

THE MILITANT

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

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FBI 'black bag' jobs exposed

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Israelis gun down Arab protesters

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'GONE MAD WITH VENGEANCE': Colman McCarthy recently wrote in the *Washington Post* that the prison sentences of the Wilmington 10 "carry the mark of a judicial system gone mad with vengeance." Rev. Ben Chavis and nine others are currently incarcerated in North Carolina prisons for what could total up to 282 years. In 1971, Chavis, eight Black high school students, and a white anti-poverty worker were framed up on charges of conspiracy and arson for their role in protesting discrimination in the Wilmington high schools.

Denied bail, these victims were locked up last February, while defense attorneys pursued the narrowing road of appeals. In prison, they face continued persecution. The Wilmington 10 Defense Committee reports alarming news of Chavis's transfer to a "prison/hospital/sanitarium" in McCain, North Carolina. There, hospital personnel have attempted to administer Thorazine, a potent mind-altering drug. Chavis is attempting to refuse all "medication."

The committee urges people to send protest letters to: Ralph Edwards, Director of the State Department of Corrections, Raleigh, North Carolina.

TOP COP PLANS MORE OF THE SAME: FBI Director Clarence Kelley told reporters in San Diego that the bureau will continue to use informers to disrupt organizations it deems subversive. He added, "I can't say that under no circumstances will they [informers] avoid acting as provocateurs." Recent exposures show that the FBI used provocateurs in 1969 to foment violence between the San Diego Black Panthers and US, another Black organization. Four activists were killed in the clashes. "We did not intend to generate any activities that would lead to the violence," Kelley protested. It was the FBI's intention to "bring out divisiveness" between the two groups. "But the problem is, you can't be responsible for everything they [informers] do."

Kelley also told reporters that he endorses the proposed Justice Department guidelines supposedly aimed at restricting the bureau's activities. And why not? There's nothing in them to crimp the G-men's standard modus operandi.

WAR ON CHILD CARE: The San Francisco Board of Supervisors has come up with a new tactic for blocking implementation of the decision of a 1973 child-care referendum. It's putting the referendum up for another vote. The first time around, 97,000 voters, a substantial majority, backed Proposition M, which called for quality child-care centers for all children who need them. After two years of government inaction, a class-action suit was filed against the board and mayor. When the court ordered government officials to begin complying with the referendum's mandate, the board announced that Proposition M would be put to a vote again in June.

City officials assert that the child-care program would force up taxes for working people. But Child and Parent Action, the coalition that was behind the 1973 referendum, has two "simple answers" to this blackmail: "1. Stop the squandering of public funds on the federal war budget and city projects like paving Market Street with red bricks. 2. Stop soaking the poor—tax the tax-dodging downtown corporations."

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER FIRE: Senate Bill S-1 poses a grave threat to civil liberties, Lindsay Audin told the Chelsea, New York, Militant Forum on March 14. Audin, a coordinator of the New York Coalition to Defeat S-1, explained that this proposed federal legislation would make leaking the Pentagon papers or the Pike commission report on the CIA a crime punishable by death. The bill also resurrects features of the Smith "gag" Act making mere discussion of radical restructuring of the government a criminal act. Audin also pointed to dangerous antilabor provisions. Workers could be convicted of "extortion" if an employer simply feared that labor actions could lead to violence or damage to plant or products. The provision is broad enough to cover such actions as the lettuce boycott called by the United Farm Workers. Extortion carries a prison sentence of up to fifteen years.

Also speaking at the forum was Jimmie Durham, United Nations representative of the American Indian Movement. He reported on the FBI's racist brutality on the Pine Ridge reservation.

Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund discussed the importance for all dissidents of the Socialist Workers party suit against government harassment. "If the FBI can defend its 'right' to spy on the SWP, it will figure that anyone is fair game," he said.

SOCIALISTS COME TO LONG BEACH: "We are here to stay, to grow, and to become a living part of Long Beach," said Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from California. He was speaking to forty-seven SWP campaign supporters at the grand opening of the SWP campaign headquarters in Long Beach. The new

SWP branch and campaign committee, Musa continued, plan to join in the fight for justice for Betty Duren Scott. Last September, this young Black woman was shot dead by a policeman when she reached to get her automobile registration. The cop had stopped her for allegedly speeding.

"Our campaign will work to put this cop on trial for murder," Musa stated.

After discussing his capitalist-party opponents, Musa said, "Some people still ask me if I think voting socialist is realistic. I ask them, 'What is more realistic than voting for the party that supports your struggles?' As the socialist campaign grows and becomes more visible, more people will see it as a viable alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. If you think we need to build this alternative, you should join the Socialist Workers party."

FIGHTING DISCLOSURE: In March the Wisconsin Socialist Workers Campaign Committee won a first victory in the fight to prevent disclosure of its financial contributors. Federal Judge Robert Warren issued an order preventing prosecution of campaign officers for withholding contributors' names until a court can rule on the party's request for exemption from the Wisconsin campaign disclosure laws. The party has stated that disclosure of campaign contributors' names would leave them open to harassment from police, employers, and others. Two of the plaintiffs in the suit submitted "John Doe" affidavits stating that disclosure could cause family problems or loss of employment. One plaintiff is related to a prominent Milwaukee politician. The other is the first Black hired in a management position in a Milwaukee firm.

Judge Warren also agreed to convene a three-judge federal court to hear the evidence and rule on the party's suit.

FAHRENHEIT 451: One night last month in Levittown, Long Island, members of the Island Trees district school board browsed through junior and senior high school libraries. They took out a quantity of books, more than is usually allowed on a single library card. But then, they weren't there to borrow the books. They were there to steal them. Confiscated were Richard Wright's *Black Boy*; *The Fixer* by Bernard Malamud; Piri Thomas's *Down These Mean Streets*; and others.

It is "our duty to protect the children in our school from moral danger," the board chairperson sermonized to the press. Another board member pointed to Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* as an example of the moral molestation going on in the library cubicles. Vonnegut refers to Christ as a "bum" and a "nobody," the board member said. "Even if the rest of the book was the best story in the world, I still wouldn't want it in our library with this stuff in it."

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

Will the ERA be ratified in 1976? Thousands of women's rights supporters are preparing to march on Springfield, Illinois, on May 16 to demand their rights now. The *Militant* will keep you informed of May 16 plans and other activities and discussions in the women's movement.

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By Joe Lombardo and
Arnold Weissberg

SAN FRANCISCO—Dennis Banks, well-known Native American activist and a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM) is fighting a government attempt to railroad him to jail and smash the Indian movement.

Banks was a central figure in the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by Native Americans in 1973. After an eight-month trial, he was cleared of all charges stemming from the takeover.

However, the government's desire to jail Banks culminated in a fifteen-year sentence after a farcical frame-up trial in Custer, South Dakota.

He was convicted in July 1975 on a phony charge of "assault with a deadly weapon without intent to kill" after a police attack on Indians at the Custer courthouse in 1973.

Banks also faces phony federal firearms charges in Oregon. His supporters were able to raise the \$100,000 bail necessary to free him on the charges in that state.

Banks is now in California, free on \$5,000 bail and awaiting a hearing for extradition to South Dakota. AIM chapters and other supporters have begun circulating petitions asking Gov. Edmund Brown to grant Banks amnesty and allow him to remain in California.

Banks's ordeal began in 1973. In January of that year, Darald Schmitz, a white man, walked into a bar in Buffalo Gap, South Dakota, and announced that he was going to kill an Indian.

A few minutes later, Wesley Bad Heart Bull lay dead, stabbed in the heart by Schmitz. There were six witnesses to the murder.

The sheriff, an old friend of the Schmitz family, refused to arrest him for three days. Protests by Indians forced him to act, but Schmitz was charged only with second-degree manslaughter and was quickly freed on bail.

Easy treatment

Easy treatment of whites accused of killing Indians is the rule in South Dakota. According to Lehman Brightman, a Native American activist and professor of Native American studies, more than 200 Indians have been killed by whites in South Dakota, and nearly all of the killers have been charged only with second-degree manslaughter.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the victim's mother, protested to the authorities. They told her that there was insufficient evidence to bring a charge of first-degree murder—despite the six eyewitnesses to the unprovoked attack.

On February 6, 1973, Banks and a group of Indian activists arranged a meeting with the state's attorney, the sheriff, and the mayor of Custer to discuss the light charges against the killer. Only a small delegation was allowed to enter the courthouse. Sarah Bad Heart Bull was not permitted in.

When she walked up the courthouse steps to ask to be let in, she was clubbed and thrown down the steps. Several Indians rushed to her defense. Then the cops, including highway patrolmen and sheriff's deputies who had been concealed in the building,

attacked the entire delegation of Native Americans with clubs, tear gas, mace, and water hoses.

Banks and the others inside the building were also tear-gassed. Trapped in a corridor and choking on the gas, Banks grabbed a cop's club that had dropped to the floor and broke a window to allow the group to escape.

For this, he was charged with "rioting while armed without intent to kill."

Sarah Bad Heart Bull was also arrested, tried, and sentenced to one to three years in prison. She was released after five months. Her case is still under appeal.

Darald Schmitz got a suspended sentence.

Banks was prosecuted by the state attorney general himself, William Janklow.

Janklow is a notoriously anti-Indian figure in South Dakota. His election platform in 1974 proclaimed that the leaders of AIM could be stopped only by jail or a bullet in the brain.

While serving as tribal attorney for the Rosebud Sioux, Janklow was accused of raping a fifteen-year-old Indian woman.

No charges were filed against him at the time because it was part of his own job to bring charges. But in October 1974, the Rosebud Sioux tribal council tried and convicted Janklow of rape and "other reprehensible activity," which included perjury. They forbade him to practice law on the reservation.

Found dead

Two weeks later, his victim was found dead at the side of a road, killed by a hit-and-run driver. She was last seen alive in the company of a known FBI informant.

(Although Janklow was tried and convicted by the tribal council, under the terms of an 1871 treaty only the federal government can arrest him. To date, no action has been taken.)

Janklow was arrested in February 1973 on another reservation. His car was observed by police driving very erratically. When stopped, he emerged drunk and nude from the waist down.

Thus South Dakota sent its finest warrior to do battle with the Indians.

Bank's attorney was appointed by the court. He later told Banks that Janklow had warned him not to conduct a vigorous defense or Janklow would "get" him. Unsatisfied with his attorney's performance, Banks fired him and sought to act as his own counsel.

More than 350 potential jurors were called and excused because they admitted they believed Banks guilty. But the judge refused numerous requests by Banks to declare a mistrial because a fair jury couldn't be found. In a town of 2,000 such widespread prejudice makes finding an impartial panel impossible.

The jury that was finally selected for Bank's trial included two of Darald Schmitz's cousins.

Janklow then got the judge to issue a gag order, forbidding Banks to take his case to the press. The prosecution was not fettered by any similar restriction.

During the trial, Janklow had a witness arrested right on the witness stand, claiming she had made incriminating statements.

Life in danger

The guilty verdict was a forgone conclusion. Banks felt his life would be in extreme danger in a South Dakota prison. Therefore, he forfeited his bail and headed for California before the sentence was handed down. That was in July 1975.

In November, the FBI alerted Oregon state police that Banks was in the state traveling in a camper and accompanied by a station wagon. The state cops stopped a camper that did in fact belong to Banks.

Claiming that shots were fired at them by an Indian man in the camper, the cops fired into the camper. A bullet narrowly missed Banks' eight-month-

DENNIS BANKS'S FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL



Militant/Susan Muijsenberg

pregnant wife, K-Mook. The camper drove off, allegedly driven by Banks, although none of the cops saw him.

The two men in the station wagon following were arrested and charged with harboring a fugitive. Unable to produce a fugitive, the authorities dropped the charges.

However, they then charged the Indians with possessing explosives. Three days after the arrest, the cops suddenly claimed to have found a box labeled "Dupont" (a major manufacturer of dynamite) in the back seat.

Banks has said that he was in California at the time of the Oregon incident, but he refuses to give the cops any details. He says he doesn't want to incriminate anyone for "harboring a fugitive."

The only "evidence" to place Banks in the camper is one of his fingerprints on one of the items found in it. This "evidence" doesn't prove anything, since the camper belonged to Banks.

Banks remained out of sight until last January 24. Early that morning, thirty-five FBI agents armed with shotguns and M-16 automatic rifles surrounded the home of Lehman

Brightman, where Banks was staying, in Northern California.

Brightman is the chairperson of the Native American Studies program at Contra Costa Community College. He was charged with harboring a fugitive.

Wide support

Banks's case has drawn wide support. At an initial meeting in Oakland, the Banks/Brightman Defense Committee drew more than 100 Native Americans. The Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) has played an important role in building the defense.

Thousands of students on campuses around California have heard talks by Banks, Brightman, AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt, and others, sponsored by SCAR and Native American student organizations.

The attack on Banks is part of a nationally coordinated government attack on the Native American movement. The rulers of this country are particularly fearful of the Indian people, for they are living proof of the cruelty of capitalism.

Native Americans have been the victims of genocide. And the attempt to wipe them out has not ended yet.

PROTEST SET

The Banks/Brightman Defense Committee and the Student Coalition Against Racism are cosponsoring a march and rally to protest the frame-up charges against the two and to demand amnesty for Banks.

The action will take place in San Francisco on Saturday, April 3. The march will step off from the corner of Harrison and Twenty-fifth Street at 11:00 a.m. For more information, contact the committee at 7787 Earl Court, El Cerrito, California, or phone (415) 526-0880.

NAACP head vs. Boston's leading racist

By Ann Thomas

KINGSTON, R.I.—It was the first organized debate ever between the two decade-long foes in the battle over court-ordered school desegregation in Boston.

Boston city council President Louise Day Hicks, head of the racist antibusing organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), and Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins squared off in front of 500 University of Rhode Island students here March 23.

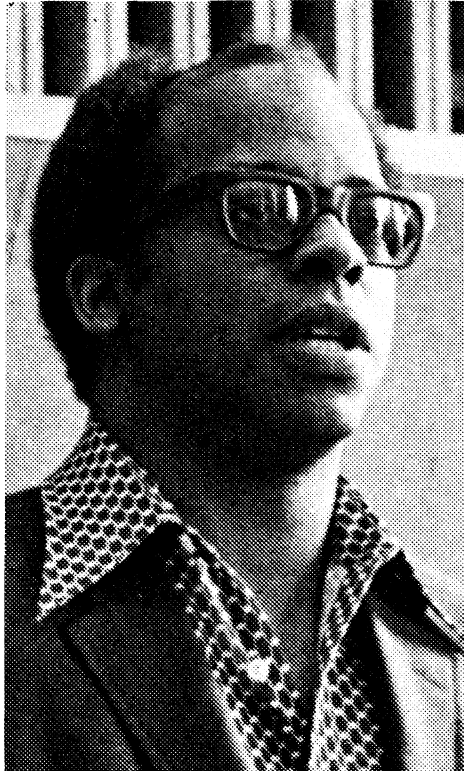
Judging from the applause Atkins received during the heated two-hour confrontation, he won the debate in the eyes of most students.

Hicks demagogically postured as a supporter of integration. "I believe in integration," she said, "but it must come on a personal, one-to-one basis."

"I am totally opposed to segregation, but what we are here to discuss tonight is whether forced busing is the answer," Hicks said. She referred to court-ordered school desegregation as "social engineering" and "a numbers game."

Atkins scored Hicks's hypocrisy. The courts, he said, didn't wake up one day and decide to "socially experiment." The Boston School Committee was found guilty, not of failing to integrate, but of consciously "maintaining segregation."

Atkins detailed the segregationist policies of the school committee. Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity found it guilty of gerrymandering school districts, refusing to hire Black teachers and staff, altering feeder patterns of elementary and junior high schools to keep high schools segregated, and using busing to perpetuate segregation.



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

University of Rhode Island students cheered Thomas Atkins (left) for exposing Louise Day Hicks's antibusing movement as racist.



Real Paper

"The federal court was not asked only to believe the NAACP and other witnesses," Atkins said. "It had access to transcripts of school committee meetings. The record shows conscious segregation."

Hicks's attempts to pose as an opponent of segregation were undercut by her repeated denials of any racist wrongdoing by the school committee, of which she was a member for many years. She brazenly attempted to

compare the "force" involved in court-ordered desegregation to the force of "the Selective Service System, which repelled Americans."

Atkins responded by pointing to the school committee's "forced grade structure, forced feeder patterns, and forced districting."

"They are not against busing," he said. "They are not against force. They are against desegregation."

"The 'force' is applied to public officials who organize segregation," he continued. "They are forced to provide buses. The children are permitted to ride them."

When Hicks claimed white students fear riding buses, Atkins pointed to the case of Boston Technical High School—a predominantly white school in the heart of the Black community that requires passage of an entrance examination. He noted that white students aren't afraid to ride buses to go to that special school.

"You can't get down the street by Tech High School in the afternoon because of the yellow buses," Atkins said. "White folks aren't afraid to ride them. As Whitney Young said, 'It ain't the bus, it's niggers.'"

During the discussion Ann Teesdale, a member of a team of Young Socialist Alliance activists touring New England, took the floor to challenge Hicks's assertion that the antibusing movement is not racist.

Citing the all-white composition of the antibusing drive, Teesdale told the audience about the anti-Black graffiti on the walls in South Boston, and the racist chants she had heard at antibusing rallies.

Hicks challenged Teesdale to prove it.

"I have tapes of those rallies that I attended, which I would be glad to provide," Teesdale said to applause. Hicks remained silent.

"It is not the case that Boston was a stronghold of racial harmony before Judge Garrity's [school desegregation] order," Atkins said.

The NAACP leader blasted Hicks

Continued on page 30

'Not proud to be from Southie any more'

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The headline-grabbing violence that has jeopardized the lives of Black students being bused into South Boston schools isn't on the surface these days.

But a mood of terror permeates the neighborhood.

That's why Kevin Loughlin's father told him to keep his prodesegregation views to himself.

"He told me to keep my mouth shut or we wouldn't have a house," the twenty-three-year-old lifelong resident of "Southie" recently told the *Militant*.

Kevin, who lives with his family, works to put himself through college. His father, he says, is "a blue-collar worker with a good job." Loughlin is not his real name. It is used here to protect him and his family.

"I've always been proud to be from South Boston," he said, "but not for the past two years. Now I feel kind of ashamed."

Loughlin's "Southie pride" has faded because of his dismay over the racism and violence that have made his neighborhood a national symbol of antibusing resistance since a federal court ordered school desegregation here.

"I can see people being against busing. I can respect that opinion," he told me. "But I can't see them shouting obscenities and throwing stones at Black students. I'm against that kind of intimidation and the people who go out of their way to do it."

Some of those people are his neighbors, members of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) who have harassed Black students as they got off the buses. Their actions, Loughlin said, helped convince him of the "lie" that the "real issue is busing."

"I took buses to school and no one ever called it 'busing,'" Kevin said. "These people just don't want their Johnny or Mary to go to school with Black kids, or have their kids make friends with Blacks."

"It really is a racist movement," Loughlin observed. "If it isn't, why are people throwing stones and shouting obscenities?"

"No one has a right to disrupt the students' getting an education."

Loughlin is nervous about saying these things out loud in "Southie." A friend of his had a prodesegregation bumper sticker on his car. Racists in the neighborhood set the automobile on fire and destroyed it.



Militant/Ann Teesdale

Some in South Boston are speaking out against atmosphere that makes it symbol of racism.

Loughlin is more than just opposed to antibusing violence. He is for desegregation. He sees busing as "one more step, a key element leading to quality education."

"I'm for it," he said. "It's part of a process that I think could have been much more gradual if the school committee hadn't been so opposed and had begun to desegregate ten years ago when it was supposed to. They just built up more and more segregation."

"I put the blame on the school committee, on people like Louise Day Hicks, for the problem," Loughlin said.

Hicks, now president of the Boston city council, spent years on the school committee as a key organizer against desegregation.

"When schools are desegregated," Loughlin said, "when white students go to formerly all-Black schools, it just starts to happen that the all-white school committees and city councils start spending more money for teachers and books and education in those schools. Desegregation means equalizing funds so there can be better education."

And, Kevin says, "It's obvious Black students have the right to go to any school."

Absence of leadership

The fact that this right is in jeopardy alarms Loughlin. He says there is an absence of "moral leadership" in Boston.

He feels "betrayed" by Boston Mayor Kevin White (whom he has supported in the past for election) "because he has been silent. At first he said he was probusing. But now he is out to get votes."

Loughlin, like others in South Boston who share his views, is unsure

about the future. He and people like him have no public place to turn, he feels, because of the threat of physical harm.

But he is a supporter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and thinks the organization can "help bring people together." It is "part of the long, long process of overcoming the problem."

He likes the idea of the April 24 national probusing march on Boston and hopes he can help organize it, he told me.

"I'm not sure it can affect things in Southie," he said. "But I hope so, you know. It's worth a try. It might get people involved."

"People can't speak out in South Boston," he said, "not if you want to live."

Standing up

But some people, like Loughlin, are beginning to talk. They are getting angry, and finding a way to stand up, however modestly, to the racists.

"I'd like to see important people, important whites march on April 24 to show that ROAR doesn't speak for white people," Loughlin said.

Loughlin knows Southie, knows the Irish—people like his grandparents, who were born in Ireland, came here poor, and had to fight for a decent life. Today, however, Loughlin says, "the Blacks in Boston are the Irish. They face what the Irish faced seventy-five years ago."

The racists in ROAR would choke on that, calling it the worst blasphemy.

But the truth it speaks is important ammunition to shatter the bigots' image of the "united antibusing community" that can never be won to desegregation.

Local actions build April 24

Support grows for nat'l desegregation march

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—"In June of 1974 Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity issued an order that the Boston school system must be desegregated with the use of busing. It took over ten years of struggle just to get this ruling! We marched, picketed, struck, boycotted, sat-in and otherwise protested against educational inequality. . . . Today we need such a powerful movement to implement the law of the land."

With these words, more than 100 prominent Black and white supporters of school desegregation in Boston issued a call last month for a national probusing march and rally in that city April 24.

"Boston is at the center of the racist drive to prevent the Black liberation struggle from moving forward. . . . the action call stated. "A failure to win school desegregation here will encourage further attacks on Black rights in cities across the country."

The Boston community leaders an-

nounced the formation of the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston to mobilize participation in the demonstration.

Since that time, the April 24 march has picked up impressive nationwide support.

At a March 23 news conference in Boston, Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council, announced the council's support for the action. A resolution passed by the body encouraged "all affiliated unions to mobilize their membership to participate in this protest as a display of solidarity between the labor movement and the Black people of this country, longtime allies in the fight for human justice and social and economic equality."

The following day the Detroit chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women responded to the council's urging, adding its name to the growing list of endorsers.

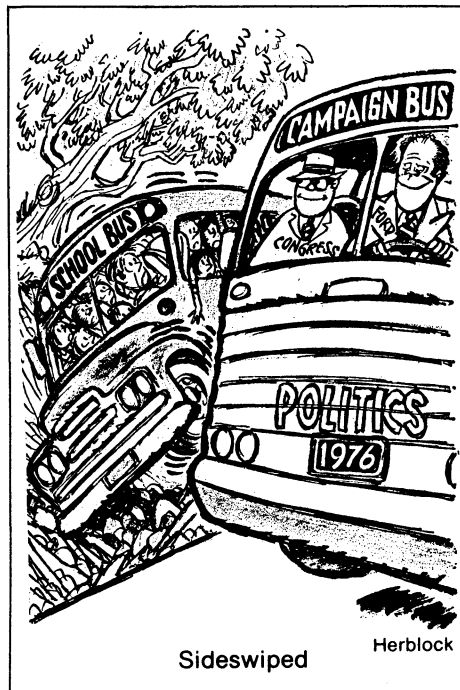
Other support for the Boston demonstration is highlighted by planned activities in many other cities to publicize the march.

In Washington, D.C., desegregation supporters have organized a rally at All Souls Church for April 2 commemorating the life of Dr. Martin Luther King. Scheduled speakers include Rep. John Conyers (D.—Mich.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC); William Simons, president of the Washington (D.C.) Teachers' Union; Alice Cummings from the central office of the National Education Association; Hattie McCutcheon, a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR); and local leaders of Operation PUSH and the D.C. Statehood party.

March supporters in Baltimore are planning an April 6 symposium on school desegregation to be held at Morgan State University. Speakers include U.S. Rep. Parren Mitchell (D.—Md.), a CBC member; the president of the campus NAACP youth council; student government leaders; and local NSCAR activists.

An April 2 news conference in Atlanta will pay tribute to Dr. King and urge local participation in the Boston march. At the news conference, Atlanta city council member Rev. Arthur Langford will announce plans to seek the endorsement of the council for the April 24 probusing action.

NSCAR leader Hattie McCutcheon recently completed a tour of the Philadelphia area to win new backing for the Boston march. McCutcheon was interviewed by the *Philadelphia Tribune*, a



local Black biweekly newspaper. She held meetings with leaders of the Black Ministerial Conference and the Wilmington, Delaware, NAACP youth council.

Wilmington is under a federal court order to desegregate its schools, and racist resistance to busing has already run high.

On March 30 McCutcheon was the keynote speaker at a Temple University memorial meeting for Dr. King. Following her Philadelphia tour, McCutcheon set off for speaking engagements and other activities to publicize the march in St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Washington, D.C.

April 24 activists in Newark are organizing a probusing rally at the Newark campus of Rutgers University April 2. The rally will feature Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar* magazine, and Luis Fuentes, a Puerto Rican leader of the fight for community control in New York's school District One.

Other backers of the Boston demonstration in New Jersey include William Hart, mayor of East Orange; Newark city council members Jesse Allen and Donald Tucker; and Buster Soares, director of Newark's Operation PUSH chapter.

PUSH's national board chairperson, Bishop H.H. Brookins of Pasadena, California, has also endorsed the April 24 march. Ruby Williams, president of the Pasadena NAACP, is another recent California endorser.

Desegregation supporters in Pasadena are now discussing plans for solidarity actions with the Boston march, as well as local events in defense of Pasadena's endangered busing plan.

The Supreme Court is scheduled to review the city's desegregation order in mid-April. It will be the first such hearing on a busing plan to occur in more than a year and a half.

These activities and others throughout the country show that many people share the spirit of NSCAR's statement at the March 23 news conference in Boston. "We must take a stand on busing and desegregation, and we must win," NSCAR said.

"April 24 will be our day to show that racists don't own the streets of Boston or any other city in this country."

Word spreads in Boston

BOSTON—Activists from the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston have distributed nearly 50,000 leaflets throughout the city.

Campus chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism have set the next three weeks for a massive publicity blitz of area universities and colleges.

The Boston *Herald-American* featured a prominent article on the upcoming antiracist march in its March 30 issue. It printed an interview with coalition leader Sandy Latner of the Arlington Street Church and staff volunteers Lisa Potash and Inez King, director of

Mothers Incorporated, a Roxbury parents' organization.

Potash told the *Militant* that since the organizing office for the April 24 action opened in Roxbury, "people from the neighborhood have been coming in to find out what's going on and take bunches of leaflets."

Coalition leaders Rev. William Weeks and Maceo Dixon, the project director for the march, were featured on "Say Brother," a local Boston Black television program.

The two Boston Black leaders were also interviewed by the *Boston Globe* on March 31 about the upcoming demonstration.



'Powerful movement is needed to implement law of the land.'

Dallas Blacks march against phony busing plan

By Becky Ellis

DALLAS, March 27—Chants of "quality education" and "two-way busing" rang out as nearly 100 Black parents, students, teachers, and friends marched from the school administration building to the federal building in downtown Dallas on this Saturday morning.

The demonstration, called a "freedom march," was organized on short notice by a Black parents' group to show opposition to the recent desegregation order by Federal District Judge William Taylor and to the crude implementation of the plan by the Dallas school board.

Participants in the march and the rally that followed included Concerned Parents to Save the Children, United Parents for Quality Education, South Dallas Information Center, South Oak Cliff African Bandits, and the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

Judge Taylor's order was based on a

plan drawn up by the Dallas Alliance, a group of business people and their representatives. The plan, which leaves the all-Black South Oak Cliff area untouched, calls for busing in the other areas of the city for grades four through eight only.

The net result of the order is that Dallas schools are left segregated.

By a racially divided vote the Dallas school board approved a plan to implement Judge Taylor's order.

The board also voted to ask Judge Taylor to eliminate portions of his order that call for establishing an early-childhood education program and setting strict racial quotas for top-level administrators.

Organizers of this morning's march handed out a statement that said, "If we accept the Dallas Alliance plan and student assignment plan as it is drawn we may as well go back to Jim Crowism; back to the back of the bus;

back to Black- and White-only water fountains; separate public restrooms; etc."

Elsa Faye Higgins of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center was one of the speakers at the rally. "Two-way busing of equal numbers of Black and white students is the only way to insure Black students will be treated fairly," Higgins said.

Another speaker, Olga Mae Rabon, said, "Busing is not the real issue. The real issue is that deep-seated, unmitigated white hate."

On Friday, March 26, the NAACP announced it would appeal the student assignment plan proposed by the school board. Rev. Marshall Hodge, president of the Oak Cliff NAACP, said, "The burden of busing is still placed on the Blacks. Why should that be so?"

At the rally Tom Fiske, representing the Student Coalition Against Racism,

said, "We should support the NAACP appeal. An appeal must be backed up by united protests. It will take rallies, teach-ins, and mass demonstrations to win the struggle."

