

# THE MILITANT

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

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# Student leaders set antiracist campaign

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**CHICANO CAMPAIGN FACES HARASSMENT:** Chicano activists are out to challenge the Democrats and Republicans that run National City, California. Three independent Chicano candidates will be running in the March 2 city council and school board elections. The campaign, initiated by the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, stems from protests against the police murder of a Puerto Rican youth last October.

The latest maneuver by local officials has been to try to prevent supporters of this campaign from exercising their right to vote. Ad hoc committee activists have discovered that some newly registered voters are not listed in the precinct books used to determine who can vote at each polling site.

Others have been visited at home by individuals claiming to be voter-registration officials who question them about their place of residence.

Committee leaders are demanding that federal poll watchers be on hand March 2 to ensure that these Chicanos are allowed to vote.

**ABORTION RIGHTS:** An International Women's Day demonstration in New York City will protest the Catholic church hierarchy's attacks on abortion. The March 8 demonstration, called by the local chapter of the National Organization for Women, will begin at noon at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue and Fifty-first Street.

NOW's national board has planned two additional actions in defense of women's right to abortion. The first will be local activities on Mother's Day in May. The second will take place this summer in Philadelphia when Pope Paul VI arrives for his scheduled visit.

*The March International Socialist Review will be a special women's liberation issue. It will appear in the next issue of the Militant, one week later than usual, in order to coincide with March 6-8 International Women's Day activities.*

**MORE TROUBLE FOR THE POPE:** The papal scepter took a particularly vicious swipe at homosexuality in the January 15 pronouncement on "Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics." The Vatican document, which called homosexuality "intrinsically disordered," also condemned the "liberal" attitudes toward gays that have crept into the church.

These "liberal" attitudes have spread to even higher echelons than even the pope may have feared, as illustrated by a pastoral letter issued last week by Bishop Francis Mugavero. The bishop, whose Brooklyn diocese encompasses more than one million Catholics, said in his letter, "Our community must explore ways to secure the legitimate rights of all our citizens, regardless of sexual orientation, while being sensitive to the understanding and hopes of all involved."

While affirming heterosexuality as the norm, the bishop's letter avoided condemnation of homosexuality. This fact, combined with his indicated support for gay democratic rights, is a significant departure from the pope's decree. That document provided the "moral" justification for legal discrimination and other crimes against gays.

Bishop Mugavero's statement is only the tip of an iceberg of opposition to the church's reactionary dogma concerning sexuality. For instance, a Catholic gay-rights group, Dignity, pegs its membership at between 4,000 and 5,000.

**NEW DETROIT MILITANT FORUM:** The Detroit Militant Forum met February 13 for the first time at its new address, 6404 Woodward Avenue. Joe Madison, executive director of the Detroit NAACP, was the featured speaker.

An enthusiastic crowd of eighty people, more than a third of them Black, heard Madison speak.

During his talk, the Black leader blasted Judge Robert DeMascio's order on school desegregation for Detroit as flagrantly inadequate.

Referring to the recent racist mobilizations in Boston and Louisville, Madison said, "Historically, whenever a law is passed or a court decision is made that upgrades minorities, it meets with violence, confrontation, opposition, and lack of enforcement.

"We can't let violence go unanswered. We must put together a new social movement. . . . We've got to get into the streets again."

He praised the National Student Coalition Against Racism for its role in mobilizing youth in this struggle.

**CAMEJO TOURS BAY AREA:** A rally for Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo was the first event at the newly opened socialist campaign headquarters in San Francisco's Mission District. That's a Latino community, and Camejo addressed the fifty participants in Spanish.

The following night, 200 people packed a rally in San

Francisco's other socialist headquarters. "In this economic crisis," Camejo said, "labor needs its own party based on the unions. We must take political action and challenge the rule of the Democrats and Republicans that administer the cutbacks in jobs and services." In the audience were many bus drivers and other city workers whose standards of living are under heavy attack by the Democratic-controlled city administration.

Also that week, a reception for eighty Camejo supporters was held in Oakland where the fifth Bay Area campaign office will soon open. During Camejo's tour, nearly 100 people signed up to be campaign volunteers.

**UFW FIGHTS \$1.2 MILLION CLAIM:** The United Farm Workers have appealed a court decision ordering the union to pay \$1.2 million to the California state unemployment insurance fund. The ruling is largely based on the fact that strike benefits were given to several thousand striking grape pickers involved in picket and boycott activities in 1973. State insurance officials have come up with the novel idea that the strikers were in fact "employees" of the union. Thus the union should have been paying unemployment insurance for the strikers as well as for staff volunteers and officials, who receive a \$5 weekly subsidy from the union.

If upheld, this ruling would be a costly setback for the UFW and would establish a dangerous antilabor precedent. Any union could be compelled to pay unemployment insurance tax for strikers receiving benefits.

**APPEAL FOR A CHILEAN EXILE:** Some of the trade-union and revolutionary militants hunted by the Chilean junta have been able to escape the country. One of these is Humberto Valenzuela Montero.

Valenzuela Montero has been a trade-union fighter since his youth. From 1955 to 1957 he served as the director of the Santiago Province division of the main trade-union federation.

He joined the Communist party in 1926. Soon after that, he sided with the Left Opposition and has been a part of the Chilean Trotskyist movement ever since.

Today Valenzuela Montero is exiled in Argentina, where he leads a precarious existence. He has been unable to get work. His condition is made even worse by the staggering inflation.

Financial assistance is urgently needed for Valenzuela Montero. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is urging people to make whatever contribution they can to assist him. Contributions can be sent to USLA (Humberto Valenzuela Fund), 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003.

—Ginny Hildebrand



## Special Offer For New Readers

Antibusing terror spreads in Boston—desegregation in peril! Black students in Boston know it. White and Black parents threatened by racist vigilantes know it. *Militant* readers know it. Don't be kept in the dark by the silence of the capitalist-owned media. Follow the struggle for Black rights every week.

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# Student coalition maps national drive to defend Boston busing

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Three hundred leaders of the National Student Coalition Against Racism voted unanimously, at a February 21 emergency meeting here, to support any call issued by Black community leaders to organize a national march and rally in Boston to defend desegregation and Black rights.

The vote was in response to a letter being circulated by NSCAR Coordinator Maceo Dixon and two longtime Black rights fighters here, Ruth Batson and Ellen Jackson.

The letter has been sent to Black leaders and prominent white supporters of desegregation around the country asking them if they would endorse a national march and rally in Boston if local leaders here issue such a call.

"The future of school desegregation in this city is in jeopardy," the letter says. "We have come to the conclusion that what is critically needed today is a broad and massive movement to respond to the violent attacks of ROAR and other opponents of busing and Black rights. . . .

"We view Boston as the center of the national desegregation struggle. And there is no question about the fact that this is how the national antibusing movement views this city as well. A failure to win school desegregation here will encourage further attacks on Black rights in cities across the country."

Possible dates being discussed for a national action are Saturdays in late April or early May.

## Local actions set

In addition to throwing its support behind the idea of a national action in Boston, the emergency steering committee meeting of NSCAR voted to organize and participate in antiracist actions around the country on the weekend of April 3-4, when the assassination of Martin Luther King will be commemorated.

These demonstrations and meetings will urge people to support busing and desegregation in Boston and to come to Boston for the national action, once it is set.

The NSCAR meeting came in the midst of the ominous upsurge of violence here aimed at defeating court-ordered busing. Participants came from sixteen states and the District of Columbia, and from as far away as California and Louisiana.

"This is an emergency situation for all supporters of Black rights," NSCAR Coordinator Dixon told the student leaders.

"In the past few weeks, the racists have escalated their violent campaign against busing and school desegregation."

"This terror has included launching guerrilla attacks on Blacks riding in subways or walking down the street. Black families living in predominantly white neighborhoods have been physically attacked, as have whites sympathetic to Black rights."

## 'All force necessary'

Such violence requires, Dixon said, "all force necessary to protect the Black community," including the use of federal troops.

Dixon noted the "open acts of complicity" between police and the racists of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), who have broken up public meetings called to discuss the implementation of the desegregation plan.

He pointed to the collusion between city officials and the antibusing movement in "resegregating the schools" by



Militant/Jon Hillson



Militant/Larry Seigle

Three hundred leaders of NSCAR held emergency meeting in Boston to plan actions to defend busing. Bottom, Cathy Darby, New England NAACP youth council director, gives greetings.

setting up all-white private academies to circumvent the desegregation process.

"A new stage in the fight for school desegregation has been reached," Dixon said. "The increased violence and racist attacks have led Judge [W. Arthur] Garrity to consider retreating on certain aspects of desegregation. It cannot be ruled out—unless the Black community and its allies begin organizing a countermovement to the racists and their allies in city hall and in Washington—that the desegregation order may be modified or overturned."

The meeting also heard from Ruth Batson.

She greeted the members of the steering committee, telling them how "absolutely essential this organization has been to those of us who have been working in the desegregation crisis."

Batson said that NSCAR has "filled a void in this city. I speak for many, many people with whom I work. It's awfully good to see a group of young people assembled in the name of justice."

Two youth leaders of the NAACP also attended the steering committee meeting. Barbara Lisbin, of the NAACP national office, urged NSCAR activists to participate "on a large scale" in an NAACP youth conference to be held in Boston on April 10.

## 'All working together'

Cathy Darby, director of the New England Regional NAACP Youth Council, pointed to the collaboration between NSCAR and the NAACP in

her greetings to the meeting. "We're here today to say that we're struggling with you, we're all working together for the same thing against the racists who are bending over backwards to retard the struggle for Black liberation."

Ron Schutt, representing the national office of the National Education Association, offered the continuing support of the 1.8-million-member teacher union to prodesegregation activities in Boston.

The meeting also heard reports on the racist upsurge from both eyewitnesses and victims of violence.

NSCAR staff member Reba Williams told how three racist thugs yelling "Get the nigger bitch!" assaulted her on the edge of Roxbury last month. She was freed only when her attackers saw a Black man and his large dog rushing to her aid. Williams was interrupted by applause when she stated her determination to "keep struggling."

"We've got to teach these bigots a lesson," she said.

Melissa Wilson, a Black student leader from Hyde Park High School, described the organized racist assaults that have occurred in her school. She explained that a number of Black students at Hyde Park have become active in the student coalition.

"We wanted to be with SCAR and we ended up being with SCAR," she said.

Wilson displayed the same fighting spirit that has motivated Black students throughout the city who are attending school despite the daily abuse and harassment they face.

"There's no sense in running," Wilson said to cheers and applause. "I've been there three years and I ain't leaving!"

SCAR activists from around the country underscored the importance of the fight in Boston to the desegregation struggles in other cities.

Trudy Hawkins, a Black leader of SCAR in Detroit, told the steering committee that the recently enacted Detroit busing plan is "at best inadequate." The plan, she said, "buses Black students from all-Black schools to other all-Black schools."

Judge Robert DeMascio, who ordered the plan, Hawkins said, was reacting to antibusing pressure from Boston as well as Detroit.

"The eyes of the nation are on Boston," she said. "That's why I'm all for the actions proposed here today."

André Lowen from Brooklyn College told of how hundreds of white racists stoned Black students being bused into Brooklyn's Canarsie section in 1973. "Desegregation is getting ready to go into Queens and all of New York now," he said. "If we don't win here in Boston, we're not going to succeed anywhere else."

NSCAR was formed a year ago at a national conference in Boston. It grew out of the struggle to mobilize support for school desegregation in Boston. "This is why we formed NSCAR, and the fight for school desegregation remains our number one priority today," Dixon explained. "Busing and school desegregation have become the cutting edge of the Black liberation struggle today."

At the same time, NSCAR chapters across the country are involved in many other antiracist activities. Cheryl Brown, a coordinator of NSCAR and the president of the Umoja Society at Boston University, reported on the kind of projects the organization is carrying out.

Brown emphasized the importance of organizing actions against the cutbacks in funding for education, in defense of affirmative action, and in support of bilingual-bicultural education.

## Defend victims

She urged a national effort by NSCAR to defend such victims of racist injustice as Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, J.B. Johnson, and Gary Tyler, a Black youth from Louisiana framed up for murder. Gary Tyler's brother, Terry Tyler, attended the steering committee meeting and urged support for the defense of his brother.

The meeting voted unanimously to aid the drive to free Gary Tyler.

Brown also proposed that NSCAR chapters organize emergency public forums, teach-ins and other educational activities to get out the truth about what is happening in Boston.

"We must explain that the Boston desegregation struggle affects every other struggle against racism across the country. Boston is the center right now of the Black civil rights movement," she said.

She placed special emphasis on the role NSCAR can play in mobilizing participation from around the country in the action being discussed for later this spring.

Brown urged NSCAR activists to go to all supporters of desegregation and "win their support for this action, which is so badly needed today to change the political atmosphere and to give more courage and confidence to Black students and the entire Black community."



## Democrats remain silent

# Camejo in Boston to back Black rights

By Larry Seigle

BOSTON—"We need mass demonstrations to support Black rights in Boston," Peter Camejo told the student audience at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

"We need mass demonstrations like we had in support of the struggle in Selma in 1965, when 25,000 supporters of Black rights marched in this city," Camejo said. "Like the demonstration we had here last year on May 17, when 15,000 people marched."

"We need to do that again on a much larger scale. We need a massive repudiation of the racists."

Camejo, Socialist Workers presidential candidate, interrupted his national speaking tour to come to Boston to express his support for planned demonstrations in support of busing, and to speak out here against the racist violence.

Along with his running mate, Willie Mae Reid, Camejo attended the February 21 emergency meeting of the steering committee of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. There the socialist candidates listened to firsthand accounts from the victims of racist terror, as well as a discussion of plans for nationwide response.

Both candidates plan to help spread the truth about the busing crisis everywhere they speak, and to urge active support for the struggle to defend the rights of Black communities against the racist offensive.

During two days of campaigning here February 23 and 24, Camejo was accompanied by a film crew from the Public Broadcasting Service, which is preparing a report on his campaign. The news feature will be aired on Monday, March 15, at 8:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time on the PBS show "USA: People and Politics."

The PBS camera crew filmed Camejo as he campaigned in the cafeteria of the Boston City Hospital, on the streets of downtown Boston, and at campus meetings at MIT and at the University of Massachusetts in Boston.

They also filmed a discussion Camejo had with his campaign supporters at the newly opened office of the Socialist Workers party in a Black and Puerto Rican section of Roxbury. The Roxbury SWP branch is one of three now functioning in the Boston area. The other two are in Cambridge and at Kenmore Square in Boston.

Camejo's brief tour here coincided with intensive campaigning by the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates for the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries. Camejo denounced their "criminal silence" on the question of the racist violence.

Not one of them has issued even so

much as a news release condemning the racist attacks on Black people.

"This capitulation before the racists of ROAR," Camejo said, "only emboldens the antibusing mobs to press their violent attacks still further. It spreads the illusion that ROAR speaks for a majority, when, in fact, it represents only a minority in the city and around the country."

"That's why we need a massive mobilization here in the streets, a mobilization that can give a voice to the Black community and to everyone who is willing to stand up to the racist terror."

In his speech to students at MIT on February 24, Camejo explained what the battle over busing really signifies.

"You notice that when [U.S. District Judge W. Arthur] Garrity made his ruling, all of a sudden everybody started talking about busing. They called it 'forced busing.' But did you

ever hear of a law that's not forced?"

"When you see a stop sign, does it say on it 'forced stop'? But if you go through it, you get a ticket, right? It's the law. They use force to maintain it. Every law is forced."

"But the reactionaries don't want to enforce the law when it protects the interests of Blacks, of women, or of other groups that have been oppressed and have not received equal treatment in our society."

"Before Garrity's order, students from Columbia Point, a predominantly Black housing project, had to be bused across town to English High or Roxbury High. Their 'neighborhood school' was South Boston High, only a mile and a half away. But they weren't allowed to go there. They had to be bused into Black schools."

"Boston always had busing. Except that it used to have busing to maintain segregation, and now it has busing, at least partially, to desegregate."

"Now Ford and the others get up and say, 'We're against forced busing.' But why weren't they against forced busing before, when they used busing to maintain segregation?"

"The real issue," Camejo insisted, "isn't busing. The real issue is racism. They want to maintain a dual school system in which Blacks get an inferior education as they have throughout the 200 years this nation has existed. And that's what we've got to fight."

"We've got to mobilize the student movement in defense of rights for Black people in this city. We've got to get the labor movement involved in this fight on the side of justice. We've got to unite in defense of busing so that the Black community in this town can feel the strength and confidence of having allies in the fight to defeat the racists."



Militant/Larry Seigle

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo gathers facts about situation in Boston. Pledges to use nationwide tour to spread truth about antibusing drive.

# Boston city officials egg on bigots

By Larry Seigle

BOSTON, Feb. 24—Thousands of racists are planning to march on South Boston High School on Sunday, February 29, to demand a halt to "forced busing." The demonstration will come two weeks after 1,000 antibusing demonstrators—armed with bats, tire irons, and tear gas—battled cops near the school for two hours.

On February 23, Boston Mayor Kevin White granted a permit for the march and rally. White, who has refused to make any public comments whatsoever on the riot of February 15, also agreed to the racists' demand that only a few neighborhood cops regularly assigned to South Boston be present for the demonstration.

Warren Zaniboni, a leader of the South Boston Marshals Association, hailed the mayor's "display of trust in the people of South Boston." The South Boston Marshals Association, a goon squad affiliated with ROAR, prepared the violent assault on the cops on the fifteenth. They now promise that the march on the twenty-ninth will be peaceful—provided the cops keep a low profile. Racist leaders had earlier vowed to march on the school with or without a permit.

White, in granting the permit, made no reference to the statements made by Boston Police Commissioner Robert diGrazia last week. At that time, diGrazia had promised that the Boston police would no longer follow a "policy of tolerance" toward antibusing hooligans. He had promised that the city would "arrest, prosecute, and convict"

those who were organizing a "conspiracy against public order."

To date, however, there has been no such display of force. Nor have there been any arrests.

On February 19, U.S. Attorney James Gabriel had announced a federal investigation of ROAR and other antibusing organizations for their role in planning the February 15 riot and in disrupting meetings around the city. Gabriel's announcement came after a group of Black, Latino, and white parents demanded such an inquiry. However, no further steps have been made public since Gabriel's announcement.

## Racist victory

Whether or not this Sunday's march turns violent is of only secondary significance. In one important respect, the racists have already won another victory.

The permit granted by the city allows the marchers to come right up to the courtyard of South Boston High School, thus violating a court order prohibiting demonstrations within 100 yards of school buildings in South Boston.

The 100-yard barrier was established a year ago by U.S. District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity to keep racist mobs from attacking Black students being bused into the schools. In fact, the riot of the fifteenth erupted because the police tried to enforce that ruling and keep the demonstrators from marching onto school grounds.

An anti-Black rally at the very door

of the school will be another step in the drive to terrorize the Black community, and in particular the Black students, into giving up their fight to break down segregation in this city's school system.

Robert Dinsmore, an attorney for the Marshals, offered the novel explanation that Garrity's order "applies only during the week when classes are in session." Garrity has made no comment.

## City layoffs

While Mayor White was appeasing the antibusing groups, the Boston City Council, eight of whose nine members belong to ROAR, was stepping up its drive to pit city employees against the Black community. City workers are facing layoffs of some 615 employees as a result of cutbacks ordered by White.

The city's current budget is reportedly facing a deficit of \$33 million. Virtually all of the city's politicians are charging that the deficit is a result of the costs of busing.

In fact, the \$20 to \$30 million reportedly spent on busing is the direct result of the decades-long policy of enforcing segregation followed by the school committee and the city council.

Moreover, the amount spent for busing is minuscule compared with the money Boston taxpayers send to Washington to pay their share of the more than \$100 billion war budget.

On February 19, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents the bulk

of the city's civilian workers, and the Service Employees International Union, which represents city employees in the welfare department and some other agencies, held a rally to protest the proposed cuts. Demonstrators chanted, "Strike, strike, strike," as union officials promised militant action to protect their jobs. No decision on the strike has been made.

The overwhelming majority of the city's 9,000 public workers are white. City jobs are largely at the disposal of the old-time patronage machine, built on the long-established Irish and Italian ward and precinct organizations.

## White job trust

Few Blacks and Puerto Ricans can break into the white job trust of city government.

Many officers of these largely white unions, who are themselves often tied into the Democratic party machine, have denounced busing at union meetings.

On February 23, the city council invited union officials to attend a city council meeting.

The council voted unanimously to withhold approval of expenditures for the city until "a meeting has been held among administration and union officials to seek alternatives to laying off city employees." City council member John Kerrigan, a former head of the school committee and a staunch segregationist, made the meaning of this resolution clear when he urged the

Continued on page 26



## 'Southie' mother speaks out

# White parents defy racist boycott

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Kathleen S. lives in South Boston and she is scared.

Kathleen sends her two young children to school in South Boston. She complies with Judge W. Arthur Garrity's desegregation order, refusing to participate in the boycott urged by antibusing leaders. Because of that act, she has good cause to feel, as she puts it, "terrified."

"I never knew what it was like to live in fear," she says. "Now I do."

The major antibusing organization, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), with its terror squads most highly organized in South Boston, has made "compliance" a sin second only to outright support for desegregation.

In a neighborhood where "resist" and "never" are the watchwords of the bigots, those who don't join them stand out.

Kathleen has quietly been trying to ease the problems facing students who attend school. Some of her friends found out. "Now when they see me, they turn their backs."

But Kathleen told me she has been lucky so far. She hasn't suffered the physical harassment other parents like her have faced.

"Signs were painted on their houses, shots fired through windows, and cars have been ruined," she said.

"You hear stories of threats, like, 'We'll find you wherever you are. We'll get your kids. You'll have to get your kid back on a stretcher.'"

This young mother is personally opposed to the busing plan. "I don't think it's right," she told me. "But people don't have the right to keep

their children out of school. I was raised to obey the law and this is the law."

Kathleen is alarmed by "how violently the hard core is opposed" to desegregation and the jeopardy in which people like herself are placed by groups like ROAR. Police protection for South Boston parents who are complying with the desegregation order is virtually nonexistent.

The announcement by U.S. Attorney James Gabriel of the opening of an FBI investigation into antibusing violence, she hoped, "might cool things a little." Although Kathleen felt the inquiry would not have an impact on the "hard core," it might force others "to look at the situation a little."

"Things are getting pretty tough here, especially after the march last Sunday," she said, referring to the February 15 demonstration of 1,000 racists, which erupted into a two-hour battle with police. "No one knows what's going to happen when they march again."

Kathleen has witnessed the mob violence that has met Black students since the buses first rolled into South Boston in the fall of 1974. "The Black students face quite a bit of abuse," she says. "But they have as much right to go to school here as my kids do."

She has also been angered by another, less-publicized side to the violence. Groups of boycotting students toss stones and bottles at white students who attend school in the neighborhood.

Her concern for the safety of her children led her to work together informally with other parents, some of

them Black. Although their first gatherings were tense and were disrupted by angry antibusing elements, they began to go more smoothly.

"I can feel what the Black parents are going through now, and I know we have the same concern for our children. If you were blind and listened to us, you wouldn't think there was any difference between us."

Such meetings were held secretly. The white parents were "made to feel like traitors. We felt all alone. Now, we know there are others like us. It is a fantastic boost for us to be together. We don't feel so cut off."

"I've learned about the Black community," she said, "and I have grown up considerably in the past year and a half from this all."

Still, the fright and terror are real. "When you get criticized or asked questions, you just clam up or talk double-talk. It may be cowardly but it's the only way for a lot of us. You don't know what will happen to you."

Kathleen is not sure what will come next. She wonders whether things will improve. She blames Boston's politicians for worsening the situation. "They should all be shipped to a desert island," she says.

Other parents with whom I have talked are, like Kathleen, fearful of being identified by ROAR. They are worried about informers, eavesdroppers, even wiretaps. Terrified by the pattern of harassment, and worried about their own safety and that of their children, they remain active, but publicly silent.

Kathleen is one of many—in South Boston and Charlestown, East Boston



Militant/Joanna Rohrbach  
Racist boycott creates climate of intimidation against parents who seek to comply with desegregation order.

and Dorchester—"whom ROAR doesn't speak for because ROAR doesn't represent all white people. That just is not true when they say that."

"I'm just a high school graduate, you know," she says, "and I don't talk like this much because sometimes it's better not to talk."

But speaking about these things has gotten her Irish up, and her blue eyes flash anger. "First and foremost we have to be concerned with our children's education and safety. And no one has a right to keep my children out of school or make me live in fear."

# N.Y. rally backs desegregation fight

By Ike Nahem

NEW YORK—Some 300 people attended a rally at Baruch College here cosponsored by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism and the Baruch Day Student Government on February 20.

Under the theme "Two Hundred Years is Too Long to Wait: The Fight Against Racism Today," the rally featured spokespeople for local antiracist struggles as well as national figures in the fight for Black rights.

The rally marked the first anniversary of the founding of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. The next day, the NSCAR steering committee met in Boston.

Attorney William Kunstler, the first speaker, described the case of J.B. Johnson, whom he is representing.

Johnson is a young St. Louis Black facing a framed-up murder charge. Johnson was originally convicted, but an appeals court overturned that verdict after widespread protests. A new trial is expected to begin this spring.

The next speaker was Elizabeth Colón, a member of the pro-community-control minority of the District One school board. Colón described how the racist majority of the District One board, with the total support of teachers union head Albert Shanker, has refused more than \$300,000 in federal money to be used for bilingual education.

Speaking after Colón was Michael Meyers, assistant national executive director of the NAACP. Meyers spoke of the bicentennial and of the contradiction between America's vaunted democratic ideals and the reality of racism.

"Does this mean we do not celebrate America's bicentennial?" Meyers asked. "No, we must use the occasion to expose America's lies and hypocrisy, to decry its crimes against humanity."

