then to win its passage, could prove valuable in mobilizing major new support for the embattled UFW.

The boycott of Sunsweet and Sunmaid products, according to Chávez, would be conducted along the lines of the ongoing boycott of scab grapes and lettuce and Gallo wine.

John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, participated in the news conference with Chávez and Cohen.

Henning castigated the growers and their representatives in the legislature,

declaring they had decided to kill the ALRB when they had realized that their Teamster stooges were running "a distant second" to the UFW in the union representation elections.

Henning said the AFL-CIO supported the UFW move to place the initiative on the ballot, but would continue efforts to get the legislators to appropriate emergency funding for the board.

Clearly, it will take massive pressure to achieve this. Right-wing legislators have publicly declared that unless the farm labor law is amended to suit their union-busting tastes, they will block action on the entire state budget in July.

### No idle threat

And this is no idle threat. At the time the Agricultural Labor Relations Act was passed last year, there were certain divisions among grower interests that provided a greater opportunity for enactment of the measure.

But since then they have apparently moved toward uniting their not-insignificant forces.

The February issue of the *Western Grower & Shipper*, voice of the influential Western Growers Association, boasts of this.

An article by Daryl Arnold, vice-president of the WGA, describes the formation of an "ad hoc committee" of growers. It set as its goal the job of lining up "sufficient support in the Legislature to deny the ALRB any more funds until necessary improvements were made in the law."

Participants in this committee, he disclosed, include the WGA, the ultra-reactionary Farm Bureau Federation, the Agricultural Council of California, and the California Chamber of Commerce.

Add to that the Sunmaid and Sunsweet combinations, representing some of the most prosperous ranchers in California, and you have a force that will require more than a moderate amount of pressure.

But if the UFW mobilizes all its supporters—present and potential—it can crack this reactionary united front.

## A victory for UFW

The United Farm Workers won a significant victory when the Samuel Vener Company, one of the biggest tomato growers in San Diego County, agreed to pay \$7,000 in back wages to farm workers illegally fired for their relationship with the UFW.

Some 102 workers had been fired, 84 of them women. The union had charged the company with sex discrimination in the firing, as well as antiunion discrimination.

In addition to paying back wages, the grower also agreed to reinstate the seniority of the workers who were illegally fired.

# Trial points to FBI role in murder of Panthers

By Charles Jackson

CHICAGO—FBI efforts to crush the Black Panther party are being documented here as opening testimony gets under way in the trial of the *Hampton v. Hanrahan* civil rights suit.

For the first time, the FBI has been forced to admit that a March 4, 1968, Cointelpro memorandum, signed by J. Edgar Hoover, cited Stokely Carmichael as having "the necessary charisma" to be a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement.

Carmichael, previously a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was a leader of the Black Panther party when Hoover wrote the 1968 memo seeking to "prevent the rise" of such a "messiah."

Hoover's other goals included:

- "Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups";
- "Prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations";
- "Pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them."

In a highly censored reply to Hoover's request for a "succinct summary of the black nationalist movement," the Chicago FBI office wrote that it "agrees with the Bureau completely in the necessity of developing such a [counterintelligence] program to attempt to combat the potential effectiveness" of militant Blacks.

This reply, admitted into evidence (along with the Hoover memo) by U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry, was written prior to the formation of a Black Panther chapter in Chicago.

Attorneys for the families of slain Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark have set out to convince the six-member jury that Hoover's memo was part of a nationally coordinated conspiracy that led to the December 4, 1969, police raid during which Hampton and Clark were killed.

As James Montgomery, a Hampton attorney, put it in his opening statement, the raid was "an intentional effort to destroy the Black Panther party, its leadership and its membership."

Montgomery charged that the FBI used paid informer William O'Neal, in Hoover's words, in "harassing and impelling the criminal activities of the Black Panther party."

The Hampton attorney defined the key work for the jury: "impelling—causing to happen."

At the time of the raid, O'Neal was Panther chief of security and had

procured the weapons police used as a pretext for raiding Hampton's apartment.

Montgomery described how one of the raiders, Officer Joseph Gorman, armed with a submachine gun, fired a volley of forty bullets through the wall of Hampton's bedroom. Gorman asked another of the raiders to look into the room and see if the bullets had come through. He replied that they had.

Montgomery told how Deborah Johnson, eight-and-a-half months pregnant, lay in bed next to Hampton trying to wake him even as the mattress vibrated from the impact of the bullets.

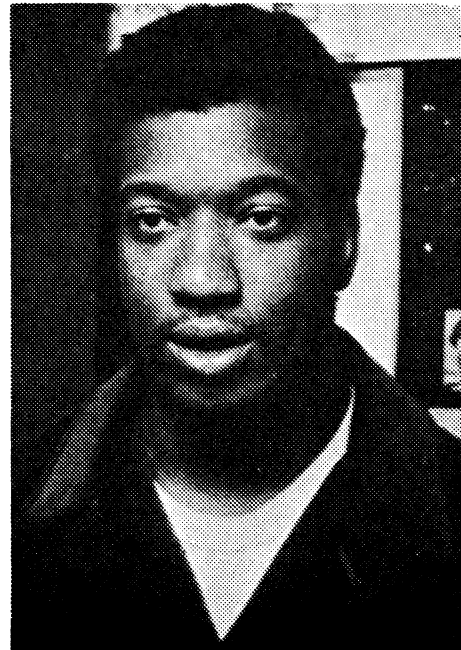
Later the police removed everyone except Hampton from the bedroom. Deborah Johnson heard the voice of an unknown raider say of Hampton, "He's barely alive. He'll barely make it."

Then another blast of gunfire, and a cop saying, "He's good and dead now."

Defendants in the case, in addition to then-Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, are twenty-seven local, state, and federal officials who planned or participated in the predawn raid.

In a short response to Montgomery's long opening statement, defense attorneys denied the conspiracy charge, but admitted that there was "cooperation" in carrying out "effective police work" against the "vicious individuals in the Black Panther party." The party was

**Continued on page 26**



CLARK & HAMPTON: 'Neutralized' on orders from Washington?



## Campaign in National City

# Preelection blitz for independent Chicano slate

By Mark Schneider

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—The Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights and its candidates are taking to the streets here in their drive to replace racist members of the city council and school board in the elections to be held March 2.

An extensive campaign has been mapped out for the last two weeks before the elections. The goal is to talk to as many people as possible and to get out the vote for Jesse Ramírez and Oscar Cañedo, candidates for city council, and Luís Natividad, candidate for school board.

The independent election campaign stems from last October's murder of Luís Rivera, a Puerto Rican youth who was gunned down by police. After large community mobilizations, the cop was indicted for manslaughter, but was quickly acquitted in a sham pretrial hearing. This experience demonstrated to many Chicanos the need to replace the members of the city administration with their own representatives.

Supporters from throughout the city gathered February 12 to draw up plans for the campaign.

Top priority is placed on massively distributing campaign material and getting up posters around the city.

Jesse Ramírez, city council candidate, explained to a supporters' meeting, "We have to rely on ourselves. Nobody else is going to do anything for us. The campaign will be won by those people sitting right here."

One of the most successful campaign events was a *tardeada*—an afternoon social—held recently to raise money for the committee's voter-registration drive and to hear speeches from the candidates.

More than 500 people attended, and they contributed \$1,500. Another *tardeada* is planned for February 22.

One of the groups supporting the independent Chicano campaign is the Socialist Workers party. Don Sorsa, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the Forty-second Congressional District, is urging Blacks, Chicanos, and other working people to support the

committee's candidates.

"This campaign is important," Sorsa's statement said, "because it shows the need for independent political activity by the Chicano community against the Democratic and Republican parties."

Among those attending the February 12 planning meeting of the committee's campaign was Omari Musa, SWP senatorial candidate in California. Musa, who was introduced as a special guest, distributed a statement endorsing the candidates of the group.

Musa urged the Black and labor movements to follow the example of the National City Chicanos in breaking with the two capitalist parties.

Another part of the work of the committee is a recall drive to oust the mayor and two other city council members who are not up for election March 2.

The committee gathered nearly 2,000 signatures on petitions, fulfilling requirements for the recall. However, two-thirds of the signatures were declared invalid by the city adminis-

tration on a technicality that ruled most of the precinct numbers incorrect.

The committee had used a city-provided map of the precincts in filling in the numbers. The city clerk, however, then checked the petitions using a map with different precinct boundaries.

In response, the Chicanos filed a suit demanding that their petitions be validated.

A partial victory was won when Judge Jack Levitt issued a temporary restraining order against city officials. They had wanted to give the Chicanos thirty days to make up the signatures declared invalid. The order blocked the city officials' action until there is a ruling on the suit, which asks that the signatures already collected be held valid.

The order also set a February 24 date for a court hearing. The Chicanos will then confront the mayor, city clerk, and two city council members with evidence that those officials proceeded illegally in counting the recall petitions.

# Wounded Knee: after 85 years, still no justice

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Representatives of the Wounded Knee Survivors' Association told a Senate subcommittee recently that had the U.S. government had its way, there would have been no survivors of the 1890 massacre of Sioux Indians.

After the army's slaughter of defenseless men, women, and children, "the dead were left out there for days, the wounded were left out there to freeze to death," Rev. Simon Looking Elk told the committee.

A subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee held hearings February 5 and 6 to consider a bill that would provide \$3,000 compensation to each of the Wounded Knee survivors and their descendants. The Indian group views the payment as a "token," but also an important acknowledgment of government wrongs against the Indian people.

The army's response has been to deny that the killing of an estimated 90 braves and 200 women and children on December 29, 1890, was a massacre.

The army showed "great restraint and compassion," states its twenty-four-page report. And it would be "highly inequitable" to compensate Big Foot and many of his "belligerent followers" who were responsible for provoking the confrontation!

The parallel between the nineteenth-century slaughter and present-day crimes such as Vietnam's My Lai is an

obvious one:

"My mother said, 'I was sitting on the wagon tongue watching women folks who were left at their tents, when four soldiers came along the tents searching them,'" Talbert Looking Elk, now in his eighties, told the committee. Looking Elk's grandparents and brother were killed at Wounded Knee; his parents were wounded.

"The soldiers threw the bed rolls and all the belongings out of their tents. There was a woman sitting in front of her tent as she was about to be a mother. She was slow getting up so the soldiers pushed her over and then shot her."

The army's persistent efforts to rewrite history are prompted by its fear that officially declaring Wounded Knee a massacre will set a precedent for victims of other U.S. slaughters. It may "commence a course of action that never ends," Army General Counsel Charles Ablard said February 5.

Alvin Josephy, editor of *American Heritage Magazine*, testified that the army's version of Wounded Knee "is a hodgepodge account taken from white men's versions and either ignores or distorts Indian thinking, motivations, and actions."

"It is shocking to me," Josephy said, "to find the army referring to Indian men as 'bucks' and women as 'squaws' in 1975. This is the mentality that uses the word 'gooks.'"



Talbert Looking Elk, whose parents were wounded and his brother killed at Wounded Knee, testifies before Senate subcommittee about the 1890 massacre.

# Los Angeles Socialist Workers party expands

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—The one in the "Woman Power" T-shirt yelled, "Hey, let's swing this mimeo machine over a little more to the right!"

It was moving day for Los Angeles socialists, and everybody had aching muscles the next day to prove it.

The Los Angeles Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance were taking steps to expand the movement for socialism.

Previously organized into two party branches, the SWP has divided into four new branches. The YSA, which had two units, now has four chapters.

The SWP branches will be located in Long Beach, Pasadena, East Los Angeles, and the west side of Los Angeles.

The YSA chapters will be function-

ing at Pasadena City College, the University of California at Los Angeles, and California State University in Long Beach and in Los Angeles.

At each of the four SWP storefront locations, there will be a Pathfinder bookstore featuring books and pamphlets on socialism, the Black, Chicano, and women's liberation movements, and more.

The establishment of the four centers may seem like a lot of work. But there are real advantages. It will mean that each party branch will be in a better position to participate in the political life of each area.

SWP members in East Los Angeles, now centrally situated in the predominantly Chicano community, will have increased opportunities to spread their

ideas on socialism and Chicano liberation.