At the rally the United Parents for Quality Education called for more "freedom marches" on subsequent weekends.

SCAR has organized a statewide Student Conference on Desegregation and Racism to take place April 3 at Bishop College in Dallas.

Featured at the conference will be a debate on the Dallas Alliance plan. Two Alliance members and two professors of urban studies will take opposing sides.

A member of Boston SCAR will give the conference a report on the racist terror in Boston. The conference will also include workshops where students will discuss how to build Texas support for the April 24 march in Boston.



Militant/Lou Howort

LAST CONTACT

Last contact was 4/22/66, at which time we obtained valuable data concerning the activities of the SWP in the United States and the worldwide Trotskyist movement.

SECURITY

Full security assured.

LOCATION

873 Broadway, New York, New York

The 'Black Bag' Bureau

By Larry Seigle

The United States government, which claims to be the guardian of the rights and liberties of the American people, has been exposed once more as the most persistent and dangerous enemy of those rights.

Documents from supersecret FBI files have revealed that the bureau repeatedly broke into offices and campaign headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party. The federal burglars photographed some 13,000 pages of papers concerning every aspect of the socialists' activity.

The files, which have generated banner headlines from coast to coast, were made public March 28 by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is underwriting the costs of the socialists' suit against the FBI, the CIA, and twelve other government agencies.

The burglary files cover only the period from 1960 to 1966. All but two of the ninety-four break-ins documented occurred in New York City. The other two took place at the home of then SWP National Chairperson James P. Cannon in Los Angeles and at a private home in Connecticut.

The files show a massive violation of the law and of democratic rights by the nation's top "law enforcement" agency. But even this is only a tiny

fragment of the whole picture. By the FBI's own admission, the burglaries began not in 1960, but during World War II. They also continued after 1966. They were carried out not just in New York, but in cities across the country.

What's more, the SWP and YSA are only two of the organizations targeted for this illegal treatment. There is no doubt that similar operations have been aimed at other radical groups, Black organizations, and trade unions.

It all adds up to establishing the FBI as one of the largest organizations of criminals ever to blight the face of the earth.

FBI's permanent war

The burglaries are part of the capitalist government's permanent war of harassment, disruption, and victimization of socialists and others fighting for social justice.

The details of this war have emerged largely as the result of disclosures made in connection with the suit filed by the SWP and YSA.

In response to orders from the federal judge handling the case, the FBI has produced thousands of pages from its hidden files detailing its Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) operations against the SWP and YSA, their members, supporters, and candidates for public office.

These have included efforts to get socialists fired from their jobs; repeated harassment consisting of "investigations" involving visits by FBI agents to landlords, family, friends, and employers; and schemes to sow mistrust and divisions within the YSA and SWP, and between the socialists and other groups, through circulation of lies, slanders, and red-baiting attacks by agents and informers.

Every three weeks

Until now, the FBI has denied burglarizing the SWP or YSA. In fact, the government specifically claimed it had not carried out break-ins in a statement submitted to the court in response to the socialists' lawsuit.

But the FBI files show that FBI special teams broke into the socialists' headquarters on a regular basis. Over the six-year period covered, these burglaries took place on an average of once every three weeks.

FBI agents would enter the offices, using keys they themselves had made, sometime after midnight. They photographed and sometimes removed reports, letters, mailing lists, minutes of meetings, names and addresses of contributors to SWP election campaigns, information about places of work and union affiliations of members, confidential tax forms, and infor-

mation regarding defense strategy in cases involving federal legal proceedings.

One typical list, recording the results of the break-in at the SWP national office on June 3, 1960, contains the following:

- A letter "setting forth the topic" of a speech to be given by Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP vice-presidential candidate, and "listing complete schedule of cities to be visited thereafter in nationwide tour";
 - "Application for membership forms" filled out by two individuals;
 - "Letter from individual overseas with an Army signal battalion requesting information about the SWP";
 - "Letter setting forth the new employment" of a party member in New York;
 - "Letter to Canadian Trotskyite setting forth that [deleted] SWP leader would be a speaker for them, giving flight number and time of trip and location of his stay in Toronto";
 - "Letter giving identity of individual subpoenaed to appear before committee [House Un-American Activities Committee] in Washington in June and arrangements made by SWP to have American Civil Liberties Union represent this and another individual SWP member subpoenaed";
- Other items copied that night were:

"identity of SWP member" moving to New York from Milwaukee; minutes of SWP branch executive committee meetings; and a "letter to other locals requesting help for SWP campaign in upstate N.Y."

At a news conference last August, FBI chief Clarence Kelley acknowledged for the first time that the FBI had been carrying out "surreptitious entries" since World War II. Kelley claimed that the burglaries were designed to obtain "information relative to the security of the nation."

"These latest documents prove that Kelley's statement is a fraud and a lie," declared Peter Camejo, SWP presidential nominee. "The information stolen from the SWP concerned perfectly legitimate activities, including election campaign plans of a political party. There is not one indication, in any of the papers copied, of a single illegal act by the SWP."

"What the FBI thieves were trying to protect was not the 'security of the nation,' but the security of the Democratic and Republican parties to carry out their policies of war and racism free from the criticism and challenge posed by a socialist alternative," Camejo said.

"These burglaries are a massive intrusion into the constitutional rights not just of our party, but of everyone in this country."

Although the burglaries themselves were not formally part of Cointelpro, the information obtained through them was used to initiate operations under the Cointelpro "SWP Disruption Program."

Syd Stapleton, the national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, explained to the *Militant* that the PRDF staff has correlated by date some of the stolen information with disruption activities described in Cointelpro files turned over by the FBI earlier.

"On April 26, 1963," Stapleton said, "the FBI photographed correspondence showing that the upcoming convention of the party would be held at the Empire Hotel in New York. Less than two weeks later, the New York office of the FBI requested authorization from [FBI boss J. Edgar] Hoover to conduct 'disruptive operations,' apparently including an effort to persuade the hotel management to cancel the convention reservations."

In two other break-ins—on December 1 and December 15, 1961—the FBI copied letters between the SWP and a newly formed organization known as the Labor-Negro Vanguard party. This group had held a conference in New York in which Farrell Dobbs, then national secretary of the SWP, had participated. The group was headed by Clarence Coggins, a Black unionist from New Jersey.

On March 15, 1962, FBI headquarters in Washington directed the New York and New Jersey offices to "give consideration to a disruption program operation" to prevent common action between the SWP and the LNVP. "The LNVP is expected to collaborate in supporting SWP candidates during its forthcoming elections," the FBI warned.

Bloomington defense case

In what may develop into one of the more explosive aspects of the new revelations, the FBI systematically copied documents regarding legal cases in which members of the SWP and YSA were involved.

The federal agents repeatedly broke into the office of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students (CABS), which rented space in the YSA national office. CABS was set up to organize the defense campaign for three YSA members who were indicted in 1963 for "seditious" activity at Indiana University in Bloomington.

This case, a classical political frame-up, involved charges that the three young socialists were guilty of "attending a meeting where violent overthrow

Caution: G-men at work

By Jim Mack

Sometime before dawn on June 28, 1963, Special Agent George P. Baxtrum, Jr., led a specially selected squad of men to the front of 116 University Place, just south of Union Square in Manhattan.

A doorway on the street level of the building led to a flight of stairs. At the top of the stairs were the offices of the Socialist Workers party. At that time the national office and the New York SWP branch shared facilities. A small space was also set aside for the *Militant*.

Baxtrum knew what was upstairs. He had been there before. He would be there again, too. Always late at night, when nobody was inside.

Following instructions from J. Edgar Hoover, the special agent would break into the building, photograph whatever papers he could find, and send the results to his superiors.

It was a routine he was accustomed to. But tonight the pattern was disrupted for a moment. Normally, he used keys the FBI had made. This time, however, the key didn't work. Perhaps the lock had been changed. But this didn't stop Special Agent Baxtrum.

"It should be noted," he later wrote in his report to the Special Agent in Charge of the FBI office in New York, "that it was necessary on this occasion to pick the lock on the street entrance of the building in order to get inside. This was accomplished by George P. Baxtrum, Jr., who also made a new key for the front door."

Once inside, Baxtrum and the boys went to work quickly and efficiently. It

was an average night's work. They took about 135 photographs of letters, minutes of meetings, and financial records.

Baxtrum found "letters and resolutions describing recently concluded meetings in Europe of the International Trotskyist movement."

He copied the "minutes of all recent Political Committee meetings of the SWP" and "correspondence identifying individuals planning on attending SWP national convention" the following month.

He took pictures of "financial data" of the New York branch and copied down the address of "Detroit subjects living in NYC."

He was particularly glad to unearth the "flight plans" of an SWP leader who was to return from Europe the following week.

It took several hours, but the job was completed well before daybreak. If anything was overlooked, it didn't matter. Baxtrum would be back in two weeks.

The special agent returned to the office and typed up his inventory, then delivered it to the Special Agent in Charge.

The Special Agent in Charge prepared an informal memorandum showing he had obtained clearance from Washington for the burglary, which everyone involved knew was illegal. He then filed the memorandum in his safe, where it would stay until the next regular visit by bureau inspectors. Then it would be destroyed.

In Washington, copies of the request for authorization from New York were filed under a special "do not file"

procedure. Regular FBI files are numbered in sequence, so they cannot be removed without leaving a gap in the numbering system.

But "do not file" files have no numbers. They can be destroyed and no one need ever know.

Sen. Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.), a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, recently described this filing system as "really the perfect cover-up."

"It looks to me as though the bureau has perfected a better technique . . . a lot more sophisticated and refined than the 'plausible denial' of the CIA," Schweiker said.

Under the "do not file" system, Schweiker pointed out, FBI officials could even submit affidavits in court saying that bureau records contained no indication of this or that break-in. "It would be technically telling the truth, yet it would be a total deception," he said.

But none of these considerations bothered Special Agent George P. Baxtrum, Jr., on that June night in 1963. He was confident that the crime he had just committed would never come to light.

Baxtrum would never have believed that thirteen years later a federal judge would order the FBI to turn over everything in its files about the Socialist Workers party. And he would have laughed in your face if you had told him that an FBI clerk, assigned to blot out all the names of the agents involved in these crimes, would inadvertently forget to delete the name of Special Agent George P. Baxtrum, Jr.

of the government was advocated." The meeting referred to was a public speech, attended by more than 100 people, where a national officer of the YSA said that Black people should use their constitutional right of self-defense to protect themselves against racist violence.

More than 1,300 professors, civil libertarians, and other prominent people across the country became sponsors of CABS. With this public backing, and an energetic legal defense provided by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, who is now representing the SWP and the YSA in their suit against the government, the frame-up was defeated.

But on May 14, 1965, while the case was in the courts, FBI agents illegally photographed documents containing information of "current legal proceedings and expenses of CABS" and "reports re activities of YSA members assigned to CABS tour in various Southern and South West cities."

On July 16, another break-in produced "proposed CABS legal maneuvers," "CABS national tour results," and "CABS financial structure."

Other information, concerning legal moves to defeat attempts by the government to deport members of the SWP, was also pilfered over the six-year period.

'Clearly illegal'

On July 19, 1966, William Sullivan, chief of FBI counterintelligence, wrote an internal memo explaining that "we do not obtain authorization for 'black bag' jobs from outside the Bureau. Such a technique involves trespass and is clearly illegal; therefore it would be impossible to obtain any legal sanction for it. Despite this, 'black bag' jobs have been used because they represent an invaluable technique in combating subversive activities of a clandestine nature aimed directly at undermining and destroying our nation."

Sullivan added that "through the use of this technique we have on numerous occasions been able to obtain material

held highly secret and closely guarded by subversive groups and organizations. . . ."

What was this "highly secret" data? Espionage plans? Assassination plots? Terrorist conspiracies?

No. The "highly secret" information, Sullivan explained in his memo, "consisted of membership lists and mailing lists of these organizations!"

Burglaries defended

In the wake of revelations over the past two years regarding the crimes committed by the FBI against socialists and other dissenters, the government has sought to create the impression that it now repudiates the most outrageous illegalities. Attorney General Edward Levi has characterized Cointelpro as "foolish because [it] doesn't work very well" and "outrageous because I think there's enough dishonesty and lack of candor and incivility in our society as it is."

But FBI Director Clarence Kelley has stubbornly defended the burglaries. At his news conference last July, Kelley said, "I do not note in any of these activities a gross misuse of authority. . . . I do not feel that it was a corruption of the trust that had been placed in us."

Despite Kelley's evident enthusiasm for burglary as a "law enforcement" technique, the government claims that the burglaries were halted in mid-1966 on orders from Hoover.

However, there is considerable evidence that this claim is a lie. At his news conference last July, according to the *Washington Star*, Kelley said that Hoover's 1966 cutoff of authority for "surreptitious entries" didn't eliminate "foreign counterintelligence operations where there was a grave impact on the security of the nation."

The *Star* continued, "Since 1966, he said, there had been a few such entries—but he declined to define 'a few' except to say that he meant 'not many.'"

The FBI has never explained precisely which groups fall under the "foreign counterintelligence" category.

In 1972, FBI Director L. Patrick Gray ordered a break-in into an Arab information office in Dallas, Texas.

In at least one case, the SWP has proof that the FBI broke into its headquarters in Detroit. In 1971, burglars entered the Michigan SWP campaign headquarters and stole lists of supporters of SWP candidates and other files. One cop called to the scene said the burglary looked like "an FBI job."

Shortly after, supporters whose names had been on the stolen lists began receiving visits from FBI agents.

Among the items taken in the raid was a letter to the SWP from Norma Lodico, a former member of the party. Three years later Lodico was interrogated by the U.S. Civil Service Commission about her "suitability for employment." One of the documents in her dossier was a copy of the letter she had written to the SWP in Detroit.

The Civil Service Commission has since acknowledged in court that the copy of the letter came from the FBI. The FBI, however, in a statement submitted in federal court on March 24, 1976, claimed that a "review of pertinent FBI records has failed to reveal any documents which reflect or suggest the source of the letter."

It remains to be seen whether this statement will turn out to be just as false as the original denial of any burglaries against the SWP or the YSA.

It is obvious that the full truth about these crimes won't be known until all the files of the government's secret-police bodies are opened.

In a statement to the press the day the burglary documents were made public, Peter Camejo declared, "We intend to insist, in public and through our suit, that all documents on the FBI attacks against socialists, civil rights activists, and others be made available to the public."

"Let's get the facts on the table so the American people, not government officials, can decide who presents a threat to the Bill of Rights."

SAC 6/23/60
PERSONAL FOLDER SAC

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE,
IS-SWP

I. BACKGROUND

The YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE is the youth organization of the SWP. The SWP utilizes this group to further its aims and goals. The YSA is considered the action group of the SWP, that is, it attends rallies and conducts demonstrations and protests in the interest of the SWP. The YSA leadership are SWP members.

II. SECURITY ASPECTS

The National Organizational and NY Headquarters of the YSA are located at 45 E. 7th Street, NYC. The headquarters entrance is a store front on the street level. There is only one entrance to the headquarters. The door is locked with a Master padlock only.

The entrance to the building is located approximately 75 feet on the north side of 7th Street from Second Avenue. The headquarters is a street front located adjacent to the entrance to the apartment building, 45 E. 7th Street. East of the headquarters store front are located 4 similar store fronts within the same building. These are described as follows from the headquarters going east: New York Telephone Company; empty store front; law office; empty store front.

There are 4 floors of apartment dwellings above these store fronts in the building.

There is a street light located on the north side of 7th Street, approximately five store fronts east of the headquarters. Inasmuch as the nearest other street light is located on the southeast corner of 7th and Second, the immediate area of the headquarters is reasonably dark in evening hours.

Previous spot checks on numerous occasions have shown that there is a very limited amount of pedestrian and automobile traffic after 12 Midnight. These spot checks have also shown that the lights of the apartments in the building across the street from headquarters and the apartment lights of the headquarters building are darkened.

Entrance will be made between the hours of 12 Midnight and 4 AM, June 30, 1960.

Security will be assured prior to entry on this assignment.

III. PURPOSE OF ASSIGNMENT

To locate records and information relating to the national organization of the YSA, the identity of national members located throughout the country. Also it is anticipated that records of the local organization will be made available.

- 2 -

Documents 1 & 2: FBI thoroughly cased YSA national office before breaking in. Notation 'security will be assured prior to entry' refers to cooperation with New York City cops.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK DATE: 7/11/60

FROM : PERSONAL ATTENTION - SAC

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - NATIONAL
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - NEW YORK LOCAL

On 7/11/60, contact was made with [redacted], who has access to material located in national headquarters of the SWP, and with [redacted], who has access to material located in the office of the New York Local, SWP, both at 116 University Place, New York City.

Approximately 85 photographs were obtained, including such items as the following:

- 1) Correspondence identifying contributors to SWP election campaign fund.
- 2) Letter establishing trip to be made by SWP leader FARRELL DOBES.
- 3) SWP national financial report of June, 1960.
- 4) Breakdown of SWP office expenses of June, 1960.
- 5) Letters dated in June and July from [redacted], National Chairman, establishing SWP policy.
- 6) SWP Political Committee minutes of June 21 and June 29, 1960.
- 7) SWP Resident National Committee minutes of 7/5/60.
- 8) Letter of 6/29/60, giving subscriptions obtained in current campaign of "The Militant."

- 9) Correspondence re developments in Trotskyist movements in Ceylon and Japan.
- 10) Letter proposing picket activity at Democratic convention.
- 11) Letter proposing cut in circulation of "The Militant" to every other week during the summer.

- 1) Minutes of NY Local, SWP meetings of June and July, 1960.
- 2) Minutes of NY Local Executive Committee meetings of June and July, 1960.
- 3) Addresses of new SWP members previously unknown and changed addresses of current SI subjects.

PERSONNEL INVOLVED:

- 2 -

Documents 3 & 4: Agents used euphemism 'contact was made' to signify that a burglary was carried out. Heading 'SAC, NEW YORK' means report was addressed to Special Agent in Charge of New York FBI office.

SAC, NEW YORK 9/9/60
PERSONAL FOLDER SAC

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-NATIONAL

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-NY LOCAL
BUFILE 100-16-35

On 9/9/60, contact was made with [redacted], who is in a position to furnish material maintained at SWP National Headquarters, and with [redacted], in a position to furnish material maintained at SWP New York Local Headquarters, both at 116 University Place, New York City.

Approximately 50 photographs were obtained and in addition note was taken of other items of value. This included the following:

1. Minutes of SWP Political Committee meetings held August, 1960.
2. Minutes of Resident National Committee meeting held in August and September, 1960.
3. Letter re curriculum at coming session of six month SWP Trotsky School.
4. Correspondence revealing nominees to the Trotsky School, including background info on a Canadian nominee.
5. Letter re details of SWP election petition campaign in Utah.
6. Correspondence re plans and schedule changes in tours of SWP Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates.
7. Correspondence relating to names of European Trotskyists SWP national leadership gave to a woman planning trip to Germany.

8. Letter setting forth relations of the SWP with the Trotskyist organization in Ceylon.
9. Financial statement covering August NY State election petition campaign.
10. Document analyzing the Cuban revolution from the Marxist (SWP) point of view.

1. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the New York Local, SWP, dated in August 1960.
2. Letter from Denver SWP branch describing the new office set-up there.
3. Note setting forth part-time job of SWP member, previously unknown.
4. Names of two New York SWP members who have accepted nomination to Trotsky School.
5. Change of address notations for several NY SWP members.
6. Cards showing name and address of two new SWP members, previously unknown.

Personnel Participating

- 2 -

Documents 5 & 6: FBI paid special attention to SWP relations with socialists in other countries and to details of SWP plans and activity in election campaigns. 'Trotsky School' was name given to intensive series of seminars on Marxism held at a camp in New Jersey.

Goal: bar socialists from jobs

FBI defends Cointelpro-style plots

By Larry Seigle

The FBI's burglary files, released to the public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, have been the subject of extensive publicity and editorial comment in newspapers and on radio and television nationally and internationally.

But, in the opinion of Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF, another document released along with the break-in files "may have even greater long-term significance."

Last fall, Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, attorneys for the SWP and YSA, requested that the government turn over copies of all government papers that would "indicate the Bureau's reason for opening a file on each actual and suspected member of the SWP and the YSA."

In part of its response to this request the FBI said that it tries "to identify all members of subversive groups" because it "is concerned that members of subversive groups will, at some future time, gain responsible positions not only in Government but also in industry and education."

"In other words," said Stapleton, "the FBI is asserting the right to drive people out of their jobs just because their political views or activities don't satisfy the FBI."

This, Stapleton pointed out, is precisely what was done under Cointelpro, which has supposedly been ended.

As part of Cointelpro, the FBI put into operation an "SWP Disruption Program." This program included attempts—in some cases successful—to get members or supporters of the SWP fired from their jobs. Anonymous letters and similar tactics were used to force socialists who were teachers out of the schools and universities. Socialists who worked for the Post Office and other government agencies were



Militant/Flax Hermes

BOUDIN: Demanding full disclosure of secret files.

sacked solely because of their political views. FBI agents also systematically visited private employers to "inform" them that someone who worked for them was a "subversive."

"For the first time since Cointelpro became known to the American people, the FBI is publicly defending its right to hound people out of their jobs," Stapleton said.

"This proves that the FBI's attempts to disrupt the lives and political activity of socialists and others—a program that was once known as Cointelpro—has never been stopped."

In addition to submitting this de-

fense of its policy on employment, the government filed justifications for its refusal to turn over a number of other documents from secret FBI and CIA files. In some cases, the government lawyers just stonewalled, claiming that the documents don't exist, or ignoring the requests.

In other instances, however, they invoked claims of "executive privilege" that are virtually identical to the claims made by Richard Nixon when he refused to turn over the Watergate tapes. Nixon's assertions of "executive privilege" were rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"Our attorneys," said Stapleton, "are now preparing a list of more than forty different kinds of documents that are included in the order issued by U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, requiring the government to turn over 'everything' on us in their files, but which they have not yet produced. We will demand that these items be made available to us without any more stalling."

Among the documents specified are all files showing the extent to which the CIA uses informers, in this country and overseas, to try to sow division among socialist groups, and records of all meetings of the Intelligence Division of the FBI where policies directed against or affecting the SWP were discussed or decided.

The list also includes records of all communications between the FBI and the Justice Department concerning the bureau's "investigations" of the SWP. "We believe these will show that the Justice Department sent the FBI determinations that the SWP could not be prosecuted for any of its activities," said Stapleton.

The socialists' attorneys will also demand copies of all electronic surveillance records on members of the SWP

and the YSA and on Boudin and other members of his law firm.

In the same legal document in which the government insisted it had not carried out any burglaries against the socialists, it also claimed it hadn't done any wiretapping or bugging since 1963.

"We have received information from people who are familiar with the details of this," said Stapleton, "showing that this claim is a lie."

"We also have other documentary evidence that the FBI has been lying in other areas as well, and we will be making it public soon."

Support the PRDF

Attorneys for the Political Rights Defense Fund are pressing for the complete disclosure of all government files on the SWP, YSA, and other victims of FBI crimes. Tens of thousands of dollars will be needed to take these steps and to pay legal costs once the case goes to trial.

By contributing to the PRDF, you can help win this crucial fight for civil liberties. Please send your donation today by mailing the coupon below.

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Beame pressed to arrest burglars

By Leo Stanford

NEW YORK—An angry delegation of New Yorkers descended on city hall March 30 to demand that Mayor Abraham Beame take immediate action to order the arrest of those responsible for the wave of political burglaries uncovered in recently released FBI documents.

The group also demanded that the mayor order the opening of secret files maintained by the New York cops, including all records relating to the burglaries and the records of the notorious New York "Red Squad," now known as the Security and Investigation Division.

This section, which maintains political files on more than one million individuals and groups, has a long history of antilabor and anti-Black activity. Its political files "are thought to be among the most extensive in the United States," according to an article by David Burnham in the July 15, 1973, *New York Times*.

The delegation included Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Eighteenth Congressional District, and Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Other participants included Elliot Wilk, representing the National Lawyers Guild; Alan Charney, executive director of the Association of Legal Aid Attorneys in New York City; Jim Peck, representing the War Resisters League; Kipp Dawson, from the Political Rights Defense Fund; and feminist author Kate Millett.

Although the group had previously

notified city officials of their request for a meeting with the mayor, they were refused permission to even enter city hall on the grounds that no rooms were available. Instead, they were forced to remain on the steps of the building while Frank McCardle, a Beame aide, told them that the mayor's "schedule is extraordinarily tight" because of the fiscal crisis.

"This is an outrageous affront," said Garza, "a display of contempt for the rights of my party and for all residents of this city whose rights and liberties have been violated."

Garza was the New York State chairperson of the SWP from 1963 to 1966, when many of the burglaries took place.

"Two weeks ago," Garza pointed out, "a rifle bullet crashed through the window of my apartment, narrowly missing a campaign supporter of mine. But the police have refused to seriously investigate this assassination attempt. They have broken every appointment they made to meet with me."

The revelations of the burglaries, and the evidence pointing to the complicity of the New York police in providing "security" for the burglars, Garza said, "raise an ominous note over their refusal to conduct an investigation."

The documents contained the repeated notation that "full security" had been arranged in advance of the break-ins.

As Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP in its suit against the FBI, noted, "Only one group can assure security"



Militant/Brian Shannon

Delegation led by Catarino Garza, at right, confronts aide to N.Y. Mayor Beame at city hall. Group demanded arrest of those responsible for political break-ins.

for operations like those carried out by the FBI.

A letter to Beame from the Association of Legal Aid Attorneys pointed out that the cops have "served as an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the carrying out of illegal activities against the Socialist Workers Party."

The association demanded that Beame initiate a "full-scale investigation" into the cops' role, and insisted that "the files of the Police Department pertaining to these burglaries must be immediately opened to public inspection."

The War Resisters League, a pacifist group, also demanded the reopening of

the investigation into a 1969 burglary of its offices. At that time, the league's membership files, in the form of card files and address stencils, were the only items stolen.

"What's at stake," Kate Millett told reporters who were covering the confrontation on the city hall steps, "is the very same thing that happened in Watergate. That was the invasion of the Democratic headquarters. Here is the SWP headquarters, invaded not once but *ninety-four times*."

"The freedoms of every single person," she added, "are involved in this fight of the SWP."

Gay rights setback

Bigotry, prejudice, and religious hysteria were enshrined as law by the United States Supreme Court March 29 when the justices upheld as constitutional laws that ban homosexual acts between consenting adults.

Without even deigning to hear oral argument on the issue, the court let stand a Bible-thumping lower court decision that branded homosexual conduct "a contribution to moral delinquency." It brushed aside arguments, endorsed by the American Civil Liberties Union, that antigay laws violate the constitutional rights to privacy, freedom of expression, and due process.

In recent years thirteen states have repealed their antisodomy laws, and a number of major cities have prohibited discrimination based on sexual preference. In a major victory last summer affecting millions of workers, the Federal Civil Service Commission reversed its earlier ruling that gays are unfit for public service. The Supreme Court's action seeks to turn back the clock on these civil liberties gains.

This is the latest in a series of court decisions whittling away at the Bill of Rights. In other recent actions the court has:

- barred antiwar and socialist candidates from speaking on military bases (see news story, page 26);
- allowed shopping center owners to prohibit picketing of stores on their property;
- allowed hospitals receiving federal funds to refuse to perform abortions;
- upheld a California law against hiring immigrant workers without papers, the so-called illegal aliens; and
- allowed police, government agencies, and congressional committees to publicly label as "criminals" people who have never been convicted of any crime.

The court's antigay ruling was condemned as "a blow to civil liberties" by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president. In a statement released March 30, the socialist candidates said:

"We agree with gay rights leaders and civil libertarians, who have expressed shock and outrage at this decision, that the government has no legitimate business whatsoever intruding into the private lives of citizens.

"The portrayal of homosexuals as criminals by virtue of their sexual preference lays the basis for discrimination faced by gays in housing, employment, public accommodations, the military, and every other major institution of this society.

"We support full equal rights for gays and urge passage of the amendments before Congress to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which would broaden its scope to outlaw discrimination in employment, education, public services and facilities, and federally funded projects on the basis of affectional or sexual preference."

Halt aid to Israel!

Nine Palestinians have been gunned down or beaten to death by Israeli authorities since mid-March—three on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, and six inside Israel's pre-1967 borders.

These atrocities are Tel Aviv's response to mounting Arab protests against the ongoing Zionist land grab aimed at driving more and more Palestinians from their homeland.

Following the step-up in Zionist repression against West Bank Palestinians last month, several members of the United Nations Security Council submitted a mildly worded statement "deploring" Israel's actions. On March 25 the United States cast the sole "no" vote on this resolution. Even Washington's close allies in London, Paris, Rome, and Tokyo voted "yes."

William Scranton, the new U.S. representative at the UN, explained that the resolution "would not help" U.S. efforts to "reach peace in the Middle East."

The truth is that U.S. support for Israel poses the greatest *war threat* to the Arab East. Any nagging doubts on this score should have evaporated March 15 when top CIA officials revealed that Israel possesses ten to twenty nuclear bombs "ready and available for use." Large quantities of U.S. dollars and Pentagon know-how undoubtedly made this deadly "achievement" possible.

Who will be the first victim of Israel's nuclear blackmail? Lebanon's embattled Moslem majority? Syria? Egypt? Jordan? Iraq?