The audience gave the next speaker, Robert F. Williams, a standing ovation. After fourteen years, authorities in North Carolina had recently dropped trumped-up kidnapping charges against Williams.

As head of the Monroe, North Carolina, NAACP, Williams led a militant campaign in the late 1950s for the desegregation of public facilities in that city. When the Ku Klux Klan launched a campaign to terrorize local Blacks, Williams organized the community to defend itself against the violence.

Because of his activities, Williams

was hit with the kidnapping charges and hounded into exile.

Williams is a strong supporter of busing and the National Student Coalition Against Racism. "People, especially white reporters, ask me, 'How can you be a Black nationalist and support busing? Doesn't busing cut across race pride?'"

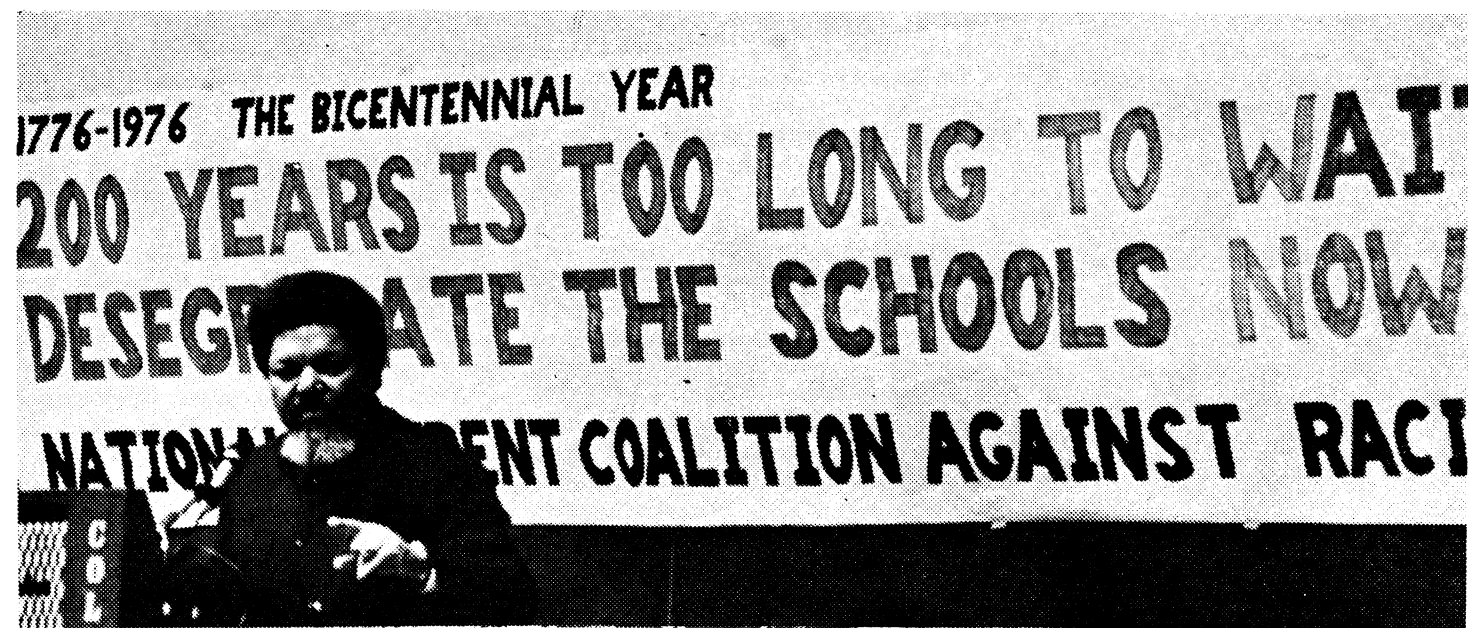
"Boston shows busing is more than a matter of education. Busing is about racism!" Williams said. "I don't think any person on this earth has the right to deny Black people the right to go to school. I want to deprive the racists of the power to keep me in a cubbyhole."

Williams was followed by Melissa Wilson and Donna Burton, two Black students from Hyde Park High School in Boston.

They told of cowardly white thugs

who rove the schools in gangs, searching for individual Black students to attack. They blasted the police assigned to the schools, who either manage not to be around when a Black is getting assaulted, or, if they are around, arrest the Black students for defending themselves against the racist attacks.

Other speakers included Ken Cristol of Freedom For All Forever, part of the Rubin "Hurricane" Carter defense effort; Daniel Martin, a leader of the fight for desegregation in Canarsie; Gary Kampel, vice-president of the National Student Association; John Akpan, of the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas; and Terry Tyler, whose brother Gary is fighting trumped-up murder charges in Louisiana.



Militant/Lou Howort  
Audience gave Robert F. Williams standing ovation. He recently won victory against frame-up charges in North Carolina.

# Queens College profs call for teach-ins, united actions against campus cutbacks

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—An angry and determined meeting of the Queens College chapter of the Professional Staff Congress (PSC) overwhelmingly adopted a resolution February 19 calling for teach-ins and a mass demonstration to fight a one-month unpaid furlough proposed by the New York City Board of Higher Education.

The PSC, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, represents the 17,000-member instructional staff at the City University of New York. Queens College is one of the largest campuses in the CUNY system.

In a move to implement massive budget cuts at CUNY, the board of higher education plans to shut down the campuses for four weeks. The recommendation from the Council of Presidents of CUNY is that the closings be the week beginning March 22, the week beginning April 12, and two weeks beginning May 24.

During these four weeks, the entire work force at CUNY—including professors, teaching assistants, secretaries, and maintenance personnel—will in effect be locked out and receive no wages.

This represents a unilateral, across-the-board pay cut of 8.5 percent for all CUNY personnel.

Counterposed to the motion for teach-ins and a mass demonstration was a motion suggested by the president of Queens College and supported by some officers of the Queens PSC chapter. This motion called for teachers to turn in grades of "incomplete" for all students if the payless furlough is carried out.

Speaking against this motion, Prof. Charles Cairns, head of the linguistics department, pointed out that penalizing students would be a "continuation of the disastrous strategy that the city unions have followed since the beginning of the cuts."

"Instead of uniting all of us who are victims of this attack in a joint response and joint action," Cairns said, "this motion continues the policy

of setting union against union, worker against worker, college against college, and now teacher against student.

"It is only the students who will be hurt by withholding grades. They are not our enemy, but fellow victims in the campaign to cut education."

"Our enemy is the board of higher education, the bankers, the politicians, and the Emergency Financial Control Board, who are all united in a policy to cut CUNY out of existence."

"We should support proposals that unite us in action with our natural allies in this struggle."

After further discussion, the motion

to withhold grades was defeated, with only a handful of votes supporting it. The motion that was then overwhelmingly passed by the meeting was introduced by Brian Schwartz, a counselor at Queens College.

This motion provided that "all faculty and staff should report to work the week of March 22, 1976," the first week of the proposed lockout, and that "special classes, seminars, organizing sessions, and teach-ins should replace the regular class schedule. These special programs will be devoted to analyzing the CUNY crisis and organizing resistance to the cuts."

This motion was amended by Prof. Bogdan Denitch to provide for a steering committee to be "formed from all elements of the college community, including representatives from all campus unions."

The motion was further amended by Cairns to provide that "the leadership of the PSC should approach the leadership of other unions representing employees of CUNY and of the student body for help in mobilizing the entire university community—including all instructional and noninstructional staff, students, future students, and friends of the university—for a massive, peaceful demonstration protesting the retrenchment policies being implemented against CUNY."

The motion specified that "this action should take place before the period of the lockout currently planned to start March 22."

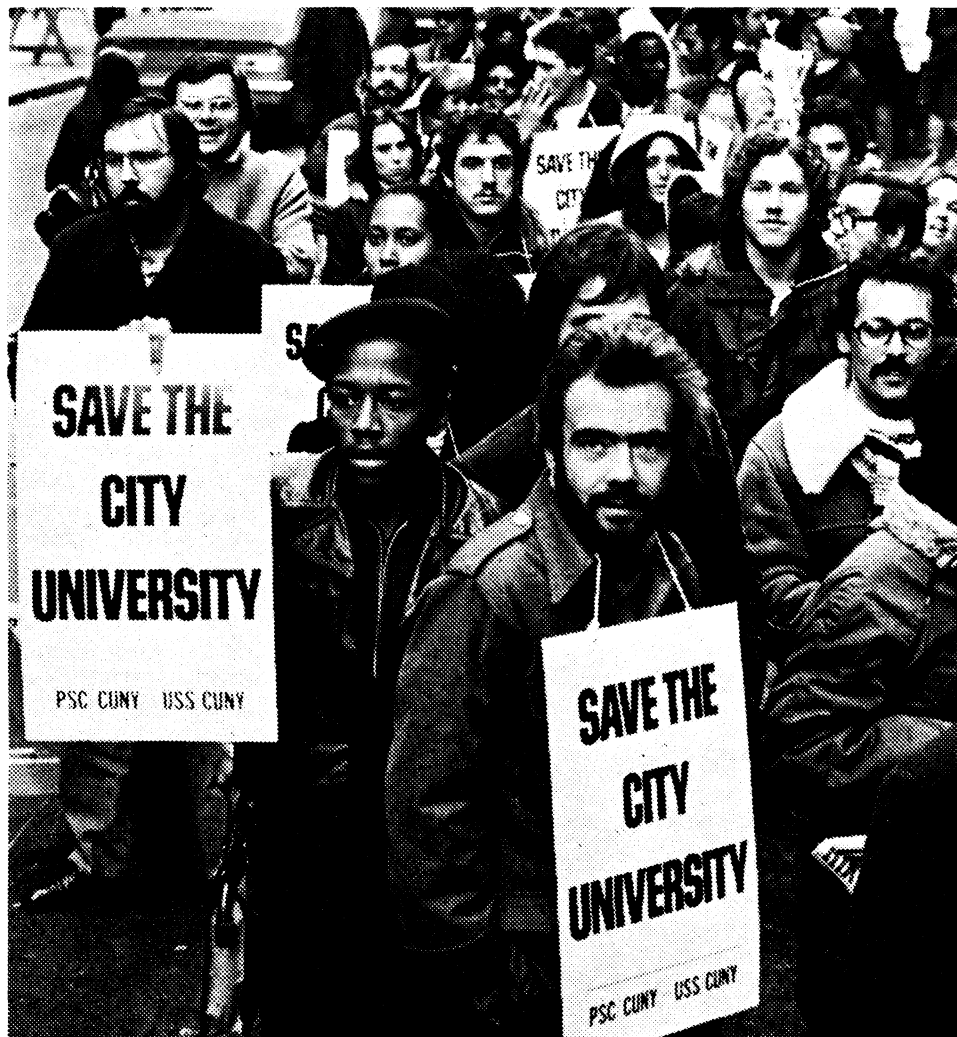
In an interview after the meeting, Cairns pointed out that "the lockout and the current cutback policies constitute a vicious attack on the entire union movement in New York City."

"The motion passed here today is important because it reverses the policy of 'don't cut me—cut somebody else.' This policy has played into the hands of Beame, Carey, and the bankers with their divide-and-rule strategy."

"We now have to take this motion passed here and get the entire PSC to adopt it and then the entire New York City labor movement. That's a big task, but that's what it will take to challenge the cuts."

"A massive, united demonstration of the PSC, the students, and the city's labor movement would do more to stop the cuts than all the past deals, negotiations, and maneuvers put together."

The Queens PSC is organizing an action committee to implement the decisions of the February 19 meeting. For more information contact Charles Cairns, Department of Linguistics, Queens College, Flushing, New York 11367. Telephone: (212) 520-7161.



Students and faculty protest last fall

Militant/Lou Howort

## NY layoffs wipe out jobs of minorities, women

By José Pérez

The New York City Commission on Human Rights issued a report February 19 confirming that the city government's budget crisis is being used to carry out massive discriminatory layoffs against Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women.

Since the summer of 1974, the city's

payroll has been reduced by 40,000, a total cut of 13 percent. But the proportion of minority and women workers fired has been much higher.

- One-half of the Spanish-speaking workers have been dismissed.
- Two-fifths of the Black male workers have been let go.
- One-third of the women workers have been eliminated.

The hardest-hit group was that described in the city's statistics as "Spanish-speaking," primarily Puerto Ricans. The effect is all the more devastating since Puerto Ricans were vastly underrepresented on the city payrolls to begin with.

According to the 1970 census, Puerto Ricans constituted at least 10 percent of the population of the city. The census takers admit this count is too low, and estimates based on analysis of school enrollment figures put the real total at 14 percent.

But according to a report released by the federal government last January, Puerto Ricans made up only 5 percent of the city payroll as of 1971.

The census bureau estimated in 1970 that all minorities made up 33 percent of the city's population. The percentage today is undoubtedly higher, a result of both the census miscount and shifting population patterns in the past five years.

Yet, according to city officials, minority workers make up only 31 percent of the city's employees, and suffered 44 percent of the layoffs.

Women are only 30 percent of the

payroll, but suffered 37 percent of the cuts.

Cutbacks this fiscal year will total some \$200 million by June. Over the next two fiscal budgets, at least \$1 billion more is scheduled to be cut. The discriminatory wholesale sacking of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women is just beginning.

The reason for the disproportionate impact is the "last hired, first fired" system. As the cutbacks mount and recently hired workers are sacked, the composition of the payroll becomes more and more like it was several years ago. In the process, gains achieved through affirmative-action programs are wiped out.

As the layoffs have mounted, so have challenges to discrimination perpetuated by rigid application of the seniority system. According to the February 20 *New York Times*, almost 300 formal complaints have been filed with state and federal authorities, a number of them class-action complaints.

Some have also taken the matter to court. In February 1975, Black and Puerto Rican principals and supervisors in the school system won a ruling from a federal district judge modifying the seniority layoffs system.

The decision stemmed from a 1970 case that had struck down the system then used for selecting supervisory personnel as racially discriminatory.

However, on January 19 a three-judge appeals court ruled in a two-to-one decision that laying off a white

person with greater seniority would be "reverse discrimination."

An attorney for the minority supervisors said this decision could have a "very devastating effect on the small gains" that had been made in obtaining positions for Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The attorney said an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was being considered.

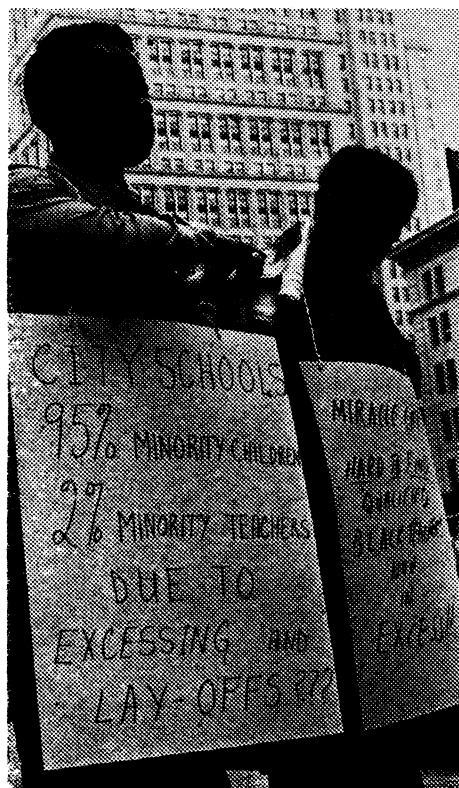
There have been other protests by Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Last October, 100 Black teachers picketed city hall protesting disproportionate layoffs of Black teachers.

Among Puerto Ricans, a committee called Concerned Citizens for the Future of Puerto Ricans in City Government has been formed. It includes representatives of some 100 organizations, according to press reports, and has the support of many other groups.

According to Luz Allende, a leader of the group, "We are on a peaceful war footing to demand that our rights be respected and an end to the practice of hiring Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics last and having them be the first fired."

This committee has called a demonstration for February 26 at city hall to protest cutbacks and layoffs. Reflecting the widespread anger in the community over the issue, preparations for the protest have received extensive coverage in the city's main Spanish-language daily. The action has also been endorsed by prominent Puerto Rican Democrats, including U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo.



Militant/Lou Howort

Black teachers protest 'last hired—first fired' system at city hall last October.



# Students battle cuts, tuition hikes

## Georgia: 'Join with Blacks, unions'

By Joe Soares

ATLANTA—"No tuition hike! No cutbacks! Defend faculty raises!" were the slogans of a rally of 500 students at Georgia State University (GSU) here on February 11.

Half of the students came from Atlanta Junior College (AJC). Students from the University of Georgia, Georgia Tech, and Atlanta University also participated.

Speakers from student, faculty, and Black organizations called for a statewide mass-action campaign to challenge the cutbacks. After the rally, 350 marched to a meeting of the board of regents and set up a picket line.

The demonstration was sponsored by the GSU Committee to Fight the Tuition Hike, the GSU Student Government Association, and the student governments of four other colleges.

It was the first major response to the announcement by the board of regents of a 10 percent rise in tuition costs, the second part of a 26.5 percent increase since June 1975.

The regents claim that the increase is necessary to provide a pay raise for the faculty—a raise that was promised, then retracted, and finally won in a lawsuit filed by the American Association of University Professors and the National Education Association.

In reality, the broken faculty contracts and both tuition hikes are intended to cover cutbacks in educational funds from the Georgia legislature.

Rhonda Shumpert of the GSU Committee to Fight the Tuition Hike and the Student Coalition Against Racism described the kind of campaign needed to defend higher education in Georgia:

"We need to unite students from around the state in rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations like today's," she told the crowd.

"We should reach out and get the support of trade unions, Black organizations, and professors and students at every college in Georgia."

Eighty-five percent of Georgia's Black students depend on financial assistance for their education. The harsh effect of the tuition hike on Black students was a common theme



Militant/Joe Soares

RHONDA SHUMPERT: 'Unite students from around the state in rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations.'



Militant/Joe Soares

Protest at Georgia State University drew students from five campuses

in the speakers' remarks. The participants, most of whom were Black, carried signs denouncing the racist aspect of the hike.

Calvin Pender of the GSU Black Alliance and Roy Palmer, a Black Alliance member active in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, drew cheers at the rally when they likened the anticutbacks fight to the past struggles of the Black liberation movement.

Robert Beavers, student government president at Atlanta Junior College and a veteran who depends on Veterans Administration assistance, said that "rising tuition is going to force many Blacks and veterans to give up their hopes for a college education."

The regents' attempt to blame the tuition increase on the faculty was rejected by the students, as shown by the enthusiastic welcome given to Professors Thom Goolsby of the University of Georgia and Modibo Kadalie of Atlanta Junior College, leading defenders of student and faculty rights.

Dale Robinson, a staff representative of the National Education Association, stressed the need for all those in the educational system to unite against the regents' attacks. "The teachers are with you!" said Robinson.

Greetings were read to the rally from other student governments, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, and Nan Bailey, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Activity against the cutbacks began at the January 14 meeting of the regents, where the tuition increase was approved. Fifteen students from Georgia State, the University of Georgia, and Atlanta Junior College picketed that meeting.

In the next two weeks, an outdoor rally at the University of Georgia in Athens drew 500, and meetings called by the student governments of GSU and AJC drew 135 and 250, respectively.

The GSU and AJC meetings voted to establish independent committees to fight the tuition hike, which in turn called for the February 11 rally and picket line.

During the picket line, the regents' meeting was addressed by representatives of the AJC and GSU contingents. Robert Beavers of AJC told the regents to expect more demonstrations, and demanded that they open all the financial records of the university system to public inspection.

Steven Marshall, a member of the GSU Young Socialist Alliance and the chairperson of the rally, denounced the

regents' attempt to place the burden of the educational crisis "on those who can least afford to pay—Blacks, veterans, and poor people."

"You're always talking about 'student input,'" said Marshall, as chants of "We won't pay!" sounded through the windows.

"Well, here's some student input—500 people telling you to look somewhere else for money. We'll be back in the thousands, again and again, telling you, 'No tuition hike, no cutbacks, pay the professors, and give us back our right to an education!'"

## Colorado: 'Money for schools, not war'

By Rich Feigenberg

DENVER—Faced with a 76 percent rise in tuition costs over the past five years and proposals for another 8 or 9 percent increase next year, students at Colorado State University in Fort Collins have begun to fight back.

Six hundred CSU students rallied February 6 to protest the proposed tuition hikes. They also initiated a rally that was held at the Colorado state capitol here on February 13.

Two buses from CSU made the two-hour trip. They were met by students from the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley, the University of Colorado in Boulder, and Metropolitan State College in Denver.

Altogether, there were about 200 students present.

They were greeted by Bob Young, chairperson of the newly formed Colorado Students for Lower Tuition. "Education is our right," Young said. "It's not a privilege."

Other speakers included Bruce Farnsworth of the Student Coalition Against Racism at Metro State, John McDonnell of the University of Northern Colorado, Frank Lord of the Young Socialist Alliance, and El Fego Baca of Metropolitan State College MECHA.

Three representatives of the state government were on hand to try to justify the tuition hikes and to answer questions from the angry crowd.

State Sen. Joe Shoemaker (R-Denver) tried to make a division between undergraduate and graduate students, and between students and faculty and

staff. But the demonstrators were not at the capitol to hear excuses.

"We will not be divided according to those lines," yelled out one demonstrator.

Shoemaker told the rally that in order for tuition to be held down, they would have to do without needed increases in faculty, or that the faculty's pay would have to be frozen. People in the audience responded with shouts of "Make Joe Coors pay! Make Great Western Sugar Company pay! Increase the taxes on the big companies!"

Both Shoemaker and Roy Romer, an aide to Democratic Gov. Richard Lamm, were questioned about eliminating the military budget to increase funds for education.

Both ducked the question as not being their responsibility. After all, they said, the military budget is a federal issue, and the tuition hikes are a state issue.

The rally ended with chants of "Money for schools, not for war!" In order to continue the fight against tuition hikes and campus cutbacks, the Metropolitan State College student government has called for a statewide conference, scheduled for February 28 at Metro State.

## Wash.: 'Education is our right'

By Greg Preston

OLYMPIA, Wash.—Two hundred students rallied here February 3 against proposed tuition hikes.

The action was organized by the Council of Representatives and Presidents, made up of representatives from student governments throughout the state's community college system.

Republican Gov. Daniel Evans has introduced legislation calling for a 21 percent tuition hike at four-year colleges and universities, and a 32 percent increase at all twenty-seven community colleges in the state.

Jeff Ford, representing the Student Coalition Against the Tuition Hike at Seattle Central Community College, linked the tuition increase to the defeat last year of Initiative 314.

Initiative 314 was a referendum to impose a 12 percent tax on corporate profits in order to help finance education. Big business launched a half-million-dollar advertising blitz threatening that industry would leave the state if the measure were passed.

Ford pointed out that those hardest hit by a tuition hike would be Blacks and other minorities, women, and those who depend on financial assistance to attend college.

He called for students to organize united actions to fight the tuition-hike proposals. These themes were frequently repeated by other speakers throughout the afternoon.

One state legislator spoke on behalf of the tuition hike. He echoed the big-business line that corporate taxation is "counterproductive."

He further claimed that tuition rates had been held down over the past four years because "public officials just wanted student votes," and that if students wanted a decent education they would have to "take the lumps."

Students responded with chants of "No more tuition hikes, education is a right!"



## Endorse May 16 action

# Teachers pledge drive for ERA

By Cindy Jaquith

The May 16 national march on Springfield, Illinois, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment has received a major boost with the endorsement of the Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education of the National Education Association.

The February 19-22 conference, held in Washington, D.C., was attended by 600 teachers. Delegates unanimously voted to back the ERA demonstration and to set up a committee to mobilize the NEA membership on May 16.

"Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is the number ONE priority facing women today," noted the May 16 resolution, which was introduced at the conference by the NEA women's caucus. (See below for full text of NEA resolution.)

The May 16 march has been called by the National Organization for Women (NOW), which is urging ERA supporters across the country to converge on the Illinois state capitol in Springfield that day. Illinois is one of the states that has still not ratified the ERA.

The support of the NEA conference is an important sign of the potential for involving teachers and other working people, through their unions, in building May 16.

The NEA is the largest teachers organization in the country, with 1.8 million members. This conference resolution can be a springboard for setting up May 16 committees in NEA locals, organizing buses and trains to bring teachers to Springfield, and beginning outreach work to other unions.

The May 16 action has also recently won the endorsement of the representative council of American Federation of



1975 Atlanta demonstration. Support of National Education Association is important step in winning labor backing for May 16 national protest.

State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2000 in Chicago, and of Massachusetts State Rep. Elaine Noble.

Organizing for May 16 will be a focus of discussion in New York at a March 13 "work conference" on the ERA sponsored by New York NOW. The conference is one of many ERA activities scheduled in cities around International Women's Day. It will take place at the New York University Women's Center.

Among the groups participating in the workshop sessions at the conference is the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). CLUW is helping to organize workshops on how to build ERA committees in the unions and how to answer the anti-

ERA forces on issues such as the protective laws. Outgoing CLUW President Ellie Tilson, of the United Storeworkers, will address a workshop on why unions should support the ERA.

A demonstration for the ERA followed by workshops will take place in State College, Pennsylvania, on March 13 in conjunction with a meeting of the NOW state board. The demonstration is sponsored by ERA United, a coalition of groups.

In Lexington, Kentucky, a state where the right wing is attempting to rescind ratification of the ERA, 350 people turned out February 22 for an ERA forum.

A featured speaker was Edgar Wallace, state president of the NAACP. Wallace pointed out the links between anti-ERA forces and the racist opponents of busing who have terrorized Blacks in Louisville and Boston. Wallace said that women and Blacks must stand together in defense of democratic rights.

