

THE MILITANT

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

FORD THREATENS BLACK RIGHTS

**Gov't moves to end busing jeopardize
20-year struggle against segregation**

—PAGES 4, 10



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

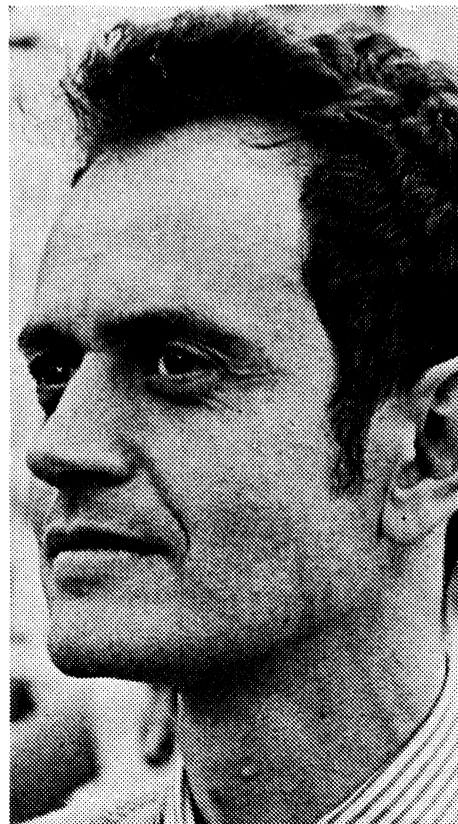
SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—More than 8,000 answered National Organization for Women's call to join May 16 march and rally for ERA ratification. See pages 6-8.

**Thousands say:
'ERA YES!'**

CHICANOS AND 1976 ELECTIONS

**An interview with
Peter
Camejo,
Socialist
Workers
presidential
candidate**

—PAGE 16



Militant/Pat Hayes

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 4,000 protest threat to shut down Hostos
- 4 Blacks hit Levi's moves to axe busing decision
- 5 Crystal City says 'no' to gas-utility swindle
- 6 Thousands say: 'ERA Now!'
- 9 The 'Guardian' opens China discussion
- 13 Rubber strike: crucial battle for all labor
- 14 Judge orders gov't to release more SWP data
- 15 Socialists expand lawsuit against FBI
- 16 Socialist discusses issues facing Chicanos in 1976
- 18 Plans under way to win Calif. ballot spot
- 23 How safe is nuclear power?
- 25 Unions, Blacks set march to save Phila. hospital
- 28 All-white jury finds J.B. Johnson guilty

2 In Brief

- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 Capitalism in Crisis ¡La Raza en Acción!
- 12 The Great Society By Any Means Necessary American Way of Life
- 24 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Growing opposition to Franco's heirs
- 21 World news notes
- 22 Britain: 10,000 march for abortion rights

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MOTHER'S DAY MARCH FOR JUSTICE: Juanita Tyler, Hattie Dunn, and Helen Magee commemorated Mother's Day by leading a solemn march of forty Black women through the streets of New Orleans May 9.

Juanita Tyler's son Gary is in a six-by-eight-foot cell on death row in the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. He was framed up for a murder he did not commit. Hattie Dunn's son, Richard, was shot and killed last March by two white racist night riders while on his way home from a benefit dance to raise funds to win Gary Tyler's freedom. Helen Magee's son, Stanley, allegedly committed suicide while in the St. Tammany Parish Prison.

At a widely covered news conference, the protesters announced that the march would "focus attention on mothers and wives of the overwhelmingly Black male victims of racist violence from the police, the courts, and white persons in the general population of Greater New Orleans."

STILL ANOTHER VICTIM: In an attempt to harass Gary Tyler's family, cops arrested Terry Tyler on Monday morning, May 17, on trumped-up burglary charges. Terry Tyler is a leading figure in the defense campaign to win freedom for his brother. The day before his arrest, Terry and his mother had just returned from a weekend trip to Detroit, where they had gone to gather support for Gary's defense. In St. Rose Parish, Terry has organized the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters, a group of teen-agers who raise funds and publicize his brother's case. Terry is expected to be released from jail on \$5,000 bond.

June 5: Put SWP on Mass. ballot

The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Campaign will kick off its ballot drive on Saturday, May 22. A team of twenty full-time volunteers will initiate the effort to gather well over the 37,000 signatures required to put SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, as well as state candidates Carol Henderson Evans and James "Mac" Warren, on the November ballot. Evans is opposing Edward Kennedy for U.S. Senate, and Warren is running for Congress in the predominantly Black Roxbury section of Boston.