The American people must demand that Washington cut off all military and financial support to the Israeli colonial-settler regime, whose very existence is founded on a gigantic injustice to the Palestinian masses.

Letters

A new kind of union?

Presently unions are organized on the basis of trade and of industry, but what about a union organized by commercial area or building space?

Consider the inherent possibilities of a building union or block union, perhaps of secretaries and clerks. A union organized with the building as its organizational basis could organize the smaller and larger businesses.

It would incorporate just those people presently hard to organize. It would have an adequately large membership to countervail the capitalist superstructure of banks and insurance companies who own the buildings. The unions would still maintain the traditional forms of union protest—strikes, picket lines, etc.

*J. Ellis Johnson
Chamblee, Georgia*

Rights for Portuguese gays

As the *Militant* has consistently explained, the unprecedented working-class upsurge in Portugal has thrust new layers of the oppressed and exploited into struggle.

One sector that the bourgeois press has completely blacked out is that of Portugal's homosexuals.

An issue of *Gay News Germany* reports that the Gay Revolutionary Movement of Portugal published a manifesto at the onset of the Portuguese revolution and is now making a series of demands.

Among them are demands that homosexuals no longer be treated as criminals, that police be forbidden to arrest homosexuals, that homosexuals be allowed to freely congregate in public, and that men who want to live together as couples be no longer discriminated against.

*Stuart Russell
Montréal, Québec, Canada*

L.A. police terror

Cops have a license to kill here in Los Angeles.

Close to a hundred Blacks and Chicanos were shot dead in the last year and a half. There have been no indictments and no arrests. The killer-cops still walk the streets—with pay.

Two of the most recent murders sparked a protest meeting of Blacks and Chicanos March 19 at the Inner City Cultural Center.

The first murder: Barry Evans, seventeen, a Black community activist from Pacoima killed by Los Angeles cop Arthur Rumble on February 10.

The second victim: Jimmy Blando, twenty-one, a Chicano shot thirteen times by a trigger-happy Los Angeles cop.

The meeting of 100 was chaired by Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., veteran civil rights leader and chairman of the Citizens Committee for Improved Police Community Relations. Rev. James Lawson of the Holman Methodist Church spoke as well.

Manuel Barrera, speaking for the Student Coalition Against Racism, said: "There was only one crime committed in the cases of Jimmy Blando and Barry Evans, as in all these cases. That was murder.

"The Student Coalition Against Racism says that the officers who shot Jimmy and Barry should be indicted and brought to trial for murder in the first degree."

He linked these murders to a racist offensive that includes attacks on school desegregation and urged everyone to participate in the Los Angeles April 4 memorial march and rally for Martin Luther King.

Linda Ferguson from the Los Angeles chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers announced that her organization was planning to file a wrongful-death suit against the Los Angeles Police Department for the murder of Barry Evans.

The murder of Jimmy Blando is under investigation. This nightmarish murder was described by Jimmy's brother, Raphael Vásquez. Blando thought he was being followed. He got a knife. He called the police to help him.

According to witnesses, Blando was standing still—with the knife in his hand—when a cop emptied his revolver into him from six feet away.

When he fell to the ground, the cop reloaded and again emptied his gun into Jimmy. Then Jimmy was handcuffed.

Among the endorsers of the meeting was the NAACP. Other speakers included DeWayne "Waheeb" Williams, a student at California State Northridge who was assaulted by five cops; Michele Sims, sister-in-law of Gary Tyler; Pierre Mandel, of the Coalition for Economic Survival; and a representative from the Equal Rights Movement Coalition.

There was sentiment for future actions, and a planning meeting was called.

*David Prince
Los Angeles, California*

Salute from prison

This paper has been life to me. I hope more people will read it.

*A prisoner
Illinois*

New Jersey cutbacks

On March 17 a rally was held here at Rutgers University in Newark to protest the cutbacks in education.

About 150 participants braved a blustery day to hear speakers from a wide range of community, campus, civil rights, and political organizations.

Buster Soares of Operation PUSH welcomed the rally. Student senators from various colleges spoke. Dr. Jean-Pierre of the Rutgers Black studies department told about the massive layoffs that professors face.

Richie Ariza from the Young Socialist Alliance emphasized the effectiveness of mass demonstrations that engage large numbers of students and supporters in protests to pressure those who are threatening all rights to higher education.

A Black woman from Essex County College, calling herself the oldest student in the world, gave an inspiring presentation urging students and others to organize, march, demonstrate, and fight for a decent education. She was given a warm ovation.

*Sam Chetta
Newark, New Jersey*

Military banned by students

The Associated Students Council of San Diego State University voted March 24 to condemn discrimination against gay students by military recruiters.

Voting twenty-one to four, the council suspended recruiters from using Associated Students facilities, including the Aztec Center. They also called for creation of a "blue-ribbon commission" to consider whether university President Brage Golding

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Mutiny against the pope

The Catholic church's crusade against women's liberation is leading to mutiny in the ranks, according to a new study just released by the National Opinion Research Center.

The study, an update of a 1963 survey done on Catholic attitudes, found that the pope's condemnation of birth control has been "both a failure and an organizational and religious disaster."

The majority of Catholics have rejected for some time now the outrageous notion that the pope has the right to tell them how to control their own bodies. Eighty-three percent of Catholics support birth control, according to this new study.

The *New York Times*, in a survey of New Jersey residents published March 25, found that more than 60 percent of Catholics support legal abortion.

These attitudes exist despite an intensified campaign by the church against legal abortion, through pronouncements from the pope, anti-abortion demonstrations, and the presidential election campaign of "right-to-lifer" Ellen McCormack.

Catholics are not only disobeying papal decrees on birth control; they are defecting in large numbers from many church beliefs and institutions, the study found.

The pope's rantings against abortion and other rights of women have "seriously impaired the credibility and authority of the papacy," says the study, "leading to sharp decline in mass attendance. . . ."

In fact, that old myth about "papal infallibility" is today believed by only 37 percent of Catholics.

Remarriage after divorce is now approved by 73 percent of Catholics.

The number attending monthly confession has plummeted from 38 percent in 1963 to 17 percent today.

Those who pray daily have dropped from 72 percent to 60 percent.

The church has even been hit where it hurts most—

the pocketbook. Contributions to the church in the United States are down by \$1.7 billion.

* * *

Every woman who has tried to get office work through a job agency has gone through the degrading experience of being interviewed.

The interviewer looks you up and down, studies your clothes, stares at your hair style, and examines your makeup. You know your job eligibility is being determined by your looks, but you also know you can't do much about it.

Women Office Workers (WOW), a New York-based organization, has done an exposé of these sexist, rip-off agencies. On March 4, WOW released its report on the rampant age and sex discrimination practiced by the employment agencies.

Two WOW investigators, one a young, attractive woman, the other a fifty-year-old woman, visited ten job agencies. The women had exactly the same skills. But while the young woman was showered with job offers, the older woman was offered only the worst jobs, or no job at all. One interviewer even told her to do something to "look younger."

WOW also had telephone calls made to agencies, asking for "a good-looking chick" to be hired as a secretary. Sixty-eight percent of the companies promised to do their best. "I won't send you any dogs," was one chauvinist response. "I understand what you're saying and I can fit the bill—an airline stewardess type," replied another.

WOW has filed complaints against this discriminatory treatment with the State Division of Human Rights against the New York State Employment Service, Snelling and Snelling, Key Employment, Kellogg Employment Service, Aavis Personnel Associates, and Cosmopolitan Girl.

should ban recruiters from the campus entirely.

The council blasted "this discrimination by the Department of Defense's military recruiters as being in conflict with accepted Associated Students hiring and employment practices."

For on-campus organizations, the council adopted a policy requiring nondiscrimination with regard to "sexual orientation."

The council acted in response to complaints by the SDSU Gay Students Union and many other campus organizations.

*San Diego State Gay Students Union
San Diego, California*

Keeping in touch

I'm an ex-member of the Young Socialist Alliance who still wants to keep in touch with radical American politics. I find your paper leaves nothing to be desired.

*Steve Raulerson
Montréal, Québec, Canada*

Police chief kills Chicano

Gilberto Ramos was recently gunned down by a Union City, Ohio, police chief. The police chief claims he saw a shiny item in Ramos's hand—a gun possibly.

After he had been killed, no gun was found.

The police chief, Devaun Rinard, was charged with interfering with the civil rights of Gilberto—the right to live and breathe.

The U.S. prosecutor in his closing statement called the killing a "senseless act" and said that Rinard's actions were not those of a law officer, but of someone "meting out justice as he saw it."

This is a case of justice by men rather than law.

The jury of ten men and two women—all white—acquitted the police chief. Do we really have courts of law and courts of justice?

*Simon Calvillo
South Bend, Indiana*

Ford's 'compassion'

Gerald Ford, compassionate and caring, wants the whole nation to be inoculated against the Swine Flu—as you heard on coast-to-coast radio and television recently—because that flu has killed one U.S. GI in the last year.

I only wish he gave the same compassion to the two U.S. marines in training who were killed while undergoing physical and mental stress—by their fellow Americans—which was part of their "conditioning," supposedly to habituate them to brainwashing and tiger-cage conditions.

Gerald Ford has his priorities in the wrong order.

It is my opinion that the U.S. marines, the FBI, and the CIA belong in the same bag—they should be "deep-sexed" once and for all.

*C. Saral
Los Angeles, California*

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

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



A victory for 'illegals'

A federal district court ruled recently that state disability benefits in California cannot be withheld from an otherwise qualified person merely because they are "illegal."

The state of California had been trying to bilk Rigoberto Ayala out of his benefits by claiming that he is an "illegal alien." Ayala had paid taxes into the state disability fund for four years.

His case is typical of many undocumented workers who are cheated every day out of basic rights just because they are "illegals."

Addressing itself to some of these abuses, the Los Angeles County Bar Association declared in a March 4 report that undocumented workers are being denied due process in the courts, to which, according to the Constitution, they are fully entitled.

The bar association also made a number of recommendations to eliminate the abuses. If implemented, they would be a real step forward for undocumented workers.

The association recommended the establishment of independent immigration courts and the right to counsel. It urged that attorneys be furnished at government expense for those too poor to afford them. The bar association also recommended that "probable cause" be established prior to an arrest; that defendants be informed of their rights; and that illegally obtained evidence be excluded from court.

Currently, the immigration service ignores all of these rights, which many of us take for granted, in its treatment of undocumented workers. The justification seems to be that "illegals" are somehow not entitled to human rights.

Mexicanos are subjected to arrest without cause in mass sweeps, and to group "trials" without counsel, in

which their fates are decided by immigration officials instead of a court of law.

The bar association called for an end to the mass arrests and to immigration checkpoints except at the border.

The bar association also took a progressive step by opposing laws making it illegal to hire undocumented workers. The Rodino bill, currently before Congress, would be one of these laws.

The association said that "such a system of sanctions would throw the heaviest burden upon 'foreign looking' citizens and legal residents, who would probably be refused employment out of fear of violating the proposed criminal provisions."

The use of identification such as a Social Security card to weed out "illegals" was also opposed.

The lawyers' group also recommended that a statute of limitations once again be applied to deportations. In 1891, the bar association pointed out, a person who had been in the country for a year could no longer be deported. Later this period was extended to five years, and subsequently it was eliminated.

This recommendation goes in the right direction, but why stop at 1891? Why not go back to 1849, when California was still part of Mexico, and *mexicanos* didn't need the permission of *gringos* to travel back and forth in their own country?

Better yet, why not go back to 1776 and reaffirm the ideals of equality for all human beings in the Declaration of Independence? I don't recall any phrase in that document that says basic human rights are inapplicable to Mexicans.

Immigrants without papers are human beings too. They must work to live, and their labor is as valuable as that of any citizen. They are no less deserving of full civil rights.

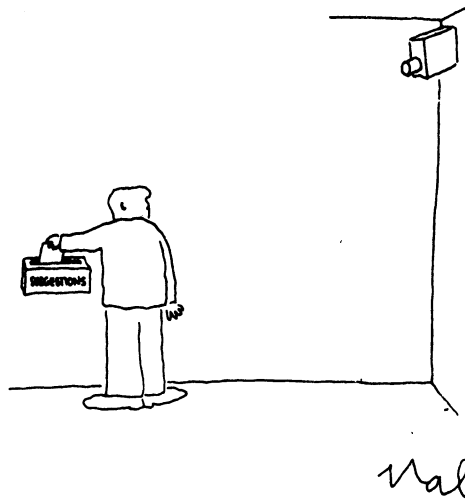


What life?—Ultra Brite (“How’s your love life?”) and at least seven other toothpastes contain chloroform, which may cause cancer. A Nader group is seeking a court order to get the stuff confiscated. The FDA says it’s already “developing” a ban, but doesn’t know how long it will take. Meanwhile, Ultra Brite could be recommended for insomniacs.

Get in there and take it—The Kentucky legislature voted down a proposal to include a “none-of-the-above” lever on voting machines. One representative declared, “It would allow the voter to walk into the booth and cop out.”

Like a whipped taxpayer—Concerned with the state of the nation, a Baptist evangelist is crawling on his knees from Texas to Washington, D.C., as a spiritual example for the rest of us. If he can make it to the back of the congressional restaurant, they might toss him a bone.

Progress report—The Western States Advertising Agency Association has changed its Man of the Year Award to Advertising Award of the Year. “The designation of two women as recipients this year,” a spokesperson explained, “made the Man of the Year title a glaring non sequitur.”



Thick sip—The National Drinks Bottling Company of Los Angeles (Dr. Pepper, Squirt, Orange Crush) was found to be peddling beverages that included cardboard particles, glass fragments, mold, and dead insects. One diabetic became ill on a “sugar free” drink that wasn’t. The company was fined a fast \$20,000 and told not to do it any more.

Sharp—David Pieper, winner of a Lincoln, Nebraska, high school’s Betty Crocker Search for Leadership contest, says it wasn’t that big a deal. “I put down what I thought they wanted for answers,” he explained, “not what I thought the answers should be.”

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



The fight to save Hostos

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party’s candidate for U.S. Congress from New York’s Eighteenth Congressional District.]

Eugenio María de Hostos Community College is in New York’s South Bronx. It is one of a handful of bilingual/bicultural colleges in the United States, and the only one in New York City.

As part of the continuing rampage against vital human services in this crisis-ridden city, New York’s Board of Higher Education has said it is considering a proposal to eliminate Hostos. This is the kind of action the rich bankers and politicians call “saving” New York.

But Hostos students, professors, and the surrounding community have a better idea of what should be saved—they are engaged in a militant struggle to save Hostos.

Hostos Community College was born in struggle during 1968-69, when residents of the South Bronx fought for the establishment of a college in their neighborhood. The college was established to service the Hispanic community with special bilingual programs and to prepare people to work at the new Lincoln Hospital just a few blocks away.

The significance of this institution to the

Spanish-speaking community in the South Bronx and throughout New York means little to the plunderers who would rather cut back educational services than cut into their enormous profits.

But the students and community are fighting back.

On March 25, several hundred occupied the college’s main building and put up a spirited picket line. I went to Hostos to participate in the demonstration and talk to professors, students, and community people who are demanding that Hostos be left open and intact.

Everyone I talked to supported the take-over. “*Es nuestro deber*,” they said. “It’s our duty,” as Hispanics.

Two women from Colombia pointed out to me that Hostos was the only college they could attend and study in Spanish while learning English as a second language.

Another person explained to me how the college inspires the community. “It’s a part of the South Bronx,” she said. “People drop in, and often apply for admission. The average age of the students is between twenty-six and twenty-seven.”

Diane Penner, an assistant professor of physical education, talked to me about the occupied building.

“This building should be here for the use of the community. We were setting up a drop-in clinic here to serve minorities, who have the highest rate of coronary attacks and high blood pressure. There’s a dental clinic upstairs.”

Organizers of the take-over explained that the action was not intended to disrupt classes, but to keep them going. The students have “fired” the college administrators, who, they point out, have played *no role* in keeping Hostos open, and have, in fact, fired militant professors.

When a reporter at a press conference asked student leaders where they expected the money to come from to keep the college open, one Puerto Rican community leader, Evelina Antonetty, exclaimed, “Stop the payments to the banks!”

In this city the American myth of equal opportunity continues to be exposed. “Educate yourself,” they’ve always told us; “It’s your own fault if you don’t make it.” And what do they tell us now as they try to wrest away our hard-won educational gains? They tell us they are “saving New York.”

Students at Hostos are setting a fighting example. It will take an ongoing, united struggle to keep this South Bronx community college open. *Es nuestro deber!* It is our duty—to help them.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The death of a good magazine

CINCINNATI—“Won’t you sign the petition, brother?” a woolly-headed Black man in a waving dashiki asked, thrusting a clipboard at conventioners. “Sign to protest the firing of Hoyt Fuller and the discontinuation of *Black World*.”

The ten-inch bubble that’s building up under California’s San Andreas fault hadn’t suddenly translated itself into readings on the local Richter scale, but it was a shock nonetheless.

“Wha—what? Come again,” individuals responded.

Black World, a nationally known and respected magazine, had been discontinued, and Fuller who became its editor in 1961 after reviving it from the old *Negro Digest*, was fired on March 11.

“The publisher’s public statement is that the magazine was unprofitable,” Fuller said in a telephone interview. “But it was unprofitable because he chose for it to be unprofitable. No effort was made to promote the magazine, to circulate it. He refused even to include a regular subscription blank inside the magazine. No effort was really

made to get *Black World* magazine into libraries.”

John Johnson, who published *Black World*, also puts out *Ebony*, *Jet*, *Black Stars*, and *Ebony Jr.* A publication called *Fashion Fair* will come out instead of *Black World*.

Fuller called Johnson’s poor-mouthing of *Black World*’s profitability, the sole reason given for terminating it, “somewhat disingenuous.”

“There’s no question,” Fuller continued, “that the publisher was responding to complaints from the Jewish community, complaints from certain Blacks who felt that they were being attacked in the magazine, and its whole emphasis on Africa and the problems of Black people all over the world.”

Johnson could not be reached for comment.

The October and November issues of *Black World* contained two articles that most likely annoyed Johnson more than most. Written by editor Fuller, they were sharply critical of Black leadership in general and Black elected officials in particular.

“It is sadly ironic,” Fuller wrote in the November issue, “that, on every notable front, the state of well-

being of ordinary Black people diminishes at the same time as the number of BEO’s increases.”

Fuller had written in the October issue that the Congressional Black Caucus “remains relatively ‘invisible’” and “is not considered seriously as a force in the affairs of the national Black community which so urgently needs attention to its worsening economic and political plight.”

Fuller’s criticisms of BEOs—unprecedented in a magazine put out by such a prominent member of the Black elite—got a wide hearing among some circles of Blacks. His comments were obliquely referred to for ridicule at a national conference of Black elected officials in November.

“The issue,” Fuller says of the termination of *Black World*, “is not Johnson in particular but people like him in general who have gained their power and prestige on the backs of Black people. They have some responsibility to give back to the community something of value.”

“So it’s an old problem. One that’s much bigger than what happened to *Black World*.”

New offensive against workers

Behind military junta's coup in Argentina

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

On March 24 a military coup brought to an end the rule of Isabel Martínez de Perón. The first actions of the junta were to arrest as many as 2,000 persons, institute the death penalty for acts of "sabotage," order "saboteurs" shot on sight, impose a tight censorship on the press, and ban political and trade-union activities.

Rumors of an impending military take-over had been circulating for months.

Francisco Manrique, leader of the conservative Alianza Popular Federalista (Federalist People's Alliance), was quoted by the Bogotá daily *Espectador* as stating on March 23, "Argentina has a dead government that is being dislodged. The country is witnessing the burial of that government."

The political arm of the Peronists in the trade-union movement, the 62 Organizations, warned in a March 23 statement that "a coup at this time is the most irresponsible leap into the void the country could take." Referring to the military's avowed aim of wiping out "subversion," the statement continued, "It could only transform the guerrillas, who today are illegitimate and unpopular, into a legitimate and popular force."

However, neither the 62 Organizations nor the Peronist-controlled union federation, the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor), called for a general strike in the event of a coup. The labor lieutenants of Argentine capitalism evidently hoped to continue in their posts under the junta.

UPI said that an assassination attempt against Army Commander in Chief Jorge Rafael Videla on March 15 was what convinced the military to



Perón's assault on workers did not go far enough for new junta chief Videla



launch the operation.

The Peronist regime was on the brink of defaulting on \$1.1 billion in foreign debts due in May. Attempts to raise the sum through international banking institutions had failed.

Attempts to institute a new austerity program March 5 were met by vigorous resistance on the part of the working class. Retail shopkeepers and other businessmen also protested the Mondelli plan in the days preceding the coup. On March 22 housewives marched through the streets of Mendoza for the second time in a week, banging on pots and pans in protest of the high cost of living.

Such protests had already forced the Peronist regime to back down on some of the stipulations of the austerity plan.

In addition, repressive measures instituted by the Peronist regime were proving insufficient to cow the working class. These measures were not exactly mild. Close to 5,000 "subversives" were in jail. Rightist terror gangs, like the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticomunist Alliance), initiated by the government, had kidnapped and killed hundreds more. During the third week of March, at least thirty students, revolutionists, and trade-union militants were murdered by such gangs.

Finally, the gravity of the economic crisis and the regime's inability to make any headway against it had led to increasing fragmentation of the Peronist movement and to growing disaffection among labor's ranks with the Peronist union bureaucracy.

The coup itself took place smoothly. The Caracas daily *El Nacional* reported March 25 that more than 200,000 military and police personnel participated.

Trade unionists arrested

Immediately following the seizure of power, the military moved to arrest top bureaucrats of the Peronist trade unions and other government functionaries. Lorenzo Miguel, general secretary of the 62 Organizations; Labor Minister Miguel Unamuno; Osvaldo Papaleo, Perón's press secretary; and Julio González, the president's private secretary, were reported being held in the Patricios regimental headquarters in the capital.

Arrest warrants were out for other top figures associated with the Peronist regime.

As of March 25, the military continued to refuse all comments on the arrests, the March 26 London *Times* reported.

However, continued the *Times*, "arrests throughout the country, which began as the tanks rolled into Buenos Aires on Wednesday morning, were reliably reported to be continuing on a large scale. In the industrial city of Córdoba it was reported that hundreds

were arrested last night."

The paper cited estimates of 500 to 2,000 arrests since the coup, many of them prominent figures in the Peronist apparatus.

A Communist party headquarters in downtown Buenos Aires was raided by troops who opened fire on the building March 24. At least three persons were arrested, one of whom was wounded in the raid.

Similar raids were reported on the headquarters of trade unions known for their militancy.

Within hours of the take-over, a three-man military junta was sworn in. Its members are Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, Adm. Emilio Eduardo Massera, and Brig. Orlando Ramón Agosti—commanders in chief, respectively, of the army, navy, and air force.

The junta was recognized by the United States, Spain, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Chile before the day was over.

Demonstrations banned

All street demonstrations were banned; all essential public services were placed under military control; all workplaces were defined as "objectives of military interest," thus making interference with them an act of "sabotage"; civilians were ordered to hand over all arms and explosives within forty-eight hours or face ten years imprisonment; all banking transactions and monetary exchange were suspended; all shortwave radio operators were banned from the air; all public gatherings for entertainment were prohibited; and the population was requested to stay off the streets

after dark to help the junta maintain "the necessary levels of security."

Throughout all of this, the press reported only occasional shots fired and only three casualties—two individuals injured in raids on the CP and metalworkers union headquarters, and Roberto Alberte, a nephew of Juan Perón who was reported by the Rome daily *Corriere della Sera* to have died in an attempt to escape arrest.

Shops were open for business as usual and all factories were reported operating normally with the exception of some in Córdoba. There, auto workers in some plants walked off the job, according to a March 24 Associated Press dispatch.

The following day, UPI reported some sniper fire directed at police near the university in Córdoba.

Internationally, the bourgeois press agreed on the nature of the tasks facing the military junta in the months ahead. The March 25 *Wall Street Journal* put it quite succinctly:

"The junta's major task, besides stopping terrorism by both the left and the right, will be reviving an economy plagued by 423% inflation, lagging productivity, declining foreign currency reserves and a \$1 billion payments deficit."

No easy job

To accomplish the economic miracle, the junta will have to force down the standard of living of the Argentine masses to abysmal levels. Faced with one of the most highly organized and combative working classes in the world, the junta will have no easy job on its hands.

The March 27 issue of the *Economist* reported, "General Videla has told his officers that he wants no bloodshed, no firing squads." Such assurances are not likely to be honored for long. To impose the Mondelli plan or some other austerity plan will require the use of heavy repression. This is one of the reasons that moved the bourgeoisie to put the military in power.

The lengths to which the junta is prepared to go are indicated by the fact that part of the advance planning included moving troops into the factories. In his March 22 dispatch to the *New York Times*, Juan de Onis said:

"The military authorities are reported to be planning to occupy factories where there is resistance from left-wing militants who have been striking against feeble attempts by Mrs. Perón's government to impose wage restraints and price controls."

Prisoners

Prior to the March 24 coup, fifteen members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) were among the estimated 5,000 political prisoners held in Argentine prisons. Owing to the strict censorship, there is as yet no word of their fate, or of whether additional PST members have been arrested.

Although the PST militants have been kept in jail since 1974 in some instances, only two of them have actually been tried. The rest are being held under the state of siege provisions, which means they can be detained indefinitely without charges.

The PST members in prison are Luisa Segura, arrested November 6, 1974; José María Fernández, arrested March 20, 1975; Juan Llanos, arrested November 1974; Juan Carlos López Osornio, arrested March 22, 1975; Rosendo López, arrested July 7, 1975; Angel Carusso, arrested April 1975; Juan Carlos Herrero, arrested July 1975; Juan Carlos Gilli, arrested October 1975; Osvaldo Caldú, arrested November 1975; José Dante Gianmarini, arrested January 1, 1976; Isabel Mercedes Morillas, arrested November 26, 1975; José Francisco Páez, arrested January 27, 1976; and Jorge Sprovieri, Conrado Marzoca, and Analía Di Giovanni, all arrested February 11, 1976.

Política Obrera, another group in Argentina that proclaims its adherence to Trotskyism, had seven members in prison as of the end of 1975. They are Jorge Perretti, Jorge Gelman, Mauro Dobruskin, Edgardo Bilsky, Nestor Horacio Correa, Diana Cuatrocchi, and Bernardo Gallitelli.

U.S. protest demonstration



One hundred people picketed Argentine Airlines in New York City March 27 demanding: 'End the state of siege in Argentina'; 'Free all political prisoners'; and 'End U.S. aid to Argentina.' Action was sponsored by United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People, among others.

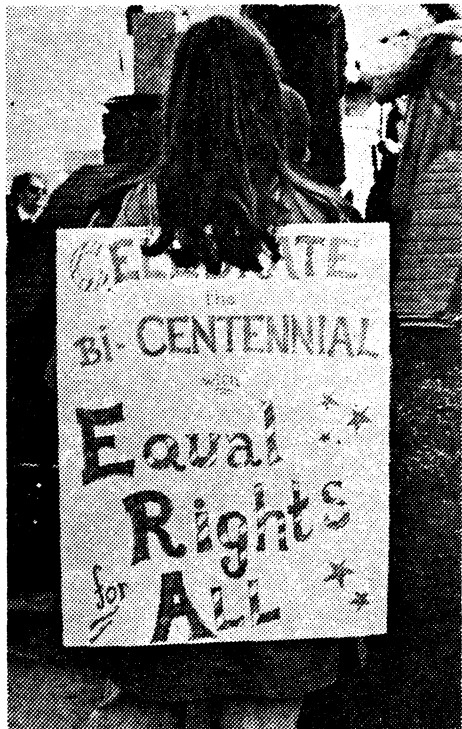
CLUW organizes union support

III. NOW steps up plans for national ERA rally

By Suzanne Haig

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The Illinois National Organization for Women held a Skills and Planning Conference here on March 27. More than 100 women from thirteen NOW chapters discussed plans for the May 15-16 National Rally for Equal Rights.

The May activities, called by NOW,



Militant/Martha Harris
May 16 ERA mobilization will say, '200 years are enough, ratify the ERA!'

will culminate in a national demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) on May 16 in Springfield, the capital of Illinois. The women's rights amendment is pending before the state senate after having been ratified by the house of representatives.

"We are going to cover this state with people who are telling the nation that ERA has to be part of the Constitution," Mary-Ann Lupa, Illinois NOW ERA coordinator, told conference participants.

Eleanor Smeal, chairperson of the NOW national board, emphasized the need to build a national ERA movement that will continue after the May 16 march.

Support for the demonstration is blossoming across the country, reported Mary Jean Collins, chairperson of NOW's national steering committee for the rally. She cited the endorsement of the Coalition of Labor Union Women's national executive board as a particularly important step forward for the action.

A steering committee meeting of CLUW leaders recently met in Chicago to discuss plans to mobilize union participation. Among the unions represented at the meeting were the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Amalgamated Meatcutters; and United Auto Workers (UAW). CLUW will be sharing a national May 16 mobiliza-

tion office with NOW in Chicago.

Union support has also come from American Federation of Government Employees Local 1395, UAW Local 152, AFSCME Local 2000, and the UAW's Region 4 Women's Committee, which covers Illinois, Iowa, and Indiana.

In addition, the Detroit NAACP has endorsed May 16.