They will be able to take a more active role in the Farm Workers support movement, the antideportation fight, and other community struggles.

The Pasadena socialists will concentrate their energy in the fight for school desegregation. They are discussing ways to help build support for the Pasadena school desegregation plan.

Long Beach, with its industrial section and Black and Chicano communities, promises to be a fruitful area for socialist activity.

The Los Angeles West Side branch will remain in the Crenshaw Black community.

The YSA chapters will focus their activity on the college and high school campuses.

Along with the SWP, the chapters will give top priority to the fight to get the United States out of Angola.

An especially positive response on the Angola issue is expected at campuses such as Pasadena City College and Cal State L.A., which are attended by many Black students.

The smaller size of the socialist units means there will be more for everybody to do. In the process, members will have a better chance to develop a variety of organizational and political skills useful to socialist activists.

The expansion of the SWP and YSA involves remodeling and equipping the new headquarters. Readers who can help by contributing office equipment can contact the SWP or YSA at the addresses listed in the Socialist Directory on page 26.

## 800 attend defense rally

# J.B. Johnson wins temporary trial delay

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 17—An effort by St. Louis prosecutors and judges to railroad J.B. Johnson to trial without his attorney has been blocked for the time being.

Robert Seiler, chief justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, today ordered the trial postponed at least until the Supreme Court convenes for its judicial conference on March 8.

Last Friday, February 13, St. Louis County Circuit Court Judge William Corrigan had ordered Johnson's trial to begin today.

Johnson, twenty-five, faces a possible life sentence when he comes to trial for the second time on charges of being an accomplice to a 1970 jewelry store robbery and the related shooting of a white policeman.

It took a five-year fight by Johnson's mother, Mary Watkins, and the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson to overturn his original frame-up conviction and win a new trial.

Johnson asked for a postponement of the trial because William Kunstler, the prominent civil liberties attorney who heads his legal defense team, could not be present on the proposed trial date.

Judge Corrigan refused, and an appeals court upheld his ruling. The case was argued before Judge Seiler yesterday by one of Johnson's attorneys, Paul Hales. His appeal was backed in a brief filed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Shortly before Seiler's action delaying the trial, County Prosecutor Courtney Goodman released a statement

that he would no longer oppose the postponement.

Over the weekend Goodman's office had been flooded with hundreds of messages, telegrams, and telephone calls demanding that he and Judge Corrigan stop trying to send Johnson to trial without the attorney of his choice.

Messages had come from such national political figures as Julian Bond, Ramsey Clark, Robert Allen, and Hurricane Carter.

Immediately after the ruling, Mary Watkins told the *Militant* that "this is a big victory for us. They intended to railroad J.B. to trial but they have been stopped by a massive outcry from the Black community and other supporters."

"This does not mean that the struggle is over. But we have now seen how low they will stoop in their attempt to put J.B. Johnson in prison," she said.

The racist drive against Johnson has provoked growing opposition from the Black community in St. Louis and from prominent supporters of civil liberties throughout the country.

On February 7, 800 people attended a rally sponsored by the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson at the First Baptist Church in St. Louis's North Side Black community.

Also sponsoring the rally were the Student Coalition Against Racism, the St. Louis Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and many Black student organizations.

An impressive array of speakers demanded that the charges be dropped



Johnson and his mother, Mary Watkins, are introduced to February 7 rally demanding charges against him be dropped.

against Johnson, and that if he is forced to undergo the ordeal of a second trial, that he be allowed the attorney of his choice.

Speakers included Angela Davis of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate; Mary Watkins; Forris Elliot, attorney for the St. Louis NAACP in a school desegregation battle here; and Jack Kirkland of the

Washington University Black studies department.

Working people, especially Black workers, have taken a growing interest in supporting J.B. Johnson. At the rally, Willie Ford, representing a group of metal workers, presented Mary Watkins with a check for funds collected at Combustion Engineering on the North Side.

Forty St. Louis bus drivers, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, bought tickets to the rally.

Defense committee leafleters also report a friendly response from workers at the Scullin Steel and General Motors plants here.

Another indication of public pressure for Johnson's rights was a February 13 editorial in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* supporting postponement of the trial.

Since Johnson's original conviction, many facts have emerged that brand it as a racist frame-up. The man who admitted killing the white cop has sworn that he never heard of Johnson until after the 1970 robbery took place.

Moreover, two rings police claim they found in Johnson's shoes after the robbery turned out to match two rings that mysteriously "disappeared" from a police evidence tray photographed immediately after the shooting.

It is with this flimsy evidence that the prosecution is seeking to retry Johnson and send him back to prison.

To lend your support to J.B. Johnson's struggle for freedom, contact the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson, Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Telephone: (314) 725-0319.

## Reid tours Missouri, speaks out on Black rights

By Tom Moriarty

ST. LOUIS—"It began to get a little crowded when the third TV crew arrived to film Willie Mae Reid," said Mary Smith, advance publicity coordinator for the Missouri Socialist Workers campaign committee. "But that was okay. We like crowds."

The place was Penn Valley Community College in Kansas City, Missouri.

The largely Black audience of seventy-five didn't seem to mind the whirring of TV cameras as they interrupted Reid's speech several times with enthusiastic applause.

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, broke some new ground in two days of campaigning in Kansas City. "The massive mobilizations of the civil

rights and anti-Vietnam War movements point the way forward," Reid told the Penn Valley students. "Our own power, in the streets, independent of the Democrats and Republicans—that's our method of struggle."

At the University of Missouri at Kansas City, Reid blasted President Ford's recent attack on the 1973 Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion. Ford said that a woman's right to abortion should be left up to the states.

"The problem," said Reid, "is that states don't get pregnant. Women do."

"They are the ones who must make the decision."

Between speaking engagements, Reid appeared on two half-hour televised interviews and gave interviews

to the *Kansas City Star* and to the *Globe*, the city's major Black newspaper.

Reid then traveled across the state to St. Louis, where her campaign was first launched more than a year ago. She returned at a crucial period in the six-year fight by J.B. Johnson to win his freedom against a racist frame-up.

Addressing a rally of more than 800 in St. Louis's Black community, Reid said, "J. B. Johnson is young, poor, and Black in 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.'"

"If you are young, poor, and Black, you can commit the greatest of crimes without even knowing it. By simply being in the wrong place at the wrong time. If you are young, poor, and Black, the American dream is a nightmare," Reid asserted.

"Those who throw rocks at Black students on school buses in Boston are the same forces who want to send J. B. back to prison."

Over the continuing applause of the crowd, Reid shouted, "But we have the power to outnumber, outorganize, and outmobilize these racist forces. Justice for J.B. Johnson means freedom for J.B. Johnson!"

During a radio interview earlier that day Reid talked about the busing issue.

"We have a situation in St. Louis no different than that in every other major city in the country," Reid explained. "Black people have been forced, through racist housing patterns, into segregated neighborhoods whose schools have been the victims of a conscious policy of neglect."

"In the overwhelming majority of cases the better educational facilities are to be found in the predominantly white neighborhoods," the socialist candidate continued. "Buses are nothing more than a form of transportation."

"When the Black community decides

that our children will have an equal education by any means necessary—and that it includes busing—the Socialist Workers party says, 'Let those buses roll.'"

When asked later about the violence that has accompanied desegregation in Boston, Reid explained that the violence came from the white racist mobs who are trying to prevent Black people from winning their democratic rights.

"What we have to do," she said, "is build a mass movement in defense of Black rights that can convince the racist forces to do three things: go home, be quiet, and stay out of our way."

On Monday, February 9, the Missouri state unemployment office looked like every other unemployment center in the country—crowded.

Reid and several supporters met a warm response from the jobless workers as they distributed the "Bill of Rights for Working People" and sold the *Militant*.

A photo in the February 10 *St. Louis Globe Democrat* pictured a security guard at the unemployment office unsuccessfully trying to stop Reid from campaigning there.

After hearing Reid's outline of the socialist program to provide jobs through a massive program of public works that would build badly needed housing, schools, hospitals, day-care centers, and recreational facilities, one man said, "Yeah, there's plenty of work, but no jobs."

On Monday evening Reid rounded out her Missouri tour with a meeting at Washington University. "We hear a great deal of talk about the so-called high crime areas—a code word for the Black community," Reid said.

"But the highest 'crime area' in the nation is in Washington, D.C., at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue—the White House."



SWP vice-presidential candidate Reid addresses 800 at J.B. Johnson defense meeting.



## Socialist Campaign Week

# All out March 12-20 to sell the 'Militant'!

By Pat Galligan

March 12-20. Mark it on your calendar.

Those are the dates for the Socialist Campaign Week.

During that week, socialists around the country will mobilize to sell the *Militant* and to distribute literature for the Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid and for local socialist candidates.

Teams of socialist canvassers will be going door to door. Visiting steel mills and other workplaces. Holding street meetings. All in all, this should be an exceptional week for *Militant* sales—of both single copies and subscriptions.

The week's activities will give socialist campaigners an opportunity to talk to thousands of people about the socialist alternative in the 1976 elections and to introduce them to the *Militant*.

March 12-20 will kick off the *Militant's* spring circulation drive. This one-week intensive sales effort can set the pace for regular, high weekly sales and get the subscription drive off to a flying start.

Prospects for the success of the Socialist Campaign Week and for the spring *Militant* drive are excellent.

Growing interest in socialist ideas and receptivity to the *Militant* have been shown by the results of the door-to-door work carried out by several branches of the Socialist Workers party.

In Brooklyn, for example, socialists have been canvassing door to door since the fall. In the predominantly Black Lindsey Park apartment complex, a tenant organized meetings for Socialist Workers congressional candidate Pat Wright and U.S. vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid.

Visiting Lindsey Park on Saturdays and weekday evenings has led to substantial weekly sales. Now there's a regular clientele, several subscribers and campaign supporters, and a new member of the Socialist Workers party.

And another Lindsey Park resident recently called the downtown Brooklyn headquarters of the SWP and asked to join.

SWP branches and campus chapters of the Young



Socialist Alliance are taking goals for weekly sales and for subscriptions. Also, sixteen YSA teams traveling to campuses from coast to coast will participate in the spring circulation drive.

Altogether they will be shooting to sell around 7,500 copies a week. We'll know the exact goal when all the cities have set their local quotas.

The national goal for the subscription drive will be in the range of 6,000. During the spring drive, the

*Militant* will offer a special introductory subscription rate of ten weeks for \$1.00.

Why do we conduct circulation campaigns? That drawing by *Militant* cartoonist Ivan tells the story.

Ever since the start of the busing program in Boston, the *Militant* has consistently reported the facts, exposing the lies of the Democratic and Republican politicians—from the Boston School Committee right up to the White House.

This has been during a time when the capitalist-owned media have imposed a virtual news blackout on the racist terror in that city.

The *Militant* has also presented a strategy to defeat the racist offensive.

The campaign to get out the truth about what's happening in Boston is only one example. The *Militant* is a workers' newspaper that reports and analyzes a wide range of issues and events. It offers socialist solutions to the problems working people face.

Our circulation drives are organized, national efforts to reach as many people as possible with both accurate information on what's happening and socialist proposals to do something about it.

We want to increase the circulation and influence of the *Militant* among unionists. We want to reach more people in the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other communities of oppressed minorities. We want to reach more women, students—all the victims of the economic crisis and of racist and sexist oppression who are looking for a way to fight back.

We want all those people to read the *Militant* every week, to support the Camejo-Reid campaign, and to join the socialist movement.

We encourage all our readers to participate in sales and literature distribution March 12-20 and throughout the spring circulation campaign.

Order your weekly bundle of *Militants* to sell where you work, live, or go to school. Send for a packet of prepaid subscription cards (see ad on page 27). Or write for regular subscription blanks. Do it today and you'll be ready to go on March 12.

Spread the word. Sell the *Militant*!

## Interview with union leader

# Dominican longshore workers fight for rights

By José Pérez

Despite the release last December of three labor leaders who had been in jail since last summer, trade-union rights remain in a precarious state in the Dominican Republic.

Nothing illustrates this better than the case of the Sindicato Portuario de Arrimo (POASI—longshoremen's union). The union's headquarters has been occupied by police since October 1973.