Several weeks of petitioning by the team will pave the way for the first special target day for the drive Saturday, June 5. Hundreds of socialist campaigners will fan out in Boston, Springfield, Worcester, New Bedford, and other Massachusetts towns and cities to petition and hand out thousands of pieces of campaign literature. In preparation for the June 5 target day, a rally featuring Peter Camejo will be held in Boston on June 4. A second target campaign and petitioning day is scheduled for the following weekend.

TWO HUNDRED MARCH FOR UFW IN UTAH: Some 200 people took part in a May 8 march and rally in Salt Lake City, Utah, to demand that the Utah State Liquor Commission stop selling Gallo and other scab wines.

Commissioner Gerald Hulbert had met with a delegation from the UFW Support Committee May 3. Utah AFL-CIO Director Hank Inskeep was among those in the delegation.

Luis Fuentes, spokesperson of the support committee, demanded that the state "stop buying Gallo wines and nonunion wines to honor the United Farm Worker boycott."

Hulbert alleged he "sympathized with the problem," but later announced he wouldn't honor the boycott because the state had to remain "neutral" in labor disputes.

At the May 8 rally Fuentes charged that Hulbert's "neutrality" was a cover-up for aiding the growers. "We know why Mr. Hulbert refused," the Chicano activist said. "Big business stays together."

CHAVIS ON HUNGER STRIKE: Rev. Ben Chavis began a hunger strike on April 30 at McCain Prison Hospital in North Carolina. In a statement released to supporters, Chavis charged that guards put him in chains and leg irons and transferred him to the prison sanatorium as part of "a systematic plot to silence me." This is the second time prison authorities have transferred Chavis, who has been speaking out for prisoners' rights since his incarceration in February.

At McCain, Chavis is exposed to diseases and given roach-infested food. He has vowed not to eat until he is transferred back to a regular prison.

Defense lawyers for Chavis and nine other prisoners—the Wilmington Ten—are appealing their 1971 conviction on framed-up arson and conspiracy charges stemming from civil rights protests in Wilmington.

The National Wilmington 10 Defense Committee urges supporters to send letters demanding that Chavis be transferred to: Gov. James Holshouser, State Capitol, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602, and McCain Supt. E.C.

Harris, McCain Prison, Box 58, McCain, North Carolina 28361.

ROSENBERG TRIBUTE: "It is twenty-five years since our parents proclaimed their innocence with their lives, but the government still shows the need today to cover up the record of their frame-up," stated Robert and Michael Meeropol in a news release announcing plans for the Twenty-third Tribute to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The Meeropol brothers, sons of the victims of the infamous government-contrived "espionage" frame-up, are seeking to gain access to all government files on their parents under the Freedom of Information Act.

The June 15 tribute at Carnegie Hall will launch a petitioning drive to collect 500,000 signatures demanding the release of all files on the Rosenbergs and Martin Sobell, who was jailed in the same frame-up.

For further information see ad on page 27.

NEW HOUSTON SWP BRANCH OPENS OFFICES:

The new Northeast branch of the Socialist Workers party opened its campaign headquarters and bookstore with an open house Sunday, May 9. The area of Northeast Houston where the new socialist headquarters is located is mostly Black, but there is also a large Chicano community nearby.

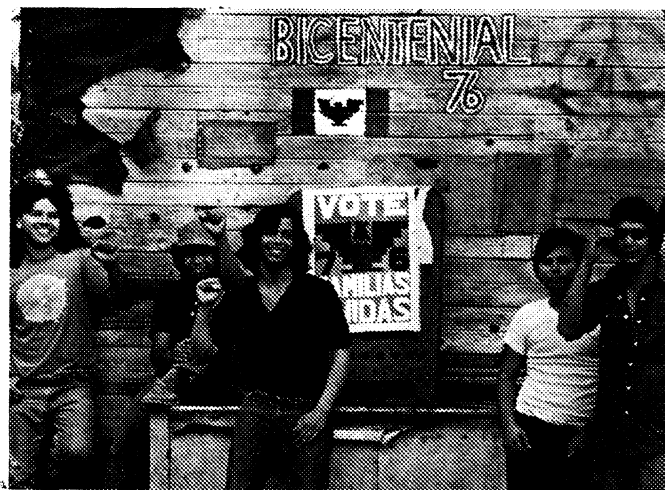
The highlight of the day was a short meeting to familiarize people with the party. Gene Lantz, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress in the area, chaired the meeting. SWP National Committee member Malik Miah and Rachel Knapik, a new party member, also spoke.