Collins reported that March 8 International Women's Day rallies were held in Minneapolis, St. Louis, Atlanta, and elsewhere to accelerate support for the national march. She announced plans in Los Angeles and the Bay Area of California for solidarity actions on the weekend of May 16. California also plans to send a Chicano delegation to Springfield. From the East Coast, ERA supporters will fill a Freedom Train bound for Springfield.

"This issue and mobilization," Collins said, "has captured the imagination of people all over the country. . . . These right-wing forces we are mobilizing against are against any change. They don't like equal rights in general and the ERA in particular. They are the people who have stopped progress since the first American Revolution. We need the solidarity of all the support we can get from any organization around the country."

Also speaking were Peg Blazer from the Illinois League of Women Voters; a representative from Federally Employed Women; Maureen Rogman, Illinois

NOW state coordinator; and Morag Fulilove, vice-chairwoman of the Illinois Women's Political Caucus.

Fulilove described the Illinois senators who are now considering the ERA. "There are fifty-nine state senators," she said, "half of what is here in this room. They are smaller than we are, and probably less representative."

The composition of the senate, she continued, is 50 percent lawyers, 20 percent undertakers, 3 to 4 percent car dealers, and "a scattered number who can't make it in business so they ran for office."

During the afternoon, conference participants attended workshops on recruitment to the May 16 rally, legislative work for May 15, marshaling, media work, transportation, housing, and fund raising.

Cathy Gutekanst, Campus Task Force coordinator for the ERA, reported on plans to contact Illinois campus women's studies departments, women's liberation groups, and student governments to organize buses and May 16 buildup events.

On the same day as the NOW conference, gay women met in Chicago to form "Lesbians for the ERA." They will organize gay support for the national rally.

For further information on May 16, contact the Rally for Equal Rights office at 5 S. Wabash, Suite 1614, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Telephone: (312) 236-4075.

NOW vs. STOP ERA

Do women need the Equal Rights Amendment?

By Ginny Hildebrand

NEW YORK—On March 26 the Brooklyn Militant Forum hosted a debate on the Equal Rights Amendment. Dianne Feeley, a member of the National Organization for Women, spoke for the ERA. Meg Katz, "chairman" of New York City STOP ERA, argued against the women's rights amendment.

"The ERA would have the effect of guaranteeing that the rights embedded in the Constitution are applied equally to women and men," Feeley began.

For instance, she continued, it would void laws that currently bar women from certain occupations, set higher entrance requirements for women at state universities, and prevent married women from engaging in business transactions without their husbands' consent.

Meg Katz introduced her remarks by boasting, "Now you're looking at a woman who considers herself a truly liberated woman." Her "liberated woman" credentials include membership in the auxiliary police force.

The specter of Congress enforcing an Equal Rights Amendment, Katz said, reminds her of "Big Brother 1984."

"We women have all of our rights," she insisted.

Katz lashed out against Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which women have been using to fight job discrimination: "What did Title VII do to the women of this country that was so wonderful? It removed all of the work protective laws. . . ."

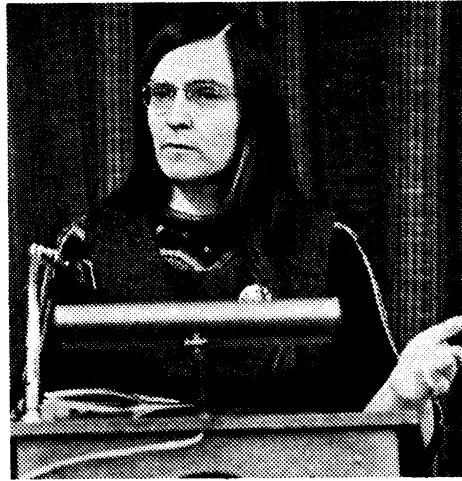
Feeley explained that women have been challenging "protective laws" because "employers have used the laws to refuse to hire women, or to ghettoize them into certain areas of the plant—usually the lower-paying jobs." She explained that the ERA can help to end the "functional discrimination" of these laws if the women's and labor movements insist that equality be achieved "by extending beneficial protective laws to cover all workers."



KATZ: 'Stop ERA!'

Turning to the affect of the ERA on the family, Katz stated, "The Equal Rights Amendment will take away the man's being forced to support his wife and children. This is an attack on the family unit."

Feeley found that one easy to answer. "The so-called wife-support, alimony, and child-support laws are very meager and unenforceable," she ex-



FEELEY: 'Ratify ERA!'

plained. "The family is being destroyed not by the ERA, but by economic pressures that most families cannot withstand."

Another topic was the draft.

ERA means "that all women must go into combat," Katz asserted.

Feeley reminded her opponent that a massive anti-Vietnam War movement forced the government to end the draft.

Meg Katz: 'freethinker' or right-winger?

"One of the things that I've resented about the pro- and anti-ERA fight," Meg Katz bristled at the Militant Forum, "is that someone, somewhere, started saying that if you're against the ERA, you're to the right. . . . I am a freethinker," she insisted. "I go from very far liberal to very far conservative depending upon the particular issue."

Oh, yeah? What are your views on the unions, someone asked her.

"I'm not antiunion," she protested. But, she added, in New York "the unions are making demands

that are unrealistic. And we are in a grave right now, and they are going to shovel the dirt in on top of us."

"If unions go the way they're going, they're going to kill the nation," she said.

How about abortion?

"I'm for allowing abortions in some cases," she said. Which cases? The same ones that receive dispensation from most "right-to-lifers"—pregnancies caused by rape or that endanger a woman's life.

Maybe she does better on Black rights?

She thinks so. "I have a lot of friends who are Black," she boasted.

And, she added, the massive antiwar and antidraft sentiment "is the best protection against a new draft or any kind of involvement in imperialist wars."

Summing up her opposition to the ERA, Katz emphasized that since men and women are biologically different, they are unequal. "No matter how much we yell and scream and try to change laws, it's still a man's world until a man can have a baby." Then she chortled, "But until a man can have a baby, he is not equal to me."

Feeley summed up her view. "As we fight for our equal rights," she said, "we also begin to understand the institutional structures that oppress women in this country. We're taught that you can't fight the big institutions. But I think that building a movement to pass the ERA will teach people, especially women, that it is possible to change things and the way to do it is to get together and organize a massive fight."

Feeley ended by urging all ERA supporters to come to the May 16 national ERA march in Springfield, Illinois, to "answer the right-wing anti-ERA forces."

A little later, she forgot her "friends" and remembered that one of the reasons she's against the ERA is that "'Equal' does not mean separate but equal. It means equal. And you better realize this," she continued. "The word 'equal' is what made school busing possible."

"As far as integration is concerned," she innocently grinned, "I don't know what it means. . . . If you mean living next to each other, etc., down the line, I am not against this at all." Then she parenthetically added, "If they can afford to pay for the rent."

East Coast NOW holds ERA rally

By Dianne Feeley

HARTFORD, Conn.—“Two, four, six, eight, Ratify in every state!” was the chant of hundreds of women here March 20 at a spirited rally for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), sponsored by the National Organization for Women. The rally was part of NOW's eastern regional conference held March 19-21, attended by 500 women from New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

Eleanor Smeal, chairperson of NOW's national board, spoke at the rally and urged women to build broad support for the national ERA demonstration NOW has called for Springfield, Illinois, on May 16. She warned that the ERA will not be won without a fight. ERA supporters should be prepared to march not only on May 16, but beyond, she said—in Missouri, Indiana, and other states that have not yet ratified the amendment.

Wilma Scott Heide, past president of NOW, also addressed the rally. Currently a resident of Boston, Heide spoke out in support of busing there and condemned the participation of women in the racist organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). ROAR's leadership has not only spearheaded the attacks on desegregation, but is virulently anti-ERA and anti-abortion as well.

The majority of women attending the conference were young. They participated in a variety of workshops on topics that included an introduction to feminism, abortion, Black women, older women, and women in the elections.

The ERA workshop discussed how NOW's East Coast chapters can mobilize support for the May 16 Illinois demonstration. Participants exchanged ideas on how to reach out to labor, campuses, civil rights organizations, and other feminist groups to win their active support.

Alice Cohan, NOW's eastern regional director for May 16, reported on the “ERA Freedom Train,” which will carry pro-ERA demonstrators from the East Coast to Illinois. Two trains will leave simultaneously from New York and Washington, D.C., on May 14, picking up demonstrators along the way. The trains will link up in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and continue on to Chicago.

The freedom train is an idea adapted from the “Jailbird Special” of the suffrage movement. This train was filled with suffragists recently released from prison, who toured the country, stopping in major cities to speak on the struggle for the right to vote.

At the final plenary session, women voted to organize ERA demonstrations on August 26.

Many women at the conference expressed enthusiasm about marching in the April 24 demonstration in Boston, called to support desegregation and protest attacks on the Black community there. Discussion focused on building a women's contingent in the probusing march as an answer to Louise Day Hicks and other racist leaders who claim to speak for women.

Many NOW members stopped by the Pathfinder Press literature table during the conference to purchase books on feminism and on Marxism, and to discuss the socialist view of the women's liberation struggle. There was special interest in the *Militant*, whose front-page headline denounced racist terror against Blacks in Louisville. Forty-four women bought introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Hampton suit

Gov't caught withholding evidence

By Charles Jackson

CHICAGO—The Justice Department has withheld some 14,000 pages of documentary evidence from the plaintiffs in the *Hampton vs. Hanrahan* civil rights suit, despite a Jan. 5 court order to make such documents available, it was revealed in court here this week.

The documents, whose existence was disclosed March 24, include FBI files on the Black Panther party and Fred Hampton.

U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Perry, who had ordered FBI records turned over to the plaintiffs, called the cover-up “a clear violation of my earlier order.”

The \$47.7 million civil rights suit was filed by the families of murdered Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and by the survivors of the December 4, 1969, predawn police raid on a West Side apartment in which Hampton and Clark were slain. It names thirty-three federal, state, and local officials as defendants.

The suit claims that the FBI, as part of its Cointelpro plot against the Black movement, conspired with Chicago cops under the command of then State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan to stage the raid in order to murder the leadership of the Black Panther party in Chicago.

The existence of the suppressed files was discovered accidentally during testimony by FBI agent Roy Mitchell. Mitchell was the “control” agent for informer William O'Neal, who functioned as a provocateur within the party and supplied the FBI with a floor plan of the Hampton apartment shortly before the December 4 raid.

During his testimony, Mitchell alluded to an incident O'Neal had told



Militant/Brian Shannon

Family of slain Black Panther party leader Fred Hampton (above) charges FBI plotted his murder.

him about. James Montgomery, an attorney for the plaintiffs, demanded to know whether Mitchell's information was contained in a document. He told Judge Perry he was surprised by the testimony, since all evidence was already supposed to have been made available. At a special hearing on the matter, held with the jury absent, Perry ordered the U.S. attorney, with the assistance of the FBI, to bring into court all the files on the Black Panther party.

On March 24, the documents were wheeled into court in four large carts. A court clerk estimated that, if they were all stacked up, they would form a pile thirty feet tall.

All new testimony in the case has been postponed until Judge Perry can

review the documents.

Attorney Montgomery said he is considering asking for contempt-of-court citations against the government and filing for a declaration of mistrial.

Meanwhile, support for the plaintiffs has continued to grow. The courtroom has been filled with sympathetic observers.

The December Fourth Committee, which has been organizing support and publicizing the case, held a successful benefit here on March 25. Entertainment was provided by Phil Cohran and the Black Music Workshop, the Darlene Blackburn Dance Troupe, comedian Herb Jupert, and poets Walter Bradford and Lela Mannan (Sonia Sánchez). More than 300 people attended.

New attack against J.B. Johnson

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—Police and media here have seized upon the February 22 shooting of two white University City, Missouri, policemen to launch a campaign aimed at prejudicing public opinion against the six-year struggle of J.B. Johnson to clear himself of racist frame-up charges.

Johnson, twenty-six, is a Black man accused of being an accomplice in a January 1970 jewelry store robbery and the related shooting of a white University City cop.

The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson won a major victory in its efforts to stop the frame-up of Johnson when, on February 16, Missouri Supreme Court Chief Judge Robert Seiler ordered St. Louis County Circuit Judge William Corrigan not to begin Johnson's trial the next day.

Corrigan had previously denied defense motions that Johnson's trial be delayed because Johnson's chief defense lawyer, nationally prominent civil liberties attorney William Kunstler, could not be present due to commitments in a Connecticut murder trial.

Just six days after the ruling, Patrolman Francis Graham was fatally shot and Patrolman Joseph Didden seriously wounded when they were sent to investigate a family disturbance at the home of Lenwood Cole, a Black man.

Police officials immediately sought to link this shooting to the case of J.B. Johnson.

An article about the shooting in the February 23 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, for example, noted that “police made frequent reference last night to the extra care with which the case was being handled. In addition they made frequent reference to a major reason for that extra care: the fact that the Missouri Supreme Court recently over-

turned the conviction of a man found guilty as an accomplice in the killing of another University City policeman. . . .”

The article went on to explain that Graham was the third University City cop “killed in the line of duty,” mentioning the name of J.B. Johnson but not those of any others accused. The article also failed to mention the

name of Robert Lee Walker, the man convicted for the robbery-shooting in which Johnson is accused of being an accomplice. Walker has signed a sworn affidavit stating that he never knew or heard of Johnson until after the robbery.

The *Globe-Democrat*, St. Louis's morning daily, carried similar coverage of the Graham shooting.

This biased news treatment has been coupled with a well-orchestrated campaign of “spontaneously organized” public sympathy for the family of Francis Graham. Schoolchildren are being sent door to door through University City collecting funds. The funeral motorcade for officer Graham, which included squad cars from many area police departments, wound for hours through the streets of University City and adjacent areas in St. Louis County.

The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson issued a statement in response to the biased character of media coverage of the Graham shooting.

“The University City police are quite conscious of the fact that the case of J.B. Johnson is a total frame-up likely to fall apart in the second trial,” the committee charged. “They are trying to use the death of Frank Graham to prejudice jurors.”

“The death of officer Graham and the frame-up of J.B. Johnson are two different incidents,” the statement continued. “However, what has happened to J.B. Johnson and his family is also a tragedy—a tragedy perpetrated by the University City Police Department. One tragedy should not be used to compound and confuse another.”

The second trial of J.B. Johnson is expected to begin in late April.



General strike stuns Israel

Zionists gun down Palestinian protesters

By David Frankel

March 31—The biggest mass upsurge of the Palestinian people since the 1936-39 rebellion against British colonial rule spread yesterday from the Israeli-occupied West Bank to the Arab towns of northern Israel.

Demonstrations protesting the racist policies of the Israeli-colonial settler-state erupted in more than a dozen towns. Israeli troops and police repeatedly opened fire on the demonstrators, killing six and wounding dozens more.

In Nazareth, the largest Arab town in Israel, with a population of 43,000, a strike by shopkeepers was reported to have completely shut down commerce. According to *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith, "A group of green-uniformed border guards appeared to panic when stones were hurled at them from roofs in the eastern quarter of the town. Shouting and waving their nightsticks they charged through the streets beating any Arab they could find."

"At one point, the enraged guards attacked the home of the recently elected Mayor, Toufik Zayad, a Communist, smashing windows and doors and beating several members of his family and friends who had gathered there."

Zayad was a leading figure among the forty heads of Arab village councils who met in Nazareth to call for a March 30 general strike by the nearly 500,000 Palestinians within Israel's pre-1967 borders. *New York Daily News* correspondent Joseph Fried estimated that 25 percent of the Arab workers in Israel responded to the strike call—a remarkable success in view of the campaign of intimidation carried out by the Israelis as the date of the strike approached.

United struggle

The March 30 action originated as a protest against the expropriation of Arab land in the Galilee area, but the Israeli rulers correctly saw it as a move in solidarity with the nationalist upsurge on the West Bank as well.

A March 21 *Jerusalem Post* editorial warned Arab leaders in Israel of the "pitfalls of escalating these protests [against land seizures] in the form of the proposed country-wide strike."

In Haifa, representatives of industrial and commercial concerns were blunter. Yoel Dar reported in the March 26 *Jerusalem Post* that they "published a statement warning all Arab employees that those absent from work without sufficient reason on Tuesday [March 30] would be considered as having quit."

But threats failed to deter the Pales-



West Bank Palestinians protest Israeli settlements aimed at incorporating Arab territories occupied in 1967 war

tinian masses. The protesters in Israel were joined by others on the West Bank. Shops and schools were closed in many West Bank areas on March 30, including East Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nablus. Nablus is the largest West Bank town, with a population of nearly 100,000.

Since mid-March, Israeli occupation forces have murdered three Palestinians on the West Bank in their attempts to crush the mass upsurge there.

Funeral at 2:00 a.m.

Hamdan Assad Abu Ramili died in a Jerusalem hospital March 24. He had compound fractures of his legs and arms and a cerebral hemorrhage. He had been beaten to death by Israeli occupation troops in the West Bank town of Hebron.

The death of the thirty-four-year-old Ramili was preceded by that of ten-year-old Ali Hassan Afana, who was shot down for throwing stones at a vehicle filled with soldiers. Afana died on March 22.

At first, the Israeli occupiers refused to hand Afana's body over to his family in the village of Abu Dis. The villagers, however, refused to be intimidated. Terence Smith described the scene in a March 23 dispatch in the *New York Times*:

Carrying large wreaths and chanting "Palestine is Arab," the mourners marched the length of the village under the eyes of a reinforced contingent of heavily armed Israeli soldiers. . . .

Fearing that the procession might ignite major rioting throughout the West Bank, the Israeli military administration cordoned off the village and refused entry to outsiders.

Foreign and Israeli reporters were stopped at the entrance to the village by soldiers and prevented from covering the ceremony.

Afana's family was finally allowed to bury him at 2:00 a.m. on the morning of March 24.

'Heart attack'

The third Palestinian to die was a forty-four-year-old man from Salfit, near Nablus. He supposedly suffered a "heart attack" shortly after being arrested by Israeli troops March 23. Palestinians charge that he died following a beating.

Such beatings became an everyday sight on television screens around the world during the height of the Palestinian protests against the Israeli occupation. "In putting down the most recent riots," Terence Smith said in a March 24 dispatch, "Israeli soldiers, many of them teen-agers, have used tactics they would themselves denounce in any other situation. . . ."

"The complaint about harsh personal treatment comes up time and again in conversations with West Bankers. In the name of security, they are continually subjected to sudden searches of their home and person. Midnight arrests of suspected troublemakers are frequent and it is often weeks before charges are lodged."

"I was stopped in front of the prison," one civic leader in Nablus told *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas W. Lippman March 22, "and held for three hours out in the pouring rain. We had to stand at attention and there was no smoking. A soldier threw one boy's papers in the water and hit him to make him go get them. The soldier was enjoying himself."

The racism of the Israeli colonial settlers against their Palestinian victims also takes more vicious forms. For example, Jewish settlers at Kiryat Arba, outside Hebron, were encouraged by their leader, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, to "shoot to hit" if they were stoned by Arabs. On March 17, three Palestinians from Hebron were beaten with chains and bitten by dogs after being captured by the Kiryat Arba settlers.

Banned television

Occurrences of this type led Defense Minister Shimon Peres on March 22 to ban Israeli television crews from covering Palestinian protests in the occupied areas without army permission. Army commanders were also empowered to bar foreign reporters.

In a television review in the March 26 issue of the *Jerusalem Post*, Philip Gillon noted that although Peres's order was "a gross infringement of that liberty of the press so vital for a democratic society, I must confess that I am relieved at not having to watch the sort of thing that has been going on."

"It was a bitter experience to see

Israeli soldiers manhandling and beating up Arab children."

While Gillon's "democratic society" is brutalizing and terrorizing its Palestinian population, Israeli leaders are expressing amazement at the resistance they have provoked. Terence Smith said March 30, "The dimension of the day's disturbances clearly startled Israeli officials."

At a Jerusalem news conference Police Minister Shlomo Hillel said, "Due to the influence of events on the West Bank and the encouragement from abroad, we have witnessed something none of us in Israel has experienced before."

He expressed hope that the March 30 protests would "prove to be a single, isolated incident in the history of coexistence between Israelis and their Arab fellow citizens."

Just like the American racists who tried to blame the movement for Black rights on "outside agitators" and "subversives," the Israeli racists talk about "troublemakers" and "extremist elements." But they know very well that the whole Palestinian population hates the Zionist occupation, and with good cause.

The explosion of anger and resentment among the Palestinians under Israeli rule was not the work of "outside agitators" providing "encouragement from abroad." And it will certainly not "prove to be a single, isolated incident."

The Israeli settlers came to an Arab land and drove the majority of its population into exile. They expropriated another people's homeland and turned those Palestinians who remained into second-class citizens in their own country. In 1967, Israel went to war to seize more Arab land.

Now, a new generation of Palestinian youth are determined to fight for their rights. The current upsurge has been prepared by Israel's whole history of injustice to the Palestinians. The struggle will have its ups and downs, but it will not go away.

Like the colonial settlers in Southern Africa, the Israeli racists find it impossible to believe that their victims are capable of standing up to them. But it is these colonial settler-states that show Israel its own future.

NY picket line

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—One hundred people picketed March 30 outside the Israeli mission to the United Nations here to protest Zionist occupation of Palestine. The action was called to coincide with the general strike of Palestinians inside Israel the same day.

Marchers chanted, "U.S. out of the Mideast," "End Israeli repression of the Palestinian people," "Stop U.S. arming of Israel," and "Self-determination for Palestine."

The march was sponsored by a broad coalition of Palestinian and other Arab groups, as well as a number of American radical organizations. Among the participating groups were the Organization of Arab Students, Palestine Information Committee, Union of Arab Women, Arab Social Club, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers party, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

Interview with PLO leader

'Palestinians have decided to resist occupation'

[The following interview was given to *Intercontinental Press* on March 20 by Hassan Rahman, deputy representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations.]

* * *

Question. There has been little news in the American press on the recent events in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Can you describe the extent of the upsurge there and the repression by the Israelis?

Answer. In fact, what is taking place now in the occupied territories—and that includes the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—is a revolt. It is a mass uprising against the forces of occupation by almost all Palestinians—peasants, workers, professionals, students, teachers, mayors, etc. All Palestinians are participating in this uprising.

What does this uprising mean? It means that the Palestinian people have decided to resist occupation, to reject occupation, and express their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestine Liberation Organization and their brothers and sisters outside of the occupied territory.

The methods of repression vary. There are mass arrests, beatings, terrorization by troops breaking into homes, shooting into the air, and shooting sometimes at the demonstrators themselves. Israel is exposing its real nature as a racist occupation force—there is no difference between what Israel is doing to the Palestinian people and what the Nazi forces did to the peoples of Europe during the Second World War.

The Palestinian people are engaged in a struggle of liberation—they are trying to defend their national identity. These events come at a crucial time. Palestinians have been winning victories internationally on the political

front, and militarily they have been able to destroy the conspiracy which was directed against their existence in Lebanon.

The revolt on the West Bank is an indication of the level of Palestinian organization. It shows the determination of Palestinians to continue the struggle until they achieve the liberation of their homeland and the establishment of a secular, democratic state in Palestine as a substitute for the exclusivist, racist state of Israel.

Q. What impact do you think this struggle on the West Bank has had inside Israel—both on Palestinians in Israel and on the Israeli Jews?

A. As far as the Palestinians in what is called Israel, they have no need to be made aware of the atrocities of the Zionist state because they themselves have been the victims of Israel and its racist policies. But the sense of solidarity among the Palestinian people in the two parts of Palestine—Israel and the territories it occupied after 1967—is great, and the indication of that solidarity will be seen on March 30. On

that day all our people in Palestine will carry out a general strike—the first since 1948.

They call that day the day of land. Land in Arabic—*el ard*—is much more than just land in the abstract. It emphasizes the relationship between the peasant and his land, and love for the homeland.

This will teach the Zionist establishment a lesson. Nobody can destroy a whole people.

Q. Do you think a struggle like this will shake some new layers in the Jewish population and begin to make some people rethink the ideas of Zionism?

A. That is our thesis. It has always been the thesis of the Palestine Liberation Organization that the intensification of the struggle of the Palestinian people would eventually lead to an increase in the level of consciousness of the Jewish community in Palestine.

Q. What forces are involved in the March 30 general strike? How are they building it?



Refugee camp established after June 1967 war for some of nearly half-million Palestinians forced across Jordan River from villages on Israeli-occupied West Bank.

A. The information that we have is that all Palestinians from all walks of life—mayors, notables, peasants, workers—will be participating in that struggle, which is opposed to the Israelization of Palestine and the destruction of the national identity of the Palestinians, as well as to the confiscation of their land and property. This will be a day of struggle against Israeli occupation, and we hope that it will initiate a mass struggle among the Palestinians inside Israel.

Q. As a result of the upsurge on the West Bank, Israel has been forced to agree to participate in a debate at the United Nations, which the PLO will also take part in. What importance do you think this has?

A. The Security Council is an international organization that supposedly deals with peace and security in the world; it has a responsibility towards the Palestinian people. We will fight the Zionists wherever we can—in the United Nations, in the occupied territories, on the battlefield.

I think that the Zionists will try to distort what is taking place in the West Bank. I would not be surprised if they say that this came about as a result of the decision [allowing Jews to pray at] the Al Aqsa Mosque.

The struggle for Jerusalem is one of the factors, a part of the struggle, but the basic reason for the upsurge is the Israeli occupation as such and the oppression of the Palestinian people. The uprising began after the U.S. veto of the Security Council resolution on Palestine [in January].

As far as we are concerned, we do not trust the government of the United States and we do not think that the United States government can be a friend of struggling people. The United States government has always been the enemy of people struggling for their liberation and for independence and freedom.

Washington escalates war threats against Cuba

By Steve Clark

The specter of another Bay of Pigs-style assault on Cuba was raised by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at a March 23 news conference in Dallas.

Reporters asked Kissinger whether the recent spate of White House threats was meant to suggest a possible invasion of the island. "You should not draw any conclusions for or against," replied American imperialism's top enforcer.

Pentagon spokesperson William Greener and administration press secretary Ron Nessen said March 25 that plans were under review on the type of attack that might be selected. Greener even suggested that meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council might be convened to discuss "possible actions which might be taken with regard to Cuba."

Some news commentators have dismissed such warmongering as mere election-time bluster, aimed at undercutting Ronald Reagan's challenge to Gerald Ford's nomination at this summer's Republican convention.

The White House undoubtedly has no scruples about turning to Ford's account any issue that might corral a few more votes among his party's most conservative backers. But this is only part of the story—and the smaller part at that.

Escalating administration rhetoric is "no idle threat," warned Sen. Dick Clark (D-Ia.), who chairs the Senate's Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa. "I think Kissinger and the

administration are determined to take action against Cuba if the Cubans get involved again in a major way [in Southern Africa], and that, if it comes, it will be action against Cuba itself."

Ford, Kissinger, and the handful of wealthy interests they front for were stung by the setback dealt to their Angola intervention earlier this year. Now they fear that their stake in Africa may be endangered still further by the collapse of white minority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa's colony of Namibia.

Kissinger's railing against the re-



Castro was target of unsuccessful White House assassination plots.

maining Cuban troops in Angola is simply a smoke screen behind which he is plotting to shore up these racist governments.

Such cover is essential for Washington, since open support to these regimes is virtually ruled out by the expected impact of such a policy inside the United States, particularly among Black Americans. Its consequences for Washington's already strained relations with many nonwhite nations in Africa and Asia are also quite predictable.

Kissinger's complaints against Cuba's "invasion force" in Angola are especially disgusting when viewed against the blood-splattered backdrop of the U.S. government's own record abroad. "This is not the first time that one of the countries of the hemisphere has intervened outside the hemisphere," Colombia's President Alfonso López Michelsen commented at a joint press conference with Kissinger during the secretary of state's recent swing through Latin America.

The implied reference to U.S. aggression in Vietnam was lost on no one.

Kissinger talks about Cuba's threat to Africa. But who was it that engineered the assassination of Congolese freedom fighter Patrice Lumumba and attempted to murder Cuban Premier Fidel Castro?

Who was it that in the early 1960s dreamed up a heinous plot to "incapacitate" Cuban farm workers by spraying toxic chemicals on sugar fields?

Was it Havana or Washington that armed the fascistlike Portuguese re-

gime to the teeth during its wars against insurgents in three African colonies?

Kissinger also points to an alleged expansion of Cuban "infiltration" in the Caribbean and throughout Latin America.

But who maintains colonies on the island of Puerto Rico and on land properly belonging to the people of Panama? Who pours millions of dollars into supporting brutal dictatorships in Brazil and Chile?

The true menace to nations throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America—and to world peace as well—is not Cuba. *Not by a long shot.* The guilt lies much closer at hand.