In January the *Militant* interviewed José Martínez Vargas, the legitimate general secretary of POASI. The union leader was visiting the United States to publicize the case of POASI. He met with several trade unionists and civil libertarians here to seek their support for the democratic rights of union members in the Dominican Republic.

Martínez Vargas explained that government attacks against POASI go back a decade. Before the imposition of the Joaquín Balaguer regime following the occupation of the Dominican Republic by 20,000 U.S. Marines, POASI had been the sole longshore union in Santo Domingo, capital of the Caribbean country.

However, in 1966 the government passed a law establishing itself as a middleman between the companies and the longshore workers. Wages were cut through the abolition of a per-hour wage scale and establishment of a per-ton wage scale. The government brought in a "yellow union" and decreed that out of every five ships that come in, three would be handled by POASI and two by the government's union.

In 1971, a new leadership defeated

the pro-Balaguer officeholders in the union. This group, which called itself the Blue Slate, included supporters of various political parties.

The Balaguer government, according to Martínez Vargas, intervened in the election, backing the old leadership, which was called the Red Slate.

But the Blue Slate won the election, receiving 750 votes from a total membership of 1,300.

Elections were to have been held again in 1973, but they coincided with the declaration of a state of emergency by the Balaguer government. The pretext for the declaration was the landing of a band of guerrillas in the country.

The leadership of the union decided to call off the scheduled elections. "Under the state of emergency," Martínez Vargas said, "the members couldn't campaign because you couldn't put up posters or you might get shot by the police thinking that you are a subversive."

Nevertheless, the pro-Balaguer minority in the union went to the secretary of the interior and obtained a promise from him that the election could be held.

"Seeing this," Martínez Vargas continued, "we thought that a whole maneuver was being planned against us and we decided to hold elections."

A mass membership meeting was held to pick the commission that would conduct the election. However, before the commission elected by the union ranks had a chance to be certified by the government and schedule the balloting, a rump commission—handpicked by the progovernment

union minority—registered itself and scheduled an immediate election.

The progovernment commission had its election. They declared that their Red Slate had won, but most of the union members just ignored them.

"A few days later," Martínez Vargas continued, "ten busloads of police and guards showed up. They broke the lock on the union headquarters and went inside."

"A number of the officials had been arrested that morning at 3:00 a.m.," he said, "so the police were able to break into the headquarters without a

struggle because there was no leadership."

Every attempt at a protest was met with government repression. The old leadership of the union was blacklisted from the docks for a year. At one point, forty-five members were in jail. Martínez Vargas himself has been arrested seventeen times since police seized the union headquarters in October 1973.

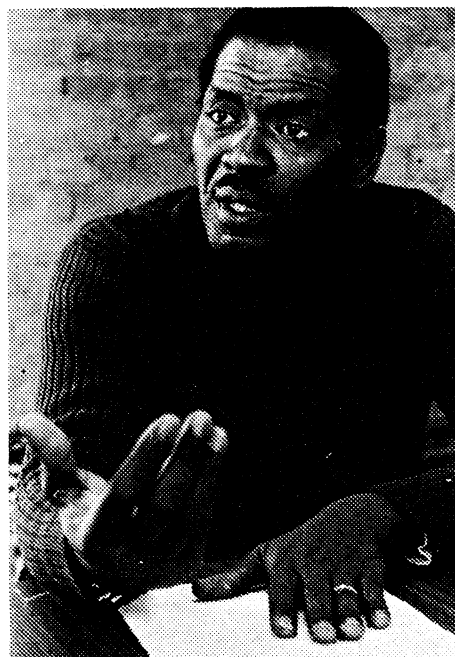
To this day the imposed leadership has made no attempt to legitimize its rule by trying to function as a leadership that defends the economic interests of the workers. No membership meetings or elections have been held. The headquarters of the union is still occupied by the police.

What steps were taken to protest this undemocratic situation? For a long time the membership was demoralized and afraid of the repression, Martínez Vargas said. But in the past year an effective campaign has been mounted.

Fifty-two trade-union organizations in the Dominican Republic—including the Central General de Trabajadores, one of the two trade-union federations in the country, have protested the police occupation of POASI's headquarters.

POASI leaders have now extended this campaign to the international arena, obtaining statements of support from unions in various Latin American and European countries.

In the United States, the defense effort is being coordinated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) as a continuation of the work that group carried out on behalf of the three union officials who had been jailed.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

José Martínez Vargas, general secretary of longshore workers' union in Dominican Republic.

## Socialist speaks on Stavisky bill

# Will 'equal sacrifice' save NYC schools?

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—More than 1,000 teachers demonstrated in front of Gov. Hugh Carey's New York City office after school on February 9.

The demonstration was called by the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) to demand that Carey sign the Stavisky-Goodman bill on educational funding cutbacks.

Carey has threatened to veto the bill, which passed both houses of the state legislature by substantial margins.

Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from Manhattan's Eighteenth Congressional District, was at the protest. He and several campaign supporters from Teachers for Garza distributed literature and talked with teachers.

Garza is a bilingual teacher and an activist in the UFT.

The *Militant* interviewed Garza after the demonstration about the Stavisky bill and the fight against the cutbacks.

\* \* \*

**Question.** What is the Stavisky bill?

**Answer.** [UFT President Albert] Shanker tells us that this bill "means saving jobs, and saving jobs means saving education." The Shanker leadership poses this bill as the major way the union can respond to the teacher cutbacks.

In reality, the bill merely provides that the *percentage* of the budget going to education would remain the same as in the past three years.

If the bill becomes law, the money going to education and all other social services will continue to decline. The most the bill's supporters can claim is that teachers' share of a shrinking pie would remain the same.

**Q.** Some in the UFT who have opposed Shanker—for example, the Teachers Action Caucus—also call for the Stavisky bill to become law. Do you think the bill does any good for teachers?

A. No, I don't think so. This type of strategy—which accepts the budget cuts as inevitable—is an obstacle to a united struggle.

Since the portion of the budget going to the bankers is growing—Mayor Beame himself points that out!—it means that for teachers' share to remain proportionally the same, other services will have to be disproportionately cut.

This is a kind of labor cannibalism that pits teachers against other municipal workers and even against other parts of the educational system.

For example, the professors at the City University of New York are excluded from the Stavisky bill, so they have their own similar bill.

We should be out here demonstrating against *all* cutbacks and *all* layoffs, together with other city workers and residents. But Shanker is very consciously against that. He is falling for—and promoting—the divide-and-conquer strategy of the ruling rich.

You know, Shanker calls for "equality of sacrifice" when he asks the governor to sign the Stavisky bill. But he doesn't believe in "equality of sacrifice" when it comes to the jobs of Black and Puerto Rican teachers.

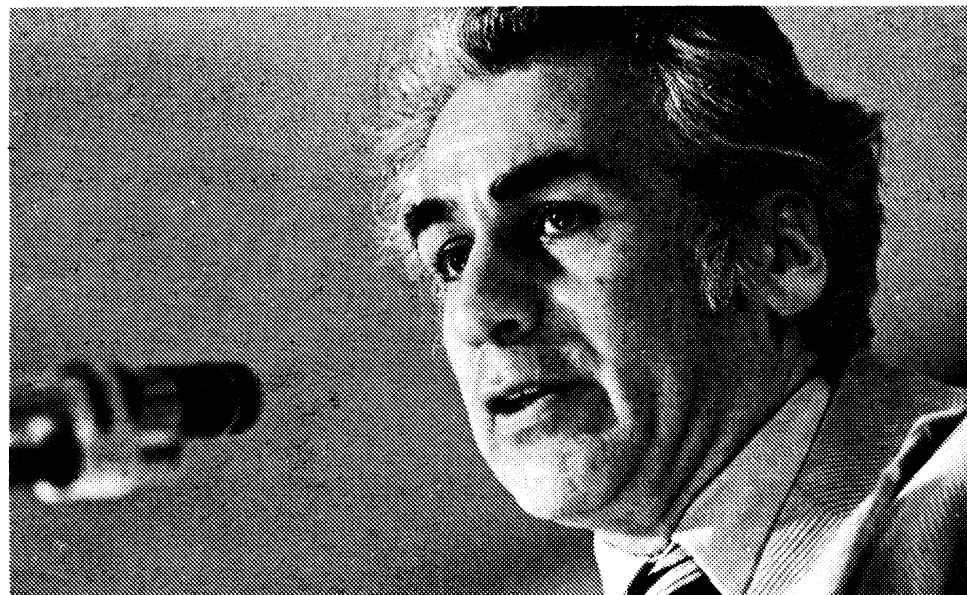
When it comes to the layoffs, Shanker believes minority teachers should sacrifice *more* than white teachers.

It is common knowledge that a prejudiced educational system and board of examiners kept Blacks out of the educational system for years.

In recent years Blacks and Puerto Ricans have been able to break into the teaching profession, but the current layoffs hurt them the most.

Layoffs according to strict seniority, which Shanker defends as a principle of unionism, mean *double* discrimination against minority teachers. They are the last hired and first fired.

To forge the kind of unity we need, the union will have to recognize the injustices against Blacks and adopt a policy guaranteeing them proportional representation in the educational system.



Militant/Lou Howort

CATARINO GARZA: 'The bankers aren't sacrificing. The corporations aren't sacrificing. The Pentagon sure isn't sacrificing. And Shanker thinks that's fine.'

The union's hostility to bilingual programs and teachers will also have to change.

The fact of the matter is that there is no "equality of sacrifice" in this whole crisis.

The bankers aren't sacrificing.

The corporations aren't sacrificing.

The Pentagon sure isn't sacrificing.

And Shanker thinks that is just fine.

In fact, he is one of the authors of a position paper that calls for *more* money to go to the Pentagon.

Once you accept those priorities—the priorities of the Democratic and Republican parties—it's no wonder Shanker accepts the school cutbacks as inevitable.

**Q.** You say the union should demand that layoffs not reduce the percentage of Black and Puerto Rican teachers. But you are opposed to demanding no reduction in the percentage of the budget for education. How do you answer those who say that's contradictory?

A. There are two completely differ-

ent questions involved.

Blacks and Puerto Ricans, who have historically been, and are today, victims of discrimination in every sphere of life, are also being discriminated against by the layoffs. Shanker's policy serves to maintain the relatively privileged position of the older, white teachers.

The union must take a strong stand against discriminatory layoffs—not only because acceptance of racial discrimination is a disgrace to unionism, but also because that is the only way to convince minority teachers and the Black and Puerto Rican communities that the union is a reliable fighter for their interests.

On the other hand, it is absurd to argue that teachers are historically discriminated against in relation to sanitation workers, hospital workers, library workers, or day-care workers.

In both cases Shanker's policy is one that divides teachers from those who should be our allies. In both cases I am arguing for a policy that will make a united struggle possible.

*Continued on page 26*

## The case for school desegregation in Queens

By Earl Williams

NEW YORK—Andrew Jackson High School, situated in the Cambria Heights section of Queens, has been the focal point of the struggle to desegregate the schools in Queens.

"The Case for Desegregation of Andrew Jackson High School" was the title of the first Militant Forum sponsored by the new Queens branch of the Socialist Workers party February 6.

Jerome McFarland, president of the Andrew Jackson Parents Association,

and Sam Manuel, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, were the forum speakers.

On December 23, 1975, State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist ordered the New York City Board of Education to desegregate the virtually all-Black high school.

His order calls for reassigning students so that the composition of Andrew Jackson's student body becomes 56 percent white—the ethnic composition of Queens—instead of its

present composition, 96 percent Black and 3 percent Latino.

Nyquist issued his December 23 order in response to pressure from Jackson parents, the NAACP, and a federal investigation.

Since it was handed down, the desegregation order has met with widespread racist opposition. As the December 31, 1975, New York *Daily News* observed, "Already the borough's middle-class white neighborhoods are mobilizing for a full-scale battle against the integration order."

City council member Matthew Troy, Jr., and Queens Borough President Donald Manes both publicly opposed Nyquist's order.

City board of education officials threaten that implementation of the ruling will send thousands of white families scurrying for the supposed security of the suburbs.