GOOD NEWS FROM THE POLLS: In recent years, a firm majority has come to support the right of women to abortion and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, even though many have been hesitant to endorse the women's liberation movement as a whole. But now, reports a UPI dispatch, "Public acceptance of women's liberation is increasing gradually and now finds favor with 60 per cent of adult Americans, a life insurance industry study said. . . ."

A New York *Daily News* poll taken last month found that 63 percent of New Yorkers replied "yes" to the question, "Do you think that homosexuals should be accepted in society and treated the same as anyone else?"

And in the same poll 58 percent said that they opposed the March 29 Supreme Court decision allowing states to outlaw homosexual acts between consenting adults. Only 18 percent said they agreed with the court.

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

This week Southwest Bureau head Harry Ring continues a series on Chicano struggles in the Southwest, based on discussions with leaders and activists there. Raza Unida party . . . farm workers movement . . . bilingual education . . . fight against deportations . . . Keep up with the struggle for Chicano liberation. Subscribe to the *Militant*.

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CUNY unionists rally against pay-cut plan



Speakers platform at May 14 rally. AFSCME's Victor Gotbaum is at right.

By Kendall Green

NEW YORK—Two thousand employees of the City University of New York and their supporters rallied at the board of higher education May 14 to protest a two-week pay cut demanded by CUNY Chancellor Robert Kibbee.

Kibbee's budget-cutting plans include "deferring" two weeks' pay for all CUNY employees, along with closing Hostos and another community college and ending open admissions to the university. Supposedly the money will be repaid in a couple of years.

The rally was sponsored by District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. A small number of students and faculty were present. But no effort was made by AFSCME to join forces with the thousands of students and faculty who have demonstrated against CUNY cutbacks in recent months.

The leadership of the Professional Staff Congress, the union of CUNY faculty, after joining some student-initiated protests earlier, is now asking its members to accept the same pay "deferral" and other concessions.

Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, spoke to the demonstrators before going into negotiations. He praised the "sacrifices" AFSCME members have made. His only words of encouragement were that he would not give up anything more than other unions had already given up.

An hour later Gotbaum emerged from negotiations and proposed that his members work one week without pay. This was greeted with a loud chorus of "No!"s. The "compromise" is contingent on the faculty accepting their two-week pay cut and the state giving additional money to CUNY.

Union delegates are scheduled to vote on this proposal May 21.

4,000 protest threat to shut down Hostos

By Naomi Vega

NEW YORK—More than 4,000 people, mostly young Puerto Ricans, marched May 10 to protest the planned closing of Hostos Community College.

The march started from Lexington Avenue and 116th Street, the center of El Barrio, Manhattan's main Puerto Rican district. Marching past Gracie Mansion, Mayor Abraham Beame's swank East End Avenue residence, the demonstrators ended up at the offices of the Emergency Financial Control Board in midtown Manhattan.

Along the four-mile route the marchers shouted "Hostos unido jamás sera vencido" (Hostos united will never be defeated) and "No cuts, no way, Hostos college is here to stay."

The march was one of many activities initiated by the Community Coalition to Save Hostos. It was also sponsored by the Committee for the Democratic Rights of Puerto Ricans, which includes a broad array of Puerto Rican leaders.

Among the members of the committee are U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo; New York State Rep. Luis Nine; José Velázquez, New York Zone secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; and Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Eighteenth Congressional District.

Hostos Community College, located

in the South Bronx, serves a 98 percent minorities student body, about two-thirds of whom are Hispanic. It is the only bilingual college in the Eastern United States, and is uniquely geared to serving the needs of the Hispanic community.

Many at the protest called the scheduled closing "un abuso"—an abuse against the Puerto Rican community of New York.

"They have stepped on us enough," said one woman.

Many of the schools in the City University of New York system, which includes Hostos, were represented on the march. Queens College and Brooklyn College brought two busloads of students.