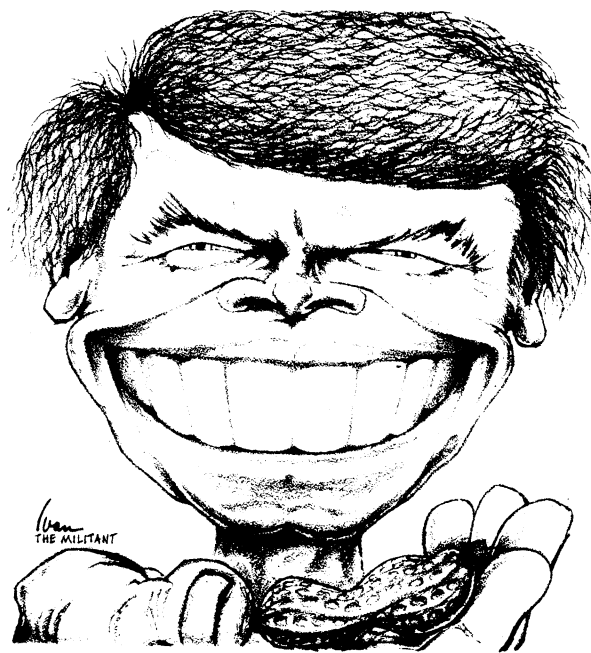
But Washington's options face a powerful obstacle: the deep antiwar sentiment among the American people. This sentiment was mobilized in massive demonstrations during the Vietnam War, and it resurfaced this year to help spoil Kissinger's plans in Angola.

The Cuban people fought long and hard for their independence from American economic and political domination. In 1961 they fended off an invasion at the Bay of Pigs—an act of aggression masterminded from John F. Kennedy's Oval Office and carried out by the CIA.

Washington has no more business threatening Cuba with economic or military sanctions today than it did fifteen years ago. The American people must demand that Ford and Kissinger halt their plotting against the Cuban Revolution once and for all!

Something for everyone?

Carter's campaign for God, motherhood, and country



By Steve Clark

"There are a lot of things I wouldn't do to be elected," Democratic party contender Jimmy Carter told a group of junior college students in Florida. "I wouldn't tell a lie or make a misleading statement. I wouldn't betray your trust. I wouldn't ever do anything to avoid a controversial issue."

Carter is pegging his White House hopes on creating the impression that he is somehow a different breed of politician from the run-of-the-mill, deceitful variety that most Americans have come to expect in the aftermath of Watergate and the Vietnam War.

A national poll conducted by the *New York Times* on the eve of the New Hampshire primary showed that 56 percent of the nearly 1,500 people interviewed believed that government "could be trusted only some of the time." Another five percent said they would *never* trust the government.

A full two-thirds of the Blacks placed a question mark over the government's credibility.

Got the nod from God

Carter has made much of his fervid religiosity. But "I'm not saying I was ordained by God to win elections or to be president at all," he modestly assured a North Carolina audience.

Speaking in the same state, Carter solemnly promised that his presidency would be as "honest and decent and true and fair and confident and idealistic and compassionate and filled with love as the American people."

Also topping off everything is Carter's famous toothy smile. As if a squirt of Ultra Brite and a mouthful of Listerine could cleanse the world of its ills.

Hollow promises and plastic personality, however, don't set Carter apart from his Democratic and potential Republican opponents. The results of recent primaries only prove that smiling Jimmy is the Democrats' most skilled practitioner of political quackery.

The important questions are: Where does Carter stand on the issues? Whose interests does he speak for?

It is no secret that Carter is sometimes hard to pin down, but he *has* taken positions on many key issues. His record and his platform can be summed

up in four words: anti-Black, antiwoman, antilabor, and prowar.

For example, what does Carter have to say about unemployment? About cutbacks in health care, education, and other social services? About workers' declining buying power?

Just what you might expect from one of agribusiness's well-heeled peanut growers and distributors.

"The answer is simple," Carter wrote in a recent fund-raising appeal. "We must live, as a nation, within our means. The solution will be painful. Any homemaker knows it's hard to cut back. But any business person can tell you what will happen if you don't."

Carter opposes government-financed public works programs to provide useful jobs for those out of work except "for areas and groups afflicted by acute unemployment." With eight million U.S. workers still jobless even by official figures—7 to 8 percent of the work force—the whole country should qualify!

'Right to work'?

As Georgia's governor, Carter was a champion of the "open shop." Georgia's so-called right-to-work legislation has helped make it a haven for corporations looking for low-paid, nonunionized labor.

Although Carter still does not favor repeal of "open shop" legislation, he now says that he would not veto a congressional move to repeal such provisions from the Taft-Hartley Act.

While Carter would be stingy with badly needed social programs, he would, however, leave the mammoth \$115 billion war budget "about the same, maybe 5 percent less," he told Jules Witcover of the *Washington Post*.

"But I would not ever let our country be vulnerable," Carter was quick to add, not wanting even his tiny reduction proposal to be misread.

Carter might spend only \$109 billion!

A sense of 'propriety'

As Carter's campaign speeches attest, he has set his sights on both the Black vote and the anti-Black vote. During the weeks before the Florida primary, he would eulogize a list of bicentennial heroes in his talks. Before Black audiences, the list stretched from George Washington to Martin Luther King. But King's name was conspicuously absent from

Carter's talks before white crowds.

This style of campaigning is nothing new for Carter. In his 1970 gubernatorial primary race in Georgia, Carter ran a thinly veiled anti-Black campaign. During a widely publicized visit to a "whites-only" academy, Carter said he wanted to "reassure Georgians of my support for private education."

"I could win without getting a single Negro vote," Carter boasted at the time, and that is almost what he did. Carter's appeal was so racist that he won the primary while receiving only 5 percent of the Black votes cast.

As governor, Carter tried to polish up his national image as "presidential material" by appointing a few Blacks to office. In his inaugural address, Carter said, "I say to you quite frankly that the time for racial discrimination is over."

Yet in 1972 this "enlightened" governor publicly threatened to support a racist one-day school boycott to protest an Augusta, Georgia, desegregation plan unless the state legislature called on Congress to initiate a constitutional ban on busing.

Today Carter claims that he no longer supports such a constitutional amendment, but he is still very much against busing. Carter hopes to cash in on mounting racist opposition to school desegregation, but he has plenty of competition from Henry Jackson, George Wallace, and even the "progressive" Morris Udall.

Carter's election literature does not devote even one sentence to the discriminatory layoffs facing women and national minorities today. His strongest statement is that "I support the efforts of women to achieve equality through court actions when that is required."

Such vague statements sidestep the real issue, however. Does Carter support preferential treatment for women and minorities to help compensate for centuries of discrimination? If he does, he has managed to keep his view a secret.

Carter is also an opponent of the right of women to choose for themselves whether or not to have an abortion.

Although Carter says he opposes a constitutional amendment banning abortions, he told *Newsweek* last February that he "might support a federal statute minimizing abortion beyond the first thirteen weeks of pregnancy."

Vietnam and Mideast

In Carter's campaign literature, he claims to have publicly opposed the Vietnam War as early as 1971 (quite late at that). Yet, in May 1972 Carter backed Nixon's murderous mining of Haiphong Harbor in North Vietnam, even saying that the decision was "long delayed." He supported Ford's last-ditch efforts a year ago to shore up the Thieu regime.

Current demonstrations by Palestinians on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River have focused worldwide attention on Israel's expansionist aims and its brutal suppression of Arab protests against these policies. Yet Carter contends that it is "not feasible" for Israel to return the land it seized during the June 1967 war from Egypt, Syria, and Jordan.

Carter's positions on issues could shift quickly in the White House, and the same is true of all the other candidates. The words of a Udall, a Jackson, a Reagan, or a Ford today—when they are angling to get elected—can mean little or nothing after January 1977.

Ultimately, these Democratic and Republican politicians share the same goal: preserving capitalism at all costs. From this standpoint, Carter stacks up neither better nor worse than the others.

Carter OKs forum with Camejo

Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo sent letters to all announced Democratic and Republican party hopefuls this winter inviting them to participate in joint public forums to discuss the issues facing voters in the 1976 elections.

In a February 13 reply, Jimmy Carter's campaign news secretary, Joseph Powell, wrote, "Governor Carter asks that I express to you his willingness to discuss the issues with you at appropriate times and forums during the campaign."

Camejo responded with a second letter suggesting several student groups that have expressed an interest in sponsoring such a discussion. "As the elections approach," Camejo said, "the American people are demanding a frank and open exchange of views on fundamental questions of government policy: employment, civil rights, the ERA, foreign affairs. A discussion between Mr. Carter as the Democratic party front-runner and myself as the socialist presidential candidate will result in a useful and enlightening presentation."

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

February 13, 1976

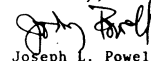
Mr. Peter Camejo
14 Charles Lane
New York, New York 10014

Dear Mr. Camejo:

Thank you for your letter. Governor Carter asks that I express to you his willingness to discuss the issues with you at appropriate times and forums during the campaign.

Since he will be entering every primary, there should be ample opportunity along the way. Of course, I am sure you realize that until after the convention, our primary concern must be with fellow Democrats seeking the same nomination.

Sincerely,


Joseph L. Powell, Jr.
News Secretary

Saying that any time or place would be acceptable for such a discussion, Camejo concluded the letter, "I look forward to hearing from you and finalizing arrangements for the meeting."

World Outlook

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

APRIL 9, 1976

Democratic rights under attack

Release Egyptian political prisoners!

More information has been received about the sixteen people arrested in Egypt last July 3 on charges of having "established relations with foreign communist organizations" in Lebanon and France.

According to an article in the August 3 issue of the Cairo daily *El-Akhbar*, the Egyptian security police accused the sixteen of belonging to the "Internationalist Communist League," which the police said aimed to "overthrow the country's political and economic system so as to impose a 'Trotskyist' extremist-communist regime."

The charges against the sixteen include:

1. Possession of a typewriter, allegedly purchased with the financial assistance of Lebanese Trotskyists.
2. Use of the typewriter in the production of pamphlets and leaflets.
3. Possession of copies of the Lebanese Trotskyist publication *El-Mounadel*.

According to the March 18 *Inprecor*, the fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the latest information is as follows:

"The regime issued twenty-one arrest warrants. Sixteen people were arrested and imprisoned, while five of the twenty-one could not be found. One of

the sixteen has been released. Ten others have been released on bail and may be arrested again at any time, although no formal charges have been placed against them."

The five people still being held in prison are: Abdel Kazim Shahit Mahmoud and Muzahim Muhi El-Takriti, both of whom are Iraqi teachers; Reda Ibrahim Farag, a student; Mahmoud El-Sayid Muhammed El-Sayid, a worker; and Rashad Mansour Mustafa El-Bedawi, also a worker.

These five prisoners are still awaiting formal charges, and a long delay in the disposition of their case is possible, since the government can hold them in prison indefinitely. "It is not known what penalties they may face," *Inprecor* reported, "but a law passed in 1971 provides for sentences of up to life imprisonment for any political activity conducted outside the framework of the Arab Socialist Union, the sole legal party in the country."

According to *Inprecor*, the ten prisoners who have been released provisionally are: Dr. Muhammed Abdu Bayuni, a veterinarian; Ibrahim Abdel Azziz Azzam, a student; Muhammed El-Bashir Abdel Fu'ad El-Sibai, an employee in the Egyptian news agency; Kemal Fu'ad Nagib Muftah; Muhammed Ali Tayil, a student; Mu-



Egyptian students demonstrating for democratic rights in Cairo, January 1973

ammed Na'man Hashim Tawfal; Randa Abdel Ghaffar El-Baasi and her brother, Najwa El-Baasi, both students; Ali Mahmoud Khalil; and Shawki Muhammed Rashad Abdel-Ghanni.

Inprecor also reported that a well-known Egyptian lawyer, Ahmad Nabil El-Hilali, is defending the prisoners.

It is clear from the political nature of these charges that the real target includes far more than those arrested. It is an assault on the democratic rights of all Egyptians, particularly the right to free association and to the free exchange of ideas.

Nor is it any accident that, as reported in the July 5, 1975, issue of the Cairo weekly *Akhbar El-Yom*, some of those arrested were from the area of Mahalla El-Koubra, the site of worker protests earlier in 1975. The regime of President Anwar El-Sadat has brutally suppressed workers' demonstrations against inflation and low wages, most notably in major clashes in late December 1974 and early January 1975.

In line with the government's efforts

to blame such demonstrations on "extremist elements," a report in the July 5 *Akhbar El-Yom* charged that those arrested in Mahalla El-Koubra were seeking to carry out "subversive activities" in factories and student circles.

International protests against these arrests are urgently required. At stake are not only the lives of these political prisoners, but the basic democratic rights of all Egyptians.

Protests demanding the release of the prisoners can be addressed to President Anwar El-Sadat, National Assembly, Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, and to Egypt's consulates and its Washington, D.C., embassy in this country.

In addition, *Inprecor* reported: "Several of the imprisoned militants are workers whose families are deprived of any income as long as they are held in jail. These families are in an extremely difficult financial situation, and aid is needed. Contributions may be sent to Gisela Scholtz, Postal Account Number CCP000-1085001-56, Brussels, Belgium."

Worldwide campaign to free Cuentas

An international campaign is being waged to free Peruvian miners union leaders Hernán Cuentas and Víctor Cuadros, and four labor attorneys—Ricardo Díaz Chavez, José Oña Meoña, Arturo Salas Rodríguez, and Genaro Ledesma Izquieta. The six were arrested in December 1975 but have yet to be charged with any crime.

The February 19-26 issue of the Paris weekly newspaper *Informations Ouvrières* devoted an entire page to reporting protests from France. Messages have been sent from scores of trade unionists and locals of the major trade union federations—the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), Force Ouvrière (Labor Force), and CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor).

Protests have also been sent by members and leaders of the Communist party, Socialist party, League for the Rights of Man, Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization), Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS—Alliance of Youth for Socialism), and Union Nationale des Etudiants de France (UNEF—National Union of Students of France).

The French section of Amnesty International, groups of university professors and other professionals, and a number of student organizations have voiced protests as well.

In Peru, according to a report in the February 18 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Política Obrera*, a rally of 30,000 persons was held in Lima to protest the arrests. This was followed by work stoppages by miners and a twenty-four-hour strike in Lima and Callao called by the Communist party-led Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (CGTP—General Confederation of Peruvian Workers).

Cuentas, a leader of the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR—Revolutionary Marxist Workers party), had returned from forced exile only three months before his arrest. Upon his return, he became part of the leadership of the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos del Perú (National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers of Peru). He served as a leader of miners at Cuajone, an important mining site in the south of Peru.

Along with Cuadros, Cuentas is being held in Lurín, a city near Lima. The four labor lawyers face harsher conditions—they are imprisoned in the Amazonian penal colony, El Sepa.

In an open letter published in the February 12 issue of the Peruvian newsmagazine *Marka*, Cuentas and Cuadros pointed out that the attorneys face "a grave risk to their own lives." They cited in particular the case of Arturo Salas, who is elderly and suffers from a spinal condition that requires constant medical attention.

Cuentas and Cuadros also explained what lay behind the arrests:

"No one doubts that what is behind the attack against us is the fear the imperialists and reactionary bourgeoisie have of the miners and metalworkers organized in the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos del Perú. Nor does anyone doubt that this attack is the same kind as that being experienced by the compañeros of Plásticos El Pacífico; the printers in the El Virrey, Simac, and Sider case; the fishermen; and so many other assaults the reactionary forces use to try to behead and demobilize the Peruvian proletariat so that later they can try to defeat it, forcing it to bear the entire brunt of the crisis of the capitalist system."

Defending Soviet dissidents

A conversation with Leonid Plyushch

By Gerry Foley

Leonid Plyushch was just finishing a game of chess with his young son when I arrived with a group of socialist journalists from Paris, who were coming to interview him.

The exiled Ukrainian antibureaucratic fighter and his family live in the home of a young French mathematician, one of the leaders of the committee that fought for his release from a psychiatric prison in the Soviet Union.

I was relieved to see that Plyushch had apparently recovered from his ordeal in the Kremlin's psychiatric wards and his long treatment with disorienting drugs.

Plyushch is a Marxist and has gone through an intense political experience in the course of defending his principles against the bureaucratic regime that violently suppresses all genuine Marxist thought and activity.

However, he has had little experience of organized political life and discussion. In the small circles that are beginning to challenge Stalinist repression and thought control, political life is still largely personal and individual. Political questions tend to be seen in moral terms.

Plyushch focused on explaining his philosophy. Again and again in the course of the discussion, he stressed that he wanted to work with those who took a principled stand against all repression both in the Soviet Union and under capitalism. He sharply criticized some Ukrainian groups in the United States that claimed to support the antibureaucratic opposition in the USSR and still had ties with agencies of the U.S. government.

Tatyana Plyushch, Leonid's wife, has been so repelled by Stalinist totalitarianism that she rejects Marxism as such. Because of her Jewish background, the virulent anti-Semitism of the retrograde bureaucracy has had a particular impact on her.

Because of the grim experience of totalitarian repression and massive terror in the Soviet Union, even those oppositionists who identify with Marxism and the traditions of the revolution



Informations Ouvrières

Plyushch has had to defend his principles against bureaucratic regime that violently suppresses all genuine Marxist thought and activity.

tend to be skeptical about the Bolshevik leaders, including those who opposed Stalin.

Admires Trotsky

Leonid said that he admired Trotsky as a historical figure but that some of Trotsky's ideas did not appeal to him. At the same time, he said that he had almost no opportunity to learn about Trotsky's positions. He had read only two works by Trotsky. One, "The Lessons of October," an article published at an early stage of the struggle against Stalin, was given to him by one of the very few surviving supporters of the Left Opposition. The other, an article on "Anti-Semitism and the Thermidorean Bureaucracy," was given to him by a secret-police provocateur.

Since for fifty years Stalinist propaganda has vilified Trotskyism as an expression of Nazism, imperialism, anarchism, terrorism, and so on, apparently one of the ways the secret police try to incriminate the dissidents today is to link them with the established "original sin" of "anti-Soviet" opposition.

'State capitalism'

The clearest difference Plyushch expressed with Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement was over the definition of the Soviet state. He rejects the Trotskyist view that it is a "degenerated workers state," which he said was probably "the Trotskyists' biggest error." He calls the USSR "state capitalist." He explained his reasoning this way: "If the workers had any power at all, you might call it a workers state, but they do not."

So, Plyushch apparently believes that calling the Soviet Union a work-

ers state in any sense means acknowledging that the government in some way represents the workers, and he is unwilling to do that because of powerful experience to the contrary.

This is a reaction common among the Marxist-oriented opponents of the bureaucracy in Eastern Europe. However, this term does not usually have the implications that it does in the West.

For example, Plyushch has made it clear in a number of interviews that he does not think a new social revolution is necessary or possible in the Soviet Union. Thus, he draws a completely different political conclusion from the Western state capitalists, a conclusion different from that implied by this concept as such. The same was true of the Polish antibureaucratic fighters Kuron and Modzelewski, who also defined the Stalinized countries as state capitalist.

Stalinism's end

I asked Plyushch at the end of the interview how he envisioned the fall of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union. He told me that he had always been "opposed to prophecies," but nonetheless he outlined a number of tendencies he thought were undermining Stalinist rule.

The first tendency, as he saw it, is that the Western Communist parties are trying to offer a more democratic model of socialism. He hoped that this process would have an impact on the Soviet bureaucracy. In fact, it seems already to have had a very important impact on his personal situation. It was apparently the desire of the French Communist party to be able to present a more democratic image that led it to protest his imprisonment. This may have been decisive in winning his

release. The fact that the French CP, up till now the bulwark of Stalinist orthodoxy among the big European parties, has begun to criticize the lack of democracy in the USSR has obviously been a severe blow for the Kremlin.

The Soviet bureaucracy's political justification for its existence depends on the claim that it is leading a worldwide struggle against capitalism and imperialism. Thus, the Kremlin can shrug off protests against its repression by proimperialists. That is just "cold war propaganda." However, protests by anticapitalist and anti-imperialist fighters strike at the fundamental political defense of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Another tendency that is undermining the bureaucracy, Plyushch said, is the more and more pressing need to improve the functioning of the economy. Bureaucratic management from the top down is proving increasingly cumbersome and is slowing down technological progress. However, the bureaucracy cannot develop a more flexible economic system without democratizing the society as a whole, at least to some extent.

Plyushch also saw hope in the growing role of the technical intelligentsia, who, he said, are striving to increase their influence at the expense of the political bureaucracy. It is true that as far as the people are concerned the technocrats are worse than the bureaucracy, since they are not democratic-minded and are even less sensitive to the political aspirations of the people. However, he did not regard this as an unchangeable fact and he held out the possibility that the technical intelligentsia could be won to democratic views. "Then, as their strength increases, they would put society on a scientific, that is, humanistic basis, and that is socialism."

Oppressed nationalities

It was not entirely clear what political aspirations Plyushch thought the technical intelligentsia opposed. I did not get a chance to question him further about this. But one of them seemed to be the nationalism of the oppressed minorities in the USSR.

It is true that even many dissident intellectuals in Moscow and Leningrad regard the centralization carried out under the Stalinist regime as irreversible and essentially progressive. Accordingly, they consider demands for national autonomy or independence as reactionary.

Plyushch's attitude toward this problem is quite different. He is a strong defender of the struggles of the oppressed nationalities for autonomy and even independence, if that is necessary to defeat Great Russian chauvinism.

In the provinces, Plyushch said, it is the Marxist current that predominates among the opposition, because the provincial intellectuals stand closer to the masses than their counterparts in Moscow and Leningrad.

The Ukrainian dissidents, Plyushch stressed, generally come from working-class or peasant origin, whereas the intellectuals in Moscow and Leningrad usually come from professional families themselves. In the case of the Ukrainian opposition, the conditions of the masses are one of the main motives for their activity. Plyushch thought that among the Baltic peoples also the antibureaucratic fighters had close ties with the masses. "It's a broad national resistance movement."

He knew less about the situation in the Caucasus and Asian areas, he said, because the peoples there were suspicious of all Russians and Europeans and did not believe that any of them could be sincere democrats. But he



Norma Andersen

TATYANA PLYUSHCH

mentioned contacts with the Crimean Tatars.

Plyushch stressed that the antibureaucratic opposition in the USSR was almost totally cut off from knowledge of what happens in the outside world, since they cannot believe the Kremlin's press or the foreign radio either. This isolation is especially severe for those dissidents like Leonid and Tatyana Plyushch who do not know Western languages. So, they know little about developments in the West such as the youth radicalization and the women's liberation movement.

Women's liberation

However, when I asked Plyushch about the question of women's rights in the USSR, it was obvious that he had done some thinking about it: "Here in France I have seen that women are often paid less for the same work. That is very disturbing. In the Soviet Union, that never happens. But it is usual, when you see men and women working together, that the men will have automatic hammers and the women only shovels, or if the women have automatic tools, the men will be sitting in the cabins of machines. I think that the Soviet legal code should protect women against hard physical labor."

On the question of the position of women in the USSR in general Plyushch said he agreed with an article by Ukrainian patriot Yevhen Sverstiuk published in 1972 by Smolokyp Press, a Ukrainian publishing house in the United States that reprints a good deal of material from the opposition in the Ukraine. The article was included in a collection entitled "Wide Sea of Ukraine."¹

I mentioned that many young Ukrainians in the United States and Canada had become radicalized as a result of the developments in North American society in general and were trying to apply their beliefs within the Ukrainian community. I told Plyushch that they were trying to rediscover a Ukrainian revolutionary Marxist tradition that could reconcile their social radicalism with their attachment to the national struggle of their people. He seemed very interested in that, and to consider it a hopeful development. There is no doubt about Plyushch's identification with the Ukrainian people.

Need for information

Plyushch said that he had tried to find out about the discussions that went on in the Soviet Communist party before it was Stalinized, but that he found it very difficult to obtain documents. Furthermore, secret-police provocateurs sometimes spread false or distorted information about the positions of Lenin toward the Ukrainian revolutionists.

I mentioned that Monad Press in the United States was in the process of reprinting Trotsky's major works in Russian, and that it was about to publish his *History of the Russian Revolution*. He already had a copy of the *Bulletin of the Left Opposition* in Russian also published by Monad and distributed by Pathfinder Press. It was given to him by French Trotskyists.

Up till now, Plyushch said, all of the literature coming into the USSR from the West has been anti-Marxist. The only Marxist material on the period after Stalin took power were those published in Czechoslovakia during the "Prague spring." Apparently, only

a brief period of rather limited freedom in one small country in the Soviet bloc had qualitatively widened the political horizons of the opposition in the USSR. Probably this was one of the main reasons the Kremlin became convinced it had to end the "Prague spring" at any cost.

The fact that only fragments of the history of Bolshevism and the Left Opposition are known by the dissidents means not only that they do not have a complete view of the positions of Trotsky and the other anti-Stalinist revolutionary leaders. From a few fragments, they cannot reconstruct the political process that took place in the years of the revolution and the rise of the bureaucracy.

Thus, political stands and actions cannot be seen in their context but only judged in isolation, and so, inevitably, in a rather subjective way. The revolutionary historical view is lost. Plyushch's thinking, for example, seemed to move back and forth be-

Another journalist asked Plyushch: "Are you pessimistic?"

He answered: "No, but the task is to change the situation that exists."

Nonetheless, he did not seem to have any clear idea of how that could be done, or whether it could be done. The facts mentioned by Plyushch indicate that a revolutionary situation could develop very quickly in the USSR; at least that is what is suggested on the basis of previous historical experience. But this experience seemed to be a closed book for him.

Plyushch's doubts about the chances for a mass workers upsurge against the bureaucratic regime reminded me of the same sort of doubts that were felt by the students who began to radicalize in the West in the early 1960s. Until the events of May-June 1968 in France, only a small minority of the radicalized students and intellectuals in the developed capitalist countries had any confidence in the possibility for a workers upsurge. It was

The International Committee of Mathematicians that initiated and built the international campaign in defense of Plyushch had been particularly effective.

Plyushch evidently hoped that the kind of defense that had forced his release could be built for other political prisoners in the USSR.

Both Leonid and Tatyana Plyushch stressed that the bureaucracy fears publicity about its crimes and can be forced to retreat and make important concessions in the area of democratic rights, provided that these protests come from forces that cannot be dismissed as procapitalist and reactionary.

Obviously, however, it will be difficult for Plyushch to chart a clear course to building such a movement. The major political forces militate against it, and general moral principles are not a precise enough guide for finding one's way through the labyrinth of politics in the West, where the



Speakers' platform at October 1975 meeting of 4,000 in Paris that helped win Plyushch's release

Christian Avril

tween searching for a morally satisfactory philosophy and vague speculation about general trends. He seemed to lack a view of history that could provide a basis for a consistent revolutionary perspective in both the Stalinized countries and the capitalist world.

Workers' politicalization

He was acutely aware that the antibureaucratic opposition could not achieve its goals if it remained confined to circles of intellectuals, mostly in the provinces. However, he was skeptical about the chances for a mass uprising against the bureaucracy, since "the political consciousness of the workers and peasants is nonexistent."

Nonetheless, he mentioned instances in recent years where large numbers of workers had gone on strike in the face of totalitarian repression and engaged in violent battles with the police. He thought that as long as living standards were rising, however slowly, there was no prospect for a mass uprising.

Yet when the workers had a chance to learn about the real objectives of the opposition, they were sympathetic.

hard for them to imagine this because the only working class they had ever known was a passive and indoctrinated one.

International protests

Plyushch is one of the first Marxist oppositionists to be allowed to leave the USSR. His release, furthermore, is an example of what a left-oriented defense of the Soviet dissidents can accomplish. The fact that the French CP, for example, was forced to speak out in his defense is of historic importance. Plyushch is in position to play an important role in beginning to forge unity in the struggle against capitalist repression in the West and bureaucratic repression in the East.

It seemed to me, as I talked to him, that he was aware of this need. He said that he wanted to work with those who opposed repression both in Chile and in the USSR. He realized that protests by Black fighters in the United States would be the most effective support possible for the oppositionists in the USSR. He was anxious to build an international movement in support of democratic rights in the Stalinized countries.

forms of government control are more subtle than under the dictatorial rule of the Kremlin.

A key element for Plyushch now is the radicalized youth in the Ukrainian communities outside the Soviet bloc. These youth, who have been breaking with the old sterile anti-Communism of the Ukrainian national movement, have a special opportunity and responsibility. Plyushch looks to them in particular to begin building the kind of movement he wants, and he offers them a chance to build a real alternative to the dead-end anti-Communism they have rejected.

Jiri Pelikan, a leader of the Czechoslovak opposition, summed up what Plyushch symbolizes and can symbolize when he told almost 4,000 persons in the Mutualité in Paris on March 7:

"I am happy to salute Comrade Plyushch here because he has come here as a socialist, a communist. . . . We are all the more happy, I and my comrades in Czechoslovakia, and certainly in the other countries of Eastern Europe, because this is the symbol under which we can advance toward socialism shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet comrades."

1. The article, "On Women's Day," attacks the hypocrisy of the bureaucracy that talks about the equality of the sexes while using women as low-paid laborers in the most unattractive jobs.

1,000 gather in Brussels

International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women

By Joanna Rossi

BRUSSELS—Did International Women's Year mark a step forward for the women of the world? The answer is an angry "no," according to some 1,000 women who assembled in the Palais des Congrès here March 4-8, in the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women.

Personal testimony and reports from more than thirty countries brought forward a powerful indictment of the oppression and discrimination women face in all spheres of life, all around the world.

Scandal of women's lot

The tribunal opened with the reading of a statement from Simone de Beauvoir, who greeted the assembly as a "historic event . . . in itself an act and the precursor of many others." She called on women to mobilize to struggle against the "scandal of their condition." For the women who attended the conference, there was certainly no doubt that women's lot is indeed scandalous.