On January 7, 1,000 racists gathered at Martin Van Buren High School to oppose desegregating Andrew Jackson.

Responding to the mounting opposition to the desegregation plan, McFarland told the Militant Forum audience of thirty-five, "We don't care how many people come out against it. We are still going our route. Our route is to desegregate public education in New York City."

"And, you could say, the North," McFarland added.

Manuel, who had just returned from Boston, reported on the grave new wave of racist violence there. He linked

the violence in Boston with the growing opposition to desegregation in Queens and in cities across the country.

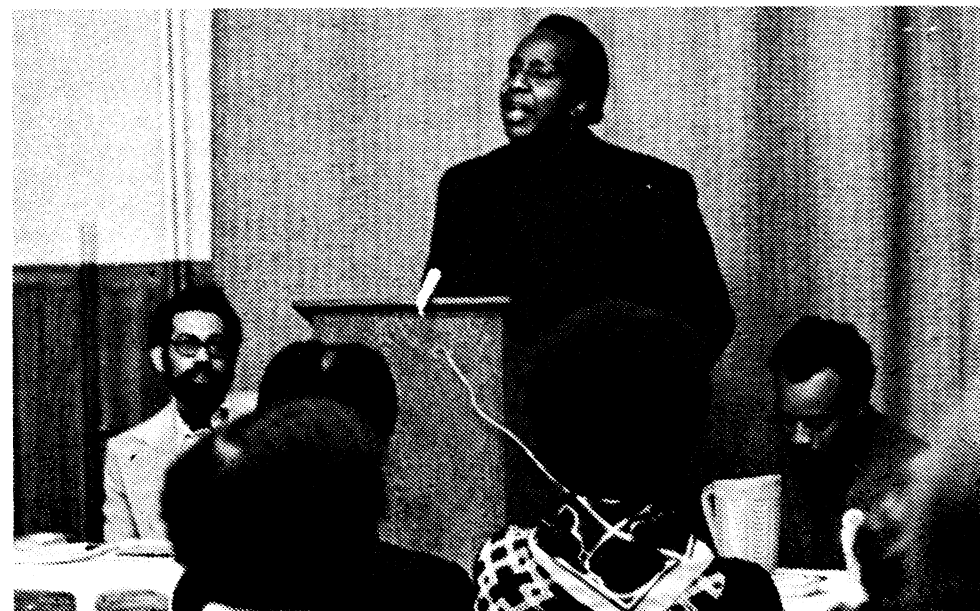
Manuel stressed the importance of mobilizing all supporters of civil rights in defense of the rights of Boston's Black schoolchildren. Struggles such as that of the parents at Andrew Jackson are decisive in turning back the national tide of racist opposition to school desegregation, Manuel said.

McFarland discussed the background of the struggle for desegregation at Andrew Jackson. In 1960 the school was a model, providing decent, integrated education for its students, he said. But during the mid-sixties the schools in Queens were segregated by the board of education.

As a result, McFarland explained, out of today's enrollment of 2,700 only 200 to 300 students are doing well.

"Jackson is a failure," McFarland charged, blaming the central board of education and Jackson's principal, Murray Bromberg, for this failure. The Parents Association is calling for Bromberg's removal.

McFarland ended his presentation with a call to action. "We need a whole lot of help," he said, urging the audience to attend the next meeting of the Andrew Jackson Parents Association. "We are definitely going to form a coalition of people and groups of people, civic people, and organizations like yours to evolve plans to mobilize toward some kind of event."



Militant/Susie Winsten

Parent leader Jerome McFarland tells Queens Militant Forum, 'We don't care how many people come out against it. We are still going to desegregate public education in New York City.'



## By Jim Gotesky

WASHINGTON—An important by-product of the *Washington Post* management's drive to bust the striking craft unions at the paper is a deepgoing division within the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild.

The repercussions of the strike threaten to tear the guild local apart at the seams.

On January 28, three guild members who have crossed the picket lines ever since the October 1 walkout were elected to top positions within the *Post* unit of the guild.

Don Baker, a reporter on the metropolitan staff and the head of a group called the Washington Post Guild Majority, was elected unit chairperson by a two-to-one margin.

The Washington Post Guild Majority was set up by scabbing guild members to defend themselves against disciplinary charges filed by the Washington-Baltimore local.

Baker defeated John Hanrahan, an assistant editor on the *Post*'s Maryland staff. Hanrahan is a leading activist in the Rank-and-File Support Committee, a group of *Post* guild members who support the striking press operators.

### Move to disaffiliate

Baker and other scab leaders are seeking to disaffiliate the *Post* unit from the Newspaper Guild through new collective-bargaining elections. On January 19 they announced formation of the "Washington Newspaper Union."

A few days later, Judy Nichol, a Virginia desk editor and cochairperson of the new "union," filed petitions bearing 427 signatures with the National Labor Relations Board calling for new elections.

The *Post* contract is the guild's premier contract nationally, pointed to by guild members across the country as a standard to fight for in their own negotiations. Loss of the *Post* unit, the largest in the guild, would be a profound setback for the guild and all other newspaper unions.

### Election outcome

During the same week as the *Post* unit elections, elections were also held in the Washington-Baltimore local as a whole. The local, which has consistently voted to support the *Post* strike, has been increasingly divided over how to deal with the scabbing members.

In a surprise upset, Tom Grubisich, initiator of the Rank-and-File Support Committee, narrowly defeated Warren Howard, incumbent local president and international vice-president of the guild.

Because of his role in the Rank-and-File Support Committee, Grubisich is widely seen as a militant serious about winning the strike. He received support from all units of the local, but his principal backing came from the *Post* unit. Votes came from those on both sides of the picket line.

Grubisich's election is an important indicator that support for the strike has not died inside the *Post*.

Some of the scabs, to be sure, are high-paid reporters and editors who by virtue of their economic and social position feel closer to *Post* management than to their fellow workers.

### Not all union busters

But fewer than 100 of the 830 guild members at the *Post* are now honoring the strike. It is evident that many of those who are crossing the picket lines are not hardened union busters.

Some have been taken in by antiunion arguments about alleged "violence" by the press operators, or by charges that the craft unions are racist and do not deserve support on that account. It is likely that many are scabbing because they have become demoralized and see the strike as a lost cause.

It is in this context that disciplinary moves attempted by the recently de-

posed guild local leadership must be viewed.

The Howard leadership had brought charges against hundreds of members, seeking to fine them up to 125 percent of their salaries.

The International Executive Board of the Newspaper Guild, meeting in Washington at the end of January, essentially voided any such disciplinary action. The board promised that convictions by the local would be dropped if appealed to the international.

This action has been bitterly opposed by some in the guild. Howard, still a member of the International

Such a campaign would go hand in hand with the drive to build massive labor support for the strike. The two would be mutually reinforcing: Labor rallies and demonstrations in defense of the press operators can help convince guild members that the strike is a going concern; while winning over more guild members will boost the strikers' morale and cut across the attempt to isolate them.

### Issue of affirmative action

In a city like Washington, which is predominantly Black, winning Black community support will be crucial for a victory in the *Post* strike.

# 'Post' strike threatens split in Newspaper Guild local



Strike supporters demonstrate outside 'Washington Post' building last December.

Executive Board, and Brian Flores, guild administrative officer, have denounced the board's actions as a sell-out.

But the plain fact is that in the present situation at the *Post*, the guild is in no position to enforce "discipline." Kicking out members who are in the process of walking out would do little more than salve the consciences of union officials who could claim that "we did all we could" for the strike.

What the guild and the *Post* strikers need is a persistent educational campaign to win over as many *Post* reporters and clerical workers as possible to 1) stay in the guild, and 2) support the strike.

This involves convincing them that their interests lie with the labor movement and exposing *Post* management's antiunion goals. The publishers must be seen as the main enemy, not those who have fallen prey to their strategy.

But one of the reactionary legacies of the old craft-union setup is that many of the skilled trades are lily-white. The unions have accepted and even helped enforce the racist hiring practices of the employers.

The trust and support of the Black community can only be won by repudiating any notion of maintaining the white job trusts in the newspaper industry.

The *Post* strikers, who have become well aware of this problem, have taken steps to forge an alliance with the Black community. A contingent of fifty press operators, for example, joined a Martin Luther King Day protest sponsored by Operation PUSH, the civil rights group.

Newspaper Guild members who are genuinely interested in overcoming discriminatory hiring should realize that scabbing on another union and allying with management is a dead end. Their own experience shows that

the *Post*'s recently proclaimed interest in hiring Blacks and women is a sham, a hypocritical cover for recruiting scabs.

There are few Black reporters at the *Post*; Black guild members are concentrated in the lower-paying clerical and ad department positions. But when the guild sought affirmative-action measures in their contract, *Post* management has consistently refused.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, strike support leader John Hanrahan explained the stake of *Post* guild members in the strike.

The incipient company union at the *Post* "will have absolutely no power at all," Hanrahan said. "Any power they would have would lie in alliance with other craft unions. But they [*Washington Newspaper Union*] supporters are heading in exactly the opposite direction."

Hanrahan said that high guild wages and benefits have depended on the strength of other unions. The press operators, he said, "have been the pacesetter on all kinds of benefits. They first got the cost-of-living [allowance] and several other benefits."

"When all the other union contracts expire, they all stand back and let the pressmen negotiate the best contract they can get. Then they all fall in line behind them," Hanrahan said.

"If the pressmen are kept out of the building, then unions are effectively dead at the *Washington Post*."

The guild's own contract with the *Post* expires April 1. Some *Post* reporters may be under the illusion that loyal service to management will be loyally rewarded.

But the real payoff will come when *Post* management's profit drive prompts it to take aim at the salaries and working conditions of the reporters.

### Confrontation in Baltimore

Another confrontation may be brewing already in Baltimore, where the *Baltimore Sun* has been negotiating with the press operators for more than a month and will soon open talks with the guild.

The *Sun* has a long history of antilabor policies. Now it has imported as its labor adviser Larry Wallace—chief organizer of the *Washington Post*'s union-busting drive.

Wallace's presence points to a new effort to use the "*Post* pattern" to smash the Baltimore newspaper unions.

"This has happened to pressmen in other cities," Hanrahan told the *Militant*. "Why haven't the unions taken a closer look at this before?"

"I am bothered by the seeming inactivity of the international unions on this score. I think this strike sends a loud and clear message to publishers across the country and I think it sends a message to other industries too."

One of the lessons for newspaper workers is the obsolescence of the old craft-divided union structure. The alternative is industrial unionism—established in the 1930s in auto, steel, and other mass production industries—where all the workers belong to the same union.

"I feel that our salvation lies now in one union within the plant," Hanrahan concluded. "The strike has absolutely convinced me that one of us cannot shut down a newspaper. The only way we can do it is all together."

The questions and ideas raised by Hanrahan are now confronting not only the new leadership in the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild but all the newspaper unions.

The narrow, parochial outlook of the craft union has proved itself an obstacle to the defense of jobs, wages, and working conditions.

Outmoded craft-union structures and limited gestures of labor solidarity must give way to industrial unionism and united action campaigns. That is the only way the assaults from the employing class can be defeated.

## Still looking to Democrats

# DSOC holds national 'Issues Conference'

By Fred Feldman

WASHINGTON—More than 600 persons from twenty states attended an "Issues Conference" sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee here January 31-February 1. The DSOC is a social-democratic organization led by Michael Harrington, the author of *The Other America* and other books.

The conference focused on the economic crisis and the 1976 elections. The weekend featured panels on full employment, income redistribution, the energy crisis, and other topics.

A Saturday luncheon was held in honor of Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Wurf is a member of the DSOC. On Saturday night, Harrington gave a keynote address.

Among those who attended the conference were Rep. John Conyers, a Black Democrat from Detroit; Robert Lekachman and Leon Keyserling, economic advisers to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; and economist Gar Alperovitz. Representatives of the British Labour party and the Swedish Social-Democratic party greeted the gathering.

### Democratic party

The conference registered significant growth for the DSOC. DSOC staff member Frank Llewellyn told the *Militant* that the DSOC now has twenty-five chapters.

But in other respects the DSOC has not changed. The Democratic party remains the major focus of DSOC activity, despite overwhelming evidence that the policy has been unsuccessful.