A rally followed the march. Speakers included Evelina Antonetti, director of United Bronx Parents; Rev. Antonio Stevens Arroyo of PADRES; Democratic city council member Luis Olmedo; Ramón Jiménez, spokesperson of the Community Coalition to Save Hostos; and Alexis Colón, president of the Hostos Student Government and a leader of the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (FUSP—Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students).

Colón said the march symbolized "the beginning of a mass struggle against the policies of the financial control board."



Militant/Andy F. Corriette

Migrant workers held as slaves in Florida

By José Pérez

"He had some of us beat like dogs. I've seen his henchmen beat women in the fields with rubber hoses. And what's worse, he thought he owned us and wouldn't let us go."

Clayton Norris, a sixty-five-year-old Black migrant farm worker, was speaking to a Florida official investigating charges of slavery and involuntary servitude against a labor contractor, I.L. "Ivory" Wilson.

Wilson and two of his brothers operated an illegal labor camp in Lake Wales, Florida. Wilson's camp is one of seventeen unlicensed camps that officials acknowledge exist in Polk County alone. The camps are used to house the migrant workers, most of them Blacks and Chicanos, who harvest citrus and other crops.

State and federal officials took statements from eleven former "employees" of the Wilsons. All of those giving statements agreed that Wilson and his foremen would not permit the workers to leave the camp, and never paid them for the work they performed.

Joseph Stevens described how he had once tried to leave the camp, only to be brought back by Wilson and his goons.

"I was walking along highway 27 when Ivory drove up behind me in his Lincoln Continental," Stevens said.

"Wilson told me to get in the car to go back to camp. He then reached in his pocket and pulled out a gun and said . . . 'You Black s.o.b. You see this . . . 38? Next time you try and leave

this camp I'm gonna put every one of them [bullets] in you.'"

Norris explained how workers were entrapped into slavery by Wilson. "I worked nine days for him up in North Carolina," Norris said, "and he didn't pay me all the money I earned."

"He told me to come with him to Florida where he would pay me off. He lured me, that's what he did. I ain't never seen a penny from him—only balance-due slips."

None of the pickers were ever paid by Wilson for their work. Wilson would tell workers that they owed him money for food, housing, clothing, and liquor.

Nor was their pay the only money stolen by Wilson. Will Carmichael, who lost a finger in a grove accident, explained.

"I got my finger cut off in a goat [automatic fruit loader] right here in Florida and Ivory Wilson took me to the doctor and got my money," Carmichael said.

"I got \$5,000 in workmen's compensation for my finger and all I got was five one-dollar bills. He made me sign 'X' on the check and he took the money."

Wilson has been in the slave business for several years, recruiting workers in North Carolina for the sweet potato harvest there in the summer. Then he moves to Florida citrus in the winter.

Two of the workers finally escaped April 22 and told officials about it. A raid by a squad of FBI agents freed the others at the camp.

UFW campaigns for fair elections in Calif. fields

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers union has begun to recruit volunteers to work for passage of a farm labor initiative. The union filed more than 700,000 signatures April 30 to put the initiative on the California ballot.

The UFW collected the signatures in only twenty-nine days. About 310,000 valid signatures are required to place the measure on the ballot.

UFW President César Chávez announced that the union had "gathered the largest number of signatures in the shortest period of time in the history of the initiative process."

A farm labor law, which was supposed to guarantee union representation elections, went into effect last fall. But after a long string of UFW election victories over the grower-supported Teamsters, the Democratic-controlled legislature refused to appropriate money to hold any more elections. None have been held since February.

The initiative, like the current law, would allow union representation elections. But it would strengthen certain key provisions to ensure that the elections are fair.

Los Angeles UFW staffer Linda Garcia told the *Militant* that the UFW recruitment drive is focused on the campuses. She said the union is seeking students who can spend their summer working for the initiative.

Garcia said that the volunteers will work on publicizing the initiative by organizing community meetings and through other activities.

This is not the first time that California voters have been asked to take sides in the farm-worker-grower battle.

In 1972, the growers succeeded in placing an anti-farm-worker initiative on the ballot, but despite the millions the growers spent on it, the UFW persuaded the voters to turn the initiative down, piling up a margin of nearly 60 percent against it.

The sides are the same this time. The UFW, despite resources far slimmer than the growers', have already shown the depth of their support.

Although the battle won't be easy, the union can win again if its many friends and supporters around the state are mobilized to defend the basic rights of farm workers.