Testimony and reports on the first morning centered on medical crimes against women, in areas such as abortion, contraception, forced sterilization, and mistreatment by the medical profession. A common theme of many of these presentations was the fact that the hierarchy of the Catholic church and reactionary groups and parties in many countries are organizing a massive, lavishly funded campaign to deny women the right to abortion and other forms of control over their bodies.

A woman from the Portuguese Women's Liberation Movement estimated that "there are over 180,000 abortions performed in Portugal each year. That, in spite of the law declaring abortion to be illegal and punishable with prison terms from two to eight years. The law dates from 1886."

Protest against lack of control over all aspects of women's lives underlay much of the testimony. The first afternoon session of the tribunal focused on family-related crimes against women—problems of divorce, child custody, unmarried mothers, and overall restrictive family laws.

Women in Israel

Joanne Yaron of the Israel Feminist Movement spoke about the concept of a woman being "forever tied to a man." What this means, she explained, is the following:

... if a woman is married to a man, whether or not they are living together, she is still his property and she may not form a liaison with any other man. If she does, she is in danger of losing all her rights to her part of the property and even custody of her children. A woman's position is still lowered by the fact that she may be declared "rebellious" by the rabbinical courts and therefore lose her maintenance, property, and other rights. A woman may not leave the joint domicile without a rabbinical permit lest she be declared rebellious.

Discussion on the second day of the conference centered on economic discrimination, both when women are working and when unemployed. Women from several countries told of high and "hidden" unemployment of women. They hit out at discriminatory firings, pointing out that in times of economic downturn, women are first fired.

A Spanish woman working in Switzerland spoke of the difficulties of immigrant women who live and work in foreign countries, of the problems



Personal testimony and reports from more than thirty countries were heard at International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, held in Brussels March 4-8.

encountered with language, excessively low wages, inferior health services, and substandard housing.

Women from both Denmark and Britain spoke of laws passed with great fanfare that are supposed to give women equality, but that in fact are seldom enforced.

Oppressed minorities

The third day of the conference opened with reports from women who are members of oppressed minorities in different parts of the world. An American Black woman described her treatment at the hands of the "racist, sexist" welfare system in the United States.

An Australian Aborigine related the double oppression of Black women—as women and as Blacks—in a country that has an explicit policy against immigration of non-Europeans.

A South African Black woman spoke of the horror of living in apartheid South Africa:

In a highly tiered society, Black women are at the very bottom. And that's pretty low. Eighty percent of Black women where I come from work in domestic service. That means living in and cleaning up white people's houses. But you don't really live in. You really live in a little hut attached, outside, to the back of the big house. It's not as large as the garage where they park their cars.

Testimony from rape victims followed. Women from several countries

recounted the fear, the physical and psychological brutalization, that rape forces on women.

The next morning, under a banner "Release our Sisters in Prison," women from Chile, Iran, and India told of the inhuman treatment of women in the jails and camps of their countries. This was a particularly powerful session of the tribunal.

A Chilean woman described the brutal tortures and prison conditions under the Pinochet dictatorship:

The time spent in the secret prison is the most degrading and brutal period of the physical and mental torture. Here the prisoners live under constant threat to their physical and mental integrity; threats against children are made to put pressure on the prisoners, a method that is used in the extreme against women. Sexual lasciviousness and aggression is another weapon used against the woman.

She described some of the sexual tortures and rapes of women in Pinochet's prisons.

An Indian woman reported on forms of torture and sexual abuses of women political prisoners in India:

After arrest and the usual form of police interrogation, often including beating with hands and rifle butts, suspects are detained in jail. After one month in prison, girls undergo further interrogation. They are stripped naked and made to lie on a table where they are burned with cigarettes on all soft parts of the body, accompanied by all unimaginable humiliations. If they fail to answer questions satisfactorily, an iron

ruler is inserted into the rectum. As a result of repeated torture, the rectum and vagina become one.

The tribunal passed several motions condemning the treatment of women prisoners and calling for the immediate release of women political prisoners.

Morgentaler case

The tribunal then heard a report on Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Québec doctor who has been jailed for performing abortions and advocating legal abortion in Canada. The tribunal voted to send a statement condemning the Canadian government and calling for the dropping of all charges against Morgentaler.

Testimony and reports were heard on prostitution, wife-beating, and many other topics. Lesbian women outlined the discrimination they face, the physical and verbal abuse they are constantly threatened with. A German lesbian commented, "It didn't happen so much before, when we were quiet and apart. Now that we're organizing, we are really persecuted."

On the final day, an older woman spoke of the "invisibility" of women her age. "We will no longer allow ourselves to be shunted into the corner. We will no longer let ourselves be considered as nonpersons who are just burdens."

During the five days of the conference, there were many disagreements and much criticism of what exactly the tribunal should be and how it should proceed. Some women felt that the feminist movement had gone beyond the need for personal testimony; that the crimes against women were well known, and political strategies and deeper analysis were needed instead.

This often led to heated debates and wrangles on the floor. The final day of the tribunal was devoted to criticisms and suggestions for further actions or conferences. It was decided to attempt to create an international network of communications to plan future activities. Those interested in participating in this effort may write: Tribunal, 165 Boulevard Général Jacques, 1050 Brussels, Belgium.

Despite some of the problems and differences expressed, hundreds of women left the tribunal feeling a sense of greater solidarity, with a deeper awareness of their sisters in other countries, and pledging to continue the struggle until women in all countries are emancipated.

N.Y.: 'Release women prisoners!'

More than 600 people attended the New York Crimes Against Women Tribunal at Columbia University February 27-29, one week before the international tribunal in Brussels.

The conference was divided into tribunals on the economic, medical, and sexual oppression of women, as well as their oppression within the family.

Another tribunal focused on women political prisoners. Among the highlights of this session were the following:

- Ellen Moves Camp, a Sioux Indian and veteran of Wounded Knee, reported on the upcoming trials of many Indian women for the central role they played in the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation.

- Nasrin Pakizegi, from the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, spoke about the 2,000 women political prisoners in the shah's jails. Many, including sociologist and translator Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, have been subjected to unimaginable tortures.

Pakizegi also called for the release of Atefeh Gorgin, editor of a literary anthology and widow of the poet Khosrow Golsorkhi, who was executed by the shah last fall.

- Ann Gregory explained the situation facing women in Indonesian jails. Gregory is editor of TAPOL, a newspaper that exposes political repression in Indonesia.

In addition to the lack of food,

medical treatment, and sanitation faced by all prisoners, Gregory said, women in the Indonesian prison camps face added sexual degradation and torture.

- Speaking on the plight of women prisoners in Chile were a member of Action for Women in Chile and Mirta Vidal of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The tribunal also heard testimony from Jennifer Davis, from the American Committee on Africa, and Galina Gabai, widow of Crimean Tatar poet and political activist Ilya Gabai. Gabai spoke on behalf of the Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

Socialists use 'Militant' to bring word of campaign to New York

By Pat Galligan

"Why New York's Lower East Side needs a socialist in Congress" (a reprint from the February 20 *Militant*) was a topic of considerable discussion during Socialist Campaign Week, March 12-20. So we're told by Vangie Eidsvik and Juan Rodriguez, two of the Catarino Garza supporters who canvassed the community that week.

The campaign shifted into high gear as volunteers fanned out into the neighborhood, passing out "Garza for Congress" literature. They also distributed the Socialist Workers party New York State program and both the Spanish and English editions of the national platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

"We sold 220 copies of the *Militant*,"

commented Eidsvik. "Almost 100 of these were sold at Masaryk Towers."

Masaryk Towers is a Mitchell-Lama (city-state-financed) cooperative housing development in the Lower East Side. Many of the residents visited by canvassers found good reasons to support Garza and to buy the *Militant*.

Eidsvik gave an example: "One young Puerto Rican woman I visited has a brother who attends one of the schools where a Puerto Rican principal was fired. She was very glad to learn of a candidate who supports the struggle for community control of the schools in District One. So she bought a subscription to the *Militant*."

"In general," Eidsvik continued, "when I explained that the *Militant* presents Garza's views and the views of the other socialist candidates, people would ask to buy a copy."

"The response to the campaign and the *Militant* was very good," agreed Rodriguez. "People are very open to the idea of a socialist candidate."

"They are interested in Garza's campaign not only because he is Puerto Rican but because he is the only candidate with a program to fight against the cutbacks."

"By reading the *Militant*," Rodriguez concluded, "they can follow the Garza campaign and struggles going on all over the country, too."

Campaigning in the Lower East Side was just one aspect of Socialist Campaign Week in New York City, where a total of 1,513 *Militants* were sold. The 183 subscriptions sent in from New York thus far put that city near the top of this week's subscription scoreboard.

New York, along with Portland, Washington, D.C., and Berkeley, sold the bulk of their subscriptions while doing door-to-door campaigning.

Nationally, we have already received 1,723 subscriptions in our drive to sign up 5,500 new readers. This puts us ahead of schedule.

Sales honors for the March 26 *Militant* (headline: "Louisville racists step up violence") go to Cleveland.

On Saturday, more than 300 *Militants* were sold there—primarily in the Black community. Throughout the week, sales teams blitzed the downtown area and shopping centers at rush hour. The results: total sales of 531 copies, topping their special goal for the week of 500 copies.

For the past few weeks we have reported on *Militant* sales among working people.

We also want to find out about campus sales. What issues concern

students? What do they like about the *Militant*?

If you sell the *Militant* at a high school or college campus, let's hear from you.

Subscription scoreboard

City	Goal	Sent in	%
Ann Arbor, Mich.	10	6	60
Portland, Ore.	100	53	53
Kansas City, Mo.	10	5	50
Bloomington, Ind.	50	24	48
Louisville, Ky.	15	7	47
San Diego	150	60	40
Miami	10	4	40
New York City	500	183	37
Newark	100	36	36
Cincinnati	25	9	36
St. Louis	125	42	34
Lexington, Ky.	15	5	33
Pittsburgh	180	58	32
Washington, D.C. Area	220	69	31
Albany, N.Y.	10	3	30
East Lansing, Mich.	10	3	30
Cleveland	175	50	29
Berkeley	125	34	27
Richmond, Va.	30	8	27
Los Angeles	350	87	25
Oakland	100	23	23
Baltimore	90	20	22
New Orleans	100	20	20
Champaign, Ill.	10	2	20
Twin Cities	225	42	19
Boston	250	42	17
Philadelphia	200	33	17
Milwaukee	150	26	17
Atlanta	225	34	15
Seattle	175	23	13
San Antonio	50	6	12
Houston	300	31	10
Chicago	275	19	7
San Jose	100	7	7
Madison, Wis.	30	2	7
Detroit	200	11	6
San Francisco	275	14	5
Denver	150	3	2
General		46	

YSA Teams		
Wisconsin	145	126 87
New England	80	61 76
New York	160	86 54
Ohio/Kentucky	160	71 44
Texas	160	54 34
Upper Midwest	160	41 26
Rocky Mountain	110	25 23
Illinois/Indiana	160	33 21
Michigan	160	28 18
Northwest	80	13 16
Northern Calif.	140	15 11
Southern Calif.	160	13 8
Mid-Atlantic	160	7 4
Total	5,500	1,723 31
Should be		1,030 19

Son of PSP leader murdered

By Steve Wattenmaker

The oldest son of Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP) leader Juan Mari Bras was assassinated on March 25 in Puerto Rico.

The body of Santiago Mari Pesquera, twenty-four, was found slumped over the wheel of a car in Caguas, a small town about twenty miles from San Juan. Pesquera had been shot once in the head.

Puerto Rican police have charged twenty-three-year-old Henry Coira Stori with the murder. Stori's father is a Cuban exile who is employed as an executive by Eastern Airlines.

The PSP is demanding that the police conduct a serious investigation to discover the full story behind the assassination.

At a news conference in New York City, José Alvarez, first secretary of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, denounced the assassination. He labeled the murder another episode "in the repressive history that independence forces in Puerto Rico have gone through . . . since the invasion of Puerto Rico by the U.S. Army in 1898."

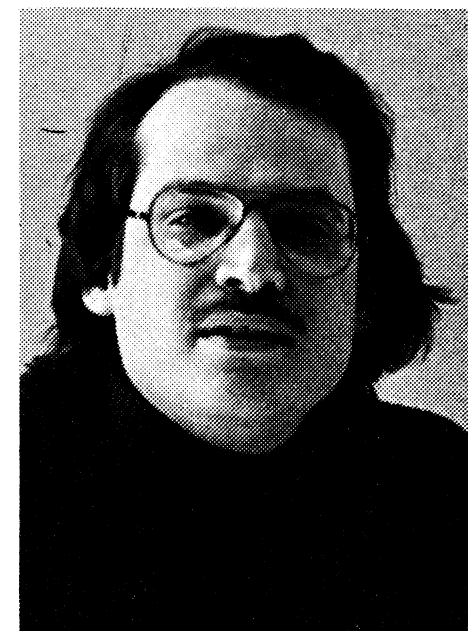
Alvarez pointed out that not one individual has been convicted in connection with the more than 200 violent attacks against the PSP and other proindependence groups during the last several years.

Shortly before Pesquera's murder, a smoke bomb was thrown at the PSP's Central Committee offices in Puerto Rico and a shot was fired into the house of PSP leader Rosi Mari, daughter of Juan Mari Bras.

Alvarez linked the murder and these other recent attacks on the PSP to the election campaign the party is running in Puerto Rico.

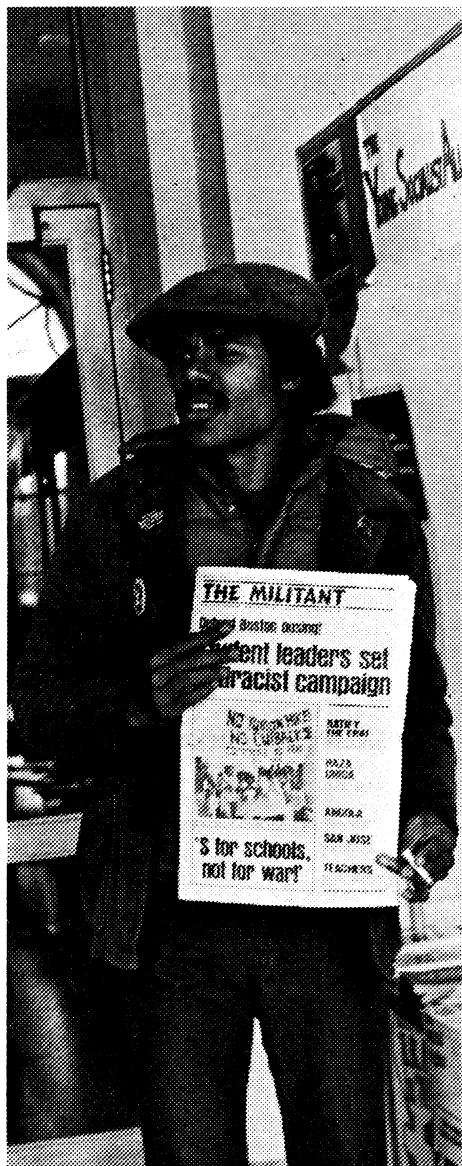
The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Puerto Rico, sent a message of solidarity to Juan Mari Bras and expressed their willingness to join with the PSP and other groups in "mass protests against this vile assassination."

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the United States, sent a message to the PSP expressing "sadness and outrage at the brutal assassination of Santiago Mari Pesquera."



Militant/Steve Wattenmaker

PSP's José Alvarez labeled assassination another episode in 'repressive history' independence forces have gone through.



Militant/Neil Alberding

'Militant' subscription drive is ahead of schedule with 1,723 sold so far this spring.

Dominica: Save Desmond Trotter!

By Noah Ellsworth

Desmond Trotter, a political activist on the Caribbean island of Dominica, faces execution on or before April 8.

Premier Patrick John is currently pressuring the island's Mercy Committee to reject a commutation of Trotter's sentence. The committee hands down only advisory rulings, but a recommendation against execution would force the premier to shoulder full blame for the unpopular act.

Trotter, who is twenty-two years old, has been held in solitary confinement since his arrest in May 1974 on a frame-up charge of murdering an American tourist. At the time of his arrest, Trotter was editor of *Tuaway*, the monthly publication of the Movement for a New Dominica.

Trotter was convicted in a trial that even the acting chief justice of the Caribbean Court of Appeals characterized as having gross irregularities.

A delegation organized by the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) arrived in Dominica March 30 to ask for a commutation of the death sentence. Participating in the delegation are: Philip Wheaton, a representative of the National Council of Churches; Father William Davis, S.J., director of the Office of Social Ministry, U.S. Jesuit Conference; Charles Roach, representing the National Association of Black Lawyers; and Bernard Wiltshire, of the defense committee.

Philip Potter, president of the World

Council of Churches, has also interceded in Trotter's behalf.

Trotter's supporters have planned a picket line outside the British consulate in New York for the afternoon of March 31. (Dominica is an "associate" member of the British Commonwealth.)

An April 4 rally demanding freedom for Desmond Trotter is scheduled for 4 p.m. at the Belrose Ballroom, 1319 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

Telegrams and letters on Trotter's behalf should be sent to Premier Patrick John, Ministerial Building, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies.

For more information contact the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, c/o USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

Dellums refuses presidential nod

Black convention debates electoral action

By Baxter Smith

CINCINNATI—The three-day National Black Political Convention came to an end March 20 when U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums, in the face of a strong desire by participants to launch an independent campaign, declined the group's presidential nomination.

"I am unequivocal in my desire not to run. This is not my role and not my moment," the California Democrat told the 888 delegates and observers.

Dellums's remarks came at the third biennial national Black convention, hosted by the National Black Political Assembly (NBA).

The first convention, in Gary, Indiana, in 1972, drew 8,000 participants. The assembly was founded after Gary to implement the measures embodied in the militant Black Agenda that the convention adopted. It also played host

turning down the assembly's offer, labeling the idea premature.

"Black voters are unprepared to support an independent candidacy," he asserted.

After Bond refused, assembly leaders announced their intention to try to draft Dellums.

Ron Daniels, assembly chairperson, and Mtangulizi Sanyika, who holds the post of "chairperson of political development," told the delegates that in previous discussions Dellums had placed a number of conditions on any decision to run.

Dellums's conditions

First, Dellums had indicated that he had to be free to attend the July convention of the Democratic party where, he said, he would be agitating and heightening the party's "contra-

and member of the Socialist Workers party, explained that the campaign should be based on the Black community and have an independent thrust. He said it should point in the direction of a Black party. His remarks won applause.

Nonetheless, a proposal to approve the NCPP was adopted.

Platform

Later that evening the platform was read to the delegates.

Some parts of it seem to dovetail with the militantly worded Black Agenda passed at Gary. There is a section favoring home rule for majority-Black Washington, D.C. Illegal surveillance and harassment by the CIA, FBI, and other government spy agencies were condemned. A proposal calling for "nationalization of

on Saturday night at the nominating rally.

Black people, Dellums said after a tumultuous introduction, "are being ground up like glass in the insanity of the system."

"I have never believed in blind allegiance to the Democratic party. But while others are out there posing the independent alternative, I had to be inside crystallizing the contradictions," he continued. "Therefore, I am not your candidate."

Understandably, there was considerable letdown, frustration, and alarm in the crowd after Dellums said no. This was indicative of the overwhelming desire to launch an independent Black presidential campaign.

The time for such a campaign is ripe. It would be a goodly step forward for the entire Black community, but only if the thrust of the campaign were clearly independent of the capitalist parties—educating people that the Democratic and Republican parties are among the biggest obstacles to any Black progress, and working to totally erase the support those parties enjoy in the Black community.

It is not at all clear that this is what the leadership of the assembly wants to do.

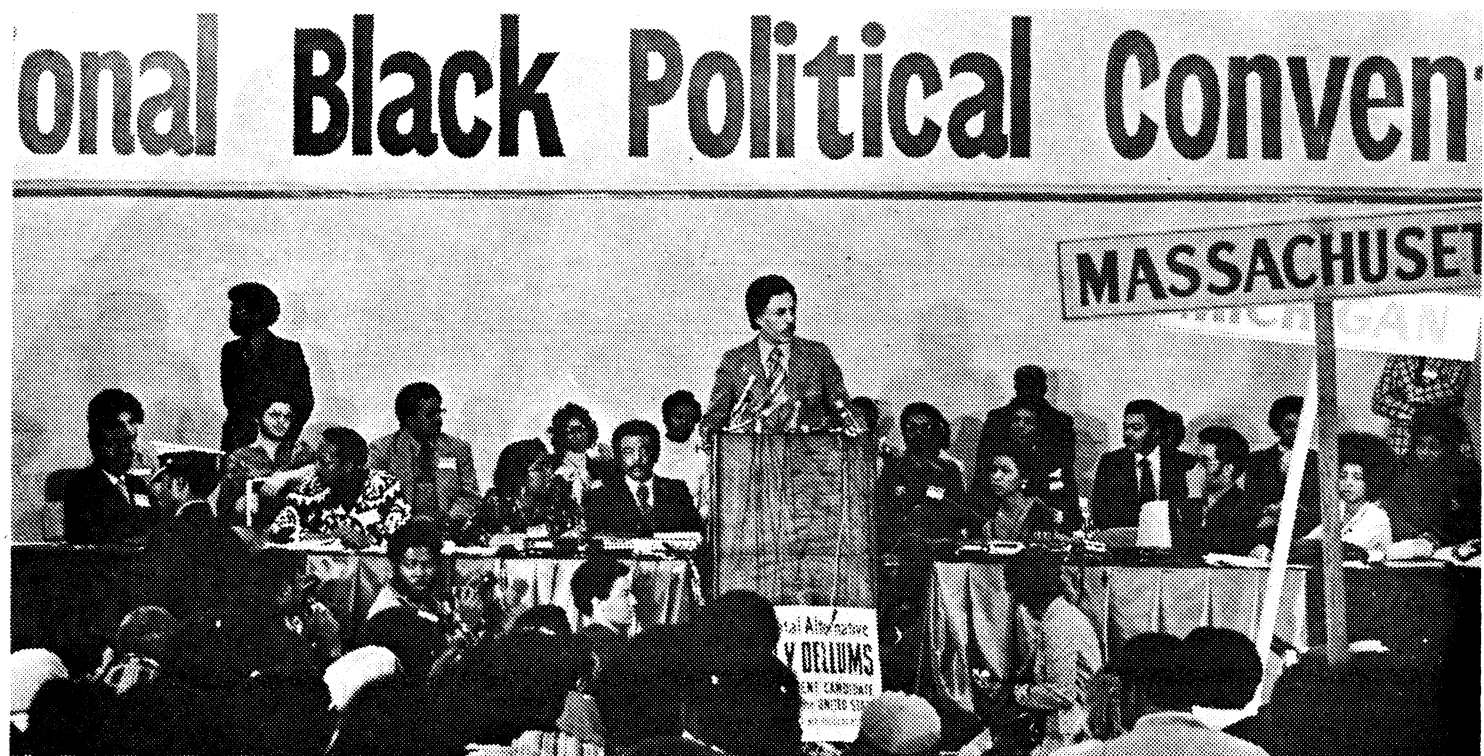
More and more, in public remarks, Daniels has been pointing to the example of George Wallace and how he has been able to pressure the Democratic party.

"George Wallace has never come close to winning the presidency, and never expected to," says Daniels. "But his presence in national politics over the last eight or ten years has driven both parties drastically to the right. Blacks could become this same kind of force to drive both parties to the left."

The gathering here this weekend raised crucial questions for Black people. At the convention there was overwhelming disgust with the Democratic and Republican parties, which are both ignoring the needs of Blacks.

What should be the relationship of Black people to the Democratic party? What would an independent Black political campaign do? How should it relate to the allies of Black people and the working class as a whole? How should it relate to radical groups?

These and other questions will be examined in future issues of the *Militant*.



Dellums addressing convention. Desire by participants to launch independent campaign was strong.

Militant/Baxter Smith

to the Little Rock, Arkansas, Black convention in 1974 that drew 1,700 people.

Eager anticipation

Most conventioners appeared to be students and working people between the ages of twenty and thirty. Some heads of community agencies were present, as well as a small number of prominent Black intellectuals and professors. Unlike previous conventions, however, there were very few Black elected officials.

From the enthusiasm and anticipation displayed at the nominating rally, there was little doubt that people had come with the intention of drawing up a platform speaking to the urgent concerns of the Black community. Most of all they were looking forward to taking the bold step of launching an independent presidential campaign to challenge the decades-old racist rule of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The news media—given the widespread disaffection among Blacks over the inability of the system to meet Black needs, and given the potential of an independent Black presidential campaign as a focus for that disaffection—gave prominent notice to the gathering before it occurred. There were also major network and newspaper coverage and analysis during the convention and upon its conclusion.

In January leaders of the Black Assembly had announced their intention to draft State Sen. Julian Bond, a Georgia Democrat. Bond said he was "pleased and flattered," but would announce his decision at a future date.

The day before the opening of the convention, Bond went on national radio and announced that he was

dictions." Then, if the Democrats did not nominate someone to his liking, he might consider running as the NBA candidate. Even after the Democratic convention, if Dellums decided to run, it was explained, he would impose other conditions he would detail at that time.

Sanyika also described the National Committee for Peoples Politics (NCPP), a group set up to be the campaign organization for the assembly's presidential ticket.

The formal makeup of the NCPP, it was explained, is 51 percent Black and 49 percent white, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American, and Asian-American.

The NCPP is supposed to nominate a vice-presidential candidate and exercise decision-making power over aspects of the campaign. Some of the forces associated with the NCPP, however, favor the strategy of pressuring the Democratic party for concessions. Others favor the creation of something like the 1968 Peace and Freedom party, which ran Eldridge Cleaver for president. This sort of party is set up to protest certain evils of capitalism without getting rid of it.

None of this was explained to the delegates and it was simply stated that it is necessary to have input from other nationalities and races because any presidential campaign would have the potential of appealing to them.

The following day suspicions and sentiment opposing some aspects of what had been proposed were expressed during the plenary session.

Some were confused about what role whites would have in the campaign under the proposal.

Robb Wright, a New York delegate

all our means of production" was adopted. Delegates voted to oppose racist redlining practices in housing.

In a section on education the platform reaffirms the right of Blacks to go to any school, but adds that the "highest priority should be on Black education in the Black community." The section also says that if Blacks are to be bused outside of the Black community, then it should be "to superior schools only."

The education section generally represents an advance over what was adopted at Gary, where all busing was condemned.

Other aspects of the platform, however, are not sufficient to cope with the urgent problems Blacks face. Although a plank was adopted favoring full employment, the platform never spells out what measures would have to be taken to bring it about, such as abolishing the war budget. There was no plank opposing the racist cutbacks in social services, which have affected Blacks the hardest.

Women's rights were not mentioned in the platform. However, a resolution urging passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and urging Black participation in the May 16 Springfield, Illinois, demonstration backing the ERA was adopted in the Black women's workshop.

Although workshop resolutions were supposed to be presented to the delegates for their approval, this was never done because of the tight schedule. One of the resolutions adopted in the workshops supported the April 24 national march on Boston for school desegregation. Another called for support to the case of J.B. Johnson, a Black frame-up victim in St. Louis.

The climax of the convention came

Message from SWP's Reid

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, who attended the convention, distributed the following statement:

"Black people cannot rely any longer on the Democratic and Republican parties for political representation. These parties have sold us out time and time again, and the positions of the current presidential hopefuls show they haven't changed. Not one of them—Democrat or Republican—has stood up to defend the Black community in the face of the assault taking place today. And yet they turn around and appeal to Black people for votes!

"Blacks aren't going to get anywhere at all in the struggle for our rights by supporting politicians of either of these two parties—and that includes Black politicians. . . .

"We need our own political organizations—fighting organizations that would help lead and organize the struggle for our rights. An independent Black political party and an independent labor party could play this role."

UFW launches drive for Calif. labor bill

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—César Chávez announced here March 26 that the United Farm Workers will undertake a massive statewide petitioning campaign to put a farm labor bill before the voters on the June ballot.

Speaking to a crowd of 225 at an East Los Angeles church, Chávez said that the union had "waited too long" for the state legislature to appropriate the \$3.5 million necessary to maintain the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board.

Such a petition drive will involve mobilizing hundreds of volunteers around the state to collect 450,000 signatures by April 28.

The ALRB was established last year and mandated to conduct elections among farm workers to determine which, if any, union the workers preferred.

Over the fall and into January, the UFW won a majority of the elections

despite intense harassment by growers.

In January, the UFW took twenty of twenty-three elections in the important Imperial Valley area, winning 5,000 of 5,480 votes cast.

Obviously frightened by these UFW victories, the grower-influenced legislature—which has a Democratic majority in both houses—refused to appropriate any more funds unless the board instituted new rules for union organizing.

These proposed changes would have sharply curtailed the UFW's ability to organize. The most serious change would even further restrict access by union organizers to company property. Under the existing rules, union organizers may enter the ranches only for an hour before work, at lunch, and at the end of the work day.

Since many of the farm workers are migrant workers with no permanent home addresses, UFW organizers find

it almost impossible to talk to the workers any place else.

The board's rules were upheld as constitutional by the California Supreme Court. However, shortly after the court's ruling, the board announced it would reconsider the rules with an eye to changing them.

Brown's administration made a concession to the growers in its choice of a replacement for a Chicano lawyer who resigned from the ALRB. The new member, a judge, was immediately cheered by grower organizations.

Chávez had harsh words for Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy, who, he said, was more interested in remaining speaker than in justice for farm workers. McCarthy, who wields considerable influence, has hemmed and hawed when challenged to line up the votes for the appropriation.