A major part of the weekend was taken up in denunciation of liberal Democratic governors and mayors, elected with strong backing from organized labor, who have made working people and oppressed nationalities their targets in slashing social welfare programs and employment rolls.

Jerry Wurf was particularly bitter since AFSCME, which spent thousands of dollars to elect these politicians, has been the prime victim among unions of the current wave of cutbacks.

"Today," Wurf said, "politicians who were elected with the votes of working people sound no different from the reactionaries of the 1920s."

"In California, Governor Brown asks people to 'work more for less' and boasts in *Newsweek* that he has vetoed programs for emotionally disturbed children," Wurf continued.

"In Massachusetts, Governor Dukakis—the winner of ADA's [Americans for Democratic Action] 1971 award—has instituted what the patriotic *Boston Globe* calls a 'government of cruelty.' He has decimated institutional care for the mentally ill and cut welfare payments.

"And in New York State, Governor Carey sums up the thinking of these Nixonized liberals when he promises the people 'pain, not politics.'"

Wurf nevertheless rests his hopes on the emergence of a Democratic presidential candidate who will be a "sincere" friend of labor: "I devoutly hope that one candidate will articulate the generous impulses of the American people—but so far no real leader has emerged."

The fact is that all the Democrats Wurf condemns today won official union backing by claiming to be the kind of "real leader" Wurf is looking for.

What makes Wurf think that a Democratic president will improve on the performance of these liberal governors and mayors?

This shift of liberal Democrats to openly antilabor policies involves more than what Michael Harrington called



Michael Harrington, leader of Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, addressing Washington, D.C., 'Issues Conference' that drew 600 people.

"a failure of nerve." During the 1950s and 1960s, when the economy was booming, the ruling class could afford to make concessions to labor in the interests of preserving class peace.

In the 1970s, however, a long-term economic crisis began that forced all the Republican and Democratic politicians to make a choice between defending the living standards of their working-class constituents and protecting the profits of big business.

Because the first allegiance of these politicians is to the capitalist system, their choice was automatic. The Browns, Careys, and Dukakis are going all out to take the costs of the crisis out on the backs of the workers.

### The fight for jobs

The discussion of unemployment showed how the Democratic party strategy cripples the DSOC and its allies in the unions in defending workers' interests.

Support for full employment was universal at the conference. However, instead of orienting toward solutions like the demand for a thirty-hour workweek with no reduction in pay—which would be a real step toward full employment—the conference organizers projected a publicity and lobbying campaign in support of the Hawkins-Humphrey "full employment" bill. While this bill provides for a maze of new government agencies, it shows no promise of making a dent in unemployment statistics.

The demand for a thirty-hour workweek was endorsed by Michael Harrington and others, but it took a back seat to the Hawkins-Humphrey bill. The reason for this is simple. While the Hawkins-Humphrey bill will not do

much to end unemployment, it can win the support of some powerful Democratic party politicians.

### Mobilize ranks

On the other hand, struggle for a thirty-hour week would require mobilizing the ranks of labor and its allies in opposition to the politicians of both capitalist parties, which are determined to get "more for less" from the workers.

An effective struggle for such a measure would require that the powerful trade-union movement break with the Democratic party and organize its own party to defend the interests of the workers and all the oppressed. This is a course that the DSOC opposes.

The effort to enact the Hawkins-Humphrey bill was one of several campaigns projected by the DSOC under the title of 'Democracy 76.' The DSOC is planning a major effort to elect trade-union representatives and DSOC members as delegates to the Democratic convention, hoping to maximize labor's clout in the expectation of a "brokered" convention. The DSOC is preparing to support any Democratic candidate except Wallace as a "lesser evil."

As Harrington put it, "The worst outcome in 1976 would be a Ford or Reagan victory. The next worst outcome would be the election of a Democrat who doesn't know how to solve our economic problems."

### ERA

Many speakers stressed the importance of more actively supporting the Equal Rights Amendment. Carl Shier, a vice-chairperson of the DSOC and an international representative of the United Auto Workers, stated, "We have to win the ERA in 1976, because the forces that are organizing to defeat the ERA are the same right-to-work forces that are attacking labor's right to strike and organize."

There was more stress than at previous DSOC events on defending the employment gains won by oppressed nationalities and women in the area of affirmative action. DSOC leaders have taken a contradictory stand on this question. The January 1976 issue of the DSOC's *Newsletter of the Democratic Left* carried an article on the December 1975 conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

"The Socialist Workers Party group in CLUW, which has distinguished itself by showing some organizational commitment to CLUW urged the delegates to adopt a resolution calling for the modification of seniority during layoffs," the article said.

"But," it continued, "while searching for ways to end discrimination on the

job, most CLUW members, like most trade unionists, support seniority as one right that workers have won from the boss. . . . Adoption of the resolution would have pitted CLUW against mainstream labor opinion, divided CLUW members from the unions and weakened the trade union movement as a whole."

Despite disclaimers about "searching for ways to end discrimination on the job," such a position in practice means defending the use of seniority to enshrine the "last hired, first fired" principle for Blacks and women. The gains made in struggle against job discrimination are also a "right workers have won from the boss."

At the "Issues Conference," however, a much firmer tone on affirmative action was noticeable. "The 1960s saw the beginning of overdue efforts to challenge the discrimination built into our economic system against minorities and women," Michael Harrington said in his keynote address. However, he noted the economic crisis has led to attacks on these gains.

"Our response is to create the full employment environment in which affirmative action can live up to its promise," he said. "But—and let this be emphatically clear—in the meantime we cannot retreat one single inch from our commitment to affirmative action for those who have been forced into systematically inferior positions."

For this assertion to become more than mere words, the DSOC will have to fight for modifications in the seniority system—so that it cannot be used to uphold discrimination.

The large attendance at the DSOC's "Issues Conference" is an important sign of the growing attractiveness of socialist ideas. But the strategy proposed by the DSOC—to plunge ever deeper into the capitalist Democratic party—runs counter to the goal of solving the economic crisis in the interests of the workers and their allies.

The capitalist party politician elected in 1976, whoever that turns out to be, will continue the attack on working people. If one of the Democratic hopefuls replaces Ford, he can be counted on to ignore the inevitable cries of betrayal from Harrington, Wurf, and their cothinkers.

Members and supporters of the DSOC should consider supporting the campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid in 1976 as an example of independent working-class political action. They should also consider the proposals in the Socialist Workers party platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," as an alternative to the antilabor programs of the capitalist parties.



AFSCME's WURF: Wants 'sincere' Democratic party friend of labor.



# '34 years of spying'

## Secret House report on SWP

[After a year-long investigation of CIA and FBI crimes by the House Select Committee on Intelligence, the full House voted 246-124 January 29 to prohibit release of the committee's final report without President Ford's prior censorship.]

[In its February 16 issue, however, the Village Voice reprinted major portions of the report, which had been "leaked" to some news media. (For news story, see back page.)

[The excerpts that follow deal with the committee's investigation into the FBI disruption campaign aimed at the Socialist Workers party.]

[Some references may need explanation. The 1940 Voorhis Act is a reactionary law prohibiting organizations, other than government and religious groups, from having any international affiliations. The SWP is in fraternal solidarity with the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International.]

[Under the Smith "thought control" Act, eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers party and the Teamsters union were charged with conspiracy in 1941 and railroaded to prison.]

[The FBI had a specific Cointelpro operation directed against the socialists called the SWP Disruption Program. Although the bureau claims to have ended all Cointelpro operations by 1971, the Bruce Bloy incident, which occurred in October 1972, is one example of many such operations that took place after the alleged cutoff date.]

The second example involved the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP adopted a Declaration of Principles and a Constitution at their founding convention in January 1938. The Declaration of Principles was replete with revolutionary rhetoric of the Marxist Left. The fledgling Socialist Workers Party also swore allegiance to the world-wide organization of Trotsky—the Fourth International.

Nevertheless, the SWP dissolved their allegiance with the Fourth International and retracted this Declaration of Principles on December 21, 1940, in order to comply with the Voorhis Act. The FBI maintained that this disassociation with the Fourth International was merely cosmetic. However, the FBI has been unable to prove any illegal relationship between the SWP and the Fourth International.

FBI's failure to uncover illegal activity by this political party is not from lack of effort. SWP has

been subjected to 34 years of intensive investigation.

On November 5, 1975, FBI officials testified that the Fourth International itself was a body made up of Marxist elements around the world and enjoyed no structural power base in the Soviet Union. Significantly, these officials demonstrated no detailed knowledge about the Fourth International.

**'FBI officials did not mention the fact that the Socialist Workers are a legitimate American political party.'**

FBI officials did not mention the fact that the Socialist Workers are a legitimate American political party, that even runs a candidate for President. Equally as important, the FBI has found no evidence to support a federal prosecution of an SWP member, with the exception of several Smith Act violations in 1941. Since that time, not only have there been no further prosecutions against the SWP for any Federal offense, but the portions of the Smith Act under which these earlier convictions had been obtained have been declared unconstitutional.

The investigation, which FBI officials tacitly admit has been conducted partially under the aegis of an unprosecutable statute, has revealed that the SWP is a highly law-abiding group. The SWP has even avoided illegal and potentially violent confrontations with the authorities during any sort of civil protest. Nevertheless, this had no apparent impact on 34 years of unproductive spying.

According to the Presidential candidate of the SWP, Peter Camejo, party members are even forbidden by the SWP to smoke marijuana. The Bureau apparently formulated a philosophy, in this case, to justify their investigation.

Considerable resources have been allocated to compound the error of a continuing unproductive investigation and to back-stop the preconceptions of FBI personnel.

For example, FBI Internal Security investigators committed a massive manpower allocation to interviewing landlords, employers, fellow employees, and family relations of SWP members. The FBI also maintained intensive surveillance of most, if not all, of the SWP's 2500 members.

\* \* \*

COINTELPRO was a series of covert counter-intelligence programs aimed at identifying, pene-

trating, and neutralizing subversive elements in the United States. The program itself consisted of myriad clandestine dirty tricks carried out by FBI agents against persons and organizations considered subversive by the FBI. Careers were ruined, friendships severed, reputations sullied, businesses bankrupted and, in some cases, lives endangered. . . .

Lori Paton testified before the Committee on November 18, 1975. In 1974, Miss Paton, then a high school student, inadvertently wrote the Socialist Workers Party as an academic assignment. She intended to write to the Socialist Labor Party.

The FBI was conducting a "mail cover" on the SWP and intercepted Miss Paton's misdirected letter. They immediately began an investigation of her, and the attendant publicity in Miss Paton's small town caused her great mental anguish.

The Bureau's response was that the "FBI did not publicize the fact" of Lori Paton's investigation, although they had interviewed her school principal and the local police chief.

Assume, however, that Miss Paton had correctly written to the SWP, as many people undoubtedly have. That fact alone would apparently have been grounds for an anticipatory investigation, even though it is hard to imagine what crimes could be anticipated by writing a letter. In addition, the

**'The chilling effect such investigations have on First Amendment rights . . . is painfully clear.'**

chilling effect such investigations have on First Amendment rights, including freedom of association, is painfully clear.\*

For those who do join SWP, the chill is likely to spread to employers. The Committee heard from one witness who termed FBI's inquiries about his employee, Bruce Bloy, who was an SWP member, as "presumptive, mysterious, and . . . aggressive."

\*[The following appeared as a footnote to this section of the report:]

The risk may even be intended. As Dean Louis Pollak put it: "When the official investigation long outlives its initially professed justification—that is to say, reasoned suspicion or criminal activity imminent or actually carried out—at that point it is inescapable . . . that an important consequence, if not necessarily a purpose, of the continuing investigation will be the imposition of an official stigma on the political or research activity being carried out by the subject."

## New York tenants coalition rallies at Co-op City

By Sally Whicker

NEW YORK—A coalition of tenant groups rallied here February 7 in support of Co-op City rent strikers. Residents of the Bronx housing project are in the ninth month of their strike.

Some 2,000 people attended the rally held at Co-op City. They were mainly activists who came by the busload from other state-subsidized housing projects throughout New York City. Delegations from several groups, including the United Farm Workers, came to back the tenants' movement.