Black leaders assail Levi's moves to axe busing decision

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON, May 18—Attorney General Edward Levi's announcement that he might attempt to strike down school desegregation here has drawn friendly backing from busing foes and sharp opposition from busing supporters.

Civil rights leaders are trying to block Levi's attempt to join—through a friend-of-the-court brief—the legal effort by the Boston Home and School Association to swamp the two-year-old desegregation order.

Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the NAACP, in a letter to Levi, rapped his proposal:

"Seeking Supreme Court review of a case of a record so marked with defiance, recalcitrance, and violence by school officials and street mobs practically insures continued undermining of the judicial process."

Thomas Atkins, the head of the Boston NAACP, the group that brought the desegregation suit on behalf of Black parents, also decried Levi's plan, which includes a proposal to challenge the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County*, North Carolina, court case, which was the first to clear the way for the use of busing for desegregation purposes.

Atkins charged that Levi's plan "will rekindle the flames of violence that have racked this city." He added that Levi and President Ford "should not be giving rocks to those who would

stone buses, nor gasoline to those who would start fires, nor sticks to those who would seek to chase American citizens off of constitutionally protected ground."

Reaction to Levi's proposals came swiftly and caustically from the National Student Coalition Against Racism, a group that is preparing for a May 29 meeting here of its National Steering Committee, which will discuss ways to defend busing and school desegregation.

"It is quite apparent that the Ford administration and Levi are declaring war on the Black community with these moves," Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of the student coalition, said. "I agree with the *New York Times*'s characterization."

In a May 17 editorial the *Times* termed Levi's plan "reckless, foolish and destructive."

"From every possible point of view," said the *Times*, "it would be an act of monumental folly for the United States Department of Justice to proceed in this way against the law and the Constitution."

Currently, there are four separate appeals before the Supreme Court against the Phase Two plan. They were filed by the Home and School Association, Mayor Kevin White, the Boston School Committee, and the Boston Teachers Union, which is challenging that aspect of the order calling

for faculty desegregation.

Last year the Supreme Court refused to hear arguments to overturn the Phase One aspect of the order. It is considered unlikely that the court, even if it decides to do so, will hear arguments on the Boston matter before the fall. A decision, it is believed, would not be forthcoming until next spring.

Meanwhile, in light of Levi's proposal, busing foes here have been grabbing for anything to bolster their claims.

South Boston State Rep. Raymond Flynn and a South Boston doctor are preparing a list of what they claim are instances where anxiety over busing in South Boston has produced 111 medical disorders, chiefly ulcers and bowel irregularities. They plan to present this information to Levi to strengthen his case that busing is detrimental.

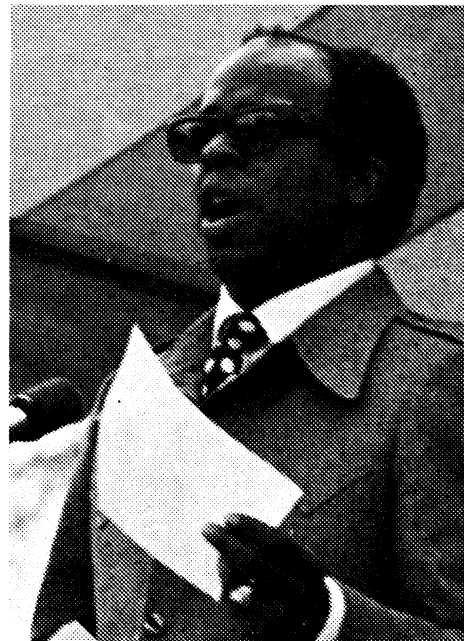
South Boston antibusing bigot and city council President Louise Day Hicks hailed Levi's plan and said that Boston needs such a "powerful friend in court."

Mayor White termed Levi's possible intervention "welcome news" that might end the "traumatic ordeal on this city for two years" that busing has brought.

Levi's proposal came at the end of a relatively uneventful week here.

Of note is the fact that Judge W.

Continued on page 26



Black leaders Roy Wilkins, Maceo Dixon, and Thomas Atkins (from left) spoke at May 17, 1975, probusing rally in Boston. All have rebuked Ford administration's encouragement to segregationist violence and resistance to educational equality.

May 29 meeting in Boston set to assess desegregation fight

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON, May 18—Where does the fight stand to desegregate schools in Boston and other cities? What is the meaning of Attorney General Edward Levi's announcement that he is considering backing legal moves to overturn court-ordered busing here?