The Lexington Pro-ERA Alliance sponsored the forum, and urged people to demonstrate in Frankfort, the state capital, on March 6 to protest efforts to rescind the ERA.

Eighty-five people attended a teach-in on the ERA February 11 at Michigan State University in East Lansing. Speakers urged the audience to participate in the May 16 Springfield demonstration.

Paula Reimers, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, addressed the teach-in, along with representatives from NOW, the League of Women Voters, the U.S. senatorial campaign of Rep. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

## NEA conference resolution

[The following resolution was passed unanimously at the Fifteenth Annual Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education, sponsored by the National Education Association. The conference, attended by 600 NEA members, took place February 19-22 in Washington, D.C.]

Whereas: ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is the number ONE priority facing women today.

Whereas: the Equal Rights Amendment needs to be ratified in four more states by 1979.

Whereas: the NEA National Convention has gone on record in support of the Equal Rights Amend-

ment.

Whereas: the National Organization for Women (NOW) has called on people from all states to rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois, on Saturday and Sunday, May 15 and 16, 1976.

Therefore, be it resolved: that the NEA Fifteenth Annual Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education go on record in support of:

1) The May 16 Equal Rights Amendment rally in Springfield, Illinois.

2) Urge ALL members of NEA to attend the rally.

3) That this conference shall create a committee to build participation of NEA members in the rally.

## Reid in Atlanta

# ERA: 'Tool for Black women's fight'

By Osborne Hart

ATLANTA—As part of the celebration of Black History Week at Spelman College here, students heard Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid speak February 10 on "Black Women and the ERA."

Reid described the assertive role Black women have played throughout history and emphasized the need for the same kind of struggle today to help win passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Tracing the efforts of Black women in the suffrage movement, the fight against slavery, the civil rights struggles, and the women's liberation movement, Reid said, "The intense

involvement of Black women has been kept so quiet that our many contributions have gotten buried under the continuous lies." She reviewed the role played by Black women such as Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Mary McLeod Bethune, Ida B. Wells, and Rosa Parks.

Today, said Reid, "the issues raised by the women's movement—abortion rights, the ERA, child care—rally Black women too. . . ."

"The status of Black women places us at the intersection of all the paths of subjugation in this society—racial oppression, sexual exploitation, economic exploitation. We are a natural part of the many struggles against the subjugation."

"Winning passage of the ERA," said Reid, "will give Black women an additional tool to use in the fight against our position smack dab at the bottom of the labor market."

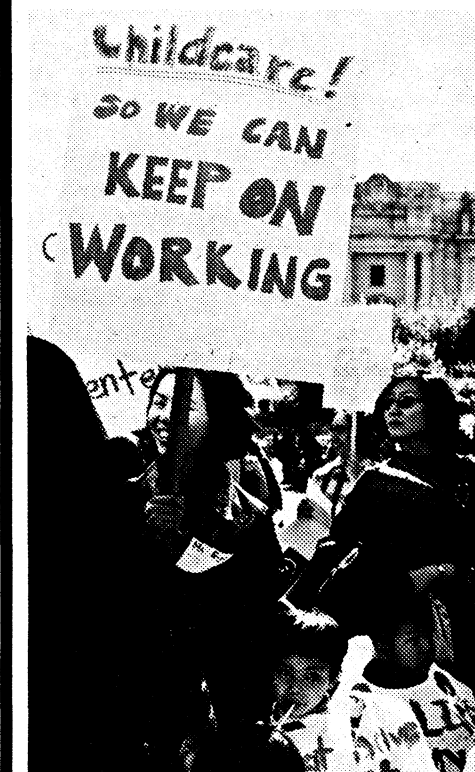
The socialist candidate pointed to the January 10 ERA demonstration of 3,000 in Atlanta as an example of the kind of action needed to win ratification. She noted that Georgians for the ERA, the demonstration's main sponsor, has set up a Black Task Force "to help incorporate the participation and priorities of Black women."

To win final ratification of the ERA, she said, a massive campaign is needed to mobilize "the power of our numbers, visible and in the streets, demanding legal equality."

# S.F. 'Day' to demand child care, equal rights

SAN FRANCISCO—"When my husband went to the hospital, I had to work to support my two little boys. I couldn't find child care, so I put them in my van and parked it outside where I worked. Every few minutes I had to run down to check on them. I thought I would go crazy until I got them into a children's center."

This story and hundreds like it are the reasons behind the March 7 "Day in the Park for Women's Rights and Child Care," sponsored by labor, women's liberation, and child-care organizations in San Francisco. The March 7 action, to be held in Sharon Meadows in Golden Gate Park, will



Militant/Howard Petrick

1973 protest in San Francisco. Coalition demands implementation of ballot proposal on child care passed that year.

demand low-cost, quality child care and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

In 1973, the voters of San Francisco passed a ballot initiative, Proposition M, which called for the city to provide decent child care for all children who need it. The elected officials of San Francisco have since sat on their hands and refused to implement Proposition M. They are now even threatening to introduce a new ballot initiative that would wipe out the intent and purpose of Proposition M.

The March 7 protest in response to this attack has received broad endorsement in the San Francisco union movement. The San Francisco Central Labor Council is sponsoring the action, along with many other labor organizations, including Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 400; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 3; Classroom Teachers Association; and American Federation of Teachers.

San Francisco National Organization for Women (NOW), Child and Parent Action, and Women Organized for Employment are also sponsoring the action.

The broad list of speakers for the day includes actress Jane Fonda; Dr. Lee Dolson, president of the San Francisco Board of Education; Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate; Joan Dillon, president, SEIU Local 400; Linda Festa, vice-president, San Francisco NOW; and Sylvia Weinstein, Child and Parent Action.

# How to answer right wing Behind the campaign to stop ERA

By Ginny Hildebrand

The proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is supported by a clear majority.

The most recent Gallup poll, from March 1975, shows 58 percent of the population supporting the ERA, compared with 24 percent opposing it.

Support for the ERA comes from a wide cross section of society. A sample of the organizations endorsing it includes: AFL-CIO, American Bar Association, American Jewish Congress, Democratic party, League of Women Voters, NAACP, National Council of Churches, National Organization for Women, Republican party, Socialist Workers party, United Auto Workers, and YWCA.

Despite this broad support, ERA ratification is in jeopardy.

The ERA will only be adopted if four more states ratify it by 1979. A well-financed, highly organized offensive is out to prevent this. Just last November the anti-ERA campaign showed its muscle by defeating referenda on state Equal Rights Amendments in New York and New Jersey.

How has the anti-ERA minority been able to pose as a majority and make such remarkable progress?

One important reason is that their well-publicized distortions and slanders against the ERA have confused many people.

It is essential that women's rights supporters take the offensive against these lies—explaining the real issues at stake in the ERA fight and exposing the true nature of the anti-ERA forces.

## Who opposes the ERA?

A good place to start is by looking at who is behind the drive to defeat the ERA.

The list of organizations opposing the amendment reads like a who's who guide to the American right wing: John Birch Society, Young Americans for Freedom, Daughters of the American Revolution, ROAR (the chief national antibusing group), Knights of Columbus, Mormon church, the Catholic church hierarchy, and the Ku Klux Klan. (The outstanding exception to this pattern is the Communist party, which also opposes the ERA.)

Phyllis Schlafly, the best-known spokesperson for this movement, has impeccable right-wing credentials herself.

She wrote a book, *A Choice, Not an Echo*, supporting Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential bid. The most important issue to her is "national defense." Schlafly is so upset about Soviet "missile superiority" that she maintains a bomb shelter stocked with food.

In her monthly newsletter, the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, she rants against busing, the unions, and women's right to abortion.

Schlafly has set up two national anti-ERA groups—STOP ERA and Eagle Forum. Her method of argument is slick and slimy. She begins by posing as a supporter of women's rights—even as a backer of some pro-women's-rights laws.

The problem with the ERA, she argues, is that it will *take away*, not advance, women's rights. Why? Because it will undercut women's privileged role in the family and society as a whole.

"Our respect for the family . . . is the greatest single achievement in the entire history of women's rights," Schlafly states in her February 1972 newsletter.

"This respect is part and parcel of our laws and customs," she adds. "It is based on the fact of life—which no legislation or agitation can erase—that women have babies and men don't."

For those who don't like the idea



that women's main role in life *must* be to bear and raise children, and that men's role is to provide for them, Schlafly says, "You will have to take up your complaint with God because He created us this way."

As she leaves the pulpit, Schlafly concludes, "Why should we lower ourselves to 'equal rights' when we already have the status of special privilege?"

The fact is, the special privileges and rights that Schlafly attributes to women are myths. And her charges against the ERA are totally dishonest. Let's look at some of them.

## Fact & fiction

**Charge:** "ERA will nullify the right of a wife to be supported by her husband and will force her to get a job."

**Fact:** What "right to support"? The support laws that ERA opponents cite are strictly formal and unenforced.

The 1953 *McGuire v. McGuire* suit illustrates this. In this case a wife sued for support against her well-to-do husband who forced her to live in poverty conditions. In ruling against Mrs. McGuire, the Supreme Court of Nebraska said, "The living standards of a family are a matter of concern to the household, and not for the courts to determine."

This ruling represents the general attitude of the courts.

Under the ERA, support laws would be neither strengthened nor weakened. According to the report on the amendment by the majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee, they would simply "be based on individual circumstances and needs, and not on sexual stereotypes."

This report goes on to quote from the New York City Bar Association. It explains that under the ERA, the spouse who is primarily responsible for running the home would not be forced to get a job or contribute equal funds to the family.

**Charge:** "ERA will take away women's right to alimony."

**Fact:** There is no such thing as the "right" to alimony.

A 1965 study done by the American Bar Association revealed that alimony is awarded in a very small percentage of divorce cases. One California judge reported that in his county, permanent alimony was awarded in less than 2 percent of all divorce cases and temporary alimony in less than 10 percent.

Under the ERA, women and men would be allowed to sue for alimony. Given the current record of alimony settlements and the paltry number of women in a position to financially support former husbands, this change in the law would only affect a handful of very wealthy women.

**Charge:** "ERA will take away women's right to child custody and child support."

**Fact:** With the ERA, child custody cases would be decided on the basis of the "child's best interests"—not the parents' gender. This is currently the practice in several states.

As for the right of a divorced woman to child-support money, the Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women explains that this "right" is a myth. It cites a study that found that 62 percent of divorced fathers ordered to pay child support paid little or nothing during the first year after divorce. Ten years after divorce, 79 percent paid nothing at all. The council also pointed out that the amount of support ordered by courts usually covered less than half of what was actually needed.

**Charge:** "ERA means that women will be drafted and put into combat."

**Fact:** Congress doesn't need the ERA to draft women. It already has the power to do so. In fact, during World War II, women were drafted as nurses.

It's true that future draft laws could not discriminate on the basis of sex. But the current reality is that *no one* is being drafted. A massive anti-Vietnam War movement forced the draft to shut down. And much to the chagrin of Phyllis Schlafly, if Congress ever again tries to draft men or women, it will be confronted by an even more massive and powerful antiwar and antidraft movement—probably led by women.

**Charge:** "ERA will mean there must be unisex public toilets, gym showers, and so forth."

**Fact:** The "great common toilet scare" is the hysterical last-ditch argument of ERA opponents.

But who will sue to get into the men's room? Who has seriously suggested that the cause of equality hinges on sex-integrated bathrooms? No one. In addition, lawyers state that the ERA will not alter what have traditionally been viewed as First Amendment rights to privacy.

However, if Schlafly is so concerned about this question, she should turn

her attacks elsewhere. Today, airplanes, buses, and homes are notorious for their unisex bathrooms.

## Behind the charges

Schlafly is able to get a hearing for her phony anti-ERA arguments because she plays on the real insecurity that confronts most women in this society.

For instance, many married women hope they have the "right" to support and alimony. If their husbands don't provide for them, they could be left destitute. That is the logic of a society that discriminates against women in education and in jobs, and believes women belong in the home, economically dependent on men.

Alimony and child-support laws—no matter how they're written—are no real solution to the dilemma of families breaking up under capitalism. How many men can support a child and former wife, and remarry and support a second family? Yet it's also true that many divorced women who receive no financial support are left in desperate straits.

The problem is that women need access to free education and decent jobs. They need free, quality child-care centers.

Children need rights too. Society should guarantee every child the best in education, medical care, recreation, and living facilities so that the burden does not rest on the circumstances of the individual parents.

Women need to be free from the economic, legal, and social compulsion that forces them into narrow roles in the family and puts them down when they step beyond them.

Schlafly's goal is to keep women in their "God-ordained" place. This is underscored by her distressed claim that the ERA will lead to abortion on demand, universally available child-care centers, and democratic rights for gays.

The ERA will have no legal effect on these questions. But the victory of the Equal Rights Amendment would accelerate the struggles around these and other issues affecting the emancipation of women.

The fight for women's liberation challenges the foundations of this social system, which measure democratic rights and human worth against accumulating profits for a tiny minority.

Maintaining this system is the most important thing to right-wingers like Schlafly. That's why they fear a strong women's liberation movement that uncompromisingly struggles for women's equality.

A victory for the anti-ERA forces would bolster their drive—not only against women, but against Blacks and the unions as well.

All who stand to lose from these attacks and stand to gain from a step forward for women's rights must unite behind the Equal Rights Amendment.

New Edition—

## Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment

By Dianne Feeley

Includes "The Case for the Equal Rights Amendment" and "How to Win the ERA." 32 pp., 35 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

## Defend busing!

The emergency steering committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, held February 21 in Boston, took important steps toward mobilizing a national defense against antibusing violence.

The student leaders voted unanimous backing to efforts by Black community leaders to organize a national march and rally in Boston in support of school desegregation and Black rights. NSCAR also voted to organize and participate in actions around the country April 3-4, focusing these commemorations of Martin Luther King's assassination on defense of busing.

The student coalition made clear its agreement with an appeal being circulated by NSCAR Coordinator Maceo Dixon and two longtime Black leaders in Boston, Ruth Batson and Ellen Jackson, urging support for a national demonstration.

"We have come to the conclusion," the letter states, "that what is critically needed today is a broad and massive movement to respond to the violent attacks of ROAR and other opponents of busing and Black rights."

ROAR and other racist elements have escalated their campaign of violence in a bid to overturn court-ordered school desegregation. Their flouting of the law is spurred on by the antibusing stance of national leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Organized gangs assault Blacks in the schools, on the streets, and in their homes. White supporters of desegregation—even white parents who merely wish to obey the law and send their children to school—have been attacked.

These gangs are highly organized. They have the open complicity of much of the city's Democratic party administration. Local police stand idly by while Blacks are beaten.

All necessary force—including the use of federal troops—must be brought to bear to defend Black students and guarantee the safety of the Black community!

Only a massive show of support for justice and equal rights can force the government to uphold school desegregation and stop the racist mobs. Without such a response, desegregation in Boston and around the country is in danger of suffering a terrible defeat.

The new wave of violence also underlines the importance of an effective defense of prodesegregation meetings. The racist toughs are emboldened when they can disrupt and break up such gatherings. Carefully organized marshaling of meetings can show that the civil rights forces will not be terrorized into silence.

The tasks now facing supporters of Black rights around the country are great:

We need to get out the truth about what is happening in Boston.

We need to enlist the active support of all Black groups and all allies of Black rights—students, trade unions, women's groups—behind the April 3-4 actions and future demonstrations.

We need to mobilize our numbers and our power in a nationwide display of support for the Boston Black community.

Keep the buses rolling!

## A good example

Testifying before a congressional subcommittee recently, the last U.S. ambassador to Saigon said the American antiwar movement was responsible for the collapse of the Thieu regime.

It was "one of the best propaganda and pressure organizations the world has ever seen," diplomat Graham Martin moaned, complaining that "organized campaigns of distortion" had made it politically impossible for Congress to give the South Vietnamese puppets the amount of backing they needed to survive.

Leaving aside the malicious sniping about "distortion," there is actually much truth in Martin's testimony. Starting from a small minority in 1965, the antiwar movement gained the support of the overwhelming majority of American people.

How was this done? The movement relied on the strategy of mass action, of reaching out to masses of people and involving them in highly visible protests. This proved to be far more successful than waiting for congressional "doves" to end the war.

Fighters for social change today—defenders of busing and Black rights, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment, opponents of cutbacks and layoffs—should learn from the antiwar experience.

As even ex-ambassador Martin ruefully acknowledged, the mass-action strategy is a strategy that works.

### They call it justice?

The following are the opening paragraphs of three stories perched next to each other on page 5 of the February 20 *Los Angeles Times*:

- "WASHINGTON (AP)—A House subcommittee decided Thursday not to reopen investigation of the Nixon pardon after a Republican member argued, 'We have flogged this dead horse enough.'"

- "WASHINGTON (UPI)—The Department of Justice announced Thursday it would not prosecute former CIA director Richard Helms for his role in a 1971 domestic burglary. . . ."

- "WASHINGTON (AP)—The House ordered its Ethics Committee Thursday to investigate the leak of its secret Intelligence Committee report and to determine whether to take action against CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr for his role in its publication."

Even-handed justice they call it.  
*J.B.*

*Los Angeles, California*

### Gary Tyler support

Gary Tyler's mother told me recently that Gary has gotten dozens of letters of support as a result of the publishing of his letter from death row (*Militant*, February 6).

"They come from all over the country," she said. "Some come from as far away as San Diego."

*Joel Aber*

*New Orleans, Louisiana*

### Prison system

The cry has gone out to institute more punishment and harder work in the prisons.

The worst punishment of all is the one that restricts all personal freedom. Right from the start prison restricts the freedoms of movement, association, and choice. This is the greatest mental strain that can be placed upon a person.

The rehabilitation programs in the U.S. prisons have never truly been developed. Only about half the prison population gets on a waiting list to get into a program.

As a result, the efforts at rehabilitation have reached only about 5 percent of the total prison population. The millions of dollars allotted to develop these programs have been eaten up by public officials, committees, and study groups.

Very little has been used to operate programs.

It is wrong to consider a theory a failure until it has been given a chance to work, and rehabilitation has not been given that chance in the American prison system.

Persons interested in prison reform are invited to contact:

*Ronald Rose*

*Atlantis House II*

*4421 1/2 Rosecrans*

*Hawthorne, California 90250*

### White's anti-Black record

Boston Mayor Kevin White, a liberal Democrat who campaigned on his record against "forced busing" in the 1975 election, changes his tune when he leaves this embattled city in search of support from Black voters.

He told more than 1,500 people at the Cleveland Urban League's annual banquet on February 14 that "the fate

of the American Black is inextricably intertwined with the fate of the American city."

What about the city of Boston, where Blacks face a mounting racist offensive?

Well, White blasted the Boston School Committee for its lack of cooperation with desegregation orders. "The leadership failed," he said. "They weren't up to it. At the community level . . . the leaders broke and ran. It was not their finest hour."

True enough.

And, after rhetorically asking himself "if desegregating an urban school system is worth the price," the mayor stated, "Is anyone going to ask a Black child to wait for an easier solution? Of course not."

But back in Boston, where ROAR thugs have broken up meetings of parents attempting to implement the law, where the safety of every Black citizen is jeopardized, Mayor White has a bad case of laryngitis.

"They couldn't stand the explosiveness of the [busing] issue," White pontificated in Cleveland in his criticism of Boston's "leaders."

But this Democratic party politician never once spoke out in defense of busing here in Boston.

His silence has served to boost the racists, along with his continuing opposition to desegregation orders.

No phrasemongering 500 miles away can ever cover up the good mayor's anti-Black record here.

*Jaimey Minusch*

*Boston, Massachusetts*

### Continental walk

There is an eight-month-long walk currently taking place known as the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice.

All concerned people are invited to participate.

The walk began on January 31 in San Francisco and plans to reach Washington, D.C., in October 1976. If you are concerned and are willing to walk for a mile or for a month on behalf of social justice and less money for the B-1 bomber and more money for the people, here are some of the areas through which the walk will pass:

In March, through California; in April, through Arizona (contact Joe Gersson at 602-967-8431 for information); in May, through New Mexico (contact Craig Simpson at 505-344-1140).

It will pass through major cities such as Chicago and feeder walks will join en route.

*Ona Rudolfo*

*Los Angeles, California*

### CP's bankrupt policies

I recently read that the Communist party, USA, as they did last time around, would be running Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner for president and vice-president, respectively. At a news conference in New York City, Hall gave the CP assessment of his opponents in the Democratic and Republican parties.

From his brief comments, we can begin to understand the bankruptcy of his political outlook.

Hall called Ford a "veto-crazy president" and George Wallace, Ronald Reagan, and Scoop Jackson "ultra-right" spokesmen whose "policies would push us off the peaceful rails of détente onto the death track of confrontation."



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## The 'jobs bill' veto

[Frank Lovell is recuperating from a heart attack. During his absence the National Picket Line will be written by guest columnists. This week's column is by Andy Rose.]

The so-called public jobs bill was vetoed by President Ford on February 13. Less than a week later the Senate voted to sustain the veto.

Dead and buried, the measure will still provide plenty of election-year ammunition for politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties. Even if it had passed, it would have provided few jobs for the unemployed.

The bill would have allocated \$6.2 billion for public works construction and cash grants to state and local governments. Sponsors claimed it might generate as many as 600,000 jobs; critics said fewer.

There are 7.3 million people out of work by official government count and more than 13 million in reality. So that works out to about one job for every twenty-two unemployed workers.

"Aid to the cities" was on the same miserly scale. New York, symbol of the municipal cash and job crisis, would have gotten less than \$138 million. The city budget deficit is well over one billion dollars and climbing daily.

The total allocation for the jobs bill came to about one-third the amount of our tax money Washington is spending to build eleven Trident nuclear submarines (\$18.5 billion).

This, according to House Democratic leader Thomas O'Neill, is a shining example of how "we are going to push ahead with our Democratic program to provide jobs, to stimulate the economic recovery, and to take care of the people."

We got taken care of, all right.

Exhausted by their efforts, the congressional Democrats are now withdrawing from the fray. "If we can't pass this jobs bill, I don't know of any substantial jobs bill we could pass," sighs one House Democrat.

The leadership of the AFL-CIO, now whooping it up for a big Democratic victory in November, had not expected Ford's veto to stick. They were counting on an override to make the Democrats look good and

spark some enthusiasm in the union ranks for their capitalist-party "allies."

Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, went so far as to pledge that Congress was "guaranteed to override a presidential veto." Wurf was addressing a conference of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee at the end of January.

He had harsh words for the Democratic governors and mayors across the country who are cutting social programs and laying off AFSCME members. But the jobs bill proves, Wurf said, "that the Democratic Congress can act if it wants to."

Now AFL-CIO chief George Meany and the rest of the executive board, wintering in Bal Harbour, Florida, are miffed. *Newsweek* magazine quotes a "top AFL-CIO official" as saying labor got "screwed" by three Democratic senators who reneged on promises to vote for the bill.

Not that the labor skates have learned anything, of course. "You can be sure," the unnamed official told *Newsweek*, "that we will remember our friends—and our enemies—at election time."

In other words, even if labor got screwed by three Democrats, the rest of the senators have a clean bill of health. After all, they voted the right way, didn't they? That's just how the system works.

The whole shabby performance only goes to show, once again, that workers have no "friends" in either party in Washington. If any member of Congress were serious about ending unemployment, the means to do so are straightforward:

- Eliminate the \$100 billion war budget and use those funds to launch a massive public works program to provide socially useful jobs at union wages.

- Amend the federal hours-and-wages law to provide for an immediate thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay in all of industry so as to spread the work to all who need jobs.

It is no use waiting for the parties of the employing class to enact such a program. They won't. But when the union movement starts running working men and women for office on an independent labor party ticket, then we may see some action on the jobs front.

He neglected to mention any of the Democratic candidates flaunting themselves as liberals dedicated to the interests of the working people in this country.

In 1972, the CP gave backhanded support to George McGovern, the "candidate of the people" who backtracked on his antiwar positions and called for reducing unemployment to "an acceptable level" short of full employment.

In 1976, we can expect the CP to once again sell out working people and all the oppressed.

They will cheat on us and support Jimmy Carter, the friend of Lester Maddox; or Mo Udall, who retreats so much on issues that nobody knows for sure where he stands; or Birch Bayh, who wants a "politician in the White House," rather than a representative of the workers; or any other kind of Democratic "friends of labor" and "friends of the minorities."

In this election year, the American people have a real choice.

They can cast their votes for continuation of the system where a tiny minority of super-rich trample on their rights, or they can, unlike the Communist party, join in breaking with the worthless policies of the capitalist parties and support and campaign for the socialist alternative—Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.

Scott M. Cooper

Annapolis, Maryland

### Environmental problems

Our press should pay more attention to environmental problems.

*Intercontinental Press's* column "Capitalism Fouls Things Up" can only be a start in illustrating the havoc the economic system wreaks on our environment.

I recommend the February 2, 9, and 16 issues of the *New Yorker*. In these issues is a serialization of Barry Commoner's forthcoming book, appearing under the heading, "A Reporter at Large—Energy."

Throughout the series, Commoner links the environmental, energy, and economic crises by a guiding and organizing question: "Can these [environmental] decisions be made, or even debated, without reexamining the precepts of the economic system that now govern how energy is produced and used?"

Commoner systematically examines the possibilities of finding more oil and of using solar energy as a reasonable alternative to the threat of nuclear power, and the wholly irrational way our transportation system is organized.

This series is about how a socialized society might begin to rationally confront, in a sophisticated way, production for use not profit. As such, I recommend it to the readers of the *Militant* as an example of what can and must be done.

Kim Kleinman

Shawnee Mission, Kansas

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.

## La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



## Free the five nationalists!

Andrés Figueroa Cordero has spent his life as a fighter for Puerto Rican independence; he has spent twenty-two years of his life in a federal prison, and he is dying of cancer.