Eighty percent of the 60,000 residents of Co-op City have been withholding payments since last June, after a 25 percent increase in carrying charges was announced. Tenants buy their apartment and pay monthly carrying charges, usually referred to as rent.

The huge number of strikers involved, and their determination to win, inspired hundreds of supporters to come to the rally to show their solidarity.

Chants of "No way—we won't pay" rang out during the rally.

The audience applauded news of other tenant struggles throughout the city. Residents in similar projects have been hit with stiff increases, and

residents at a number of projects are planning their own rent-collection drives.

The keynote speaker at the rally was Charles Rosen, a thirty-two-year-old member of the International Typographical Union and chairperson of Steering Committee III, the strike coordinating body.

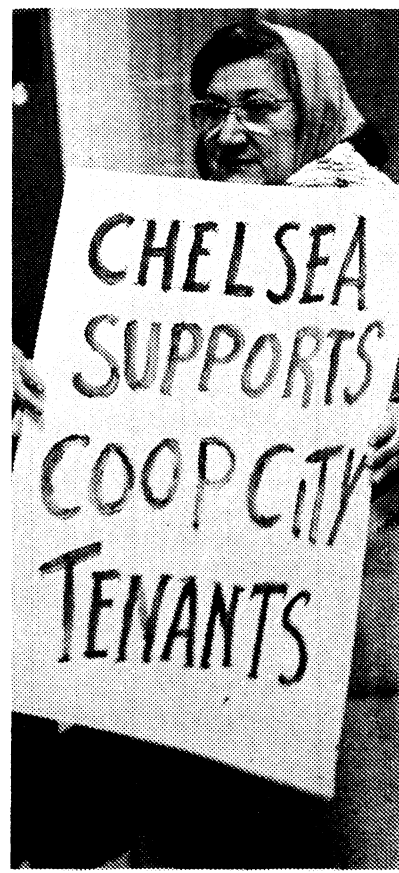
Supporters of Marcia Gallo, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, distributed her statement of support for the Co-op City strike. "Your struggle is an inspiration to the people of New York," Gallo told the strikers.

In other developments, representatives of the City-wide Tenants United to Support Co-op City's Rent Strike averted a threatened electricity cutoff when they delivered \$2.6 million to Con Edison on February 9. The state-appointed management has refused to pay the electric bills. State housing officials, claiming that such a payment by strikers represented a "preference of creditors," had sought through court action to prevent the tenants' direct payment to Con Ed.

Additionally, state housing officials refused to accept \$650,000 from the strikers to rehire 220 maintenance workers laid off since the strike began.



NO WAY  
WE  
ON'T PAY



Charles Rosen (left) speaks at February 7 rally in support of nine-month rent strike. Protest drew tenant activists from all over New York City.

Militant/Lou Howort

## ANGOLA: THE HIDDEN HISTORY

Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War by Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas. Edited with an introduction by Malik Miah. New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 1976. 160 pp., with maps and bibliography. \$9, cloth; \$2.45, paperback.

The Congressional rebuff of President Ford's attempt to openly step up U.S. intervention in Angola is a reflection of Congress's fear of the deep-seated public opposition to new U.S. aggression abroad.

The memory of napalm-scorched babies and B-52-blasted villages in Vietnam is too recent.

Congress knows it would not be easy, especially among Black Americans, to whip up support for open U.S. intervention in Africa on the side of South Africa and its despised apartheid regime.

Nevertheless, Washington continues to intervene in Angola despite the supposed congressional cutoff. Even as

### Books

late as February 15, when the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) appeared near victory, the director of the CIA refused in a nationally televised interview to rule out the possibility that Washington is still aiding the anti-MPLA forces.

CIA Director George Bush added that the continued U.S. involvement in Angola has been "properly reported" to congressional committees.

What makes the Angolan situation complicated, however, is that it is not simply a case of U.S.-backed South African forces intervening against a national liberation struggle.

In Angola the liberation forces are fighting a civil war among themselves. Moreover, MPLA is heavily reinforced by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

*Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* comes to grip with the issues raised by the Angola war. The larger part of it, by *Intercontinental Press* staff writer Ernest Harsch, brings to bear the substantial historical and contemporary documentation that readers of *Intercontinental Press* are accustomed to seeing.

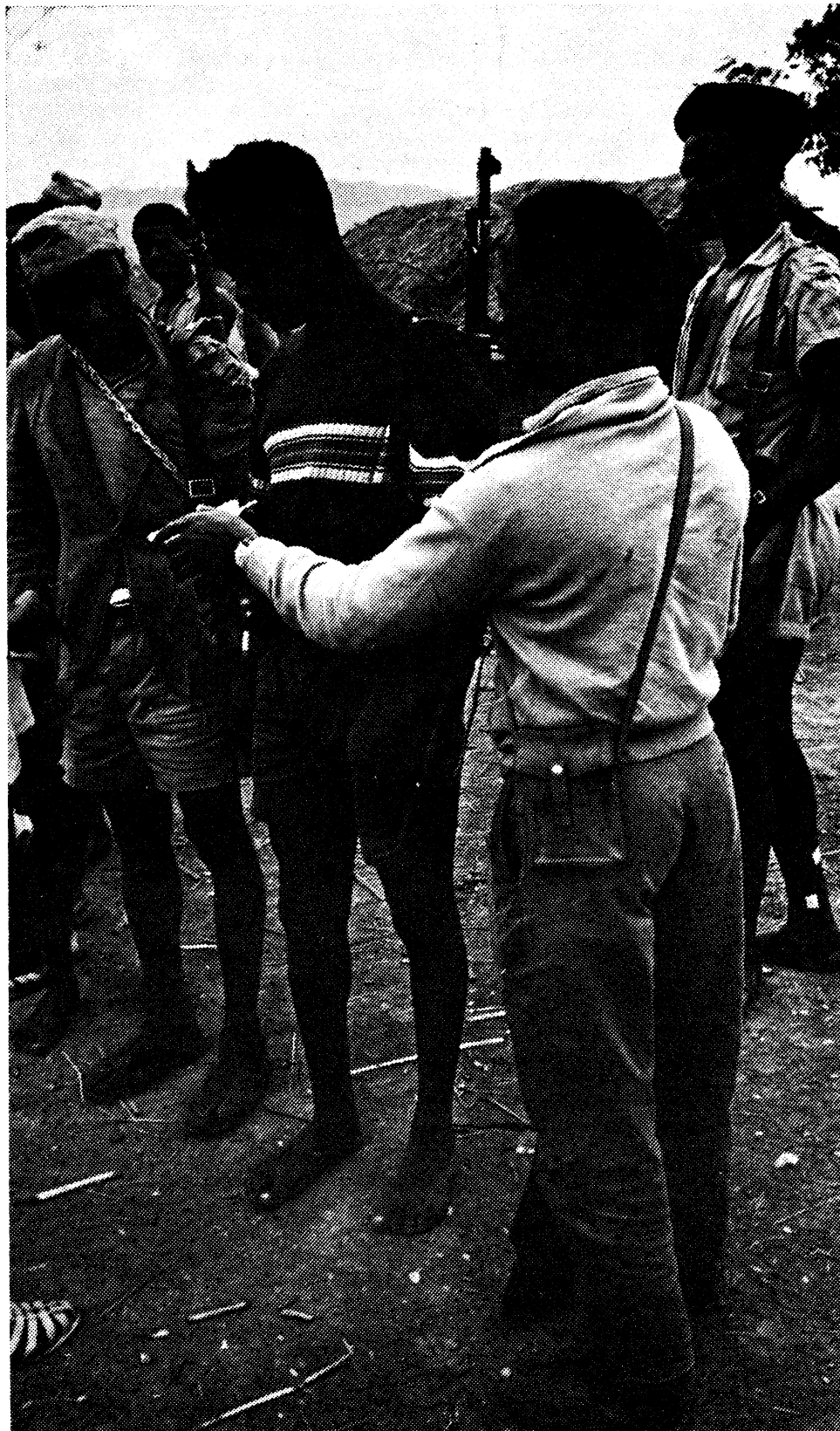
### Liberation struggle

The current struggle against Portuguese overlordship in Angola dates to the early 1950s and was part of the tidal wave of colonial revolution that erupted in World War II and swept Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

But it is necessary to go back to the original imperialist invasion of Angola, more than 400 years ago, to understand the deepest roots of the present civil war.

The "cleavages within the Angolan nationalist struggle are but a reflection of Angolan society itself," Harsch writes. "Before the arrival of the Portuguese, the area now known as Angola was dotted with various kingdoms and tribal groupings that spoke different languages and had different cultures and histories. The Portuguese colonialists seized parts of this region. . . . They marked off the borders with no regard for the peoples of the area, in some cases arbitrarily drawing the boundaries through the middle of population centers."

Of the nationalities in "Angola," thus artificially created by the Portu-



Angolan freedom fighters in first years of struggle against Portuguese rule

guese, the Bakongo, Mbundu, and Ovimbundu are the largest. The rival liberation movements in Angola today sprang from these major nationalities.

The MPLA is based on the Mbundu, about 25 percent of the population, who live in north-central Angola around Luanda.

The Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) is based among the Bakongos, also about 25 percent of the population, who live in the northwest-ern area.

The União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is based on the Ovimbundu people, living in the central plateau region, who are the largest ethnic group.

Harsch traces the sometimes interlocking history of each of the groups. All three are real nationalist movements with mass support.

Until the mid-1960s the dominant nationalist organization was not the MPLA, as it is today, but the FNLA, headed by Holden Roberto. Washington's first major intervention in Angola was against Roberto's movement.

"In March 1961," says Harsch, "a massive uprising against Portuguese

colonial rule swept northern Angola. It was initiated by . . . a nationalist group led by Holden Roberto. . . . The rebellion was met by a brutal Portuguese counterinsurgency campaign that left tens of thousands of Africans dead and devastated large areas of the north. Although the troops used in those operations were Portuguese, the quartermaster was American."

Washington poured its military and financial aid to the Lisbon dictatorship of António Salazar through NATO.

"Washington also gave one of its favorite weapons—napalm—to the Salazarist dictatorship," writes Harsch. He cites John Marcum: "By January 1962 outside observers could watch Portuguese planes bomb and strafe African villages, visit the charred remains of towns like Mbanza M'Pangu and M'Pangala, and copy the data from 750-pound napalm bomb casings from which the Portuguese had not removed the labels marked 'Property U.S. Air Force.'"

In this period the FNLA "was the only group carrying out any significant actions within Angola," according to Harsch, "the MPLA was in virtual disarray. The Portuguese repression had eliminated most of its leaders in Luanda and other cities, and the survivors in the countryside had to

contend with the Portuguese troops as well as hostile FNLA guerrillas, who, in their own factional interest, attempted to physically prevent the MPLA from establishing a base within Angola. On occasion, FNLA forces even ambushed and killed MPLA guerrillas."

The UNITA was formed in 1965 after Jonas Savimbi, an Ovimbundu, led a split from the FNLA. The UNITA carried out guerrilla actions beginning in 1966.

### U.S. policy

Throughout the 1960s and down to the overthrow of the Salazarist regime by Portuguese officers in 1974, Washington supported the Portuguese colonialists against all of the liberation movements in the African colonies.

Harsch emphasizes that although world public attention focused more and more against the white butchers in southern Africa—and not only in the Portuguese colonies, but also in Rhodesia and South Africa—Washington's position steadily hardened in favor of the white regimes.

By 1970 this policy had been officially formulated in a National Security Council memorandum under Henry Kissinger's direction. Nicknamed "Tar Baby" by the White House staff, the policy held that "the whites are here to stay and the only way constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists."

The central policy remained to aid the Lisbon dictatorship. To this end, the Pentagon not only channeled continued military support through NATO, but also educated Portuguese officers in its various counter guerrilla training schools.

### Sources of support

Typical of imperialist policy, Washington also began to channel token funds to various liberation fronts. From 1962 on Roberto obtained a stipend from the CIA.

In 1963, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto came to the United States to solicit backing in the liberation effort, but Neto was turned down. Subsequently, Neto turned to Moscow and the MPLA received the Kremlin's backing beginning in 1964.