These topics will be discussed when supporters of school desegregation gather here May 29 for a National Steering Committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Scores of activists are expected from major East Coast and Midwest cities.

"The steering committee meeting," student coalition staff member Hattie McCutcheon told the *Militant*, "will give us an opportunity to lay out and discuss where the struggle for school desegregation here in Boston is, and where it is going. We will also be laying out an educational campaign to aid in the effort to desegregate the

schools in Wilmington, Delaware; Louisville, Kentucky; Philadelphia; and other cities where there are busing struggles.

"The meeting will give us a chance to regroup prodesegregation forces."

The two-year-old student coalition was the initiator of the projected April 24 desegregation march here. That march was called off a few days before it was scheduled to be held because of an upsurge of racist activity and the lack of any assurances of safety from the mayor's office for the sponsoring groups' right to demonstrate.

McCutcheon said that many activists in the student coalition would "like to see another national action." She said the steering committee would be discussing that possibility as well as making projections for the summer.

On the evening prior to the steering committee meeting, the student coalition will be hosting a rally entitled

"Desegregation and Why It Is Worth Fighting For."

Principal speakers will be Eric Van Loon of the NAACP, who is the chief attorney for the plaintiffs in the desegregation effort here; Percy Wilson, head of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center and a central figure in the Boston busing dispute; and Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of the student group.

The rally and steering committee meeting will be held at the Boston University Conference Auditorium in the George Sherman Union. The evening rally will begin at 7:30 p.m., and the steering committee meeting will begin at noon the next day. Further information on the rally and meeting can be obtained from the National Student Coalition Against Racism, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

District 1 parents & teachers hit closing of P.S. 122

By Nelson González

NEW YORK—On the corner of Ninth Street and First Avenue in New York City's Lower East Side stands the "little red schoolhouse." This is how parents and community residents of the area refer to Public School 122.

The central board of education has issued lists of schools to be closed in order to meet the cuts in education that the Democratic administration of Mayor Abraham Beame demands. P.S. 122 is one of these schools.

But the Committee to Save P.S. 122 is determined to keep the school open. As a result of committee pressure, the district school superintendent and the District One school board, which administers the school, are also against closing P.S. 122.

On March 31 a busload of parents, teachers, and school board members went to the New York City Board of Education in Brooklyn to present their case. But the board refused to reverse its decision.

The parents then organized a rally and picket line to call attention to the plight of their school. A May 5 meeting unanimously voted to protest in front of the school the following morning. At the meeting were District One school board members, local Democratic party politicians, teachers, parents, and leading community activists.

The next morning 150 people gathered outside P.S. 122. As the picket line grew, it spread into the street, forcing police to detour traffic for about one-half hour.

Then the demonstrators held a rally on the school steps. Constance Romily, a spokesperson for the Committee to Save P.S. 122, told the crowd that this action is just one of many that will take place to save P.S. 122. She announced a meeting to plan future actions.

Other speakers included Elizabeth Colón, a community-elected school board member; Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth District; and a representative of U.S. Rep. Edward Koch.

Mayor Beame and his cronies have made it clear that they are out to balance the budget on the backs of the children and parents of this city.

But as parents realize that the needs of their children are not on Beame's list of priorities, they are beginning to fight back.

The parents of District One have been in the forefront of the fight against discrimination and budget cuts.

As Catarino Garza put it: "The parents of District One will not allow the bankers and their servants in city hall to put their profits before the needs of the children of District One."

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Highway robbery in Texas

Crystal City says 'no' to gas-utility swindle

By Harry Ring

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—Four million people in Texas are the victims of an incredible rip-off by a gas utility. Many poor people are now paying more for gas than for the food they cook with it. Some are paying increases as high as 800 percent!

The swindle is being carried out with the collusion of the Texas Railroad Commission, a state body that is supposed to regulate utilities and the prices they charge.

The Lo-Vaca Gathering Company sells natural gas to 400 Texas cities and towns, large and small.

In 1973, Lo-Vaca went before the railroad commission and explained that the price it was paying for gas was going up and it wanted permission to pass on the increase to its customers. The commission agreed.

Since then, every month, Lo-Vaca simply has added to its bills what it says is the increased cost it is paying.

The result is a backbreaker. During the winter, people who use gas for heating and cooking are getting bills as high as eighty dollars.