Cordero and four other members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist party are under lock and key to serve as examples of what Uncle Sam will do to Puerto Ricans who get out of line.

Twenty-two years ago, on March 1, 1954, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Cordero entered the U.S. House of Representatives and began to shout, "¡Viva Puerto Rico Libre!"

Along with Oscar Collazo, who was arrested in 1950 for a similar action, they have been jailed longer than any other political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere, as far as is known.

Their treatment in prison has been barbaric. The racist U.S. government has spent two decades harassing them, punishing them in solitary confinement, refusing to adequately treat medical problems, and trying to bribe them.

More than once the prisoners have been offered their freedom if they would give up the struggle for the independence of their homeland and agree not to return to Puerto Rico.

The confinement of these patriots remains an insult to the entire Puerto Rican population, but the treatment of Cordero is a real slap in our faces.

Doctors judge that Cordero has from one to three years to live—he is suffering from cancer.

But the U.S. government says it will not release Cordero until he has only three months left to live. The government says this is a federal prison regulation. It

may be just a "regulation" to the U.S. government, but to Puerto Ricans it's an act of malice that no one will ever forget.

Andrés Figueroa Cordero wants his freedom; he wants to die in his homeland. But he will accept his liberty only if the other four can also be free without any proscriptions on their political activity. It's such determination and courage that makes the *yanqui* imperialists furious!

These five Puerto Ricans have spent their lives attempting to bring international attention to the colonial status of their country. Although the attack on Congress was an isolated and futile act, the five Puerto Ricans are not the criminals.

They are fighters for independence whose spirit represents the desire of the Puerto Rican people to be free and sovereign.

The criminal is the U.S. government, its profit-hungry banks and corporations, and the Democratic and Republican party politicians who serve these parasites. The criminals are those who enslave Puerto Rico and keep behind bars the men and women who fight for freedom.

Twenty-two years of imprisonment have not broken the will and spirit of the five Puerto Rican nationalists. They must be freed.

Continued mass protests, and picket lines like the one called for March 1 by the Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners, are needed. Such meetings and demonstrations can bring this case before the American people and demand: Immediate, unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican nationalists!

# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Dead serious**—For the past two years, the state of California has sent form letters to dead people advising them that their demise disqualified them from receiving further Medi-Cal benefits.

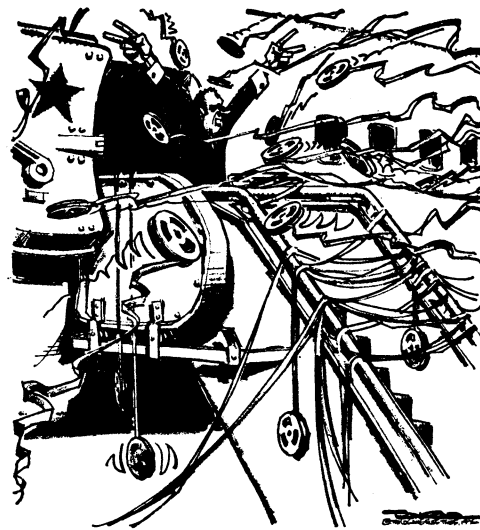
**Making do**—President Ford has been investing \$7,000 to \$10,000 a year for his children, but aside from that hasn't been able to put away any substantial savings from his \$2,500-a-week-after-taxes income. The family spends \$800 a month for food and drink—aside from what is consumed at federally funded official functions.

**Stiff upper lip**—A headline in the Rockford, Illinois, *Morning Star* advised: "Lower Death Rate Cuts Funer-

al Business." But a local funeral director is quoted as saying, "We had a drop, but it's nothing to get alarmed about. Business always picks up sooner or later."

**Nuts bolted**—Explaining why there had been the rash of skyjackings to Cuba, Fidel Castro said: "The United States has more nuts than Cuba. They have millions of cars, but they also have more crazy people. People live with a lot of tension. New York City. An apartment, a small room up there and, if you don't pay, they throw you out in the cold. You have too many problems. . . ."

**Holy Week**—The National Association of Realtors has designated April



Bon voyage!

18-24 Private Property Week, supplanting the previously celebrated Realtor's Week. The central theme of this year's observance will be, "The Land—An Investment for All Time."

**Lucky**—"Realtors have many responsibilities. Fortunately, all this is in the interest not only of society at large but ourselves as individuals."—Richard Rauch, president, Chicago Real Estate Board.

**It figures**—The value of the ingredients in a one-pound loaf of white bread was 11.3 cents in 1975 as against 13.5 cents in 1974. Meanwhile, the average price went from 34.5 cents to 36.0 cents.

## Women in Revolt

## Cindy Jaquith



### Union women & the ERA

LOS ANGELES—One of the lies used by opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment is that the ERA is not in the interests of working women. The anti-ERA forces go on to claim that women workers are against the amendment.

But when Mary Schmitz, vice-president of STOP ERA in California, tried to use this argument at a debate here February 7, she was called to task by women trade unionists in the audience. The debate, attended by 300 women, included a lively discussion period in which members of the Communications Workers, Steelworkers, and Teamsters unions and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) rose from their seats to defend the ERA.

After the debate, forty women participated in a panel on "Equal Rights on the Job and in the Unions." The panel and the debate were both part of a day-long conference sponsored by the Los Angeles Coalition for the ERA.

The union panel discussed ways to get labor behind the fight for the ERA. This discussion focused on the ERA actions called for International Women's Day, March 8, and for May 16, the date of the national ERA march in Springfield, Illinois, called by the National Organization for Women. The Los Angeles coalition is sponsoring a demonstration here on May 16 in solidarity with the

marchers in Springfield.

"We should leave here today and go back to our unions," said panelist Mariana Hernández, from Service Employees International Union Local 660. "Find out if there's a women's committee in your union. Propose that it take up the ERA."

To win support for the upcoming ERA activities, said Hernández, "You simply say, 'Look, our union has a position in support of the ERA. Let's implement it. Let's use the power and force of the unions to build demonstrations and carry out educational campaigns for the ERA.'"

"Don't get upset if you put a motion on the floor and you get shouted down the first time," said Sharon Wilkes, vice-president of the Los Angeles CLUW chapter. "If that happens, get some more people down to that next union meeting." Wilkes is an international staff representative for District 11 of the Communications Workers.

"I would also urge you to join CLUW," said Hernández, "That will help us get the ERA passed."

Another CLUW activist, Pam Peterson, spoke on some of the reasons why working women need the ERA. Peterson is a member of Teamsters Local 911 in San Diego.

Women workers earn slightly more than half of

what men earn, she reported. "And we're losing ground," she added. "Ten years ago, we earned 63 percent of what men receive. Now, we get only 57 percent."

Fifty-eight percent of all women who work are stuck in service or clerical jobs, Peterson pointed out. The ERA would give women another weapon in their efforts to get higher-paying jobs and win equal pay with men.

Many questions popped up at the panel. A secretary from San Diego wanted to know how she could unionize her office so she and her co-workers could get a raise. A woman from Arizona State University asked how students could get unions involved in the fight to ratify the ERA there.

A man questioned whether women should be trying to break into "all-male" jobs. He said he didn't think most women are capable of holding jobs as truck drivers, mechanics, or other "nontraditional" occupations.

He was promptly answered by a woman electrician, the first female electrician ever hired at the San Diego gas and electric company. A member of CLUW and of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, she defended her right to a job of her choosing, pointing out that she was just as good an electrician as her male co-workers.

## Their Government

## Nancy Cole



### 'Secrecy backlash'

CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr has become a victim of what he calls the "secrecy backlash." A more accurate term might be the "CIA cover-up" or the "'intelligence' whitewash."

Schorr is the one who gave the House Intelligence Committee's final report to the *Village Voice*, which printed most of it word for word in two of its February editions. The report, originally intended for public consumption, was suppressed with a House vote January 29.

Schorr says he decided "that with much of the contents already known I could not be the one responsible for suppressing the report." No one has yet confessed to "leaking" the report to Schorr to begin with. But in the meantime, Schorr provides a handy sacrificial lamb for the frenzied attempt to shift public attention away from government crimes.

The Justice Department is investigating whether Schorr violated federal espionage laws, and the

House voted to have its ethics committee determine whether he is in contempt of Congress. While CBS claims publicly to be backing Schorr, the network has taken him off the intelligence beat, considered a key assignment.

Nobody at CBS complained when Schorr's access to the secret report gave the network the scoop on its contents. But his passing the report to the *Voice* for publication has reportedly raised "questions." One unnamed senior CBS executive pinpointed part of the rub: "The *Voice* is what I'd call at least an 'anti-establishment' paper," he said. "Publication of the report there made Dan's actions very political."

There's yet another suggestion for penalizing Schorr: if you can't jail him, at least shut him up. Rep. William Walsh (R-N.Y.) has proposed that Schorr's congressional press credentials be revoked. According to Walsh, Schorr "overstepped the bounds of a free press and has violated the code of ethics observed by all professional journalists."

Strange how Walsh never mentioned the problem of overstepping the "bounds of a free press" when it was disclosed that the CIA manipulates news media around the world.

And when the *Voice* came out with the report that the president had so frantically opposed, Ford—in utter revulsion—offered all the "services and resources" he could muster to track down the leak. But where was his revulsion when it was revealed that the CIA—in obvious collaboration with former presidents—had plotted assassinations of foreign leaders?

The Justice Department decides not to prosecute anyone for assassinations and illegal CIA burglaries. Yet it opens an investigation into whether a reporter has committed espionage by helping to publish a suppressed government document.

So it goes. And so it will continue to go if Ford and Congress get away with their executive orders, guidelines, and "oversight" recommendations.

# Detroit judge rolls back affirmative-action gains

By Paula Reimers

DETROIT—Affirmative action was dealt a serious blow here February 10 when U.S. District Court Judge James Churchill voided the promotions of thirty-six Black and Latino fire fighters.

He ruled that the city of Detroit "discriminated" against white fire fighters when it bypassed them to promote Blacks and Latinos with less seniority.

The judge also ordered the city to stop maintaining separate seniority lists for affirmative action purposes. The city has announced plans to appeal the decision to the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati.

If Judge Churchill's decision is upheld, there will be only one Black in a decision-making capacity in the Detroit Fire Department.

The ruling came on a suit filed by the Detroit Fire Fighters Association (DFFA), which argued that the promotion of minority firemen picked from "racially segregated" seniority lists was unconstitutional and violated the city charter, state law, and the DFFA contract with the city. Whites, the DFFA said, were the victims of "racial discrimination."

The promotions were part of the city's affirmative-action program, designed to advance Black and other

minority city employees who for many years have been denied jobs and promotions because of their race.

Thomas Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council issued a statement backing the DFFA and hailing the judge's ruling. He maintained that seniority alone should be used in determining promotions.

The DFFA has announced its intention to seek an order to replace the thirty-six minority-group members who had been promoted with whites.

In a previous setback to the rights of Blacks and Latinos, a week earlier Judge Churchill dismissed a suit brought by Black fire fighters challenging last spring's layoffs of 178 fire fighters, which were made on the basis of seniority alone.

He rejected the Blacks' claims that the seniority system locks in past discrimination and denies equal chances for promotion.

These decisions represent a step backward for the union movement here. Turner's support of the recent ruling is a disservice to organized labor. It amounts to defending the privileged position of older, white, male workers against the struggle of Blacks, Latinos, and women for equality.

Reversing this destructive policy must be a priority for all union militants.

# La. marchers: 'Justice for Stanley Magee!'

By Joel Aber

COVINGTON, La.—Stanley Magee is dead. Led by Magee's mother and father, 250 angry Black people wearing black armbands marched to the jail in this rural Louisiana town February 14 to demand state and federal investigations.

The twenty-two-year-old Black man was killed while in the St. Tammany Parish jail January 8. Sheriff George Broom claims Magee hanged himself in his jail cell, but his body showed evidence of a brutal beating and his clothes were soaked with blood.

The marchers included children and sixty-year-old women, Covington high school students and residents of New Orleans who had traveled forty miles across Lake Ponchartrain to join the demonstration. Signs demanded "justice for Stanley Magee" and "We will not let Sheriff Broom sweep the truth away."

Singing "We shall Overcome," they marched through the streets of Covington past dozens of helmeted state police and deputy sheriffs. Police sharpshooters and photographers with

telephoto lenses stood atop the downtown buildings.

Chairing the rally outside the jail was Marie Galatas, president of the Grass Roots Organization for Women and executive director of the Louisiana Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"In this year of the bicentennial," Galatas told the demonstrators, "we see a long history of murders of Blacks: fourteen-year-old Emmett Till, whose 'crime' was to whistle at a white woman; Mack Parker of Poplarville, Mississippi, who was dragged out of jail in the middle of the night; our Black prince, Martin Luther King, Jr. . . ."

Rev. Byron Clay of the SCLC was the next speaker, followed by Rev. Avery Alexander, a newly elected Black state legislator from New Orleans. "We will be here until the blood of Magee cries from his grave for justice," Alexander asserted.

Larry Jones, director of the St. Bernard Community Center, talked about seventeen-year-old Gary Tyler, *Continued on page 26*



Militant/Joel Aber

Some 250 marched to demand investigation of Magee's death. Sheriff says Black youth hanged himself in jail, but blood-soaked clothes and bruises on corpse say otherwise.

# Blacks demand tenure for jazz prof. in Seattle

By David Zilly

SEATTLE—Eleven community and campus leaders spoke out in defense of University of Washington teacher Joe Brazil at a news conference here February 11. Brazil, a Black assistant professor of jazz and saxophone, is being denied tenure at the university's music school.

At the news conference Brazil refuted the three reasons given by the school for denying him tenure. The first is that his teaching methods are unacceptable.

Brazil pointed out that criticisms were never raised during his five years of teaching, and that his class has grown to 200 students. Some 50-100 students have to be turned away each quarter.

The university administration also charges that Brazil has not developed a large saxophone interest among students. Yet, Brazil said, he has to turn away about five saxophone students each quarter, and many of his students have become professional musicians, arrangers, or music teachers.

Last, the school administration says that Brazil failed to attend personnel committee meetings. Brazil explained that he was only put on the committee after protesting the lack of a committee assignment. Then he was removed after he tried to introduce an affirmative-action program in the music school.

Lacy Steele, president of the Seattle NAACP, told reporters that the firing of Brazil is only one in a long series of racist dismissals of Black faculty at the university. Steele pledged the NAACP's support and said that it plans to petition the UW administration to reverse the tenure decision.

Larry Gossett, director of the King County Youth Action Council, and John Gilmore, director of the Ethnic Cultural Center, recounted the fight the UW Black Student Union waged in 1970 to get Brazil and another professor hired to teach Black music. Both Gossett and Gilmore are former leaders of the BSU.

Rev. Cecil Murray announced that the Black United Clergy has passed a resolution in support of Brazil and will be urging the Greater Seattle Church Council to do the same.

Jesse Wineberry, representing the Associated Students of the University of Washington Board of Control, which is also on record in support of Brazil, urged an open hearing to discuss the case.

Also speaking at the news conference were Eddie Rye, director of the Central Area Motivation Program; Elmer Dixon, Black Panther party; Jeannie Reynolds, UW Student Coalition Against Racism; Mike Lane, UW Black Student Union; Ike Alexander, Black Student Division of the Office of Minority Affairs at UW; and Mike Ross, former Washington state legislator.

On the evening of February 11 a public meeting was held at the Black Academy of Music to build support for Brazil.



Militant/Greg Preston

Joe Brazil's fight to keep teaching post is drawing broad support in Black community.

# Students hit cutbacks at L.A. Black campus

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Students at the nearly all-Black Los Angeles campus of Pepperdine University are protesting administration moves to phase out programs at the school, which is located in a Black community.

The students are being supported by the Los Angeles NAACP.

The university plans to shut down campus dormitories in April and to eliminate all liberal arts programs.

Liberal arts classes will be shifted to a recently built campus in Malibu, a wealthy, white town on the Pacific shore, miles from the Black community and accessible only by car.

Hamilton McRae, a drama student, told a February 13 news conference that the departments being shifted to Malibu were ones in which Black students were heavily enrolled.

Also speaking at the conference was student body president Leon Watkins. He declared that the plan to shut the dorms was unacceptable unless the school found alternate accommodations for the students facing eviction.

"We are not going to sit around doing nothing if they go ahead and try to evict the students. We are willing to set up a tent city on the campus," Watkins said.

The university has claimed that since there are only sixty-two students in the dorms, it doesn't pay to continue

to operate them.

However, Joe Grimmatt, NAACP first vice-president, has charged that the administration had allowed the dorms to become dilapidated so students would not want to live in them, and then used the small number of residents as an excuse to shut all the dorms.

Grimmett said that a high-ranking Pepperdine administrator had told him in December that the dorms would not be shut down.

Grimmett charged that Pepperdine has not implemented an affirmative-action program, and said the NAACP was going to move to have the school's federal funds cut off. The school receives more than \$2 million a year from the U.S. government, Grimmatt reported.

The NAACP official explained that only one out of thirty-nine Black faculty members at the Los Angeles campus is tenured. In addition, he said, only two Black faculty members whose departments are being phased out have been offered jobs at the Malibu campus.

Grimmett charged that the university was using money that should have been spent maintaining the Los Angeles campus to upgrade the Malibu campus. He said that Pepperdine was using federal grants at Malibu that were won because of the urban location of the Los Angeles campus.



## Intervention failing

# Angola: imperialists seek deal with MPLA

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

Following the failure of the American and South African intervention in the Angolan civil war, the major imperialist powers have quickly shifted their policy and are now seeking to reach an accommodation with the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). As of February 20, more than seventy governments had recognized the MPLA regime in Luanda.

The imperialist power most immediately affected by the MPLA victory, South Africa, still has between 4,000 and 6,000 troops stationed in southern Angola.

A February 15 United Press International dispatch from Johannesburg reported, "South Africa is exchanging secret peace feelers with the Soviet-backed faction in Angola in a last-minute attempt to avoid a racial confrontation, Johannesburg newspapers reported today."

There has been some speculation that negotiations between Pretoria and the MPLA were already under way through intermediaries. According to newspapers in Johannesburg, the intermediaries were thought to be the governments of Mozambique and the Ivory Coast.

### Predicted clash

When the MPLA and Cuban troops swept through central Angola in early February, South African newspapers predicted an imminent clash with the South African forces stationed along the Angola-Namibia (South-West Africa) border. They modified their predictions after the MPLA halted its advance and indicated that it was willing to reach a deal with Pretoria.

The one action taken so far by the MPLA and its backers in Moscow that probably contributed the most to Pretoria's hopes for a negotiated settlement was the "restraining" of the Cuban troops, who had spearheaded the MPLA's drive against the forces of the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) in central and southern Angola.

Associated Press reported from Washington February 17:

Officials here said today that the Luanda Government had apparently decided to withdraw Cuban troops from its victorious forces in southern Angola.

The Cubans reportedly wanted to press on toward the area where South African forces hold a defense line protecting a hydroelectric project at Calueque [on the Cunene River], 15 miles inside Angola. . . .

The officials here said that while the Cubans saw themselves as "liberators," and wanted to go on to Angola's border with South-West Africa, the Soviet Union apparently was urging restraint in the interest of détente with the United States. This advice, the officials said, appeared to be prevailing.

The MPLA's most important overture to Pretoria was made by Foreign Minister José Eduardo dos Santos in an interview published in the February 14 *Le Monde*. He said that "the government in Pretoria should recognize one thing: the existence of our state as the independent, sovereign, and legitimate representative of the Angolan people. Then we can adjust all the problems concerning South African interests and investments in Angola."

### Pretoria's interests

One of the interests Pretoria had demanded protection of was the Cunene hydroelectric dam project, in

which it has more than \$200 million invested. According to an agreement signed between Pretoria and the Portuguese colonialists in 1969, all the power generated by the project during the first phase of its operation was to be supplied to South African-occupied Namibia.

In his interview, Santos hinted that the Luanda regime would review the terms of that agreement. (Pretoria has already indicated that it would accept a modification of the agreement allowing some of the power to be used in Angola.)

Pretoria has also demanded some assurances that the MPLA would not allow the guerrillas of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) to use southern Angola as a base for their operations into Namibia.

Although MPLA officials have continued to express their support for SWAPO, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto has at the same time said that the MPLA itself has no intention of intervening in Namibia. The MPLA coupled this assurance with the demand that the South African troops get out of Angola.

As long as the South Africans remain in the country, the danger of a major attack against the Angolan nationalists is a real one.

While Pretoria was seeking an accommodation with the MPLA, most of the other major imperialist powers of the world rushed to formally recognize the MPLA's People's Republic of Angola.

Within a few days, all nine members of the European Economic Community, in addition to the governments of Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Austria, Canada, and Japan, recognized the MPLA regime. Paris, which had previously collaborated with the U.S. and South African intervention in Angola by funneling arms, money, and mercenaries to the MPLA's rivals, was the first imperialist power to recognize the MPLA.

Following an emergency cabinet meeting in Lisbon February 21, the Portuguese regime—the former colonial power in Angola—also decided to recognize the People's Republic of Angola. An important wing of the ruling military junta in Portugal had in fact favored recognition of the MPLA regime as the only "legitimate" government of Angola as early as November 11, 1975, when the former colony was granted its independence.



South African troops in training. Pretoria still has between 4,000 and 6,000 stationed in southern Angola.



Cuban troops in Angola. Predictions of clash with South African forces stationed along Angola-Namibia border were modified when MPLA halted advance, saying it was willing to reach accord with Pretoria.

Divisions within the Lisbon regime, however, blocked recognition until the MPLA had won a clear military victory.

### MPLA assurances

The MPLA has assured the imperialists that their investments in Angola are not threatened. In his *Le Monde* interview, Santos pointed out, "A general principle is written into our constitution. We are ready to respect the interests of the multinational companies in Angola if they aid the development of our country and are of benefit to our people. We are therefore open to investments from the East as well as from the West. As a general rule, we have no intention, at the moment, of proceeding with nationalizations, except for those foreign commercial and industrial enterprises that have been abandoned by their owners."

The MPLA's immediate neighbors, the regimes of Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, have also indicated that they may establish formal relations with it. Both regimes backed the UNITA and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front) during the civil war.

Washington, while it has not yet recognized the Luanda regime, has moved toward establishing better relations with the MPLA.

"The Ford Administration," Leslie H. Gelb reported in the February 22 *New York Times*, "has given its approval to the Gulf Oil Corporation and the Boeing Company to resume normal business transactions with the Angolan nationalist faction backed by the Soviet Union, according to State Department officials."

In December 1975, when Washington was pouring arms and money to the FNLA and UNITA, the State Department blocked the delivery to Luanda of two Boeing 737 aircraft that had already been paid for. It also pressured Gulf Oil, the largest foreign investor in Angola, to suspend its drilling operations in the Cabinda enclave and to place its tax and royalty payments to the Angola regime in escrow. (Gulf had already paid the MPLA \$116 million in September and October.)

### Gulf Oil eager

Gulf was eager to get its Cabinda operations functioning again. Angolan oil accounted for 20 percent of all the oil processed by Gulf in the United States last year. The continued loss of this oil would have lowered Gulf's profits by at least 10 percent, according to an assessment in the March 1 *Business Week*.

Gelb said that Gulf was also afraid that if it did not resume oil production, "Luanda would otherwise give the concession to a foreign competitor. The French Government, which recently recognized Luanda, is said to be interested in obtaining the concession for a French company."

The State Department officials said that Washington would not recognize the MPLA regime before the governments of Zaïre and Zambia did. "Since the downturn in fortunes of the United States-backed groups," Gelb said, "Mr. Kissinger has been letting Luanda know that the American door is open to them only if they take steps to disassociate themselves from Moscow."

In a secret memorandum to Kissinger, the MPLA sought to reassure Washington on this point. Syndicated columnists Jack Anderson and Les Whitten reported February 17 that the memorandum was brought to Kissinger by Mark Moran, an aide to Senator John Tunney who had a series of discussions in January with MPLA leaders in Luanda. The Luanda representatives who compiled the memorandum were Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento, Defense Minister Iko Carreira, and MPLA General Secretary Lucio Lara.

### Secret memo

"We have no desire for a permanent Soviet or Cuban presence," they said. "When the other foreign forces withdraw, so too will the Soviets and Cubans. . . .

"You may assure your government that we will never permit the establishment of any foreign bases on Angolan soil, air or naval, including those of the Soviet Union. This is superpower business, and we want none of it."

When asked about private or public talks with Washington, the three MPLA leaders replied: "We are not only ready, we would welcome the opportunity." When asked if formal U.S. recognition or an end to U.S. aid to the FNLA and UNITA were preconditions for such talks, they answered no, stating, "the MPLA recognizes the political difficulty of the United States recognizing our movement."

Although the failure of the direct U.S. intervention in Angola was a political setback for Washington, the American imperialists have maintained their economic holdings in the country. They can be expected to use this foothold to try to expand their economic dominance, while also seeking to turn it to their political advantage.

# Broad sales campaign for Angola book

By Karen Melville

NEW YORK—Pathfinder Press shipped copies of *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* by Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas to bookstores across the country this week.

It is the first book to provide a socialist analysis of the civil war and imperialist intervention in Angola, tracing the roots of U.S. intervention from 1961, when the United States supplied arms to Portugal via NATO to crush a popular revolt in northern Angola.

Although the book is just off the press, *Militant* readers have begun to report on their plans to sell it widely.

At a meeting of the Socialist Workers party National Committee held in January, a special sales campaign for the book was projected as part of the party's "U.S. Hands Off Angola" campaign. A good place for sales will be at meetings for Malik Miah and Tony Thomas. Members of the party's national committee, they are criss-

crossing the country speaking out against U.S. intervention in Angola.

The Pathfinder bookstore located in a shopping center in the Black community of Los Angeles ordered twenty-five copies for sales at an upcoming meeting for Thomas. The bookstore will feature a front-window display advertising the meeting and the book.