Harsch cautions against judging a liberation group on the basis of how it gets money and guns to promote the rebellion. "In their struggle against Portuguese colonialism," he writes, "the Angolan rebels were compelled to follow a policy of seeking material aid, including weapons, from any available source. They had every right to do so."

"The U.S. imperialists, of course, hope to gain political concessions or future influence in return for such aid. . . ."

"Making political concessions to such a source of aid as Moscow or Peking could also harm a nationalist struggle. Although the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are not imperialist, the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking have their own foreign policy interests to advance. In exchange for Washington's 'friendship,' they do their best to keep the lid on revolutionary movements around the world."

Drawing help from various sources—primarily other African countries, including Algeria—the liberation groups managed to stay in the field. But they were severely weakened. When General António de Spínola



# OF WASHINGTON'S WAR

came to power in the 1974 coup, the new military rulers of Portugal, the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), believed they would not have to grant independence to the colonies. The MFA undertook to prolong indefinitely the occupation of "their" African colonies by Portuguese troops.

## Renewed struggle

But the liberation forces refused to accept this plan. The struggle was pushed forward with renewed strength when a massive strike wave erupted among Angolan workers.

"The Angolan workers, whose wage demands had been suppressed for years by the colonial authorities, suddenly saw an opportunity to better their lot. Within weeks of the coup, workers started walking off their jobs, particularly in such key sectors as the British-owned Benguela railway and the ports of Luanda and Lobito." The strike wave lasted more than a year.

Against this background—the stepped-up military activities of the liberation movements, similar struggles in the other colonies, and the massive workers' struggles in Portugal itself—the MFA was forced to abandon its initial plans.

The Lisbon government headed by Gen. Francisco da Costa Gomes sought instead to bring the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA into the Angolan administration to use them as political brakes against rising worker unrest in the cities. Cease-fires were signed with the liberation groups and they were invited to open offices in Luanda.

In January 1975 a coalition government was formed between the MFA and the three factions. This agreement underlined the limited aims of the rival groups.

"By accepting posts in the Portuguese-dominated regime," Harsch writes, "and by agreeing to a prolonged timetable for the transition to formal independence, the three nationalist organizations dangerously compromised the independence struggle and fostered illusions about the MFA among the Angolan and Portuguese masses. . . .

"Rather than force a united front to mobilize the Angolan peasants and workers to rid the country of Portuguese and other imperialist domination, they chose to collaborate with imperialism . . . to achieve their goals. This dangerous error was to be repeated and deepened later on as the factional rivalries among the three groups escalated into a full-scale civil war."

## The MFA and MPLA

One of the lesser-known episodes in the evolution of the Angolan situation into internecine warfare was the all-but-open backing of the MPLA by the Portuguese.

"An important wing of the MFA apparently considered the MPLA, of the three groups, the one in a position to be most useful in safeguarding Lisbon's interests in Angola," says Harsch.

"Besides the fact that both the MPLA and MFA were adept at using 'socialist' rhetoric to disguise their procapitalist policies, a more important reason that a wing of the MFA decided to back the MPLA was the MPLA's strong political influence on the Luanda workers. . . . The MPLA was viewed as being in a better position to control workers' struggles in Angola's main industrial center than either of its two rivals."

Consequently, in the tortuous ma-

neuvors that were to lead to the MFA's final withdrawal from Angola in November 1975, the MPLA was left in control of the old administrative apparatus of the state in Luanda and with significant munitions that the Portuguese army had abandoned to them.

But the elimination of Portuguese rule found the liberation forces locked in civil war. Most dangerously, the United States and South Africa had moved toward direct penetration of Angola.

It is one thing to use the weapons of the imperialists. It is quite another thing to permit the actual armed forces of the imperialists to intervene. The FNLA-UNITA acceptance of South African troops on their side opened Angolan independence to its most serious threat.

## South Africa

Harsch's two chapters on South Africa are particularly valuable and have a usefulness that extends beyond the present Angolan conflict.

Harsch shows that the South African apartheid regime is dependent on Western imperialism and above all

imperialism," Thomas says, "and all this does is play into the hands of American imperialism. It equates Soviet aid to national liberation movements with attempts by the imperialists to maintain their economic exploitation and social oppression of the colonial countries. . . .

"Our job is to demand that the U.S. government get out. If the Soviet Union stopped sending weapons to the MPLA, would that be a step forward for the Angolan revolution? No. It would embolden imperialism!"

Thomas also sums up the attitude that revolutionists take toward the civil war: "We call for unity, in anti-imperialist action, of the three nationalist organizations or any other similar organizations that may exist in Angola."

At the present moment Washington and Pretoria appear to have been thwarted in their attempt to escalate the Angolan intervention to the level of a new Vietnam. But the Angolan war has unleashed powerful forces that cannot easily be stilled.

- South African forces remain in the border region of southern Angola and Namibia (Southwest Africa). Pretoria



Angolan workers loading coffee on truck. Imperialists are maneuvering to maintain their exploitation of Angola's working people and natural resources.

U.S. imperialism for its huge military forces. He documents the extensive U.S. and European investments in South Africa. And he shows why it is certain that South Africa would not have undertaken its aggression in Angola without the Pentagon's backing.

Washington's arming of South Africa was the cornerstone of Kissinger's "Operation Tar Baby." The military equipment Pretoria obtained from its partners in NATO played a major part in its operations in Angola," Harsch says.

"... By supplying South Africa with vast amounts of military equipment, the NATO powers are not only bolstering its ability to control the Cape sea route and combat internal 'subversion.' They are also equipping it to act as a powerful counterrevolutionary force throughout Southern Africa, capable of furthering Western as well as South African political and economic interests."

## Soviet role

Tony Thomas treats in more detail the question of why Soviet and Cuban aid to the MPLA cannot be put on the same plane with the U.S.-South African intervention.

"There is no such thing as Soviet

has by no means abandoned the goal of crushing the Namibian independence movement in this South African colony, and the Namibian struggle has been given new impetus by Angola.

- In the neighboring countries of Zaïre and Zambia the regimes of Presidents Mobutu Sese Seko and Kenneth Kaunda have been shaken, and Kaunda has already launched a crackdown against radical opponents.

- White minority rule in Rhodesia and in South Africa itself will be more and more threatened.

- And in Angola the workers' struggles could be given a new lift. Already there are reports of renewed dock-worker protests in Luanda against the MPLA regime.

This explosive situation makes it imperative that world attention remain focused on the counterrevolutionary danger posed by the U.S.-backed imperialist forces of South Africa.

The new Pathfinder book on Angola is an important weapon in the campaign to end all U.S. and South African attempts to crush the African liberation struggle.

It should be in the hands of every individual and every publication supporting the right of Black Africans to self-determination.

—Dick Roberts

# Harvard employees fight for union elections

By John Rees

BOSTON—Employees of Harvard University's medical area have been fighting for more than a year for the right to hold a union recognition election.

They have faced obstructions and delaying tactics from both the university administration and the National Labor Relations Board.

Harvard Medical Area District 65 is union of all the clerical and technical employees at Harvard's three health-related schools in Boston—four miles from the main Harvard campus in Cambridge.

Most of the 900 workers in the medical area are women. For more than a year a majority have been members of the union.

Harvard insists that a union must include all employees of the university, including the more than 3,000 workers scattered throughout Cambridge. The union feels that the geographical separation of the medical area and the common interests of workers there make a separate union logical.

The NLRB and the Harvard administration have stalled every step of the way. NLRB proceedings began with lengthy hearings last winter. The union learned of a secret administration memo showing that Harvard was in the process of reorganizing—on paper—to prevent unionization in the medical area. But the NLRB refused to accept the memo as evidence.

After the hearings, NLRB regional director Robert Fuchs deliberated nearly the full eight weeks allowed by law. He finally announced that he was unable to reach a decision and was transferring the case to the national board in Washington, D.C.

After another six weeks, Washington refused to accept the case and returned it to Boston. After still more delays, Fuchs finally announced on January 16 that he would not grant the election. He also issued a gag order barring anyone at the Boston NLRB office from talking to the media about the case.

But on the same day as the Boston decision, the national board in Washington held that research facilities at Columbia University—similar to the Harvard medical area—are appropriate units for formation of a union.

With this new precedent, Harvard Medical Area District 65 believes that Fuchs's decision should be overturned on appeal.

But appeal proceedings will mean another long delay. So, based on the previous experience with the NLRB, the union has stepped up its public campaign for the right to organize.

On January 27, sixty-five union supporters—undaunted by drenching rain—picketed university President Derek Bok to demand that he withdraw Harvard's opposition to a union election.

They chanted, "We can't eat prestige" and, "A year is long enough, we want an election now!" More actions are planned.

Throughout the long struggle for recognition and an election, the union has been functioning and growing. Stewards and an executive committee were elected last spring. The union has helped employees resolve grievances.

Already Harvard has felt compelled to respond by granting larger than usual pay increases, improving some benefits, and trying to improve its

Continued on page 26

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**BLACK WOMEN IN LITERATURE.** Readings and discussion of the role of Black women writers in contemporary literature. Speaker: Toni Cade, author and professor at Atlanta University. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## CHICAGO: LOOP AREA

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Announcement of Illinois SWP candidate for governor. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

## CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, 1st C.D. Sat., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. Shiloh Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

## CLEVELAND

**COINTELPRO: A DISCUSSION OF GOVERNMENT SPYING.** Speakers: Ben Sheerer, ACLU; Nancy Stemmer, SWP; Dick Cramer, former coordinator of Cleveland Area Peace Action Council. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## DETROIT

**ANGOLA: BEHIND THE CIVIL WAR.** Speakers: Phyllis Jordan, South African freedom fighter; Tiato Neto, Angolan involved in liberation struggle; Tony Thomas, member, SWP National Committee; Herb Boyd, Wayne State University Center for Black Studies. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 873-8836.

## HOUSTON

**COINTELPRO: FBI AND CIA ATTACKS AGAINST BLACKS AND THE LEFT.** Speakers: Ed Shannon, KYOK radio; Mickey Leland, state representative; Al Johnson, YSA; Terry Payne, Student Coalition Against Racism. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## NEWARK

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Larry Stewart, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 10th C.D. Sat., Feb. 28, Refreshments, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Hotel Robert Treat, 50 Park Place. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

## NEW ORLEANS

**LOUISIANA PRISONS: INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM.** Speakers: Marie Galatis, president of Grass Roots Organization for Women; Florence Guillemet; Greg Perkins, Student Coalition Against Racism; Mrs. Magee, mother of Stanley Magee. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

## PASADENA

**GRAND OPENING AND OPEN HOUSE FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS AND PATHFINDER BOOKSTORE.** Speakers: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Tim Mallory, SWP. Wed., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. 226 N. El Molino. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (213) 793-3468.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR.** A weekly discussion of socialism. *Economic depression.* Sat., Feb. 28, 3:00 p.m.; Wed., Mar. 3, 7:30 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## SEATTLE

**ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR POWER.** Speaker: Coalition for Safe Energy representative. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**SPEAK-OUT ON RESERVE MINING.** Speakers: Don Skinner, president of Minnesota Environmental Control Citizens Association; Marc Shaver, SWP. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 370 Anderson Hall, Univ. of Minnesota, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

# ...ERA

*Continued from page 8*

Furthermore, true equality for women in employment and education means more than equal treatment as of now. It means *preferential* treatment—affirmative action—to upgrade women's position and compensate for past discrimination.

However, as the formal law of the land, the ERA would be a battering ram for ongoing struggles for enforcement and expansion of equal rights and opportunities.

Moreover, this battle takes place in the midst of a growing economic and social crisis. The capitalist rulers are attacking the rights and standards of living of the working class and all oppressed people.

The right-wing anti-ERA forces are

in the forefront of this broad offensive. They are also anti-abortion, antibusing, and antiunion.

A victory for the ERA would provide inspiration and confidence for all the movements fighting for social justice.

This makes it more urgent for feminists, unionists, Blacks, students—all those under attack—to help build a national movement for the ERA and mobilize for the first national ERA demonstration on May 16.