In the middle of the fight, Governor Edmund Brown named McCarthy to head his California campaign for the

Democratic presidential nomination.

Chávez said that even if the ALRB went back into business immediately, the 7,000 farm workers who harvest the grapes in the important Coachella Valley would not be able to vote because the board could not get set up in less than sixty days.

The delay means that those workers will be forced to work under phony Teamster sweetheart contracts signed in 1973 for at least another year.

The UFW can succeed in getting the initiative on the ballot if the union's supporters around the state are mobilized. There is a wide pro-UFW sympathy in the state, especially among Chicanos. If the union can tap this sentiment, a June victory is certainly a possibility.

A pro-UFW vote would serve notice on politicians of both capitalist parties that the people of California want farm workers to have a chance to lead decent lives.

Berkeley schools hit by steep racist cutbacks

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

BERKELEY, Calif.—The Berkeley school board, pleading insolvency and a financial crisis, has announced layoffs and program reductions of unprecedented scope. If implemented, the cutbacks will devastate education for Black, Chicano, and Asian students.

Of the 250 teachers and staff who have received dismissal notices, 75 percent are Black, Chicano, or Asian. These layoffs based on strict seniority would almost completely destroy the gains of affirmative-action programs that brought minority teachers into the Berkeley schools in the late 1960s.

The program cutbacks will also hit minority students the hardest. The board proposes to cut all ethnic studies programs from the elementary level up to the Black studies department in the high school. Also scheduled to go under the new austerity plan are the special remedial programs geared to the needs of minority students.

The board also plans to eliminate all librarians and school nurses, all languages except French and Spanish, 70 percent of the counselors, and much of the athletics program.

The African Student Alliance, the Black student group at Berkeley High School, issued a statement condemning the racist nature of the cutbacks and calling for defense of the threatened programs. The statement's final demand is "that there be no laying off of any teacher on the basis of seniority. We know that we have always been the last hired and therefore the first fired."

The Black high school students also helped organize two meetings in the Black community, attended by 250

people. Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from California, attended one of these meetings and also spoke to two meetings of the Black students on March 9.

A statement from Musa took on the

school board's claim that there is no money to maintain educational programs. "The truth is just the opposite," Musa said. "If only a fraction of our tax dollars being wasted on the \$100 billion military budget was applied to

educational needs, we would all be able to get a decent education. The Democratic party, however, the party to which Berkeley's school board members belong, is more interested in military spending than education."

On March 10, the African Student Alliance led a walkout of 500 Black students from Berkeley high. The students marched to the University of California campus, where the university Black student group turned over a meeting room to them.

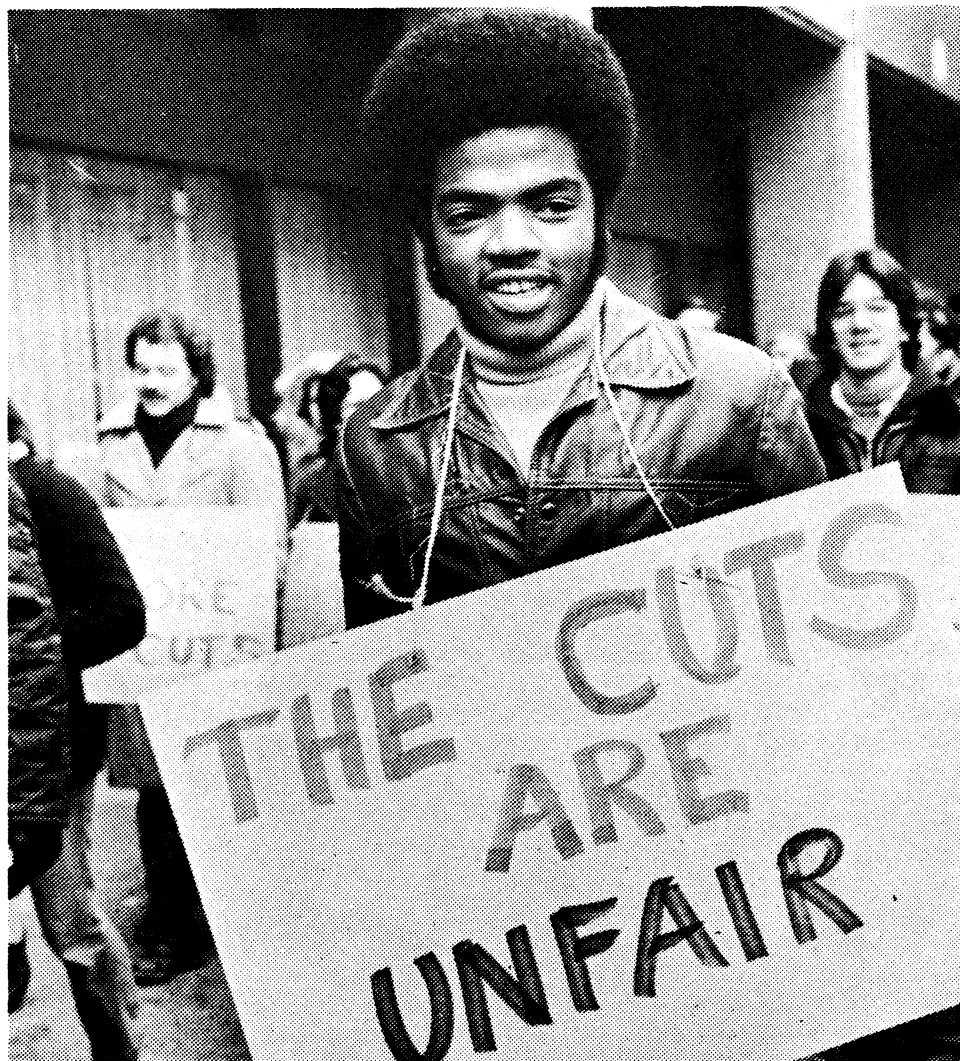
The high school students were joined at the campus by students from Willard Junior High School, who had also walked out.

The students' actions have helped prompt a stronger reaction from teachers. The executive board of the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT) meeting on March 11 set in motion plans for a teach-in against the cutbacks to involve Black students, Black community organizations, parents, and the labor movement.

Walter Merlino, vice-president of the BFT, told the *Militant*, "The Black students are really leading the way, and we teachers have to follow this lead and unite with them."

"You know, the union can't hedge on this question of affirmative action and seniority. The teachers are calling for no layoffs, and that's good—there shouldn't be any. But if there are layoffs we have to make sure that there is the same percentage of Black teachers in the schools after the layoffs as before."

"If we don't support the Black community, how can we expect them to support us?"



Militant/Lou Howort

Limited high court ruling on seniority & job bias

The United States Supreme Court's decision on affirmative action and seniority, handed down March 24, represents a partial victory for civil rights.

But the scope of the decision is extremely limited.

The case before the court involved two Black truck drivers who had applied for jobs with Bowman Transportation Company, a Georgia-based company that had a whites-only hiring policy.

The Blacks went to court and won a ruling that they should be hired. But a lower court turned down their request for seniority dating from their original application at Bowman.

The Supreme Court's five-to-three decision overruled the lower court, saying that the men, as victims of illegal discrimination, must be given retroactive seniority.

This ruling extends seniority rights only to those who can prove in federal court that they applied for a job and were not hired because of illegal discrimination.

What about those who didn't even apply for a particular job because it was widely known to be off limits for women or minorities?

What about all those women and Blacks who are now being laid off by a different company from the one that refused to hire them before?

The court didn't say.

The scope of the case was so narrow that even George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed the right of these two Black truck drivers to retroactive seniority, on the grounds that they could prove discrimination as individuals.

The AFL-CIO tops viewed this as consistent with their general stand of

opposing any modification of the seniority system that would protect women and minorities as a group from bearing an unfair burden of layoffs under the "last hired, first fired" setup.

But discriminatory layoffs are not just an individual problem. They result from entrenched patterns of hiring discrimination affecting all Blacks and all women.

The AFL-CIO's court brief emphasized that it was still opposed to giving women and minorities "preferential protection against layoff [as] the only way to preserve racial or sexual balance in the workforce."

In other words, no across-the-board adjustment in seniority to prevent a decrease in the percentage of Black and women employees. That is a formula for reversion on a massive scale to the racial imbalance established by years of discrimination.

'Real aliens here are Anglos'

Camejo hits drive against workers from Mexico

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—The slogan coined by this city's business interests says, "San Antonio—tenth in population, first in business opportunities."

But to the working people of San Antonio, it's clear the city fathers mean two different kinds of "opportunity": the capitalists have an opportunity to make huge profits and the workers have an opportunity to compete for some of the lowest wages in the country.

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, came to San Antonio for four days during his mid-March tour of Texas. Speaking to campus and community meetings, Camejo pointed to one of the key reasons for the low wages here in the area stretching south to the Rio Grande Valley.

"They try to divide working people," Camejo stated to a meeting of 100 students at San Antonio College (SAC) May 18. "They try to make us think unemployment is caused by undocumented workers coming in from Mexico. By stirring up this hatred, they think we will lose sight of the fact that it's the capitalists, not the Mexican workers, who are responsible for low wages and high unemployment."

"They talk about 'illegal aliens,'" he continued. "But if anyone is an alien in Texas, it's the Anglos. The people threatened with deportation have an-

cestors who were in this part of the country 10,000 years ago." The audience at SAC, approximately half Chicano, greeted this point with enthusiastic applause.

Camejo then described the danger to immigrant workers represented by a new bill concocted by Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.). This bill is similar to one sponsored by Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) in the House and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) in the Senate, but it is considered to have better prospects for passage.

Like the Kennedy-Rodino bill, the Eastland bill would supposedly penalize employers for hiring workers who lack the proper legal papers. In fact, it would provide provocation for intensified intimidation and exploitation of undocumented workers.

"Working people have a right to a job no matter which side of the river they're born on," Camejo said of this racist piece of legislation.

He explained that by eliminating the \$115 billion war budget we could put everyone to work at union wages building decent housing, health, and educational facilities.

During Camejo's tour here he also spoke to an outdoor rally of more than 300 Black, Chicano, and white students at St. Philip's College March 17.

A high point of Camejo's tour was the May 20 Texas-wide campaign rally and barbecue held in San Antonio.



Militant/David Salner

CAMEJO: "Working people have a right to a job no matter which side of the river they're born on."

SWP senatorial candidate Pedro Vázquez greeted the 125 campaign supporters, many of whom had come from as far away as Dallas, Houston, or Austin. Vázquez recently announced his campaign against millionaire Democrat Lloyd Bentsen.

John Dauer gave greetings from the San Antonio United Farm Workers

boycott support committee. "I know for sure there aren't any other political parties that would give us time to explain the boycott to their supporters," he declared.

Joanne Haensgen, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress from the Eighteenth Congressional District, pointed to the importance of the nationwide demonstration in support of the Equal Rights Amendment scheduled for May 16 in Springfield, Illinois.

An appeal for funds by Harry Ring of the *Militant* Southwest Bureau raised more than \$2,000.

On Sunday following the rally Camejo spoke to the weekly meeting of TU CASA, an organization that actively defends the rights of undocumented workers.

Camejo toured Dallas, Austin, and Houston as well as San Antonio. The tour was particularly well received by the media in Dallas. "Virtually everyone who reads the newspaper or watches TV in Dallas had a chance to find out about the socialist campaign," reported Camejo.

The success of Camejo's tour in Texas was summed up by Cecilio García-Camarillo, editor of the Chicano newspaper *El Caracol*. "It showed people that one presidential candidate is right out there in support of TU CASA and La Raza Unida Party. Camejo has a lot to say to people in the Southwest."

High court rules against free speech, GI rights

By Nancy Cole

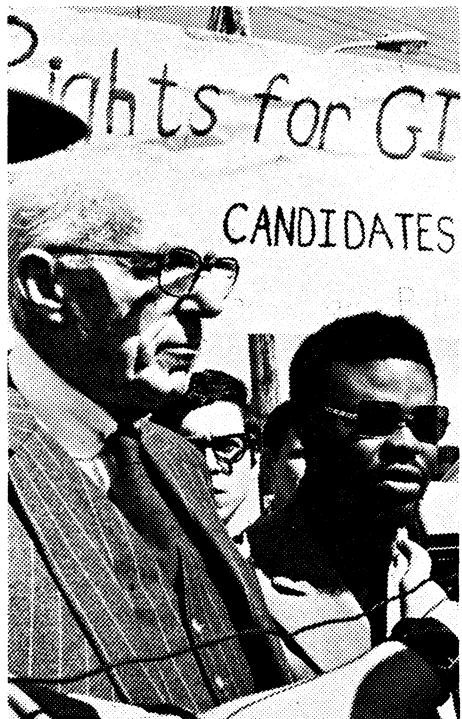
The U.S. Supreme Court has okayed government attempts at preventing dissident political views from reaching military men and women.

In a six-to-two decision released March 24, the court reversed a 1972 appeals court ruling that had granted socialist and antiwar candidates the right to campaign on army bases.

The high court justified its ruling by supporting the brass's claim that the military is "politically neutral." The business of military bases, the justices stated, is "to train soldiers, not to provide a public forum" for candidates.

The case stemmed from an incident in 1972 when Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and People's party presidential candidate Benjamin Spock were denied access to the Fort Dix military base in New Jersey. They had planned to hold a campaign rally on the open base.

The candidates sued the army. Represented by David Kairys of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, they argued, and a court of appeals concurred, that there can be no



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Pulley (right) and Spock confront Fort Dix official in 1972. Supreme Court says they had no right to campaign on base.

"antiseptic policy" regarding political campaigning among the military.

Soldiers are constantly exposed to political candidates that have enough money and prominence to attract national media coverage, the appeals court decided.

This decision was a victory for free speech and especially for the constitutional rights of GIs. The campaign rally went on as planned, and 100 active-duty GIs, along with 100 others, attended.

The army appealed the decision, and the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. Arguments were heard November 5, 1975.

Writing for the majority of the court, Justice Potter Stewart contended that Fort Dix had a policy, "objectively and even-handedly applied, of keeping official military activities there wholly free of entanglement with partisan political campaigns of any kind."

In a dissenting opinion, Justice William Brennan, Jr., noted that a previous Supreme Court decision had upheld leafleting at Fort Sam Houston in Texas. The only difference with the

Fort Dix case, he said, is that the Texas case involved "an innocuous leafleteer" and this one, Spock, "one of this country's most vociferous opponents of the exercise of military power."

The SWP's Pulley, an ex-GI, was also known as an antiwar leader. After helping form GIs United Against the War while stationed at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, he was thrown into the stockade along with seven other GIs. The political frame-up became known as the case of the Fort Jackson Eight.

Pulley, currently a candidate for Congress in Chicago's First Congressional District, hit the court's decision as a violation of "constitutional rights, and not just the rights of active members of the armed forces. It's a blow to everybody's democratic rights."

"This Supreme Court decision means that freedom of speech and the right to hear no longer stand," commented Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Socialist opens campaign for L.A. supervisor

By David Jerome

LOS ANGELES—Socialist Workers party member Margaret Mora announced her candidacy for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors March 12.

Mora pledged to campaign in defense of desegregation of Los Angeles schools and against the racist cop murders that have plagued the Black and Chicano communities here.

Mora is running in the officially "nonpartisan" race for the second of Los Angeles County's five districts. Encompassing nearly all of the Los Angeles Black community, her district includes the Crenshaw, South Central, and Watts areas.

A week prior to her campaign

announcement, the Los Angeles school board passed a resolution opposing desegregation "through the use of compulsory busing." A desegregation order is expected this spring from the California Supreme Court.

At the following meeting of the school board, Mora joined with leaders of the Black and Chicano communities in demanding that the measure be rescinded. This forced the board to reverse itself and let stand a vote in favor of school desegregation, never put into practice, that was adopted in 1967.

"This means that the school board is content to allow segregated education in Los Angeles until the courts order a desegregation plan," Mora responded. "But we've already waited too long.

It's time to organize a public show of support for desegregation that can force the school board to take action."

Mora's opponents in the election either claim that desegregation isn't a county issue and therefore doesn't concern their campaign, or else oppose busing outright.

The county board of supervisors here wields a lot of power. With a yearly budget of more than \$4 billion, it is responsible for most public health services and welfare distribution. It also directly governs many large areas of Los Angeles, including the East Los Angeles barrio.

Mora has taken a stand firmly against the proposed cutbacks in drug- and alcohol-abuse programs. She also condemned the cancellation of the

"well baby" program, which offers free periodic check-ups for young children of low-income parents.

Mora, twenty-seven, "has never been a lawyer, a banker, a judge, or a cop—the professions that usually 'qualify' one to be a supervisor," states her campaign biography. "Instead, Margaret Mora works for a living and is an activist in the Chicano movement, the women's liberation movement, and the socialist movement."

She is a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and of the Los Angeles Equal Rights Coalition.

In the weeks prior to the March 12 announcement, Mora's supporters went door to door in the Black community, collecting more than 4,000 signatures to place her name on the ballot.

Despite undemocratic laws

Socialists target 30 states for ballot drive

By Ed Heisler

It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, or a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, than it is for third parties to get on the ballot.—Public Broadcasting System commentator Bill Moyers during documentary on Socialist Workers party presidential campaign, televised in New York March 29.

Candidates with the audacity to enter electoral politics outside the arena of Democratic and Republican electioneering do face what may appear as insurmountable obstacles.

Dissident political parties must spend inordinate quantities of their time and limited resources on securing a recognition and legitimacy automatically granted the two capitalist parties.

This year's bicentennial election is highlighting the two parties' stranglehold on the electoral arena for more and more Americans. Public confidence in the Democratic and Republi-

Ed Heisler is a chairperson of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee.

can parties is at an all-time low. This is illustrated by the small voter turnouts in the primaries, the greater numbers of "unaffiliated" voters, and the results of frequent opinion polls.

Yet every election rule, regulation, and law—and there are some new ones this time around—is designed to strengthen the faltering capitalist parties, while erecting barriers for those that would challenge them.

The new tax-subsidized "public financing" goes only to Democrats and Republicans. Equal-time provisions have been all but eliminated for dissident candidates. Individual states require as many as 640,000 petition signatures to place the name of a third party on the ballot.

And the list goes on.

Roadblocks

With all these roadblocks, the uninitiated might conjecture that a socialist campaign for president would spend all of its energy on organizational hassles, leaving little time for the whole point of such a campaign: to reach people with socialist ideas and solutions.

Not true. With eight months left until the elections, supporters of the Socialist Workers party's presidential campaign have already distributed 654,000 copies of its platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," in

PBS features Camejo

The Public Broadcasting Service program "USA: People and Politics" featuring Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo was broadcast March 29, the same day that revelations about FBI burglaries of SWP offices hit front pages around the country.

With a blowup of the *New York Times* story on the disclosures in the background, PBS commentator Bill Moyers opened the show by explaining the difficulties faced by socialist candidates, including government harassment and restrictive ballot laws.

The filmed segment showed Camejo campaigning on the streets of Boston, a picket line demanding that the League of Women Voters include Camejo in their presidential candidates' forums, and interviews with Camejo and campaign workers.



Militant/Joseph Ryan



Militant/Martha Harris

Socialist campaigning. Election laws are rigged against third parties, but hard-working volunteers help overcome many obstacles.

hundreds of cities across the nation.

The candidates—Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president—have crisscrossed the country several times speaking to campus and community audiences, greeting working people on the street and at their job sites, and appearing with increasing regularity in the news media.

For this post-Watergate election—when revelations of government crimes compete for headlines with dire economic forecasts—the socialist campaign is the only alternative.

The next gigantic step is to put that serious alternative on the November ballot in thirty states. By November 2, 1976, an estimated one-half million people will have signed nominating petitions or attended state conventions to put Camejo and Reid and other socialist candidates on the ballot.

Will top 1972 record

This will top the record-breaking accomplishment of 1972. That year the SWP slate of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley appeared on the ballot in twenty-three states and the District of Columbia.

Eight new states are targeted for ballot drives this year: Alabama, Delaware, Illinois, Missouri, Nevada, Ohio, Tennessee, and Virginia.

The national campaign committee's confidence that this ambitious goal will become a reality is based on the spirit, as well as the number, of volunteers that have already contributed their time and money to the socialist campaign.

One small example: Last month Camejo was interviewed on WBRU radio in Providence, Rhode Island. One individual, new to the socialist campaign, listened and then wrote to the national campaign office:

"I heard what the candidate representing the SWP was saying. I am very interested in the party being on

the ballot in thirty states. Please tell me if Massachusetts is one state where the party can be elected to represent people." (It is.)

Another wrote:

"I was very pleased to hear of the overwhelming rebirth of the Socialist [Workers] party in this coming year's national election. . . . In early June I will be eighteen and shall vote for the party in November. I would like to do more than this and would like to bring the Socialist [Workers] party to Rhode Island in a more active form. . . . Is there some way I could help?"

90,000 names

So far 90,000 signatures have been collected on SWP nominating petitions. The SWP is certified for ballot status in Michigan, and petitions have been filed in Ohio, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania.

The successful Pennsylvania drive was one of the most challenging the party will attempt this year. The state law requires collecting more than 30,000 signatures of registered voters in only three weeks.

As election officials are notorious for seeking technicalities on which to disqualify socialists' nominating petitions, Pennsylvania supporters collected a total of 49,000 names.

Petitioners made good use of the time spent petitioning by distributing a leaflet introducing the socialist campaign. Seventy-five people who received it later wrote in to volunteer their help or to request more information.

"I think that we will run into a similar response in our petitioning everywhere this year," said Fred Stanton, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania and an active petitioner in this year's drive. "I would just say, 'Please sign here to put socialist candidates on the ballot,' and more often than not people would sign

with no hesitation. I got the feeling that it was the 'socialist' in my pitch that did it."

Massachusetts drive

Preparatory work for the Massachusetts petitioning is already under way. The drive to collect 75,000 signatures will not be launched until May. The logistics of the drive—which has the highest goal for 1976—are being worked out by the state campaign committee in cooperation with the newly established SWP branches in Cambridge and Roxbury.

Campaign workers will petition for Camejo and Reid; Carol Henderson Evans, candidate for U.S. Senate; and James (Mac) Warren, who is running for the House of Representatives in Boston's Ninth Congressional District. Warren, whose district includes the Black community of Roxbury, has been a leader of the desegregation fight in Boston.

"Our petitioning drive will be part and parcel of our effort to bring the socialist campaign to every Black student, parent, and worker in Roxbury and throughout Boston," said Warren.

"We expect a good response in the neighborhoods where there are people, Black and white, who oppose racist mob violence and favor the right of Black students to be bused to the schools of their choice."

Prohibitive election laws in several states will probably keep the socialists off the ballot. The worst of these is California, which requires that a new party collect 640,000 signatures on petitions or register 64,000 voters into the party.

The fight to open up the California ballot is a top priority for the ten California campaign committees—six of which have opened new offices in the past few months.

A challenge to this undemocratic election law was filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws in behalf of the Socialist Workers party, Raza Unida party, and several others in 1973.

"We'll take this case to the Supreme Court if necessary," says Omari Musa, SWP senatorial candidate in California. "We're determined to put the SWP on the California ballot."

Volunteers needed

The Socialist Workers party national campaign committee urges readers of the *Militant* to help put the SWP on the ballot in your state.

Volunteers can help by serving as presidential electors. Circulating nominating petitions on campus, at shopping centers, or among neighbors and co-workers. Preparing the petitions for filing once signed. And more.

Fill in the coupon below and return it to the SWP branch nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 30) or to the national campaign committee.

() I want to help put Camejo and Reid on the ballot in my state. I am, or will be, a registered voter in the state of _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

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

Lessons for steel

Does labor need 'another Roosevelt'?



By Andy Rose

(Third of a series)

"We really want Hubert Humphrey," says I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), in discussing this year's presidential race.

Abel hastens to add that just about any Democrat will do. The main thing, in his view, is to defeat Ford.

The steelworkers union has been involved in politics since its inception as the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in 1936. Involved, that is, in the sense of contributing large sums of money to Democratic candidates, and urging its members and other workers to register Democratic and vote Democratic.

What benefits, if any, steelworkers have received in return for these generous contributions is another question.

It is a question that ought to be considered by those who are challenging the Abel bureaucracy for its dictatorial methods of running the union and its failure to stand up for the interests of the ranks.

Ed Sadlowski, director of USWA District 31 and leader of a new movement called Steelworkers Fight Back, believes that organized labor cannot survive the "assault of the multinational corporations and the conglomerates unless it makes political action its primary concern."

Sadlowski says that the "big guys are getting bigger and bigger, and we need political muscle to beat them." In an interview with Sidney Lens published in *Chicago* magazine, Sadlowski predicts that in the years ahead labor will form its own political party.

For now, however, he is backing Democrat Fred Harris for president.

For forty years the steelworkers—like most unions—have been firmly tied to the Democratic party. Can they build their "political muscle" by perpetuating that alliance? Or is the time long overdue for the unions to launch their own independent party?

Supporters of Sadlowski's fight for a militant, democratic labor movement

can gain insight into these questions by looking back at the origin and historic high point of the Democratic-labor alliance: Roosevelt's New Deal and the rise of the CIO.

* * *

Down through the years, the union officialdom has kept alive the myth of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt, the story goes, led the country out of the Great Depression. He "gave" labor the right to organize. He "gave" jobs to the unemployed.

The facts don't square with the myth.

Roosevelt, of course, never worked for a living or belonged to a union. He was a wealthy landowner and long-time Democratic officeholder, swept into the White House in 1932 by the wave of popular hatred for his predecessor, Herbert Hoover.

New Deal: 'A happy phrase'

Roosevelt also had a catchy campaign slogan about a "new deal for the American people." His labor secretary, Frances Perkins, later acknowledged that "the New Deal was not a plan with form or content. It was a happy phrase he had coined during the campaign, and its value was psychological. It made people feel better. . . ."

Roosevelt, a clever and agile politician, adapted his rhetoric to the militancy that was rising among the workers. He condemned the "economic royalists" and the "unscrupulous money changers." He spoke on national radio about his concern for "the little man."

Roosevelt stepped on the toes of some capitalists, and shocked the more shortsighted bosses with his break from past government policies. When business tycoons blasted Roosevelt as a "socialist" or a "pawn of the unions," it naturally added to his immense popularity among workers.

But Roosevelt's economic policies were never directed against big business. On the contrary, what really

distinguished Roosevelt was his readiness to use any means, no matter how drastic, to save dying American capitalism.

His bank moratorium of 1933, for example, halted the breakdown of the banking system by consolidating the power and holdings of the biggest banks, while wiping out thousands of smaller ones and ruining small depositors.

His National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA) of 1933 was intended to give the big capitalists greater "incentive" to produce by legalizing monopoly trade agreements and price-fixing.

'Aid' to jobless

Demagogy alone could not hold the allegiance of the workers for long, of course. Some genuine concessions were granted under the Roosevelt administration, such as public-works jobs on an unprecedented scale.

The real credit for these, however, goes to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers who marched, protested, and fought for these jobs. And it was a continual battle to stop cutbacks in the programs and to win wages above the starvation level.

Roosevelt's alleged benevolence has been most puffed up with regard to the NRA's famous Section 7A, which supposedly gave legal protection to the right of workers to organize.

John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers and founder of the CIO, was one of the main fighters for Section 7A and probably its author. He later revealed to his biographer, Saul Alinsky:

"This great friend of organized labor repeatedly fought in a most underhanded way against the inclusion of Section 7A in NRA and forced us to utilize all kinds of tactics, many of which I have a great deal of distaste for.

"Flattery was used on the President to an unprecedented degree, trying to assuage his feelings of hostility toward this one section. He was told that he was the great friend of the working man, that American laborers were looking up to him as their Messiah, that while everyone knew it would take great courage, compassion, and humanitarianism to stand by this one section, Section 7A, they also knew Franklin D. Roosevelt was the epitome of courage, compassion, and humanitarianism.

"That kind of stuff was used not just daily, but hourly."

Worse, "that kind of stuff" was peddled to the workers as well.

Even though Lewis later admitted that he "began to question and wonder and have reservations about the President" back in 1933, he didn't pass these doubts on to the American workers.

Instead, in the 1936 campaign Lewis proclaimed that "labor has gained more under President Roosevelt than under any president in memory. Obviously it is the duty of labor to support Roosevelt 100 percent."

'National Run Around'

When the workers in mass-production industry, inspired by the belief that union rights now had legal sanction, sought to organize, they soon found that neither Roosevelt nor Section 7A could be relied upon for help.

In fact, the upsurge of strikes that began in 1933 was hit with an increase in employer violence and government strikebreaking.

When coal miners in the steel companies' captive mines struck in 1933, Roosevelt opened an investigation of "communism" in the strike and ordered the mine union leaders to end it. They obliged.

In 1934 the long-abused and exploited textile workers in the deep South rose up in their greatest strike ever. Roosevelt cajoled them back to work without a contract.

It was seven more years before the captive coal mines were organized. The Southern textile industry remains

overwhelmingly nonunion to this day.

With Roosevelt's approval, NRA labor codes were established that gave proportional representation on bargaining committees to company unions, and assured employers the right to hire and fire solely on "merit"—the classical gimmick for discriminating against unionists.

The promises of the NRA soured so fast that disillusioned unionists renamed it the "National Run Around."