In Atlanta, Malik Miah is scheduled to discuss the book on a local radio show. A Black newspaper there is interested in reviewing it in a future issue.

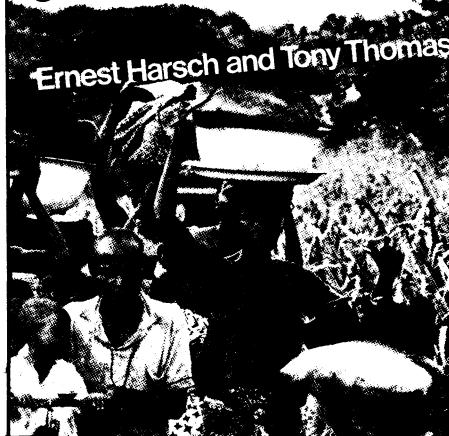
In order to inform Black newspapers and magazines about the book, Pathfinder Press sent out a special news release this week. The *Black Scholar* has already requested a review copy.

Some supporters of the "Hands Off Angola" campaign say that they personally plan to bring the book to the attention of publications that might review it.

The Librería Militante on New York's Lower East Side, which hopes to send out a special mailing to

## Angola

### The Hidden History of Washington's War



First book to provide socialist analysis of civil war and imperialist intervention in Angola.

individuals about the book, is preparing a window display featuring it.

*Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* will be a prominent piece of literature on tables set up by the fifteen Young Socialist teams traveling across the country this fall.

"It will be on all our literature tables and a first priority in sales to bookstores," noted John Linder, coordinator of the teams. "We especially want to bring the book to the attention of Black students, international students, and others who will be interested in the exposure of U.S. activities in Southern Africa."

"We think the book will answer a lot of their questions about U.S. imperialism."

You can participate in the sales campaign or order your own copy of this book by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or visiting one of the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on page 26. The price per copy is \$9.00 for clothbound, \$2.45 for paperback.

# Teach-ins demand U.S. out of Africa now

By Roberta Frick

NEW YORK—"U.S. and South Africa—Hands off Angola!" was the title of a February 11 forum at the Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC).

"It is ironic that President Ford declared February 'Black History Month,'" John Akpan told the student crowd of 100.

"The victories of Black Africa will force people to recognize not just a Black History Week or a Black History Month but a Black History Century."

Akpan is coordinator of the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas.

Also speaking were Ben Guirab, observer at the United Nations and administrative secretary of the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO); Nan Bailey, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Paul Irish of the American Committee on Africa.

This was the opening event of Black History Week at BMCC. The forum was cosponsored by the Black studies department, the Student Coalition

Against Racism, and other campus organizations.

Akpan explained the case of the SASO Nine, members of the South African Students Organisation who have been brought to trial under the Terrorism Act and could be sentenced to death if convicted.

Ben Guirab of SWAPO pointed to the gains won in "the crucial struggle of Black people here in the 1960s" and stressed that "the struggles of Black people in Africa and elsewhere are intertwined."

Nan Bailey compared the U.S. policy in Angola to U.S. interventions in Vietnam, Chile, the Dominican Republic, and the Congo. She said what the United States wants is "to prevent the people of these countries from controlling their own affairs."

Bailey called for an end to any U.S. intervention in Angola.

After presentations, there was a discussion on the three rival nationalist factions in Angola.

Paul Irish felt that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was the sole group representative of the Angolan people and should

be supported for this reason.

Bailey pointed out that each of the factions had a base of support among a different ethnic group in Angola, and that all three had essentially identical programs. Concluding that it would be a mistake to side with one over the others in the civil war, Bailey said the main danger facing all of the peoples of Angola was U.S. and South African imperialism, not one or another nationalist group.

One hundred eighty people attended a teach-in on Angola held at Detroit's Wayne State University February 4. Speakers included Herb Boyd, a Black studies professor at Wayne State and chairperson of the Detroit Committee for the Liberation of Africa; Tiago Neto, a representative of the MPLA; Phyllis Jordan, a political refugee from South Africa; and John Hawkins, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party.

In Bloomington, Indiana, fifty people attended a forum titled "Angola: the Next Vietnam?" held at Indiana University on February 3.

Speakers included Prof. Edmond Keller of the political science department and Andrew Pulley of the Young Socialist Alliance.



Militant/Lou Howort  
YSA's Nan Bailey speaks out against U.S. intervention in Angola.

# Spain: massive protests greet king's tour

From Intercontinental Press

King Juan Carlos I arrived in Barcelona February 16 to begin an official tour of Catalonia. He was greeted by a strike of 7,000 municipal workers and continued protests against his regime.

The royal trip came after large demonstrations in Barcelona February 1 and 8 demanding amnesty for political prisoners, democratic rights, and autonomy for Catalonia.

The Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, estimated the February 1 demonstration at 60,000. In the February 4 issue of their newspaper, *Combate*, they described "the attitude of total solidarity of the population, which applauded from the balconies or interposed their cars to impede the advance of the police."

Although the protests of February 1 and 8 were not repeated during the king's visit, from Juan Carlos's point of view that was about the only good thing that happened. "There appeared to be more people today demonstrating their discontent than were showing sympathy for the King," reported a February 16 dispatch in the *New York Times* that described the royal arrival.

"While Mayor Joaquín Viola was greeting the King and Queen in the former throne room of Catalonian kings, 150 yards away municipal policemen, firemen, teachers, doctors,



King Juan Carlos I faces growing demand for democratic rights.

nurses and hundreds of other city employees were marching around the square in front of City Hall protesting his refusal to negotiate with them."

The following day, expecting to escape the protests in Barcelona, the royal visitors traveled to the Benedictine monastery of Monserrat. However, the monastery's abbot preached a sermon calling for amnesty and "full recognition of the rights of our people."

Apparently Juan Carlos had enough "democratization" for one week. That night riot police stormed the Barcelona city hall, driving out hundreds of striking municipal employees with tear gas. On February 18, the king followed up by signing an order drafting the Barcelona firemen and municipal police into the army.

"Spain's second largest city and the capital of one of its most dissident regions took on a besieged look as combat-ready Government police patrolled the streets to stamp out the agitation flaring up almost constantly from such disparate groups as municipal employees, construction workers and teachers and students," Henry Giniger reported in the February 19 *New York Times*.

According to Giniger, "... thousands of striking building workers ... tried to concentrate around headquarters of the Government-run Syndicate organization to demand wage negotiations and to protest the high unemployment rate."

Official attempts to organize a mass demonstration to show "affection and adherence" to the king fell flat. However, in another attempt to gain some favor for the monarchy in Catalonia, the cabinet met in Barcelona February 20. It appointed a commission to study the establishment of a special administration covering the four Catalan provinces of Barcelona, Lérida, Tarragona, and Gerona.

Such feeble measures are hardly likely to satisfy the people of Catalonia. The real plans of the government are widely known, having been publicly outlined by Premier Carlos Arias Navarro January 28. As *Combate* explained, "In respect to the nationalities, his statement on 'the necessity of a strong unitary state' reaffirmed the traditional Francoist doctrine of the forced unity of the peoples of the Spanish state, which denies any rights whatever to the oppressed nationalities."



## San Fernando city council race

# Raza Unida party challenges Democrats

By Miguel Pendás

SAN FERNANDO, Calif.—The San Fernando Valley, stretching in a northwesterly direction from the city of Los Angeles, is thought of by many as a giant white suburb.

But there is a significant and growing Chicano population here, clustered around existing *raza* communities in places like Pacoima, Van Nuys, North Hollywood, Sun Valley, Canoga Park, and the tiny city of San Fernando itself.

Over the years the need for cheap labor has attracted the oppressed. Racism has segregated them into barrios and ghettos as impoverished as any in East Los Angeles or Watts.

Since the major portion of the valley is within the sprawling city limits of Los Angeles, these "pockets of poverty" remain scattered minority outposts, remote from their allies in the bigger barrios of East Los Angeles.

But San Fernando is a significant exception. It is a city of its own, in which the Chicano and *mexicano* community makes up about half the population of 17,000. This situation has provided the basis for the development of an active Raza Unida party (RUP) chapter in San Fernando.

With its modest forces, the *partido* is now mounting a vigorous campaign for two seats on the five-member city council.

The candidates are Marshall Díaz and Xenaro Ayala. Both were founding members of the chapter in 1970.

In an interview, the two candidates discussed their campaign.

The problems faced by Chicanos in San Fernando are like those faced by Chicanos everywhere. Unemployment is 35 percent for Chicano youth, Díaz estimates.

People can't afford medical care. "It costs fifty dollars a month to visit the health department," he said. There are no programs for senior citizens.

Ayala is a teacher at Pacoima Junior High School. "Chicanos start dropping out in the ninth grade. This is due to

their not having any relation to the education they receive."

"The city could push for bilingual, bicultural programs" from the school district, says Díaz. "But the city council won't do it."

This is not surprising since there are no Chicanos on the city council. There have only been three Chicanos on the council since the city was formed in 1911.

The Anglo monopoly of the city council is maintained by holding elections to city offices on a city-wide basis, thereby ensuring that the Anglo majority of registered voters will choose all the winners. A legal challenge to this racist stranglehold has been mounted by Raza Unida together with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Díaz works as a law clerk for MALDEF.

They propose to divide the city into districts that would correspond to the Chicano community. This would give the South Side—the part of San Fernando that is almost totally Chicano—the ability to win at least two seats on the council.

If this suit is successful, the Democratic and Republican parties are going to face the very real possibility that Raza Unida will win some elections.

Already the RUP is a factor in city politics. Through previous campaigns and by working out of their modest headquarters at 551 South Maclay to assist Chicanos and *mexicanos* with social-services problems, the *partido* has become well known and has built up a following.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of La Raza Unida's influence occurred last year when the Chamber of Commerce went on a racist campaign against "illegal aliens." It proposed that the city require businesses to have all prospective employees prove their citizenship.

Raza Unida mounted a campaign of picket lines and protests at city council meetings. They forced the racists to



Militant/Mariana Hernández

Raza Unida party calls for right to full employment and end to discrimination against undocumented workers.

back down.

Raza Unida, also became known through its campaign in support of striking Chicano workers at the Sloane Pipe Company, where Xenaro Ayala was working.

The San Fernando chapter has also been in the forefront of efforts to place the RUP on the statewide ballot. Leading activist Andrés Torres has worked with the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, which is seeking to overturn the state's highly restrictive ballot laws.

Even though the upcoming March 2 elections are officially "nonpartisan," everyone is aware that Ayala and Díaz are Raza Unida candidates.

"Any literature that comes out of here, Raza Unida's got to be on it," insists Díaz.

"The Democratic and Republican parties have been proven to be consistently corrupt," reads one leaflet urging

people to register and vote Raza Unida. "Unemployment, housing, health, and educational needs are ignored or ineffectively dealt with by the Democratic and Republican parties."

The four-page tabloid that is the main piece of campaign literature makes the following points:

- Immigration: Oppose antiworker, discriminatory measures such as the Rodino bill.
- Support the right to full employment.
- Implement affirmative action.
- Establish low-cost child-care facilities.

Miguel Pérez, one of two campaign directors, explained that campaign workers go door to door asking people to register. On the South Side the majority register Raza Unida, he explains.

"Nine out of ten are favorable to what we have to say," he says. "Even the people who cannot register because they are not citizens—the people without documents—respond to us in a very positive way."

"We've been called the 'watchdogs' of the community," says Díaz, adding quickly, "I don't like that word."

"Anything that affects the Chicano community, Raza Unida's going to be there. We're going to help them with any basic problem they have, even though it may not be strictly a 'city problem.'"

Xenaro Ayala added, "The purpose of Raza Unida is to politicize people. . . . Especially in this city, the working-class people are the *mexicanos* and the Chicanos, the people with no support and no type of power anywhere."

He described the elections as a tool with which to politicize and organize Chicanos to pursue their demands for economic and social equality.

"It's not that Raza Unida will control anything" when it's in office, he said in closing. But the goal is that the "whole community is Raza Unida."

## 'Illegal' workers face new harassment campaign

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The federal government has instituted a new tactic in its campaign to place the blame for the country's economic crisis on workers without required citizenship papers—the so-called illegal aliens.

Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service have begun checking major airports, especially Los Angeles International, for undocumented workers boarding planes for eastern cities to seek work.

A series of arrests in the new campaign came in late January, when 42 Latinos were picked up in Baltimore after a flight from Los Angeles. Some 112 were arrested in Chicago after flights from Los Angeles, and 47 were arrested at the Los Angeles airport before boarding flights.

In the New York area 389 were arrested in the last three months of 1975.

Joseph Dernetz, INS deputy director here, told the *Los Angeles Times* that "we're out there nightly now."

The airport raids are no more than publicity gimmicks aimed at convincing people that "illegal aliens" are flooding across the border to take away good-paying jobs and to collect welfare, unemployment benefits, and Social Security.

However, statistics in the INS's own annual report prove that this propaganda campaign is clearly based on lies.

Nearly 116,000 of the 190,000 working "illegals" arrested in 1975 were employed at low-paying agricultural labor. At least 134,000 were earning less than \$2.50 an hour.

These statistics show what has been shown before—that undocumented workers are the victims of economic injustice, not the cause. A federal survey of 793 undocumented workers, released in late 1975, showed that only 0.5 percent ever collected welfare, that only 1.3 percent ever got food stamps, and that only 4.0 percent ever collected unemployment benefits.

The federal survey confirmed the results of a special study undertaken by Los Angeles County in the first half

of 1975. Although the county probably has more undocumented workers than any other county in the country, the study revealed that of 14,000 aliens who applied for welfare, only 56 were "illegals." And of these, only 2 were ineligible for welfare under state law.

Meanwhile, the federal government has left virtually destitute a group of ten Latino widows in their seventies and eighties who were cut off from Social Security benefits because they were "illegal aliens."

One woman in her seventies, who was left with no means of support at all, sought help from her parish priest. The priest was able to locate a family

that was willing to put her up.

However, the woman, who had spent most of her life working, did not want to impose on the family. So she moved into a metal tool shed in their yard.

Her plight was brought to public attention by the priest.

Los Angeles County Supervisor Edmund Edelman responded to the story by proposing that the county provide aid for these women.

But there is a small catch. Before they could receive any welfare assistance, they would have to risk deportation by turning themselves in to the INS in order to petition for the legalization of their status.



Mexican workers in California arrested for not having citizenship papers



## 1,500 demand indictment of killers

# San Jose Chicano march hits cop terror

By Roger Rudenstein

SAN JOSE, Calif.—More than 1,500 Chicanos marched on the San Jose city hall February 17 to protest police terror in this city.

Angered by the January 22 killing of Danny Treviño by two white cops, the demonstrators stormed up the stairs to the city council chambers shouting, "Justice for Danny Treviño!"

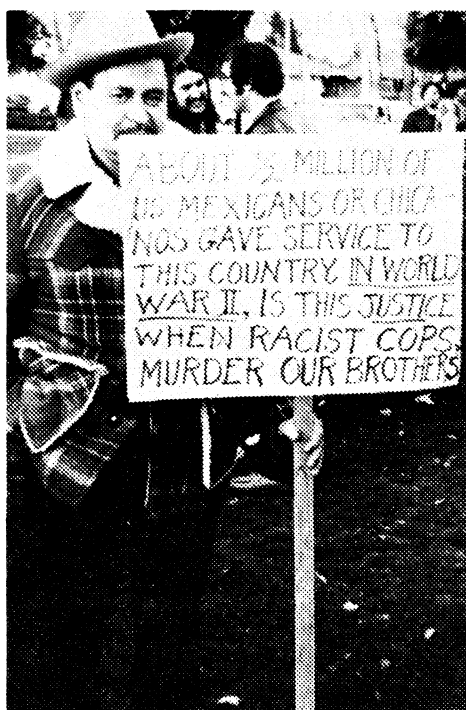
Since Treviño was killed, the Chicano community has been in a constant state of mobilization. There have been weekly protests of 200 to 600 people at city council meetings and weekly planning meetings of 300 to 400.

The march on city hall was preceded by a rally in St. James Park. Speakers included Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; José Alvarez, an international representative of the United Auto Workers; Tom Hayden, candidate for U.S. Senate in the California Democratic party primary; Father Moriarty of the Commission on Social Justice of the Catholic Church Archdiocese of San Francisco; and Bea Robinson of WOMA, a feminist organization.

Fernando Simental spoke for the Student Coalition Against Racism

chapter at San Jose State University. Along with MECHA, a Chicano student group, SCAR had organized a rally of 200 students on campus and a feeder march to St. James Park.

In a telegram read to the rally,



United Farm Workers President César Chávez said that the union was "shocked and outraged at the killing of one of our own Chicano brothers by the San Jose police," and called for "a thorough investigation of this case so justice can be heard."

Among participants in the protest were supporters of the campaign of Sandi Sherman, who is the Socialist Workers party candidate for city council in next June's elections.

Treviño was killed in the early morning hours of January 22. He and a friend, Maria Duarte, were sitting in a car in front of her house when police showed up and ordered them to get out. Treviño failed to heed the command and was gunned down.

The cops later claimed they thought Treviño was going to shoot them.

No weapon of any kind was found.

Two hours elapsed before Treviño was brought to a hospital. When he was finally taken there, he was pronounced dead on arrival.

The two cops who killed Treviño are currently on "administrative leave"—standard procedure here for any police shooting.

The Committee on Public Safety, a

broad coalition of Chicano groups formed after the killing, is demanding that the cops be indicted for murder and that damages be paid to the Treviño family.

The committee is also demanding open grand jury hearings and an independent investigation of Treviño's death.

Although a month has elapsed since the shooting, the district attorney's office has made no announcement on the case, and the city council has refused to direct the chief of police to make the police report available to the community.

Demonstrators at the February 17 city council meeting made clear their frustration and anger over the council's continuing refusal to take action against the police.

Ray Gonzales, a principal organizer of the demonstration, summed up the community's feelings. "You must understand that this is an alarmed community that will not stand for more injustice," he told the council. "We're going to come back. Not just the hundreds you see tonight, but thousands. We are going to get out and organize!"

# Denver Chicano leader sentenced in frame-up

By Jack Marsh

DENVER—Crusade for Justice vice-chairperson Juan Haro was sentenced February 18 to six years in prison by U.S. District Judge Sherman Finesilver.

Haro had been convicted January 22 on four trumped-up counts of possession of unregistered, illegal firearms.

Before handing down the sentence, Judge Finesilver turned down defense motions to dismiss the charges or grant Haro a new trial. These motions were based on new evidence introduced after the verdict and on charges that the jury selection and the trial itself were conducted improperly.

The new evidence showed that a federal agent who testified for the prosecution deliberately attempted to suppress the truth, according to the defense. This witness claimed in court that he had made exact replicas of the firearms Haro allegedly possessed—practice grenades supposedly altered so that they would explode.

The federal agent showed color slides of a station wagon being exploded by what he claimed were replicas of the grenades.

However, the defense proved that this federal agent had presented the

same color slides in a federal frame-up against six members of the American Indian Movement in Wichita, Kansas, last fall. At that trial the agent had also said the explosives were exact copies of those allegedly possessed by the AIM members.

The defense also challenged the verdict on a number of other grounds, several of which revolve around the key prosecution witness, José Cordova.

Cordova, described by police officials as "a crook," is a paid government informer and agent provocateur. He was the only person to testify that Haro had possessed the grenades. Police officials have admitted under oath that Cordova was offered "a new life" and "thousands and thousands of dollars" for his cooperation.

The defense charged that Judge Finesilver erred in the following:

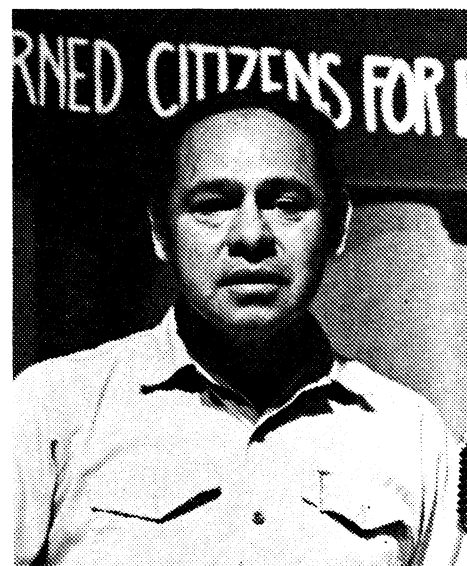
- Refusing to allow defense lawyers to inspect the file on a murder case in which Cordova was involved.

- Allowing Cordova not to testify about a burglary entrapment case that Cordova set up with the help of Denver cops.

- Refusing to order a psychiatric examination of Cordova. His last examination was seven years ago,

when he pleaded insanity in a criminal case.

The defense also said the judge was wrong in refusing to let the jury visit and inspect Haro's gasoline station, the place where the alleged grenades were kept. The defense contends that showing the jury how open and accessible the gas station is would have



Militant/Frank Lord

Crusade for Justice leader Juan Haro faces six years in prison.

convinced them of the improbability of anyone storing illegal firearms there.

Furthermore, defense attorneys charged that the jury-selection procedures systematically excluded people of ethnic minorities. There were no Chicanos among the twelve jurors who convicted Haro.

Finally, the defense charged that during jury-selection proceedings the judge did not ask prospective jurors any of the questions submitted by the defense in order to reveal whether a person would be prejudiced against Haro.

Defense lawyers filed an appeal immediately after the judge turned down these contentions and sentenced Haro. The Chicano leader is currently free on bond pending disposition of the appeals.

On February 13, attorneys defending Haro and Anthony Quintana against state charges related to an alleged attempt to blow up a police station entered a motion for a new preliminary hearing.

The defense wanted the new hearing in order to confront the government's key witness, José Cordova. This request was denied, and the trial is scheduled to begin April 19.

# Nuclear plants: 'An accident waiting to happen'

By Steve Beck

NEW YORK—"If I had the authority, I would close down Indian Point Plant No. 2 at once—it's almost an accident waiting to happen."

With this charge, Robert Pollard announced his resignation as safety overseer for the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission at the Indian Point nuclear reactors on February 9.

The three nuclear plants are located on the Hudson River less than thirty miles north of New York City.

Pollard's announcement came just a week after three General Electric engineers quit that company's nuclear reactor division and volunteered to work for the movement seeking to block nuclear power plants in California.

Pollard's attack focused on a power tunnel in Indian Point Plant No. 2. Both the normal and emergency back-up power cables run through the same tunnel, so an accident there could knock out both.

"The Indian Point plants have been badly designed and constructed and are susceptible to accidents that could cause large-scale loss of life and other radiation injuries, such as cancers and birth defects," Pollard said.

He added, "The magnitude of the hazards associated with these plants has been suppressed by the government because the release of such information might cause great public opposition to their operation."

No plans were announced by the state government to close the plant. In

fact, Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey had okayed the purchase of Indian Point Plant No. 3 by the New York State Power Authority only last December.

During his campaign for governor in 1974, Carey claimed to favor a "moratorium on the construction of nuclear reactors in the state of New York until such time as relevant safety and health questions were answered."

Anna Mayo reported in the February 16 *Village Voice*, however, that an energy aide to Carey told her this "moratorium" simply means "that a given reactor cannot be built until it has gone through the state licensing procedures devised by former Governor Nelson Rockefeller, a great nuclearophile."

Even the capitalists who own the insurance companies have little faith in the safety of nuclear power. They refuse to insure the industry for more than a tiny fraction of the potential losses from a full-scale accident.

A 1965 study by the Atomic Energy Commission (predecessor of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission) on the effects of a nuclear accident was suppressed by the federal government until Friends of the Earth, an environmental group, threatened a lawsuit under the Freedom of Information Act.

That study estimated that a single accident would cause 45,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries, long-term contamination of an area the size of Pennsylvania, and property damage from \$17 billion to \$280 billion.

## Printers cross picket line

# Craft union divisions cripple 'Post' strike

By Terry McCardell

WASHINGTON—On February 16 about 150 printers and mailers walked into the *Washington Post* past picketing press operators. Their return to work dealt a stunning blow to the four-and-a-half-month strike at the *Post*.

The printers and mailers, affiliated with the International Typographical Union, had voted the day before to accept the *Post*'s latest contract offer.

One picket they walked by was James Dugan, president of press operators Local 6, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union.

Dugan shouted at them to stop. "Don't pay your union dues when you go in there," he told them. "Because you're not union now."

Dugan's Local 6 is left as the only union actively supporting the *Post* strike, and *Post* management has hired permanent scab replacements for the press operators.

The union-busting drive has now claimed the life of one striker. On February 10 John Clauss, a press operator for nineteen years at the *Post* and a strong supporter of the strike, shot and killed himself.

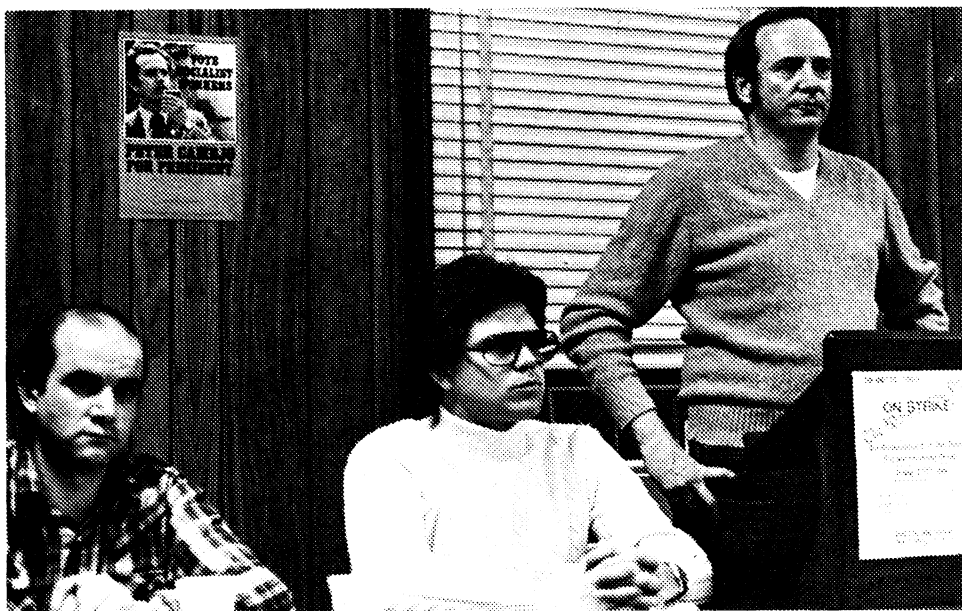
Clauss was sixty years old, only two years away from retirement. But he was deeply in debt and, like others in the local, he had been blacklisted—he could not get press work anywhere in the country.