# ...Hampton

*Continued from page 16*

likened to a "street gang" by an attorney for Hanrahan.

The first witness to take the stand was Marlin Johnson, former special agent in charge of the Chicago office of the FBI from 1962 to 1970. Johnson, when asked about the FBI's "Counter-intelligence Program" against the Panthers, claimed he couldn't recall most of its activities.

Under persistent questioning by Montgomery, Johnson admitted authorizing the sending of an anonymous letter to Jeff Fort, leader of the Blackstone Rangers. The FBI agents wrote that the Panthers had a "hit" out on Fort. "I know what I'd do if I was you," the letter concluded.

Johnson said the purpose of the 1969 letter was to prevent a coalition between the two groups. But, incredibly, Johnson maintained that the letter was sent to prevent violence—not to provoke the Blackstone Rangers into attacking the Panthers. He denied that a "hit" meant murder. According to Johnson, "a hit is something nonviolent in nature."

# ...Garza

*Continued from page 20*

*Q. Shanker told today's rally that in the upcoming elections teachers will know who their friends are based on who supported the Stavisky bill. I assume you disagree.*

A. Shanker's reliance on the Democratic and Republican parties is what is really behind his refusal to fight the budget cuts. Politicians of both parties are carrying out the cutbacks program because that is what the private-profit interests demand.

For some of these same capitalist politicians who have been voting to cut social spending and tear up union contracts, a vote for the Stavisky bill is a cheap way to pose as "friends" of education.

But not one of them is a friend of education or of working people.

Not one of them deserves the vote of teachers.

Working people need our own political party, a labor party based on the unions, that will field candidates from our own ranks and fight for labor's interests. That's what it will take to wage the kind of *political* fight against the Democrats and Republicans that is needed to save education and other social services.

That is what I am campaigning for in the UFT and other unions. And teachers who support the perspective of independent labor political action can cast a vote for that perspective by voting for Garza for Congress.

# ...Harvard

*Continued from page 25*

image by publicizing existing benefits. The union is generally given credit by employees for these positive changes.

The medical-area union has also voted to aid an organizing drive—also affiliated with District 65—that is gaining momentum at the main campus of Harvard. Realizing that they may end up as part of a university-wide union, and that they will be stronger if the entire campus is unionized, the medical-area union felt it was now strong enough to offer assistance.

Since the collaboration began, the tempo of organizing in Cambridge has increased even more. Far from having stopped the organizing drive in the medical area, Harvard now faces the prospect of having the whole university unionized.

# Socialist Directory

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**CALIFORNIA: East Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

**Long Beach:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

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**Los Angeles:** City-wide SWP and YSA, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

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**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.

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**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o Mark Cerasuolo, 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.

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**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.

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**WISCONSIN: Eau Claire:** YSA, c/o Tom Brill, 221½ Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701.

**La Crosse:** YSA, c/o Derek Norskogg, 4625 Mormon Coulee Rd., Box 95, La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

**Madison:** SWP, 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.



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Roy Medvedev is the author of *Let History Judge* (Macmillan, 1972), a comprehensive history of the Stalin era. This distinguished historian stands out among the intellectual opposition by being an avowed Marxist and a staunch Communist who aspires to revive the program of Lenin in the struggle for a socialist democracy. He seeks to democratize the Soviet Communist Party through initiatives "from above" (by the party and government), supported "from below" (by the masses), through constitutional means. His initiating and concluding essays set the framework for the other contributors to this international symposium: Yvan Craipeau, Tamara Deutscher, Ernest Mandel, Franz Marek, Mihailo Markovic, Ralph Miliband, George Novack, Michel Pablo, Roger Pannequin, Jiri Pelikan, and E.P. Thompson.

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## Secret study now public

# House report hits FBI spying on socialists

By Nancy Cole

The suppressed House Intelligence Committee report concludes that the intensive FBI harassment and attempted disruption of the Socialist Workers party are totally unjustified on any grounds.

In its February 16 issue, the *Village Voice* devoted twenty-one pages to reprinting the report, which the House—at the bidding of President Ford and the CIA—had overwhelmingly voted January 29 to keep secret.

Although much of the “leaked” report had already been summarized in news accounts, the *Voice* version contains some new information. One example was the section on the Socialist Workers party.

“The investigation, which FBI officials tacitly admit has been conducted partially under the aegis of an unprosecutable statute, has revealed that the SWP is a highly law-abiding group,” the report stated.

Despite a “massive manpower allocation” by the FBI that included “surveillance of most, if not all, of the SWP’s 2500 members,” there have been no prosecutions of any members of the SWP in thirty-four years, the committee, headed by Democrat Otis Pike, reported.

The committee’s conclusions were based on an investigation that included testimony before the House panel by SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo. Much of the evidence provided the committee came from proof of government crimes against socialists amassed as a result of the SWP’s lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

That suit, filed in 1973, is now nearing a trial date.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, says the committee’s conclusions should have a bearing on that legal action. The PRDF is the civil liberties committee publicizing and financing the SWP’s suit.

“This congressional committee—an

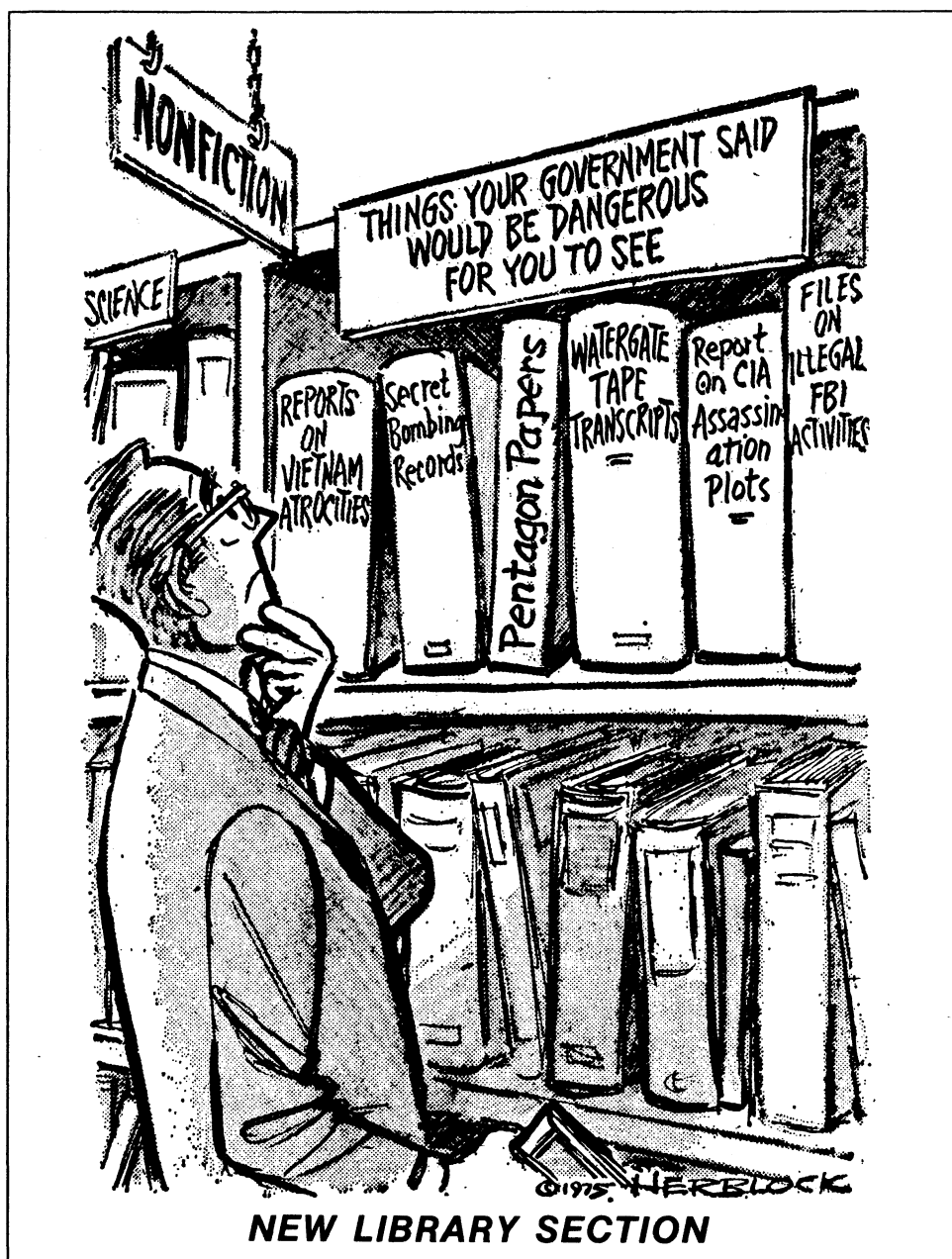
## Inside: sections of secret report

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arm of the same government we’re suing—had a chance to consider the SWP’s evidence, and then to question the FBI about the socialists’ charges,” Stapleton pointed out.

“And they had to conclude that the bureau doesn’t have a leg to stand on. This is a confirmation of the whole basis of our suit.”

The section on the SWP, however, is not typical of the report as a whole.



The document reflects the main concern of the Democrats and Republicans who approved it—that the U.S. spy agencies squandered tax money on investigations that were not effective enough and on foreign adventures that were diplomatically risky.

Significantly, the report rejects the notion that the CIA was acting on its own:

“All evidence in hand suggests that the CIA, far from being out of control, has been utterly responsive to the instructions of the President and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs,” the report states.

The portion of the report reprinted in the *Voice* is divided into three sections: costs, performance, and risks.

Under the costs heading, the report charges that the spy agencies have operated with deceptive budgets much larger than those intelligence allocations presented to Congress.

“All this adds up to more than \$10 billion being spent by a handful of

people, with little independent supervision, with inadequate controls, even less auditing, and an overabundance of secrecy.”

The performance section, under which the SWP harassment campaign is examined, deals primarily with what the Pike committee has deduced are failures to give Americans “their money’s worth.”

The committee concludes that the CIA botched its spying job by failing to predict numerous international events. These included the 1973 Middle East war, the April 1974 overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal, and India’s 1974 nuclear test.

### ‘Bandaid approach’

The risks involved in intelligence activities are sometimes given “scant consideration by policy makers,” the report concludes. This “bandaid approach” substituted “short-term remedies for problems which required long-term cures.”

In addition to those CIA “bandaids” already reported in the *Militant* (February 13)—aid to foreign politicians, manipulation of the media, and officially undervaluing military aid to Angola—the report reveals the following:

- The United States government funneled \$16 million to Kurdish rebels in Iraq in a conspiracy with the shah of Iran. The purpose was to disrupt the government of Iraq. The United States had no intention of allowing the insurgents to win, the report states, but aided them in order to “continue a level of hostilities sufficient to sap the resources of our ally’s [Iran’s] neighboring country.”

- CIA employees are secretly planted in U.S. government departments and agencies, including the White House. The “detailees,” as they are called, range from gardeners and typists to intelligence analysts making recommendations on CIA covert action.

- The CIA operated the International Police Services from the early 1950s until late 1973. This Washington agency had a dual purpose: to train foreign police agencies in the art of spying, and to line up future CIA “assets” once the cops returned to their own countries.

### Leaks’

The outcry around “leaks,” increasingly a focus of the “intelligence debate” in Washington, reached a new crescendo with the *Voice* reprint.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger charged the committee with “a new version of McCarthyism.” At a news conference, where Kissinger’s behavior was politely described by reporters as strained, he said that the “total impact” of the committee’s report and its unauthorized release of secrets “is to produce a malicious lie.”

Particularly aggravating for Kissinger were the report’s references to his “passion for secrecy” and his efforts to “consolidate ultimate control of important intelligence functions through his various bureaucratic roles.”

President Ford promptly offered House Speaker Carl Albert all “services and resources of the executive branch” to track down those responsible for the leak.

Pike told reporters that the CIA had copies of the report and it would “be to their [the CIA’s] advantage” to leak it. “All the leaks make the committee look bad,” he said.

Meanwhile, with the leaks decoy attracting attention, Ford, Kissinger, the CIA, and the FBI all managed to avoid discussing the content of the report, which gave only a glimpse of the crimes of these spy agencies.