The right to organize was not "given" by Roosevelt. It was won by the sit-down strikers in the Flint, Michigan, auto plants in the winter of 1936-37, and by their fellow workers on picket lines across the country. As noted in previous articles, Roosevelt publicly repudiated the militant unionists at critical points in these strike battles.

Covered up for Democrats

In *Labor on the March*, a history of the early CIO written in 1938, Edward Levinson makes this revealing observation: "Some among the C.I.O. leaders felt that caution would be the better part of truth in handling the President's letting down of the 'Little Steel' strikers. They felt that the C.I.O.'s strongest stock in trade was to continue the appearance of an association with the President."

Despite their clearer vision of the need for industrial unionism, Lewis and the other CIO leaders had no more confidence than their AFL counterparts in the independent power of the workers.

Instead, the CIO tops pinned their hopes on getting into Roosevelt's good graces. To that end, they did more than endorse and contribute to his campaigns.

They covered up for the Democratic administration's antilabor crimes.

They restrained (when they could) the militancy and initiative of the ranks.

They took the powerful labor political organization they initiated in 1936—Labor's Non-Partisan League—which could have spearheaded formation of an independent labor party, and used it as a vote-catching machine for the Democratic party.

More than a few militants learned through bitter experience the real role of the Democratic administration. Levinson wrote: "In 1936, pictures of Lewis and Roosevelt hung side by side in a million union halls and workers' homes. In 1937, the photographs of Lewis alone remained."

* * *

Subservience to one of the two political parties of the boss class would soon cripple the tumultuous social movement that was the early CIO. But the mass industrial unions are its lasting heritage.

They provide the objective foundation for labor's next giant step—not a step backward to embrace another charlatan like Roosevelt, but forward to independent political action by the workers themselves.

(Next week: from *New Deal* to *War Deal*)

Further reading on—

Labor history and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$3.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$2.45

Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$2.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$2.95

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

N.J. bus drivers lose cost-of-living protection

By Jim Kendrick

NEWARK—The 3,400 striking bus drivers, clerks, and mechanics at Transport of New Jersey (TNJ) voted by a slim margin March 22 to accept a company offer limiting their cost-of-living clause.

The 1,546-to-1,441 vote narrowly defeated the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) leadership's recommendation to continue the walkout for preservation of an open-ended escalator clause, which the union has had since 1951.

The new contract provides for 6 percent annual wage increases in 1976 and 1977. If the government's Consumer Price Index rises more than 6 percent, workers may get an additional adjustment of no more than 2 percent.

Frank Armenante, president of ATU Local 819, called the vote "a defeat for all organized labor in New Jersey." It is also expected to embolden transportation officials in upcoming ATU contract talks in Massachusetts, California, and Wisconsin.

Charles Humphrey, an ATU shop steward, charged that "scare tactics" and government pressure were used to get the contract approved.

TNJ is privately owned and run for profit. But it gets some 30 percent of its income from state subsidies. New Jersey Democratic Gov. Brendan Byrne, as part of a New York-style program of social service cutbacks, had already reduced mass transit subsidies from \$122 million to \$92 million.

Byrne declared that the state could not afford continuation of the cost-of-living clause, and threatened to slash subsidies even further if TNJ accepted

a contract that state authorities deemed "unreasonable."

TNJ, which dropped or reduced service on twenty bus lines in December, threatened to reduce service still more—or even go out of business—if the workers rejected its contract offer. It also sought to pit riders against employees by threatening fare hikes.

TNJ has about 15 percent minority employees, hired under an affirmative-action program. Since they would be the first fired in any new layoffs, they came under special pressure to accept the company offer.

The walkout was 100 percent effective throughout its two-week duration. The problem was that it could not be won on the picket lines alone.

Transit workers needed a perspective that could rebut the governor's propaganda and rally support from riders and other working people. In other words, they needed a program for efficient, free or low-cost public transportation.

That would have entailed challenging the operation of TNJ by private owners on a profit basis. It would have meant fighting for full federal funding of mass transit. It would have meant assuring that Black employees would not be victimized by discriminatory layoffs.

Without such a program the union appeared isolated, with little hope of standing up to the state government. Many drivers evidently concluded that the limited wage pact offered the best hope of saving their jobs.

But the very day after they returned to work, state officials declared that new fare hikes, service cutbacks, and layoffs will take place anyway. They blamed the "cost of the settlement."

...San Francisco strike

Continued from back page

says John Crowley, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council.

The strike was prompted by the antilabor offensive that has been carried out by local capitalist politicians almost unceasingly since the city employees' 1974 strike. In November 1974, Proposition L was placed on the ballot to cut the pay of all city workers. It was defeated.

In the November 1975 elections the city administration took a different tack, singling out the relatively better-paid crafts workers. Proposition B was put forward to repeal a longstanding city charter provision granting crafts workers employed by the city the prevailing wage in private industry.

Under the impact of the "fiscal crisis" scare and defeats suffered by New York City workers, a barrage of antiunion propaganda, and a weak response from the union officialdom, Proposition B passed by a two-to-one margin.

In negotiations this year, the board of supervisors began to implement the wage-cutting policy. It refused to recognize raises of about \$1 an hour coming up in private industry for laborers, plumbers, electricians, machinists, carpenters, and others between now and July. Instead, the city insisted on paying the lower rates prevalent in other cities.

The board's stand would have meant that members of the same union, doing the same work, would be paid significantly less if they worked for the city than in private industry. The union leaders viewed this as a threat to the very existence of their unions.

They answered the city's plea of poverty by demanding that union economic experts be allowed to examine the city's books.

The unions have sought extension of

an April 1 deadline for resolving wage agreements, in the hope of negotiating a compromise.

But the board proceeded on March 29 to adopt a pay ordinance incorporating about one million dollars in wage cuts for the ten unions still holding out. Pleas to extend the deadline were turned down cold.

Against this background, union leaders here see the work stoppage as a lockout, forced on them by the city's intransigent antilabor stance.

Talk of a general strike is in the air. This is no accident. It flows from the traditions established by the 1934 general strike in San Francisco and the high degree of union consciousness that exists here.

The crafts workers are the focus of the current attack precisely because, ever since 1934, they have succeeded in winning and holding wages and conditions better than those in most other areas.

So far the strike remains a city workers' strike. It appears to be moving toward winning support from all city employees, organized and even in some cases unorganized.

The combined effect of the militant traditions and the dynamics of the unfolding test of strength will very shortly pose the question of which way the strike will go.

A copy-editing error altered the meaning of the concluding sentence in Nat Weinstein's article last week, "S.F. union officials threaten general strike." The sentence printed as "And this threatened resort to one of the several political forms of the class struggle. . . ." should have read: "And this threatened resort to a generalized political form of the class struggle. . . ."

Miners testify

How coal profiteers flout U.S. safety laws

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The testimony of miners before a Senate committee has bared the lies of government and company officials about the recent disaster at the Scotia coal mine in Owen Fork, Kentucky. Twenty-six men were killed in explosions there March 9 and 11.

Appearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor, which opened hearings on mine safety March 24, were Ernest Sturgill and Everet Boggs, former employees of Scotia. Two other miners, now unemployed because the mine where the explosions occurred is sealed, agreed to testify but later reneged, citing fear of "blackbaling" by Scotia officials.

The explosions, in the deepest of the Scotia mine's three levels, are believed to have resulted from an accumulation

"not enough air reaching the working face," "high methane concentration," and "approved ventilation plan not being followed."

What is perhaps even more astonishing is that Scotia was considered by federal officials to have a relatively good safety record. Robert Barrett, chief administrator for the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA), told the committee that Scotia had fewer violations than the national average.

A UMW preliminary report on the disaster found that the ventilation citations were "paid off at a cost of roughly \$125 per violation, with the cost incorporated in the price charged to consumers for Scotia's coal and thus passed on to others."

MESA used to assess higher fines for violations, "but we could not get



of methane, an odorless and colorless gas. Only the day before the first explosion, a federal inspector had cited the mine for three safety violations, two of them for insufficient ventilation.

Miners Boggs and Sturgill, both in their early twenties, now work at a mine organized by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Scotia has only a company union. The safety training and enforcement at the two mines are as different as "day and night," Sturgill said.

They both told the Senate committee how the safety requirements of the federal law were uniformly flouted at Scotia. As for the federal inspector, Sturgill said, "You know when he's coming, you put up a curtain [to direct fresh air to the area under inspection], and when he leaves, you take it down."

The miners explained how the legally required methane monitors built into the continuous-mining machines were tampered with. These devices are supposed to automatically shut off the machine when an unsafe level of gas accumulates.

"I ran one for a month without a monitor," Boggs said. "The boss carried a personal detector, but I didn't even have one of those."

The self-rescuer (oxygen mask), for which instruction on use is required, "was just handed to me before I went into the mine the first day," Boggs told the senators. "They gave you a paper and told you to read it."

Despite Scotia's efforts to give federal inspectors the royal tour, the mine has an astonishing record of safety citations, the Senate hearings revealed. From 1974 through January 1976, federal inspectors cited the mine sixty-three times for ventilation violations, including repeated findings of

collections," testified Madison McCulloch, MESA's chief assessment officer. Companies would contest the assessment, and administrative law judges would always reduce the fines, he said. So to reduce their backlog, in 1974 MESA adopted new regulations more in line with what companies were willing to pay.

A battery of officials and lawyers from the Blue Diamond Coal Company—Scotia's parent firm—denied all charges of tampering with federal regulations. Scotia's record of safety violations was dismissed as "mostly minor ones, bolts missing, etc.," by Executive Vice-president Dr. Frank Thomas.

"It disturbed me very much that these two young men [Boggs and Sturgill] said those things," intoned General Manager Robert Cornwell several times.

Throughout their delicate questioning of both MESA and company officials, the senators expressed shock and dismay that laws they had passed were not being enforced.

At one point committee head Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) commented, "We're all learning here." Scotia's Cornwell nodded in agreement.

By the end of the second day's hearing, Williams proclaimed, "I have come around to criminal penalties. My patience has run out."

Yet this same committee—with most of the same senators as members—has heard the same tragic stories for at least a decade.

Improvements in the safety and benefits afforded U.S. miners have been brought about by the organized struggle of miners—not from any senator's "impatience." And that's the way future Scotias will be prevented.

Calendar

ATLANTA

IN SUPPORT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE: RALLY TO PROTEST ZIONIST TERROR AND REPRESSION. Speakers: Peter Seidman, member SWP National Committee; Fouad Moughrabi, Univ. of Tennessee professor; others. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

DENVER

COLORADO SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE. Panel discussion with Everett Chávez on bilingual education and Raul González on Chicanos in the 1976 elections. Sat., April 10, 6 p.m. 1379 Kalamath. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Colorado Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

HOUSTON

SOCIALISM: WHAT IT IS. A weekly discussion about socialism. *Can American workers change the system?* Sat., April 10, 3 p.m. Castellano Room, University Center, U. of Houston. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

UNION WOMEN SPEAK OUT! A panel discussion. Panelists: Clara Day, Teamsters, Houston CLUW vice-president; Harriet Mauzy, president, Houston Teachers Association; and Rosa Walker, director, Women's Activities Division, AFL-CIO. Sat., April 10, 7:30 p.m. Dance and party follow panel. Motion Picture Operators Hall, 816 Hamilton (at Walker). Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Houston Coalition of Labor Union Women. For more information call (713) 528-5956.

LOS ANGELES

SUPPORT THE BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. A dinner and rally featuring Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., April 10. Dinner: 6:30 p.m.; rally: 8 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$3.50 for dinner and rally. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 735-9801.

MILWAUKEE

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. A class series. *Labor's strategic line of march.* Sat., April 10, 2 p.m. 207 E. Michigan St., Room 25. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW ORLEANS

ANGOLA AND THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Virginia Collins, Ethiopian Women; Larry Jones, director, St. Bernard Neighborhood Center; Mtumishi St. Julian, Ahidiana; Tony Thomas, member SWP National Committee. Fri., April 9, 7:30 p.m. St. Bernard Neighborhood Development Center, 3888 St. Bernard Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK

PARTIES AND TENDENCIES OF THE U.S. LEFT. The first in a series on this topic. Speaker: Lynn Henderson, member SWP National Committee. Tues., April 6, 6 p.m. 186 W. 4th St., Seventh Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: School for Marxist Education. For more information call (212) 255-0098.

THE LENINIST THEORY OF IMPERIALISM: THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE PUERTO RICAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Alfredo López, member of Central Committee, Puerto Rican Socialist party. Tues., April 6, 8 p.m. 186 W. 4th St., Seventh Floor. Ausp: School for Marxist Education. For more information call (212) 255-0098.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

FARM WORKERS: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. A film and discussion. Speaker: Renalda Nuñez, United Farm Workers organizer. Fri., April 9, 8:30 p.m. McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 24th St. (between 7th and 8th Aves.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Clara de Miha, member Advisory Council, NOW; Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Dennis King, Columbia Tenants Union; Rev. Frederick Kirkpatrick, Deacons for Defense and Justice; Mark McDonough, CCNY Day Student Senate vice-president; Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for Seventieth Assembly District, Manhattan; Dr. Ernest Steele, Prison Reform Advisory Board; Robb Wright, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Nineteenth Congressional District. Sun., April 11. Open house: 3 p.m.; rally: 4 p.m.; party: 6 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: West Side 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PITTSBURGH

STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. A weekly discussion of socialism. *Working people begin to radicalize.* Sat., April 10, 3 p.m. 416 Oakland Ave., Apt. 3F. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

PORTLAND

TRIBUTE TO MARTIN LUTHER KING. Speakers and film of King speech "I have a dream." Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

QUEENS

FBI VERSUS DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Eighteenth Congressional District; Margaret Winter, lawyer, PRDF; others. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

MILITANT BOOKSTORE GRAND OPENING. Open house for Queens's largest radical bookstore. Meet Keith Jones, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Seventh Congressional District. Sat., April 10, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

ST. LOUIS

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speakers: Wale Amusa, St. Louis Committee on Africa; Renita Alexander, SWP; others. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featuring Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; with

Don Sorsa, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, Forty-second Congressional District. Fri., April 9. Reception: 7 p.m.; rally: 8 p.m. Sweetwater High School cafeteria, 30th and Highland Ave., National City. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE: CENTRAL AREA

SCHOOL FUNDING CRISIS. Speakers: T.J. Vassar, education director, Urban League; Lee Predergast, Central Seattle Community Council Federation; others. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 2200 East Union. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

TWIN CITIES

GRAND OPENING OF NEW MINNEAPOLIS SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. Rally to announce SWP candidates for U.S. Senate, U.S. Congress, and state legislature. Featured speaker: Andrew Pulley, 1972 SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., April 10, 6:30 p.m.: open house; 7:30 p.m.: rally; 9:30 p.m.: party. 15 Fourth St. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: 1976 Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...debate

Continued from page 4

and others for whipping up racist hysteria in an effort to hold on to their power to keep the schools segregated, which is being broken down by the judge's decision. "If South Boston does not want to be branded as racist, it should shut the racists up," Atkins said to loud, sustained applause.

Hicks's thinly disguised bigotry clearly repelled many students who had gotten their first taste of the racist leader that night.

But they haven't gotten their last. Hicks is heading a national campaign to fight for passage of a constitutional amendment against busing.

Atkins made clear the stakes involved. "If it ever comes to the point where the Constitution has 'For whites only' stamped across it, America will have no future," the Black leader said.

...Tyler

Continued from back page

Also attending the news conference were Marie Galatas of the Grass Roots Organization for Women; Larry Jones, director of the St. Bernard Community

Center; Hattie Dunn; and Gwen Rouzan.

Meanwhile several important legal developments have occurred in the Tyler case:

- The Louisiana Supreme Court, instead of hearing an appeal of Tyler's conviction, remanded the case back to the St. Charles Parish District Court in Hahnville. On April 21 the Hahnville court will consider a motion for a new trial presented by Tyler's attorney, Jack Peebles.

- A second prosecution witness has recanted her trial testimony against Tyler. On March 10 Natalie Blanks, the only witness to testify of seeing Gary fire a gun, signed an affidavit stating she was coerced by the prosecution and police to perjure her testimony. Now Loretta London Thomas—one of only two additional witnesses who testified that a gun was being passed around on the bus—has also recanted. She said in the trial that Gary passed the gun to her, and that she tried to hide it in her stocking.

Thomas, like Blanks, has signed an affidavit stating that the prosecution had threatened to charge her with "accessory to murder" and send her to jail for "ninety-nine years" unless she testified against Tyler.

- Sylvia Taylor, who was Blanks's attorney during the Tyler trial, has signed an affidavit stating that she went to Judge Ruche Marino and prosecutors L. J. Hymel and Norman Pitre to warn them that Blanks's mother was concerned that her daughter might not be telling the truth because of past psychiatric problems.

- Peebles has moved for Judge Marino and the original prosecutors to disqualify themselves from hearing the motion for a new trial on the grounds that they are material witnesses to the withholding of evidence from Tyler's defense.

Support for Tyler's defense continues to build. The Student Coalition Against Racism and the NAACP at the University of New Orleans held a rally of 200 students, mostly Black, on March 19, at which several dozen signed up to work on the case.

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: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

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: Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide: SWP, YSA, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

Pasadena: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San 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, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

Denver: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

Fort Collins: YSA, 325 E. Myrtle, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

FLORIDA: Miami Beach: YSA, P.O. Box 390487, Miami Beach, Fla. 33139.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Dave Bouffard, 754 El Rancho, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., NE, Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West-North: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0748.

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Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 783-5163.

Muncie: YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Sunflower Apts. #23, Lawrence, Kans. 66044.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

Louisville: YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Mark Cerasoulou, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Roxbury: SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 6404 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48202. Tel: (313) 873-8836.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices,

Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o UMKC Student Activities Office, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP and YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Gary Mele, 947 Strong St., Schenectady, N.Y. 12307. Tel: (518) 346-0352.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Doug Cooper, 105 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 273-7625.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York, Chelsea: SWP, Pathfinder Bookstore, 200½ W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227. Tel: (513) 272-2596.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

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TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 50212, Dallas, Tex. 75250.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: SWP, P.O. Box 1376, San Antonio, Tex. 78205. Tel: (512) 734-8273. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Station, San Antonio, Tex. 78212.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

VIRGINIA: Richmond: SWP, c/o Michael Pennock, 2310 Park Ave., Richmond, Va. 23220.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. NW, Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: Central Area: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

Seattle, City-wide: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Eau Claire: YSA, c/o Tom Brill, 221½ Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701.

La Crosse: YSA, c/o UW La Crosse, Cartwright Center, 1725 State St., 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.

Educational conference

APRIL 9-10. *Black Liberation and Socialism*. Los Angeles City College, 855 N. Vermont. FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 8 p.m.: "African Liberation and the Black Movement." Speaker: Sam Manuel, member of Socialist Workers party national committee. Franklin Hall 101. SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 2 p.m.: "The Origins of Racism." Speaker: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Franklin 101. 4 p.m.: classes. "Malcolm X: Who He Was, Why He Was Killed," Franklin 113; "Minority women and the ERA," Franklin 221; and "Community Control and Busing," Franklin 213. For more information call (213) 732-8197. •

Socialist campaign rally

SATURDAY, APRIL 10. Featured speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for vice-president. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$3.50 for dinner and rally; \$1.50 for rally only. For more information call (213) 732-8197.

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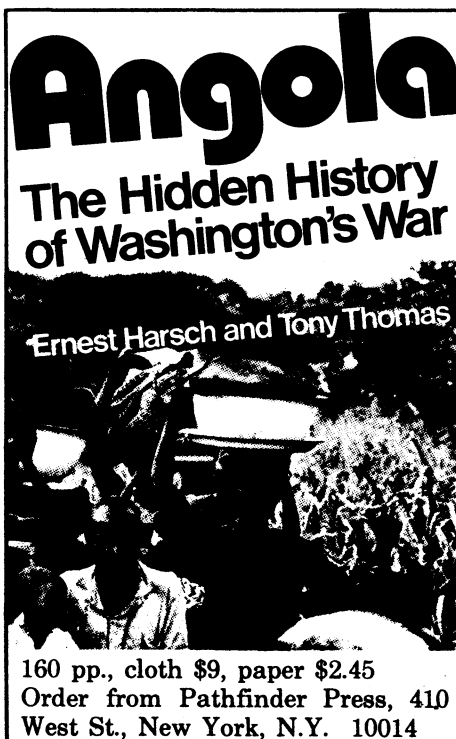
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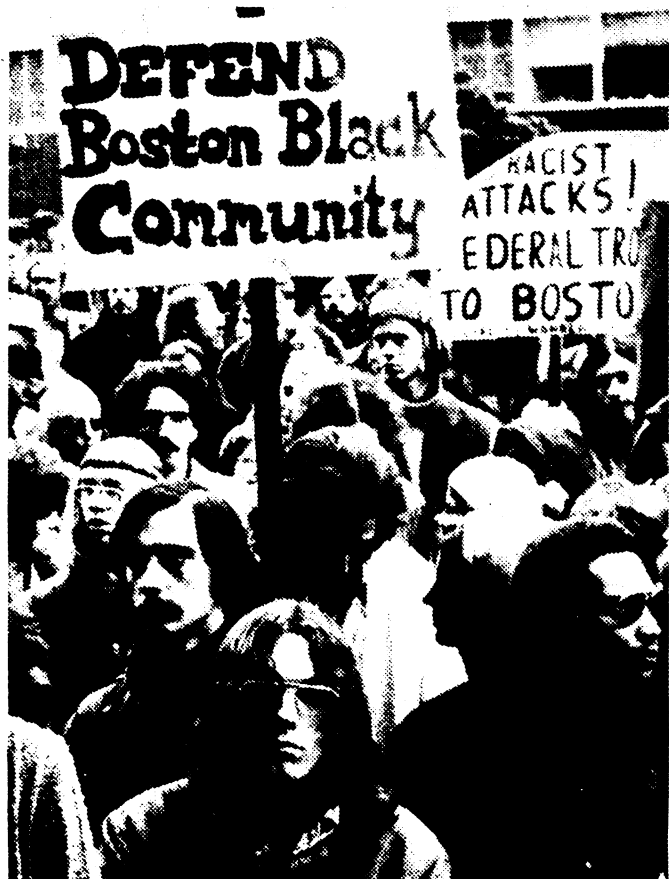
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La. Black youth slain by racist night riders

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—White night riders shot and killed a nineteen-year-old Black youth here early Saturday morning, March 27.

Richard Dunn was returning home from a benefit dance for the defense of Gary Tyler at Southern University in New Orleans (SUNO). He and a friend had left the dance and were walking to a bus stop at 3:30 a.m. when two long-haired white males in an orange-colored Volkswagen sedan pulled alongside them.

The thug on the passenger side rested a shotgun on the car window and shot Dunn in the chest. The terrorists then sped away into the night.

This racist murder came during a week of activities sponsored by the SUNO Student Government Association to raise funds for the legal battle to free Tyler, a seventeen-year-old Black youth who has been sentenced to death for a murder he did not commit. Tyler's alleged crime occurred during a racial conflict at Destrehan High School in October 1974.

The terrorist attack did not deter the SUNO students from their support effort for Tyler. Five hundred attended a rally on his behalf outside the SUNO cafeteria the next day.



Militant/Greg Nelson
Hattie Dunn (right) demands full police investigation into murder of her son Richard. Also present at March 29 news conference were, from left, Walter Collins of Gary Tyler Defense Committee; student leader Michael Willins; and Gwen Rouzan, Richard Dunn's sister.

The dead youth's mother, Hattie Dunn, and his sister, Gwen Rouzan, addressed the rally. Dunn was in tears as she told the crowd, "I feel like going to the top of the Empire State Building to scream it out so that justice is done. 'There is nothing we can do for Richard. Richard's dead and nothing

can bring him back. Somebody else's son might be next. Justice must be done so that my son—so that Richard Dunn—did not die in vain."

Rouzan added, "My mother has gotten strength from the people here today, and that's why she can speak. . . . The only reason Richard

was there was to save a young Black man's life and now he's dead.

"He came to save a life and ended up giving his. It could have been any one of you. It's up to everybody to do something."

Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, told the rally, "There are millions of other Black mothers whose child could be Gary Tyler."

She announced that a hearing on her son's motion for a new trial will take place April 21 at the Hahnville Courthouse: "What we've got to do is pack the courthouse," she said.

On Monday, March 29, Black community leaders and students held a news conference at SUNO to demand justice for Richard Dunn. Walter Collins, coordinator of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee, told the media, "We demand that the police department launch a full investigation and report back to the students at Southern the results of their investigation and bring the killers to trial."

SUNO student government Vice-president Michael Williams said, "They did not deter us. Even in light of this hideous crime we have successfully made the community aware that an innocent youth, Gary Tyler, was framed."

Strike to stop city wage cuts spreads in San Francisco

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO, March 31—Building trades workers employed by the city of San Francisco struck at 12:01 this morning against an attempt by the city's board of supervisors to cut their wages.

As the *Militant* goes to press, the strike appears to be spreading rapidly from the 1,900 crafts workers to other groups of city employees.

The Municipal Railway system was shut down almost immediately. Although the transit workers' agreement with the city does not expire until this summer, they honored the appeal for solidarity from the crafts workers, just as they joined the nine-day strike by white-collar city workers in March 1974.

The city's cable cars, which normally run until 1 a.m., were halted in the middle of their routes shortly before midnight and emptied of startled tourists and residents.

The Service Employees International Union told its thousands of office, hospital, and janitorial workers to honor picket lines. It also set a strike vote meeting for late this afternoon.

Board of supervisors President Quentin Kopp threatened that if the SEIU joined the strike, the board might

nullify raises just granted to its members.

A meeting of the executive board of the building trades council today mapped plans to extend the strike to private contractors working for the city, and to throw up picket lines at docks, airports, and schools. Leaders of the longshore workers and teachers unions have pledged in advance to honor such picket lines.

The building trades officials also decided to set up a central strike headquarters at the plumbers union hall.

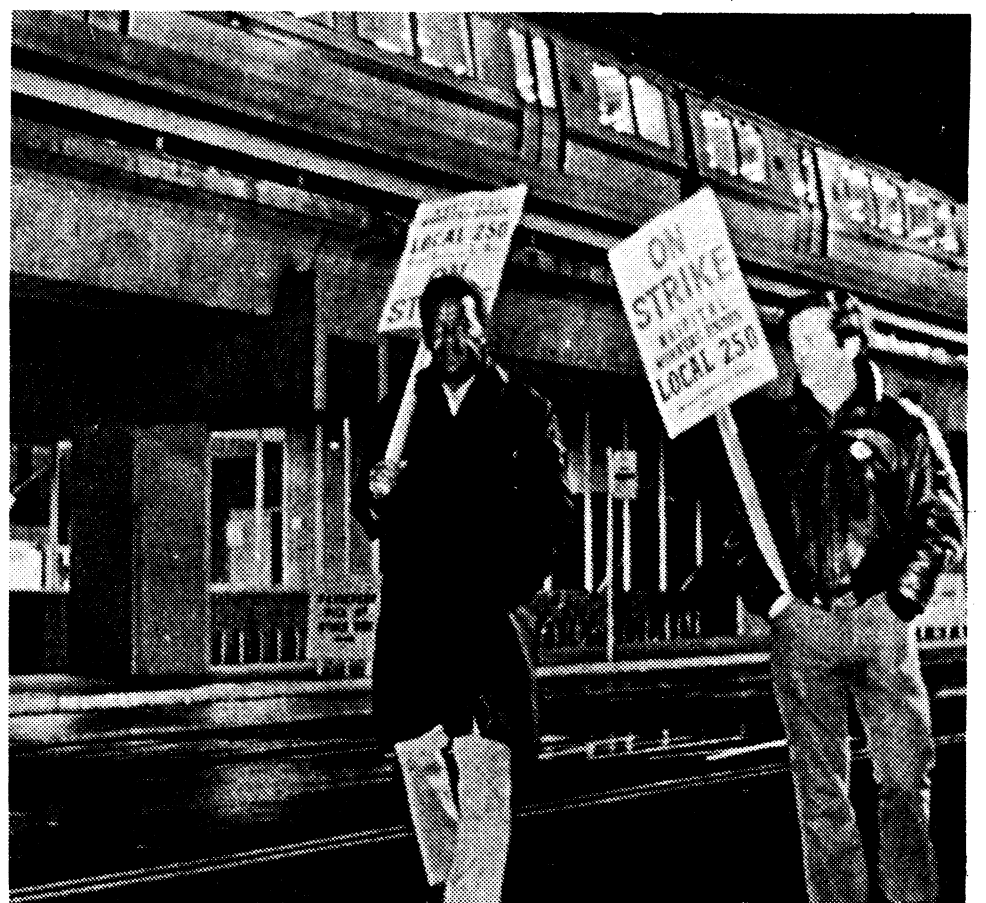
The strike is proceeding in defiance of an injunction handed down almost immediately by a local judge. The judge issued a temporary restraining order after the city attorney called the strike "illegal" and a "danger to the community."

Mayor George Moscone, a Democrat, said he hoped the court order would prevent "disruptive" picketing around city buildings, and vowed to keep services operating.

San Francisco General Hospital and Lagunahonda Hospital announced they had already stockpiled food and medical supplies.

"They seem to want to take us on,"

Continued on page 29



Scene from 1974 city workers' strike. Transit workers are again honoring picket lines of fellow city employees, under attack from wage-cut plan.