A few press operators have crossed their own union's picket lines.

But the press operators aren't giving up, Dugan told an audience of fifty at the Militant Forum here February 20. "Everybody wants us to go away," he said, "but we're not going away. We're keeping the picket line up. We're going to stay on the *Post*'s conscience."

Just a few hours before the forum, twenty press operators conducted a sit-in at the AFL-CIO headquarters near the *Post*. Police arrested the strikers and removed them from the offices.

Dugan told the forum that the sit-in was a protest against the lack of support given the strike by the AFL-CIO leaders.



Speakers at Militant Forum evaluate strike setbacks. From left, Tom Grubisich, Newspaper Guild; James Gotesky, Socialist Workers party; James Dugan, press operators Local 6.

He charged that leaders of the International Typographical Union had threatened to cut off strike benefits if the mailers and printers refused the *Post*'s contract offer.

Dugan told the forum audience that in 1973 militant press operators saved the mailers and printers unions from a lockout at the *Post*. The press operators had barricaded themselves in the pressroom and refused to leave until the *Post* agreed to settle with the printers and mailers.

"Since then the *Post* has been out to get us," he said. "They made up their minds to get rid of the most militant trade union."

Tom Grubisich, recently elected president of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, also addressed the forum.

Grubisich's local has been deeply divided by the *Post* strike. At the high point of the strike no more than 300 of 830 *Post* guild members were honoring the picket line, he said.

Now the number is down to thirty-five, and more are going back every

week. "People who worked on the strike for four-and-a-half months are back inside the building now," Grubisich reported.

In addition, the strikebreakers are moving to disaffiliate from the Newspaper Guild and form a company union at the *Post*. This would represent a major setback for the guild on a national scale.

The Washington-Baltimore local also faces the possibility of a major strike at the two newspapers in Baltimore and several potential strikes in Washington.

Grubisich indicated that in light of the experiences of the *Post* strike the guild local was open to discussing proposals—such as industry-wide organization—to strengthen the unions against the employer onslaught.

James Gotesky of the Socialist Workers party told the forum the *Post* strike represents "a major test of strength between the unions and the employers," taking place in the context of "a nationwide offensive against the

living standards of working people."

The grave setbacks at the *Post* show that the program, strategy, and tactics of the entrenched union officialdom are not working, Gotesky said. "New methods are needed."

He pointed to three key areas where this is true.

One is the need for "an aggressive policy of combating the employers' racist and sexist hiring practices."

In a city like Washington, which is 80 percent Black, the Black community justifiably demands that the unions should reflect this composition, Gotesky said. The *Post* has had a certain amount of success in branding the press operators as racist to cover for its own discriminatory hiring policies.

Unwavering defense of affirmative action is essential, Gotesky said, to "forge bonds between the unions and the oppressed minorities and women, who bear the brunt of the economic crisis."

Another is the bankruptcy of the old craft union setup and the need for a united labor response to the employers.

"Why not move now toward industrial unionism?" Gotesky asked. "With one union plant-wide, strike action could really shut down a newspaper."

He added that if the united strength of the Washington labor movement, including "such powerhouses as the steelworkers, the Teamsters, and the construction workers, had been brought into the streets in defense of the press operators, the *Post* would have been dealt a tremendous blow."

Third, the unions can expect nothing but defeat after defeat from the policy of relying on Democratic and Republican party politicians, who are out to "solve big business's problems at the expense of working people."

"Working people need our own party, a labor party, to fight for labor's interests," Gotesky said.

"A militant and politically independent union movement is the only movement capable of wiping the smiles off the *Post* management's faces," he concluded.

## Maoist disruption fails

# 400 protest political repression in Iran

By Al Prochaska

AUSTIN, Tex.—Four hundred people attended a February 5 meeting here at the University of Texas to protest political repression in Iran. Despite an organized attempt by seventy-five Maoists to disrupt the meeting, it was successfully completed.

The featured speaker was Dr. Reza Baraheni, a leading Iranian writer who was imprisoned and tortured for 102 days in Iran in 1973. Baraheni was freed and allowed to leave Iran following an international campaign of protest.

Other speakers included feminist author Kate Millett, State Rep. Mickey Leland, and Babak Zahraie, national field secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, a UT professor and member of the Raza Unida party, chaired the meeting, which was sponsored by the Austin chapter of CAIFI.

"The United States government is the main force backing up the shah's government," Baraheni told the meeting. "Americans should know that

they're supporting a government that tortures intellectuals, writers, artists, students, poets, and religious leaders."

Iran has one legal party, the shah's party, with compulsory membership. Those who do not join are considered opponents of the regime. More people have been killed under torture in the shah's jails in the last five years, Baraheni said, than have died in the civil war in Northern Ireland during the same period. There are an estimated 100,000 political prisoners in Iran.

"It's hard for Americans to understand a society run by fear, where people just disappear," Millett said. "We are perpetuating their corruption."

The meeting was marred by the disruptive activities of a Maoist faction of the former Iranian Students Association, now splintered into warring groups. The Maoists initially picketed the meeting, carrying placards labeling Baraheni an agent of SAVAK (the shah's secret police).

The picketers were allowed into the meeting on the condition that they would not try to disrupt it, and were even given thirty minutes to present their position.

Despite this, they repeatedly tried to shout down Baraheni during his speech. Their representative told the meeting that Baraheni must be an accomplice of the shah because he had

been released from prison. That was their only "evidence."

Millett and Leland protested the disruption, pointing out that only the shah could gain from the undemocratic tactics of the Maoists.

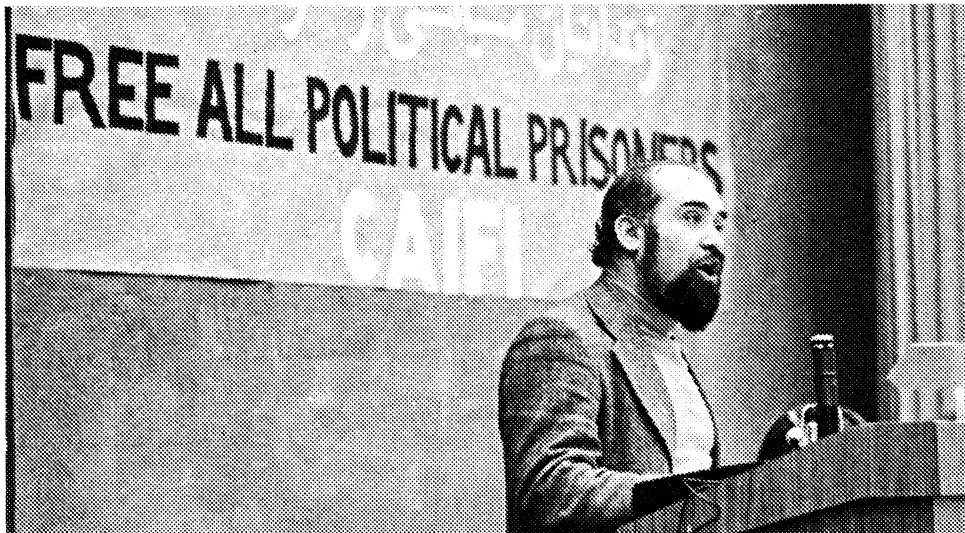
Dr. Najm Bezirgan, a UT professor, stood up, saying, "I've been the adviser and supported the ISA for years, and I must say that I am ashamed of them. As of this minute I resign as their adviser."

At one point, the chairperson asked for a vote on continuing the meeting. The overwhelming majority voted to continue.

A visible and well-organized team of monitors prevented any physical disruption and ensured that Baraheni was able to arrive and leave safely.

After the meeting, however, three Iranian Maoists attacked an Iranian woman supporter of CAIFI, who had been taking pictures at the meeting. She was punched and kicked, and her camera and glasses were taken. Two of her attackers were arrested.

Despite the disruption, the meeting's organizers viewed it as a success. Those in attendance heard detailed reports on the shah's repressive regime and the need for an international campaign to defend its victims. Another big meeting is being planned for later this year in Houston.



Dr. Reza Baraheni tells meeting, 'U.S. government is main force backing shah.'



# World Outlook

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

MARCH 5, 1976

## South Africa Free the SASO Nine!

By Ernest Harsch

The largest wave of political trials in South Africa since the early 1960s is now under way.

Since late 1974, the racist white minority regime has arrested scores of persons opposed to the apartheid system of racial segregation, including Black\* and white student leaders, trade unionists, university instructors, and writers. Many of those arrested were detained without charges or trial under the provisions of the Terrorism Act. Some were released after spending months in prison.

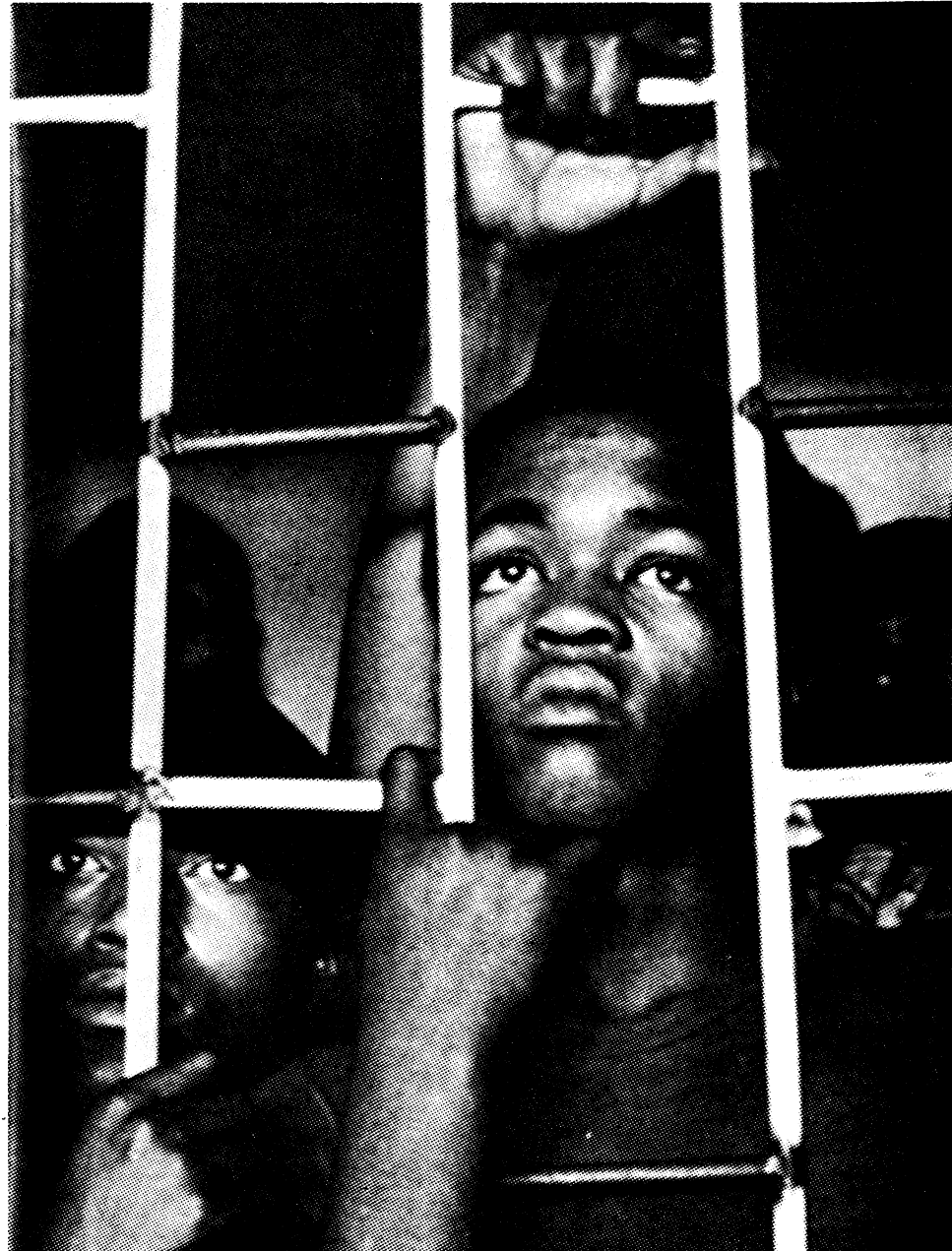
The most important of the current political trials is that of the SASO Nine, who are leaders of the all-Black South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). Their trial resumed in Pretoria on February 2, a year after their first appearance in court. The nine are Sathasivan Cooper, Mosiona Lekota, Dr. Aubrey Mokoape, Nkwenkwe Nkomo, Net Nefodlov-Hodwe, Gilbert Sedibe, Absolom Cindi, Strinivasa Moodley, and Muntu Myeza, who was president of SASO at the time of his arrest.

### 'Terrorism' Act

The nine student leaders—seven Africans and two Indians—are charged with "conspiracy" under the Terrorism Act. If convicted, they face a mandatory minimum sentence of five years in prison. The maximum sentence is death.

In South Africa, the term "terrorism" has a very broad definition and can be applied to anything the apartheid regime considers "subversive." Among the examples of "terrorism" outlawed by the act are "obstructing the free movement of traffic," "embarrassing the administration of the affairs of State," "promoting by intimidation the achievement of any object," "endangering the safety of any person," and "prejudicing any undertaking." Speeches and writings may also be considered "terrorist acts."

The case of the SASO Nine is part of a repressive campaign against the Black student organization and related groups that has been going on for several years. The SASO was formed



in 1969 by Black students who wanted their own organization, independent of the white-dominated National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The SASO adopted a Black nationalist outlook (called Black Consciousness), publicly denounced the racist apartheid policies of the white regime, and condemned foreign investments in South Africa.

SASO members organized university sit-ins, distributed publications, and helped set up other Black nationalist organizations, including the BPC (in July 1972), the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), and several theater groups.

### Determined to crush them

A correspondent for the London monthly *Africa* magazine commented in the June 1975 issue that the declared aims of the SASO, BPC, BAWU, and other groups "is to carry militant opposition to its legal limits. But the repressive nature of the law in South Africa has few limits. While the apartheid regime initially appeared to tolerate these groups, it is now clearly determined to crush them."

Although Pretoria did not formally outlaw the SASO, as it had older antiapartheid groups like the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, it nevertheless set out to destroy the organization. In

1973, eight leaders of the SASO were banned. (A banning order prohibits a person from attending gatherings of three or more persons, traveling outside his or her town, receiving visitors, or publishing or helping to prepare anything for publication.) Another five SASO leaders were later also banned.

The victimization and harassment by the South African security police against the SASO, BPC, and BAWU forced an estimated sixty members of those groups to flee to the neighboring Black-ruled country of Botswana. But even there the Black nationalists were not safe. In February 1974, Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro, a former SASO leader at the all-Black University of the North at Turfloop, was killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana. All mail to Botswana passes through South Africa.

### Demonstrations in Durban

In spite of this repression, the SASO and BPC organized demonstrations in Durban and Turfloop in September 1974 in solidarity with the Black nationalist struggle in Mozambique. The organizers announced that the demonstrations were to be the first of a series. Although the rallies were banned, the Durban demonstration drew between 4,000 and 5,000 persons. A large contingent of police armed with rifles, clubs, and dogs attacked

the Durban protesters, injuring many and arresting fourteen.

In subsequent days, the police carried out a nationwide wave of arrests, detaining about forty leaders of the SASO and BPC in Durban, Johannesburg, Germiston, Kokstad, and Kingwilliamstown.

Some of these political prisoners were kept in solitary confinement for four months and were not allowed to see relatives or lawyers. On February 7, 1975, twelve of them were brought to court and charged. They marched into the courtroom singing and then with raised fists shouted, "Amandla" (Power). A thirteenth SASO detainee was later added to the case.

The indictment under the Terrorism Act charged that they had conspired to "transform the State by unconstitutional, revolutionary and/or violent means; condition African, Indian and Coloured groups of the Republic for violent revolution; create and foster feelings of racial hatred, hostility and antipathy by Blacks towards Whites; denigrate Whites and represent them as inhuman oppressors of Blacks; and induce, persuade and pressurise Blacks to reject Whites and their ways of life and to defy them."

Of the original thirteen, Solly Ismail and Lingham Moodley were released in June 1975 and the charges against Rubin Hare were dropped. Sadeque Variava is also charged under the Terrorism Act, but will be tried separately from the SASO Nine (Nomsisi Khuzwayo, a young woman, also faces charges and will be tried with Variava).

### Arrested for a poem

The "evidence" brought against the SASO Nine includes more than 100 pages of poems, speeches, plays, and resolutions produced by the Black Consciousness movement over the past several years. *Manchester Guardian Weekly* correspondent Denis Herbstein quoted one of these pieces of "evidence," a poem, in the February 8 issue:

I am black, I am proud,  
I am insulted every day,  
My people are scorned every moment,  
But the day will come  
When I'll be free of the yoke  
of the white man.  
Black man, black nation,  
Arise, arise from the slumber,  
Prepare yourself for the war  
We are about to start.

The racist regime may increase its number of political prisoners even more in the coming months. The February 1976 *Africa* reported, "With the current escalation of South Africa's military involvement in the Angolan conflict and the subsequent spreading of what has been termed a 'war psychosis,' observers believe that the South African Government will tighten up internal security and clamp down ruthlessly on all serious opposition this year."

\*As used by many Black nationalists in South Africa, the term Black refers to Africans, Indians, and Coloureds.

## Paez arrested, Scafide killed

# Argentine socialists face harsh repression

José Francisco Páez, the vice-presidential candidate of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) in the 1973 elections, was arrested January 28 in Córdoba.

A brief article in the January 30

issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* said that Páez was being held by the provincial police for alleged "subversive activities."

Páez, who is a resident of Córdoba, is well known as a leader of the auto workers union of that city.

The arrest of one of the PST's top leaders was only the latest in a wave of repression aimed at this Argentine Trotskyist organization. On January 15, the bullet-riddled body of PST member Juan Carlos Scafide was found in La Plata along with the body of another man, identified only by the last name Delature. The bodies of the two men had been half destroyed by explosives.

Scafide was a supervisor at the Propulsora Iron and Steel Works in Ensenada and the sixteenth party member to be gunned down since the Peronists came to office in 1973.

When those attending Scafide's funeral attempted to demonstrate in front of the provincial government offices, the police forced them to disperse.

### Rightist gangs

Since the beginning of the year, rightist gangs have operated most openly in Córdoba, where twenty-five persons were kidnapped between January 6 and 16. Among them were city employees; teachers; a bank worker; a

professional photographer; a construction worker; a doctor; and a national leader of the Communist party, Juan Alberto Caffaratti.

Caffaratti was also a shop steward in the light and power workers union of Córdoba. Several of the victims were members of the recently banned Partido Auténtico (Authentic party), a split-off from the official Peronist Justicialist party.

Carlos Saúl Riso, a spokesman for the newly appointed provincial government of the province, tried to pass off the wave of kidnappings as a result of "quarrels between guerrilla factions." But even the bourgeois Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, which has been most outspoken in its campaign against the guerrillas, was forced to say that the actions had "presumably" been carried out by the ultraright.

The character of such kidnappings was described in a January 8 appeal from the sister of kidnapping victim Dr. Carlos Luis Fages. María Esther Fages wrote:

On December 18 [1975] this professional man was kidnapped by about twenty persons who identified themselves as police. They arrived at his office in La Plata . . . beat him and tied him up while threatening the patients who were waiting for medical attention. They made him get into one of the five vehicles they had arrived in, covered him with a piece of canvas, and left for an unknown destination.

The neighbors and patients immediately denounced the action at the Eighth Precinct Headquarters of the Buenos Aires Provincial Police.

Three petitions of habeas corpus were presented. Each was responded to negatively. . . .

Despite all the efforts made, up to now we have had no news about his whereabouts. . . .

### Hand in hand with cops

The fate awaiting those kidnapped is sometimes similar to what happened to three members of the Unión de Juventudes por el Socialismo (UJS—Union of Youth for Socialism), the youth organization associated with *Política Obrera*, the Argentine affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

On December 11, 1975, Susana

Mindez, Alejandro Alazraki, and Osvaldo Carreño were arrested by plainclothes Córdoba provincial police. They were taken to "Informaciones"—the security division of the police—where they were brutally beaten and questioned about various leaders of *Política Obrera*. Mindez, who is sixteen years old, was raped repeatedly.

During the questioning, the police made clear on numerous occasions their relation with the right-wing terrorist group the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance. "From now on it won't be necessary to kill them with the Triple A," they said, "because we will have the death penalty in the country." The cops were referring to proposed legislation to reinstitute the death penalty for cases of "subversion."

Unlike many other victims of the Peronist repressive apparatus, these three young political activists were released after forty-eight hours.

Protests in the cases of the twenty-five kidnapping victims in Córdoba have disclosed another possible fate.

### Concentration camp

"Among the concerns that various political groups presented to the chief of police in Córdoba yesterday," a report in the January 17 issue of *La Opinión* said, "is a repeated rumor of the existence of a presumed concentration camp where some of those who disappeared in recent days are being confined. [Police Commissioner Miguel Angel] Brochero replied, assuring them that in fact he was aware of the existence of such rumors and that they were one of the matters most worrying him recently."

A further aspect of the assault on opponents of the Peronist regime was revealed in reports in *La Opinión* on the army's campaign against urban guerrillas. More than 600 persons were arrested in army actions in Argentine cities in mid-January. The most extensive operation began in Mendoza January 17, when troops surrounded the district of Santa Ana, where 10,000 persons live. No one was permitted to enter or leave the area while the army swept through, arresting 500 persons the first day.



PAEZ: Well known in Córdoba as militant union leader.

# Peronist regime created right-wing death squad

A retired army lieutenant revealed February 4 that the right-wing terrorist organization Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) was organized and funded by the government of Isabel Martínez de Perón.

Héctor Paino, the former officer, told a parliamentary investigating commission that in mid-1973 he was approached by Jorge Conti, then director of public relations and press in the Ministry of Social Welfare.

Conti, using the authority of Social Welfare Minister José López Rega, instructed Paino to form a "dynamic security force."

Paino was provided with a post in the ministry to serve as cover. He said he had "two or three personal conversations with the minister [López Rega] in which he explained to me more or

less what kind of organization he wanted, always to counter terrorist attacks," according to the February 15 *Washington Post*.

When asked by one of the legislators to describe how the AAA operates, Paino replied, "The organization became not [one] of a defensive or static type but one capable of going and striking in the places where they thought they had to strike, using the old military axiom that there's no better defense than a good offense." He said he recruited members of the national police force to the AAA.

At a later date, on the express order of the ministry's secretary of social promotion, money to pay for the purchase of twelve crates of submachine guns was requisitioned from ministry funds.

This is the first testimony directly



López Rega, pictured with President Isabel Perón, ordered formation of 'dynamic security force.'

linking the organization and funding of the AAA's operation to the Peronist government. Previously, informal connections had been established between the terrorist group and López Rega.

The AAA has been responsible for hundreds of assassinations of revolu-

tionists, trade-union militants, and other opponents of the regime's policies. It has also claimed responsibility for many kidnappings and bombings of political headquarters and homes. Not a single one of these cases has ever been solved.



How many more in years ahead?

## Shah of Iran claims 19 new victims

[The following article is scheduled for publication in the March issue of the *CAIFI Newsletter*, published by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.<sup>1</sup> It has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.]

Last January, on four separate occasions and all within less than one week, the Iranian government announced the execution of eleven political prisoners and the deaths of eight others in "shoot-outs" with the police.

On December 31, Associated Press reported that ten opponents of the shah had been sentenced to death and an eleventh, a woman, Tahereh Sajjadi Tehrani, to fifteen years solitary confinement. The first report that the executions had taken place came on January 24.

The victims, nine oppositionists, included Manijeh Ashrafzadeh Kermani, the first woman known to have been executed in Iran for political reasons. The sentence of one of the condemned persons, Mehdi Ghayourian, was commuted to life imprisonment.

### Other victims

The eight other victims were listed in the January 1 issue of the Tehran daily *Ettela'at* as Vaheed Afrakhte, Mohammad Taher Rahimi, Sae'ed Mohsen Khamoshi, Morteza Samadieh Labbaf, Mohsen Bathhaie, Sasan Samimi Behbahani, Abdoul-Reza Mirie Javid, and Morteza Labbaf-Nejad.

On February 4, an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Tehran reported the February 2 execution of two persons the regime claimed were "terrorists." They were charged with "attacking a policeman in the street" on "an unspecified date" in downtown Tehran.

The two, Mohammad Ali Bagheri and Mahmoud Pahlavan, are said to have been aided by three "accomplices." The death sentences of two of the three "accomplices" were commuted to life imprisonment, according to AFP. The third was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

From the time the first executions were carried out on January 24 to the second wave on February 2, the Iranian government also announced the deaths of five "guerrillas" in a "shoot-out" with police in Tabriz, and the deaths of three other "guerrillas" in Gorgan.

### Sensationalized and distorted

Unlike the February 2 executions, those of January 24 were preceded by a campaign in the government-controlled press, lasting several months, to sensationalize and distort the case. Moreover, international observers were shunted aside, thus effectively cloaking the actual facts in a veil of secrecy and enabling the shah's secret police to carry out their odious work behind closed doors. As *Le Monde* pointed out in an editorial February 4:

All attempts by international organizations to send observers to follow trials have

failed. Only a single German television team was recently able to film the courtroom of a military tribunal and the defendant's dock. Scenes of confessions aired by Iranian television have shown condemned persons detailing their crimes, and in rare instances, weeping in front of their own family. The visible exhaustion of these young people leaves entirely open to the imagination the way in which their confessions were obtained. The SAVAK, the unfortunately well-known political police, regularly resorts to torture. All the testimony of lawyers who during the last few years have now and then been able to talk to political prisoners agrees on this point.

On January 22, Amnesty International General Secretary Martin Ennals cabled the Iranian embassy in London to ask that an observer from his organization be allowed to attend the appeal hearing against the death sentences. His request was denied, and the executions were carried out within forty-eight hours after the appeal was turned down.

Originally, the defendants were

charged with belonging to an urban guerrilla group and with participating in the assassination of three American army colonels stationed in Iran.

### 100,000 political prisoners

The latest executions raise serious questions as to the regime's plans for the estimated 100,000 political prisoners,<sup>2</sup> including scores of artists and intellectuals. In fact, by their very nature, the charges are an attempt to lend credence to the shah's branding of all dissidents as "terrorists," thus marking them for execution.

As CAIFI pointed out in a January 6 news release, the strident articles appearing in the Iranian press prior to the arrests carried the names of seven accused persons, with "no mention of a trial, military or otherwise. . . . The only evidence cited by the government against the seven was based on 'confessions' extracted by the SAVAK . . . from the defendants."

Predictably, the so-called confessions



included admissions to numerous crimes the government has so far been unable to solve. This pattern of expediting politically sensitive cases through arbitrary arrests and executions is a well-known practice of the Iranian regime.

CAIFI pointed out in its release:

While the arrests were apparently made last summer, the only mention of a trial came when the press was informed of the death sentences. It is doubtful if a trial actually did take place. At best, a secret military tribunal was convened where the prosecutors and court-appointed 'defense' lawyers each received their instructions from SAVAK and after the defendants were made to 'confess' in SAVAK torture chambers. This has been the pattern of previous trials, as has been noted in the international press.

### Worldwide protests

Upon learning of the impending executions, concerned individuals in the United States cautioned that serious doubt was cast upon the allegations of the Iranian government, given the apparent absence of due process in the handling of the cases. Many protests were sent to the shah demanding that the executions be stayed, including a letter from American Congressman Donald M. Fraser.

In Europe, the Secretariat of the French Socialist party published a communiqué on January 26 expressing its "indignation" at the executions. The statement, reported in the January 27 *Le Monde*, was also endorsed by the Socialist parties of Portugal, Belgium, Chile, Spain, Greece, and Italy.

Particularly ominous is the possibility that the shah views these executions as an example of the punishment he intends to mete out to all Iranian dissidents, including many prominent artists and intellectuals. The lives of the 100,000 political prisoners at present incarcerated in Iran are at stake. Urgent attention must be focused on the demand for the immediate release of these prisoners.

2. "According to the sources at our disposal, the number of political prisoners approaches 100,000. The [shah's] regime has accomplished the extraordinary feat of establishing a higher rate of construction for prisons than for schools. . . ." —Nuri Albala, French lawyer active in the defense of Iranian political prisoners, as quoted in the August 3-4, 1975, *Le Monde*.



Militant/David Warren

Daniel Ellsberg marches in San Francisco picket line sponsored by CAIFI and Amnesty International.

1. 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

'Who will save my friend?'

## An appeal for Mustafa Dzhemilev

[The following statement by Andrei Grigorenko was printed in the January 9 London *Times*. Grigorenko, an engineer who currently lives in exile in Munich, is the son of Pyotr Grigorenko, dissident Soviet communist who was imprisoned for almost five years in a psychiatric prison-hospital for his work in defense of the Crimean Tartars.]

\* \* \*

For 27 weeks my friend Mustafa Dzhemilev, leader of the Crimean Tartars, has been on hunger-strike in a Siberian forced labour camp in Omsk. He is protesting against inhuman persecution by the KGB, who are fabricating a new case against him. On December 3 his sister described his condition as that of "a living corpse, a walking skeleton." Andrei Sakharov and my father, Pyotr Grigorenko, had organized a press conference for her in Moscow. They also appealed to the United Nations to intervene to save Mustafa's life.

The journalists wrote their stories, but the world's newspapers did not print them. Who, the editors must have asked, are the Crimean Tartars? And what does it matter if their leader is being martyred? These are the questions I hope to answer, simply by describing the life of a man with whom I am linked by many years of friendship.

### 'Who are the Tartars?'

Mustafa was born in 1943 in the Crimea. Six months later, on May 18, 1944, he and all the Crimean Tartars were forcibly deported to far-away Central Asia. The soldiers who broke into the houses at dawn on that day gave the Tartars 20 minutes to pack their things. Then came the long months of deportation in cattle trucks, during which the weak died by the thousand—of grief, thirst, cold and starvation. By the end of 1945 nearly half the nation had perished.

Mustafa's earliest memories are of a small settlement in the deserts of Uzbekistan. To stray beyond the last hovel meant to be shot on the spot, for a child. At school the teachers sang the

praises of Soviet rule, and asserted at the same time that the Tartars had been bandits for centuries, had betrayed the motherland to the Germans, and had been justly punished for this by deportation.

His family was poor, and Mustafa started work very young. But all his spare time he spent in the library, searching for the truth about his people among all the falsified texts. This put him in touch with other like-minded youngsters, and soon they formed a Crimean Tartar Youth League. The league's aim was to convince the Tartars of the need to launch a militant campaign for the right to return home. Mustafa insisted from the start that the campaign should be based on the broad principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As a 16-year-old youth he already understood that freedom is indivisible.

In 1962 the KGB broke up the league by arresting four of its members and subjecting their protesting comrades to a mixture of threats and inducements to turn informer. Mustafa refused to inform. Two days after his last interrogation he was sacked from his job.

Soon he entered an agricultural college in Tashkent, but in 1965 he was accused of "taking part in unauthorized nationalist meetings, writing a *Short Historical Essay on the Turkic Culture of the Crimea from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, and refusing to join the Communist Youth League." He was later expelled, after the police had beaten him up for making a speech to a youth group. Harassment increased, especially after he had tried to get the courts to reinstate him as a student, and then travelled to Moscow to appeal to the relevant ministry. The ministry ruled that he had indeed been illegally expelled, but as he left the building the police arrested him, held him a few days, then deported him under guard to Tashkent.

He was tried in May, 1966, on a trumped-up charge of avoiding military service, and sentenced to 1½ years in forced labour camps. At the trial he spoke of his nation's tragic fate: "As a



DZHEMILEV: 'A believer in the indivisibility of freedom.'

result of the crime of 1944, I lost thousands and thousands of my brothers and sisters. And that has to be remembered! Remembered like the crematoria of Auschwitz and Dauchau. Remembered so that such things are not repeated, so that the terrible Nazism and chauvinism which gave birth to these crimes are destroyed at their roots."

In the camp he was urged to renounce his views, was put in the punishment cells, and provoked into a hunger-strike. On his release the harassment continued. He could not find work and was again refused reinstatement as a student.

### Returned to Central Asia

Now Dzhemilev was elected as one of the permanent representatives of the Crimean Tartars, whose job it was (and is) to press the authorities continuously to allow the Tartars to return home from their exile. In May, 1968, he was due to participate in a demonstration in Moscow by several thousand Tartars on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the deportation. The day before, however, the police rounded up most of the demonstrators, including Mustafa, and sent them back to Central Asia under armed guard.

At this time Dzhemilev got to know many of the leading figures in the Soviet human rights movement, people like Pyotr Grigorenko, Leonid Plyushch and Alexei Kosterin. As a believer in the indivisibility of freedom, he immediately sympathized with their aims. It was in large part thanks to his efforts that misunderstandings were ironed out between the Moscow democrats and the leaders of various national movements in the USSR. Quite logically, therefore, he became one of the 15 founder-members, in 1969, of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR.

During this period Mustafa signed open letters and appeals, and denounced the occupation of Czechoslovakia. So when his new arrest came in September, 1969, it provoked widespread protests. But he was sentenced none the less to three years' forced labour. At his trial he declined to appoint a defence counsel on the ground that the few available independent barristers would be severely persecuted for their efforts on his behalf, while the police-approved ones would simply do what the KGB ordered. Instead, Dzhemilev himself demonstrated the groundlessness of the charges of "deliberate anti-Soviet

slander." He also compelled the court to admit that the prosecutor had participated in punitive police actions against the Tartars. This fact made his prosecutor's role illegal. He also caught the judge red-handed receiving notes which instructed him how to conduct the case.

On his release in 1972, Mustafa's health had been severely undermined by the camp conditions and associated hunger-strikes. But the police at once resumed their persecution, subjecting him several times to preventive detention. In June, 1974, they arrested him yet again. A wave of protests and appeals came from the Tartars and his friends in Moscow. Some were addressed to the Soviet authorities, others to the UN and international human rights bodies. But they did not avert a new sentence of one year. Since no one was informed about when or where the trial would take place, and as it was conducted in camera, little is known about the proceedings. But it soon leaked out that Mustafa had declared a new hunger-strike and that a prison in Central Asia had refused to accept him in a highly emaciated condition, for fear that he might die there.

On June 21, 1975, Dzhemilev's third sentence was due to end. On June 19 new charges of "deliberately slandering the Soviet system" were preferred against him. He went on hunger-strike.

The new charges were no surprise. In January, I had heard from Mustafa's fellow-inmates that a new case was being concocted. And in May I had received a document, signed by one of them, which described the circumstances. The camp authorities were trying to recruit false witnesses from among the prisoners, using threats and blackmail.

Using these materials, I appealed to the camp authorities to put a stop to such illegalities. At first they appeared to do so. But soon came the new charges. A group of friends, including Dr. Sakharov and myself, promptly sent a telegram to the head of the KGB, Yuri Andropov. When we got no reply, we organized a press-conference in Moscow last July, at which Mustafa's mother and sister were present. Copies of all the documents, including protests signed by a number of democratically minded people, were given to the press. No stories appeared.

### Not 'childish heroics'

Now, once again, in Omsk, Mustafa is deploying his only weapon. His friends, including myself, have urged him to end his present, most terrible hunger-strike. Recently he replied: "I refuse to do so, but not because of any childish heroics. The fact is that I began the strike not only as a protest, but also to defend myself against false witnesses. You can see for yourselves they've got nothing to charge me with. So if I hadn't gone on hunger-strike, they'd have thrust on me two or three 'cell-mates,' who would now be 'testifying' against me." The point here is that Soviet law requires hunger-strikers to be kept in solitary confinement.

Because Mustafa is not a Jew, but a Crimean Tartar, will he continue to receive no help from the outside world? Perhaps those governments, groups and individuals who support the Palestinians could give a lead. After all, the Crimean Tartars have been dispossessed of their homeland for a few years longer than the Palestinians. To the Arabs, moreover, they are fellow-Muslims who have repeatedly appealed for support to their Islamic brethren.

Who, in short, will save my friend?

Andrei Grigorenko



Tatar families dumped on Central Asian railway platform after 1944 expulsion from Crimea.



# Education under attack

## Issues facing Calif. teachers



Berkeley teachers and supporters rally during strike last fall

Militant/Ron Payne

### By Jeff Mackler

HAYWARD, Calif.—The 30,000-member California Federation of Teachers, state affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, will hold its annual convention in Los Angeles, February 27-29.

The central focus of this year's convention will be a campaign to win collective bargaining elections against the rival 150,000-member California Teachers Association, state affiliate of the National Education Association.

Teachers in California, like their brothers and sisters across the country, face an unprecedented bipartisan attack on public education and their organizations. The upcoming elections—slated for

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this spring under California's new collective bargaining law, the Rodda Act—offer teacher militants an opportunity to present a program and strategy for fighting back.

The bitter experience of teachers over the past several years demonstrates that the traditional policies of both the AFT and the NEA must be seriously reevaluated.

These policies have centered on reliance on "friendly" politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties, together with local strike activity. Strikes have most often taken place in isolation from the oppressed Black and Chicano communities, without coordination with other teacher strikes, and without meaningful support from the rest of the labor movement.

### Disastrous results

The results have been disastrous. California's Democratic Gov. Edmund Brown slashed last year's school finance bill by one-third, leading to massive reduction of educational programs, unprecedented layoffs, and frozen or reduced salaries for teachers.

Brown received strong political and financial support from both the CFT and the CTA in his campaign for governor.

His performance is typical of Democratic and Republican politicians from coast to coast. They are slashing social services, while Pentagon spending and tax loopholes and giveaways to giant corporations are increased.

The right of teachers to elect their collective bargaining representative and negotiate binding contracts is an important gain long sought by California teachers. But this new vehicle for progress will be crippled from the start if the schools continue to be starved for funds by Democratic and Republican party officeholders who represent only big-business profit interests.

### Busing resolution

A key aspect of the attack on public education is the drive to halt school desegregation in Boston, Pasadena, Louisville, Detroit, Milwaukee, and dozens of other school districts.

The position, once proudly adopted by the AFT in full support of school desegregation was tragically

reversed at last summer's national convention in Hawaii. There the machine led by AFT President Albert Shanker voted down every resolution presented in support of busing.

Many AFT members and leaders are aware that the union's program for quality education for all students is meaningless if it does not speak to the needs of the millions of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian, and other minority students.

The battle to save the schools can only be successfully fought by teachers in *alliance* with the minority communities, which are the first to suffer from the attacks on public education. To forge such an alliance, teacher organizations need an unequivocal stand backing school desegregation.

Recognizing this need, more than 100 AFT local officers throughout the United States have joined in support of a resolution entitled "Desegregation and Equality in Education," to be submitted to the upcoming AFT national convention.

The resolution, sponsored by the newly formed AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education, calls on the AFT to:

- "affirm its support for busing to achieve desegregated schools and help achieve equal educational opportunity";
- "continue to support all efforts for massive federal funding of public education, including remedial and bilingual education programs";
- "encourage its local affiliates to actively support and participate in efforts to desegregate public schools through busing"; and
- "call for the full intervention of local, state, and national authorities when racist elements seek by force to prevent Black students from attending desegregated schools."

This resolution has been submitted to the CFT convention by both the Berkeley and Hayward locals. CFT passage would add great weight to its consideration at the national AFT convention.

### Affirmative action

The cutbacks program of the Democrats and Republicans also threatens to eliminate all the gains made under affirmative-action programs in hiring minority teachers. The situation in Berkeley is a good example.

The school board there, made up of liberal Democrats elected with the support of many teachers, tried for five weeks last fall to break a united strike by the Berkeley Federation of Teachers and the Berkeley Teachers Association. Now the same school board members are pressing for a local tax election to place an even greater tax burden on working people.

At the same time they are threatening to fire an additional 100 teachers. Of these, 70 are from minority groups and were hired under affirmative-action programs.

Under the "last hired, first fired" seniority provisions of the state education code, the Berkeley board is trying, in a single move, to virtually wipe out all affirmative-action gains won in the past.

Those who have been the victims of discriminatory hiring practices for decades will also bear the brunt of the layoffs, if the Berkeley board has its way.

This situation is repeated in city after city in California and elsewhere.

Discriminatory layoffs must be opposed just as firmly as discriminatory hiring practices if California teachers are to forge a fighting alliance with the entire labor movement and the oppressed minorities against all the layoffs and cutbacks.

### Equal Rights Amendment

Several years ago, the CFT became one of the first AFT affiliates to support the Equal Rights Amendment, which outlaws discrimination based on sex. Now the ERA, still four states short of ratification as a constitutional amendment, is under attack from some of the most reactionary, antiunion forces in the country.

The National Organization for Women has set May 16 for a national demonstration for the ERA in Springfield, Illinois. The CFT convention will have before it a resolution supporting the NOW action as well as similar activities in California.

The CFT, most of whose members are women, has long been active in the struggle for women's rights. It can play a big role in organizing the power of labor in California behind the ERA.

### Labor political action

An alternative to continued reliance on antiteacher Democratic and Republican politicians is being presented to the CFT convention by the Hayward Federation of Teachers in a resolution entitled "Labor's Independent Political Action."

This resolution concludes by resolving "that the California Federation of Teachers submit this resolution to the AFT national convention in Miami and call on our national organization to use its resources now employed to elect Democratic and Republican 'friends' of education and labor to instead encourage labor's political break from these two parties through independent labor campaigns, making labor the political champion of this country's poor and working people."

A political party of working people, based on the strength of the trade unions and allied with the minority communities, could wage a political fight against the present methods of school financing, which place the burden on those least able to pay. It could fight to take money from the war budget to pay for vastly improved educational programs, smaller classes, and more teachers.

A labor party would also fight to abolish all restrictions on the right of public employees to organize and strike.

### After the elections

It will be obvious to most delegates at the CFT convention that the nature of the CFT will be greatly changed after the collective bargaining elections this spring.

The great majority of the CFT's 250 locals will not defeat their much larger CTA rivals. But the struggle to develop a program for united defense of teachers' interests must and will continue after the elections.

If the bitter factional rivalry that has character-

*Continued on page 26*

# Getting ready for big week of 'Militant' sales

By Pat Galligan

"Sadlowski: challenge in steel." The bold headline attracted attention to the bulletin board in a St. Louis-area steel plant.

Throughout the day, workers stopped to read the feature article clipped from the back page of the February 20 *Militant*.

Interest in the Sadlowski campaign in the United Steel Workers union was one factor contributing to good results for *Militant* sales teams visiting two steel mills near St. Louis that week. Forty-seven copies were sold.

A Socialist Campaign Week has been slated for March 12-20. During that week socialists around the country will mobilize to sell the *Militant* and publicize the Socialist Workers party campaign of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president, as well as the many local SWP candidates.

The Sadlowski coverage has prompted *Militant* supporters in several areas to try out new sales locations, to which they will return that week.

The newly chartered Socialist Workers party branch in Baltimore, for example, used the February 20 *Militant* to inaugurate workplace and

union meeting sales. They were able to introduce twenty-nine steelworkers to the *Militant* and to Ed Sadlowski.

"The steelworkers we talked to at the Bethlehem gate and at several union local meetings had never heard of Sadlowski," reports Dennis Drake. "They wanted to read the *Militant* to find out who he is."

Sales teams went door to door in a predominantly Black section of the Baltimore suburb of Dundalk. Located across the bridge from the sprawling Bethlehem Steel complex at Sparrows Point, Dundalk is populated largely by steel and auto workers.

"One-third of the people we talked to there—eighteen in all, including nine steelworkers—bought the *Militant*," continued Drake. "We also sold a subscription to a retired member of Bethlehem's Local 2610."

Drake, who directs *Militant* sales for the party branch, tells us he has plenty of volunteers for future sales in these areas.

Several cities have a good jump on the *Militant*'s spring subscription drive. They just couldn't wait until the formal opening of the drive two weeks from now. We have already received 300 subscriptions.

Special mention should go to the Bloomington chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. They've signed up seventeen new subscribers this semester.

Reliable sources in Portland, Oregon, have leaked the following information about their plans for the Socialist Campaign Week.

Canvassers will go door to door in that city's Black community telling residents about the mayoral campaign of Socialist Workers party candidate George Kontanis. They will also sell single copies and subscriptions to the *Militant*.

At the campaign headquarters, city blocks will be marked off on a large map showing the progress of the blitz effort throughout the week.

Many of the area's industrial workers who buy groceries after the three o'clock shift change will be greeted by campaign tables at shopping centers. Kontanis supporters will also visit the unemployment office.

What about your city? There isn't much time left—just two weeks. When the *Militant* hits the streets on Friday, March 12, the Socialist Campaign Week begins.

Will you be ready?



*Militant*/Lou Howort

'Militant' sales help build the movements for ratification of ERA, for school desegregation, against cutbacks and layoffs, and for trade-union democracy.

## Meeting discusses 'Peoples Politics' campaign

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—A meeting here over the February 21-22 weekend prepared the ground for establishing the National Committee for Peoples Politics, an organization that hopes to help draft Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond for president of the United States.

The NCPP, projected as a 538-member campaign committee for the Bond candidacy, is expected to be formally constituted at a meeting in May where platform issues for the campaign will be approved.

The initiative for the formation of the NCPP and the Bond candidacy comes from the National Black Assembly, a group that stems from the 8,000-strong Gary, Indiana, Black Political Convention in 1972. The Black Assembly will host a national Black political convention in Cincinnati March 17-21, where it is expected that Bond will accept or decline the nomination.

The Cincinnati convention will also

ratify a Black platform that will be presented for adoption at the NCPP's May meeting.

Between forty and fifty of those invited to attend were present at the February 21 meeting, many from New York City. About twenty participants were white, four were Puerto Rican, and the rest were Black, chiefly from the assembly.

Two organizations—the Black Assembly and the Mass Party Organizing Committee, led by radical attorney Arthur Kinoy—indicated they would become part of the NCPP. Other representatives, from the New American Movement, Human Rights party of Michigan, People's party, and Puerto Rican Socialist party, said they could not become affiliated until there was further discussion in their organizations.

NCPP National Director Mtangulizi Sanyika of the Black Assembly read a list of organizations and individuals to whom invitations had been extended,

but who were not present to discuss the campaign. Some of these included the American Friends Service Committee, Asians for Action, Black Panther party, Crusade for Justice, La Raza Unida party, CASA, American Indian Movement, National Welfare Rights Organization, National Lawyers Guild, War Resisters League, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Dick Gregory, Sidney Peck, and David Dellinger.

During the plenary session, the representative from the Human Rights party questioned whether there was a conflict between running Bond as an independent for president, and at the same time not opposing his running for reelection for state senator on the Democratic party ticket.

Sanyika responded that it was a "ticklish situation." He added that the assembly views both the Democratic and Republican parties as bankrupt, but its intention is to "make the largest impact by opposing them on the

national level first."

A suggestion from some of the whites present was to run a "white, working-class woman" for vice-president. Ron Daniels, chairperson of the Black Assembly, said he is "not unalterably opposed" to the idea. Sanyika, however, expressed opposition, as did other Blacks, one stating that it would "jeopardize our concept of a new Black politics."

Sanyika said the 538-member NCPP body would be 51 percent Black and 49 percent "third world and white."

Daniels reported that Black elected officials (BEOs) were shaken by the assembly's January announcement of its intention to run Bond. He said there was a meeting of them "right now, just down the street" to come up with some sort of subterfuge.

Daniels said he learned from one Black elected official that other BEOs "are trying to take Bond's head off" for not refusing the assembly's invitation to run.

## Communist party fields anti-ERA slate for '76

By Fred Feldman

The Equal Rights Amendment is coming under heavy fire in 1976. The ERA has been chosen by the defenders of women's oppression as the place to make a stand against equality.

Supporters of the amendment include the women's movement, civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, civil liberties groups, and virtually all of organized labor. Mobilized against the ERA are racist groups like ROAR, antilabor backers of "right to work" legislation, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and ultrarightists of every variety.

The various capitalist-party candidates have taken their stands—very quietly. President Ford and most of the Democratic hopefuls formally endorse the amendment, while ignoring it in practice. Reagan and Wallace oppose it.

Unlike all the capitalist candidates, the Socialist Workers party ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid has been campaigning across the country for ratification of the ERA.

Anti-ERA forces may take heart, however, from the fact that new

champions have entered the electoral arena on their side. These are none other than Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, the Communist party candidates for president and vice-president. Their



GUS HALL: Warns women not to 'divert energy' into defense of equal rights.

candidacy was announced at a February 18 news conference in New York City.

Hall, sixty-five, is general secretary of the CP. Tyner, thirty-four, is chairperson of the New York State CP. The pair also made up the CP's presidential ticket in the 1972 election.

Like the capitalist-party candidates, who view the ERA as a "hot potato" in an election year, the candidates made no mention of their opposition to the amendment at the news conference.

Indeed, there was no mention of women or women's rights in their initial statements. Given their positions, this was perhaps just as well.

The CP record on the ERA speaks for itself, however. In the face of a reactionary campaign against the amendment, the CP declared its opposition to voting for state ERAs in New Jersey and New York referenda last November. After these referenda were defeated, the CP newspaper, the *Daily World*, hailed the outcome in an article headlined, "CP says defeat of ERA no setback for women."

The CP even gave backhanded

support to efforts to rescind the ERA where it has already been adopted by state legislatures. The article warned that "the energies of the pro ERA forces must not now be diverted to preventing the state legislators from rescinding the ERA as some are projecting."

Hall and Tyner are beginning their anti-ERA election campaign at a time when even some of the most conservative leaders of organized labor have begun to take a stronger stand in support of it. These labor officials sense that the attack on the democratic rights of women is a spearhead of the attack on the rights of all working people, including the rights to organize unions, bargain collectively, and strike.

Hence, George Meany, who once opposed the ERA, told the December convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women that passage of the ERA "must be a priority matter to the entire trade-union movement."

Far from being a challenge to the sexist lies poured out by the anti-ERA forces, the Stalinist candidates will be their feeble "socialist" echo.



# Socialists find warm response in Pennsylvania ballot drive

By Barry David

PHILADELPHIA—"Sign for the Socialist Workers party? Sure, I always had a lot of respect for the socialists."

That was the response Socialist Workers party campaigner Harvey McArthur got from the first person he asked to sign a nominating petition in Allentown, Pennsylvania. The petitions are being circulated to place the SWP presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid and the U.S. senatorial candidate, Fred Stanton, on the Pennsylvania ballot.

February 21 was the first Saturday ballot mobilization for this state. Campaign supporters hit the streets of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Allentown, Chester, and Erie.

During the course of the day more than 12,000 signatures were collected, bringing the statewide total to more than 23,000.

The state election law requires that more than 30,000 valid signatures be collected between February 18 and March 10. The socialists are aiming for 53,000 to ensure certification.

McArthur is heading a team of full-time petitioners in Eastern Pennsylvania. They will be on the streets for a full two weeks, shooting for a goal of 10,000 signatures.

In Allentown and Chester, according to McArthur, "the response was terrific. In just one day, close to 1,000 people signed to put Camejo, Reid, and Stanton on the ballot in these two cities alone."

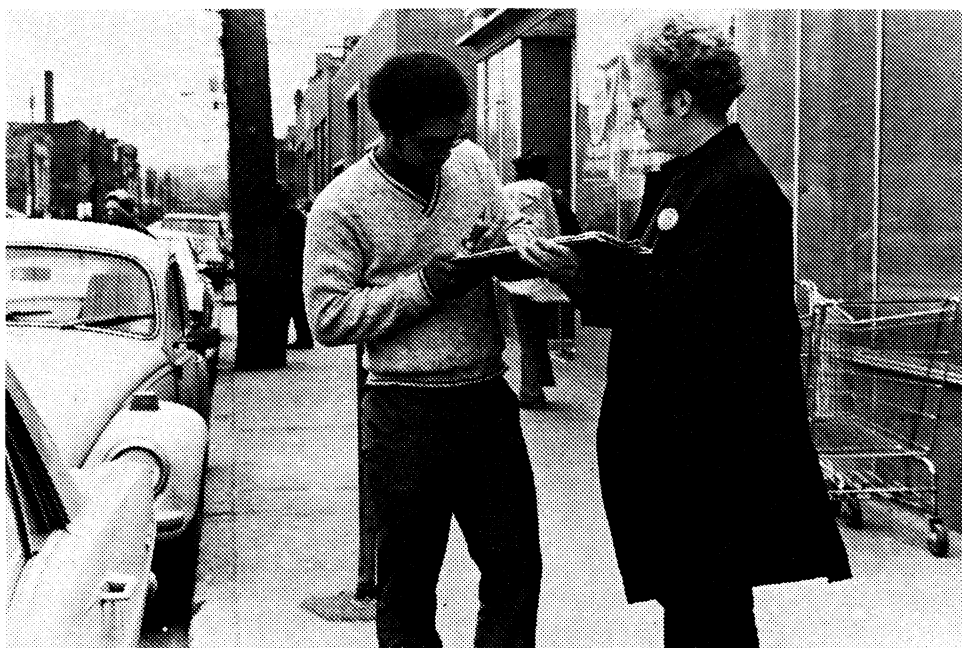
McArthur is also Eastern Pennsylvania regional director for the SWP campaign. He sees the ballot effort as an important step in breaking new ground for socialists in Pennsylvania.

"Both the Allentown-Bethlehem area and Chester are important industrial centers not far from Philadelphia," he said.

The general consensus among campaigners is that this year it takes less convincing to get people to sign. "More people want to sign for socialist candidates as an alternative to the two capitalist parties," said Jo Otero, a member of the full-time team.

"Fewer are signing simply to support our democratic right to be on the ballot. People are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans."

One indication of this is the number of people new to the SWP who have volunteered to help gather signatures. On the first day of petitioning about ten people stopped by the campaign headquarters in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to sign up to help. Another



SWP senatorial candidate Fred Stanton (right) collects signatures on nominating petition in downtown Pittsburgh. Militant/Martha Harris

dozen or so have volunteered to work on the big Saturday mobilizations.

Two young Puerto Ricans came into the headquarters to volunteer after signing a petition in Center City Philadelphia.

While taking a break in a restaurant, one campaigner gave a woman the socialist platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People." The woman read it and then agreed to circulate a petition in her neighborhood in Phoenixville, a small industrial city northeast of Philadelphia.

PITTSBURGH—Socialist supporters here are petitioning to place the presidential slate, senatorial candidate Fred Stanton, and U.S. congressional candidate Carla Hoag on the ballot. Hoag is running in Pittsburgh's Fourteenth Congressional District.

A February 17 news conference announced the SWP ballot drive for Western Pennsylvania. Participating in the conference in support of the socialists' right to ballot status were Rev. Bob Pitts, director of the Black Catholic Ministries and chairperson of the Pittsburgh NAACP's Labor and Industry Committee, and Beverly Stewart, co-president of the Greater Pittsburgh National Organization for Women.

Pitts likened the undemocratic signature requirement to the obstacles faced by all minorities. "We are always expected to do two or three or thirty

times better than others," he said in reference to the fact that the socialists have to gather thirty times more signatures to get on the ballot in November than do the Democrats and Republicans for the Pennsylvania presidential primary.

Stewart pointed to the SWP's "strong feminist program."

"That in and of itself makes it important that these candidates be on the ballot," she said.

Messages of support were sent to the news conference by Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, pastor of Holy Rosary Church and chairperson of the Allegheny County Planning Council of the Governor's Justice Commission; Moe Seager, president of the Allegheny Community College (North) student government; Father Jack O'Malley, longtime civil rights activist; and John Engber, president, American University Young Democrats.

SWP National Field Secretary Betsey Stone will be in Pittsburgh on Sunday, February 29, to deliver a talk on "America's Road to Socialism." Everybody who signs the SWP petition gets a copy of a flyer announcing Stone's 7:30 p.m. meeting.

To help collect signatures, contact either of the two campaign headquarters:

Philadelphia—1004 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107. Telephone: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh—3400 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213. Telephone: (412) 682-5019.

# Phila. Blacks protest cop murder

By Shafiq Abdulahad

PHILADELPHIA—"No suspension, we want conviction," chanted 400 people gathered here February 18 to protest the latest killing by city cops.

The victim—sixteen-year-old Black high school student Michael Sherard—was the third in 1976. In 1975 Philadelphia cops killed twenty-four people, twenty-two of them Black.

The meeting was sponsored by youth groups in Pulaskitown, the part of the Germantown section of Philadelphia where Sherard lived. Most of those present were Black. Their main demand was that the killer, Patrolman Donald Woodruff, be prosecuted for murder.

The cops' version of the killing is that Sherard was walking down the street carrying a TV set on the afternoon of February 15. When Woodruff approached him, Sherard allegedly threw the set at the cop and ran off across a schoolyard.

Woodruff claims that he told Sherard to stop and that the Black youth turned around, pulling something out of his pocket. It was at this point, says the cop, that he fired one shot, killing Sherard. Police say they later found a knife on the playground.

Sherard's neighbors tell a different story. "How many people run away from the cops with their hands in their pockets?" asked a Black woman at the meeting. Eyewitnesses say that Sherard did not turn around and that there was no warning. According to one neighbor, "The cop just kneeled, aimed, and fired away."

Woodruff has been charged with voluntary and involuntary manslaughter—the first cop in more than two years to be charged in a killing. The angry Black community wants the indictment changed to first-degree murder.

At the meeting, committees were formed to organize publicity, possible future protest actions, and circulation of petitions demanding Woodruff's prosecution.

# Court delays Phila. desegregation

By Duncan Williams

PHILADELPHIA—The Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania has handed down a decision that will postpone desegregation of the Philadelphia public schools and severely limit any desegregation plan eventually implemented.

Superintendent of Schools Michael Marcuse described himself as "very happy" about the decision. Marcuse and a majority of the school board have long contended that desegregation is impractical here.

The court decision allows the school board to postpone submitting a plan to desegregate until July 1, 1976. It came after the court had rejected desegregation plans of both the school board and the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC), a state body charged with ending discrimination in public facilities.

The school board, in a gesture of contempt for desegregation, had unceremoniously offered a plan to merge city

schools with those in ten suburban districts. "We were simply saying that desegregation in Philadelphia is not possible," one board member told the *New York Times* last summer.

The PHRC plan called for busing and other steps designed to result in 87 percent desegregation after several years.

The court decision stipulated that no student could be bused longer than forty-five minutes in one direction for purposes of desegregation. In Philadelphia, which stretches twenty-four miles from the southwest to the northeast extremities, this removes some of the most segregated schools from any future desegregation plan.

Among these are two of the newest and best-equipped high schools in what is called the "great white northeast." Even without the court's restrictions, both the school board's plan and the PHRC's plan failed to desegregate these schools.

Both the NAACP and Operation PUSH have indicated support for a metropolitan plan that would involve the ten suburban districts.

Nearly two-thirds of students in public schools here are Black.

Roy Yaffé, attorney for the PHRC, said the court's action is "more a request than an order. It puts us back where we were three years ago." Yaffé said the PHRC had asked the court to use its powers to bring pressure on the school board.

"The court could have taken a much harder line," he said.

Tony Austin, the local coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism, called the court's decision "another postponement of Black people's right to an equal education. While the racists in Boston try to turn back desegregation by force and violence, the antibusing forces here, along with the school board and the Commonwealth Court, are trying to keep the issue tied up in the courts forever."



Alan Mercer

# Calendar

## BROOKLYN: CROWN HEIGHTS

### WOMEN IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION.

Speaker: Sarudzai Churucheliniwa, Zimbabwe African National Union. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. First Baptist Church of Crown Heights, 450 Eastern Parkway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO: LOOP AREA

### THE BATTLE FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT IN ILLINOIS.

Speakers: Ann Ladke, member of national steering committee for NOW May 16 march in Springfield; Karen Wellisch, editor of *Spokeswoman*; others. Fri., March 5, 7:30 p.m. 428 S. Wabash. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## CLEVELAND

### SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.

Speaker: Peter Camejo. Sat., March 6, 6:30 p.m., refreshments; 8:00 p.m., rally. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## NEW ORLEANS

### EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: THE CHALLENGE FACING WOMEN.

Speakers: Annabelle Walker, ERA Central Coalition state convener; Barbara Peterson, SWP. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 3812 Magazine, at Pathfinder Bookstore. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

## OAKLAND

### SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN GRAND OPENING.

Speakers: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Frobén Lozada, SWP. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Oakland Camejo-Reid Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

## QUEENS

### THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: HOW TO WIN.

Speakers to be announced. 90-43 149th St. (corner of Jamaica Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## ST. LOUIS

### SPEAK-OUT ON THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.

Speakers: Florence Luscomb, feminist and former suffragist; Nancy Everett, president, St. Louis NOW; Betty Finneran, president, St. Louis CLUW; Barbara Bowman, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 12. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN FRANCISCO

### WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR.

A weekly discussion of socialism. *Racism and Black Liberation*. Sat., March 6, 3:00 p.m.; Wed., March 10, 7:30 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## SEATTLE

### HOW TO GET THE U.S. OUT OF ANGOLA.

Speaker: Tony Thomas, member of SWP National Committee. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. East Side YWCA, 2820 East Cherry St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

### FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM.

Speaker: Holly Harkness, feminist activist, YSA. Sat., March 6, 7 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

### 200 YEARS IN THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

Speakers: Cindy Jaquith, SWP national women's liberation director; Pat Russo, GWU Students for the ERA. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...Boston

## Continued from page 4

union officers assembled to call for "a general strike against forced busing."

"This is a slick and deadly game. The politicians are using antibusing rhetoric to justify their cutbacks in social services. At the same time, they are trying to whip up city employees against the Black community to apply further pressure to overturn the busing order.

The Black community loses both ways. It will bear the brunt of the cuts in social services. It will also face increasing pressures to relent in its fight for equal educational opportunities.

But the city employees will also be the losers if they line up with the antibusing forces against their natural allies—Blacks and other minority workers. If city employees allow their unions to be used in the fight against desegregation, they will find that the capitalist politicians, having accomplished their goal of deepening the divisions between Black and white workers, will soon abandon their fake pledges to fight against the layoffs.

If the antibusing movement succeeds in its goal of blocking desegregation, it will lead to a strengthening of right-wing attacks on the rights of *all* working people. It will be a victory for the forces of reaction, including sworn enemies of the unions, like the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society, who

are active in the racist movement.

The racists are continuing to raise the stakes in the battle around Black rights in Boston. The boldness of their antibusing offensive underscores the need for a united, massive response by all defenders of Black rights.

# ...Magee

## Continued from page 13

who is sitting on Louisiana's death row, framed up on a murder charge.

"Why was his [Magee's] body bruised?" demanded one of the speakers. An older woman in the crowd shouted back the answer: "That's what happens every time you get arrested in Covington. They always beat on us."

Originally, Sheriff Broom said Magee was shot in the arm by the victim of an attempted burglary. After the autopsy report concluded Magee had not been shot, the sheriff changed his story, claiming the wound was inflicted when Magee broke a pane of glass during the alleged burglary.

The autopsy report listed death as the result of hanging and made no mention of the arm wound, a black eye, or any other evidence of beating.

"Justice for Stanley Magee!" speaker after speaker demanded. "Right on," shouted the demonstrators.

# ...teachers

## Continued from page 23

ized CFT-CTA relations up to now is continued after the elections, it can only stand in the way of developing and implementing such a strategy.

CFT militants—regardless of which organization wins exclusive bargaining rights in their district—can play a crucial role in winning teachers of *both groups* to a fighting perspective.

The question of affiliation with the AFL-CIO has long been one of the dividing lines in teacher unionism—with the AFT insisting on and the NEA rejecting affiliation.

The AFT correctly points to the value of labor support for teachers, but

falsely poses this as a matter of the supposed political "clout" of the AFL-CIO with Democratic party politicians. (It must also be noted that being outside the AFL-CIO does not mean being outside the labor movement, as the examples of the Teamsters, auto workers, and miners ought to prove.)

In reality, hardly any of the 160 teachers' strikes this year received meaningful support from the rest of the labor movement—including the 43 strikes conducted by the AFT. The underlying reason is the labor leadership's ties to the political parties carrying out the war against education.

An instructive exception to this record was the long and difficult strike by New Haven, Connecticut, teachers, who were hit with mass arrests and heavy fines. It was the threat of a protest general work stoppage by the Central Labor Council and locals of the United Auto Workers and United Electrical Workers that finally compelled a settlement on terms acceptable to teachers.

This kind of effective labor support obviously cuts across the division into AFL-CIO and non-AFL-CIO unions.

Similarly, coordinated teacher actions—demonstrations, marches, and strikes where necessary—embracing both AFT and NEA units on a statewide and even nationwide basis, can help mobilize the united power to stop the attacks on education.

Coordinated actions in the streets and on the picket lines would go hand in hand with independent labor political action by teachers and their allies.

At the CFT convention teachers will have the opportunity to discuss fundamental alternatives to the course pursued by the present labor leadership.

The road ahead for teachers requires a break from "business as usual." It requires a mobilization of the independent political and economic strength of teachers and the rest of the labor movement.

The ability of the CFT to advance this perspective in the upcoming collective bargaining elections will have a major effect on the future of teacher unionism in this state.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA: Tempe:** YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

**Tucson:** YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

**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.

**Los Angeles, West Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center), Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

**Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA,** 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

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**San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

**San Francisco, Mission District:** SWP, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

**San Jose:** SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**Santa Barbara:** YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**Santa Cruz:** YSA, Box 228 Kresge College, UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

**COLORADO: Boulder:** YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

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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.

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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.

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**Nashville:** YSA, c/o Warren Duzak, 3523 Byron Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37205. Tel: (615) 269-9455.

**TEXAS: Austin:** YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

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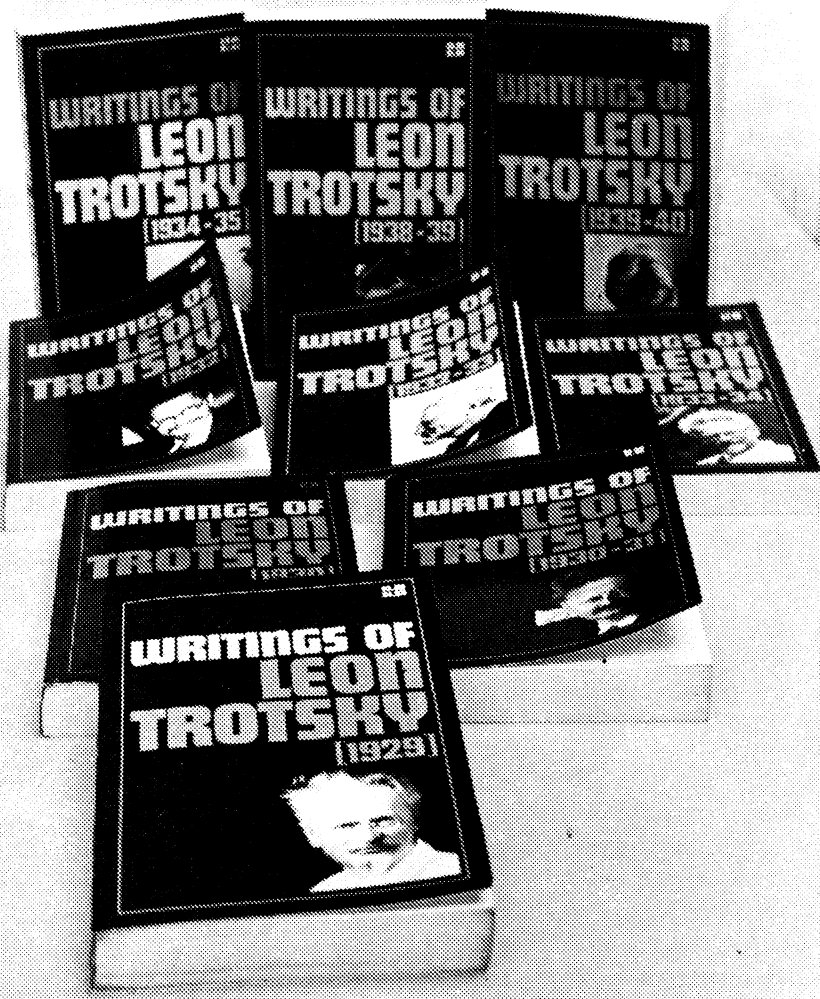
**WISCONSIN: Eau Claire:** YSA, c/o Tom Brill, 221 1/2 Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701.

**La Crosse:** YSA, c/o Derek Norskogg, 4625 Mormon Coulee Rd., Box 95, La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

**Madison:** YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.





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Leon Trotsky was expelled from the Communist International by Stalin in 1928 and exiled from the USSR the next year. From this time until his assassination in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky closely observed and analyzed the tumultuous events that shook the world in the 1930s—the global depression, the rise of fascism, the labor radicalization in the capitalist countries, the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy's rule in the Soviet Union, the invasions of China and Ethiopia, and the outbreak of World War II.

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# THE MILITANT

## New FBI plots revealed

# Ford's CIA 'reform': legalize spy crimes

By Nancy Cole

After more than a year of shocking revelations of CIA and FBI crimes—the latest disclosed February 23 in a General Accounting Office report on the FBI—the official “solutions” are flying fast and furious.

And they're all aimed at silencing those who might reveal any more sordid secrets.

At the same time, government officials are trying to legitimize illegal and unconstitutional activity through new intelligence rules and regulations.

On February 18, President Ford issued an executive order that gives an official green light for a whole range of unsavory CIA activity. Ford also sent to Congress a proposed secrets bill establishing criminal penalties for federal government employees who reveal information officials want kept from the public.

Then, on February 23, the General Accounting Office released a 232-page report. The result of a year-long study of FBI activities, the report contained new information on the bureau's police-state tactics.

Yet the GAO concluded that the FBI should continue to take action to “prevent violence.” That has been the rationale all along for Cointelpro-type operations aimed at disrupting dissident groups.

The GAO report was prepared for the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, which is now considering legislative proposals on the FBI.

The GAO found that the FBI's justification for spying was often based on “soft evidence”—a euphemism for flimsy suspicions that an individual might be involved in totally legal dissident activity.

The study was based on a sampling of 898 “domestic intelligence” cases from the files of ten field offices. The cases—all from 1974—were reportedly randomly picked by the FBI from a total of 19,659 files.

A person might become the subject of an FBI investigation, the study found, if their car was parked in the vicinity of a dissident group's meeting.

### 'Looks of individuals'

Similarly, a local police report that they didn't like the “looks of individuals” living in a secluded house was basis enough for opening an FBI

investigation to see if the occupants were “involved in ‘illegal or radical activity.’”

Nearly half the cases involved FBI visits to landlords, friends, neighbors, relatives, and associates. This so-called investigative technique was discovered to be an aspect of the FBI's Cointelpro operations, which were supposedly ended in 1971.

The method was first extensively documented in the evidence gathered for the Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against the FBI and other government agencies.

The GAO report revealed that whenever an individual on a list of suspected dissidents telephoned another number, the new number would go onto a supplemental list. When that new number was called a certain number of times, an investigation would be initiated.

The result was that computers amassed 89,913 suspect telephone numbers between April 1971 and July 1973.

Another Big Brother technique was titled the Stop Index. When police throughout the country did computer checks on drivers' licenses and outstanding warrants, the computers were programmed to check the names against a list of 4,300 dissidents that the FBI wanted to keep tabs on.

### No thumbprints

Another operation reveals the deep suspicion with which the FBI regards the American people. In California, where placing a thumbprint on a driver's license is voluntary, the Sacramento FBI office arranged to receive the names of all those who declined to have their thumbprint made. As a result, eighty new people each month got FBI files opened on them.

The GAO concluded from all this that there were “few tangible results.” The report added, however, that the FBI spying and disruptive activities may have prevented dissidents from “achieving their ultimate subversive or extremist goals.”

In order to be more effective, the GAO proposed that the FBI concentrate its efforts on situations where there is a “probability” that groups or individuals are going to use violence.

This same criterion was proposed in guidelines concocted by the Justice Department last December. Both plans would grant the FBI unprecedented authority to continue its so-called investigations under the pretense that the victim might engage in violence sometime in the future.

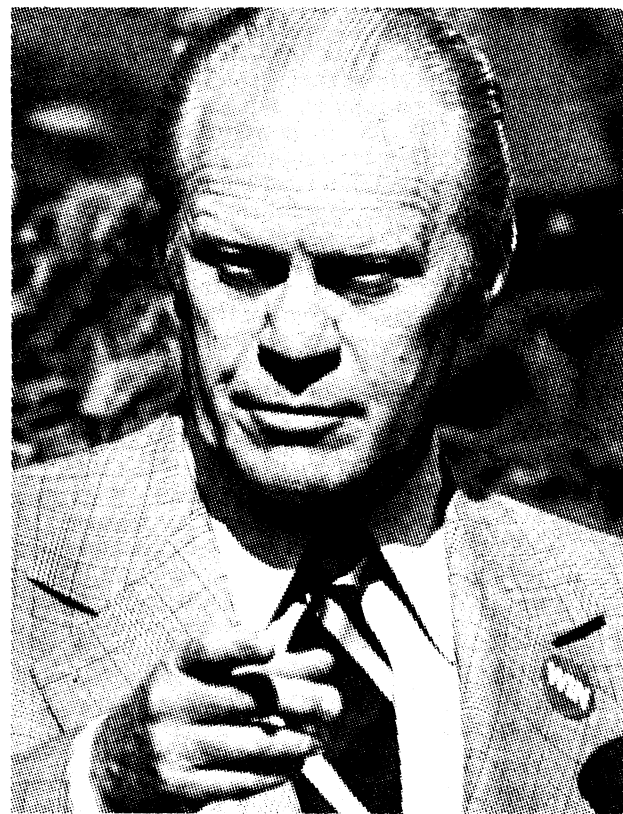
### Secrets act

Ford's secrets act would also provide unprecedented legal cover for police-state methods. The bill threatens former and current government employees with up to \$5,000 in fines and five years in prison for disclosing “classified” information. No proof need be shown that the revelation did the “national security” any harm.

The White House claims the plan is not aimed at reporters, who would in many cases receive the information. But the reporters could be brought before grand juries and forced to reveal their sources. They could go to jail for contempt if they refused to answer.

Government employees would be denied their constitutional right to a jury trial. The defense that a “secret” was illegally classified could only be presented before a judge in a closed hearing, and then only if the judge decided that evidence at hand merited such a hearing.

“The effect of such a law could be to legitimize



BIG BROTHER: Keep quiet

some of the legally dubious actions of the Nixon Administration,” wrote *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis. “Consider, for example, the case of the Pentagon Papers. Today, no one would seriously argue that their publication harmed the national security. But in 1971 John Mitchell and Robert Mardian argued vehemently that it would damage security—and disclose intelligence methods.”

### CIA go-ahead

Ford's executive order, which automatically goes into effect March 1, gives the CIA presidential permission to do virtually anything it wants to. The only seemingly unqualified prohibition is a ban on “political assassinations.”

Other “restrictions”—with exceptions longer than the prohibitions—apply only to domestic activities. Under its original 1947 charter, the CIA was prohibited from engaging in any domestic spying. Ford's order changes that.

The actions put off-limits by Ford's order—such as infiltrating domestic groups and domestic wiretapping—are apparently to be left to the FBI. Ford told reporters that the attorney general's FBI guidelines will be the executive branch's official response to the “abuses” of that agency.

Under Ford's executive order, for example, the CIA can maintain surveillance on Americans here or traveling abroad if the individuals are “reasonably believed to be acting on behalf of a foreign power or engaging in international terrorist or narcotics activities.”

All these criteria—and it will be left up to the CIA to decide when they apply—are currently used by the spy agencies to justify their spying on groups such as the Socialist Workers party.

“The president will continue to be ultimately accountable for our intelligence activities,” assured Ford. That's the same presidency that the House Intelligence Committee concluded the CIA has been “utterly responsive to” while committing the worst of its crimes.