A fight is being waged against this highway robbery. It is being led by the Raza Unida city council in Crystal City. They refused to pay, and some twenty other municipalities have since followed suit.

Lo-Vaca put their lawyers to work. So far two courts have upheld Lo-Vaca and the railroad commission. Crystal City is now appealing to the state supreme court.

The story behind the Lo-Vaca scandal is a case of corporate sleight of hand.

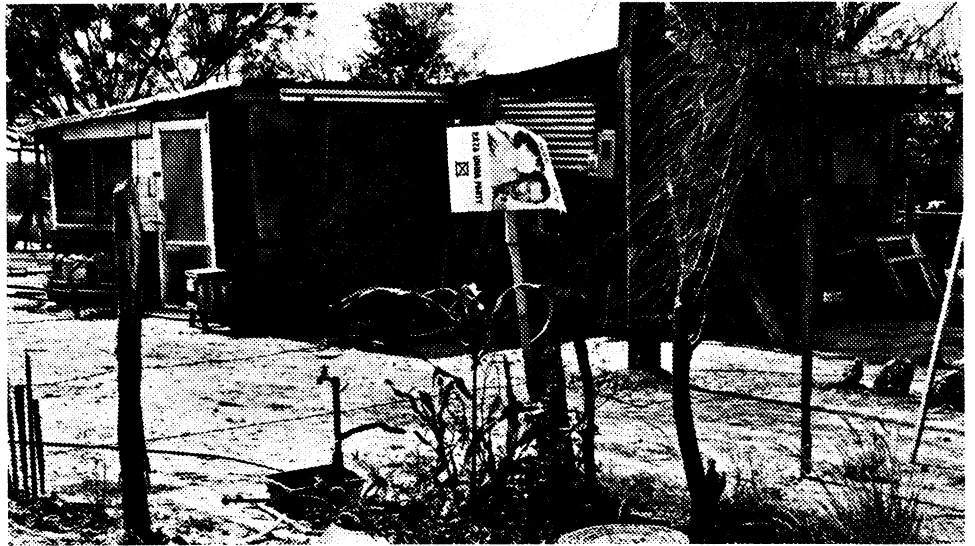
It turns out that Lo-Vaca—which sells gas but doesn't produce it—is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Coastal States Gas Producing Company. But, curiously, Lo-Vaca does not buy its gas from the parent company.

Instead, Lo-Vaca buys its gas from other Texas producers at whatever price they ask. There is no ceiling on gas prices within the state, and the cost is passed on to the consumer.

Meanwhile, Coastal States sells all its gas outside the state; in these dealings there is a federally imposed ceiling on the price.

Behind this is apparently a secret deal between Coastal States, Lo-Vaca, and the other oil producers. Lo-Vaca buys its gas from. A glimpse of this appeared in March when it was disclosed that Lo-Vaca and three of its suppliers were engaging in some shady bookkeeping in order to pass on a price increase to the consumers.

In that instance, the accounting was so phony that even the Texas Railroad Commission felt compelled to rule



Militant/Joel Britton

Lo-Vaca rate hikes of up to 800 percent fall hardest on poor families in Crystal City and other small towns throughout Texas.

against passing on that particular price rise.

Lo-Vaca then said that if the decision isn't reversed it might have to go out of business—a development that would be welcomed by many.

I recently talked about Lo-Vaca with Esequiel Guzmán, the city manager in Crystal City.

In 1973 Crystal City had a contract with Lo-Vaca under which it bought

gas for thirty-six cents per thousand cubic feet and resold it to the people at the same price.

With the railroad commission decision that Lo-Vaca could pass on increased costs, the rate started jumping by the month. Soon, Guzmán said, it was up to \$1.47 and people were coming into city hall to say they couldn't pay.

The city council met and voted it would pay Lo-Vaca the thirty-six cents agreed to in the contract and no more. The council said the consumers' bills should go back to the original price. Lo-Vaca canceled the contract and went to court to get its money.

In September 1975, a district court said that Lo-Vaca could either collect or shut off service.

The court said no facts were to be considered except what the law said. The law says the railroad commission has the right to regulate the price of gas.

"We felt there were two other things that should be considered," Guzmán said. "Such as the fact that people can't pay the price of gas. And the fact that the price isn't being regulated. It's being deregulated."

What did he think of Lo-Vaca's recent threat to go out of business?

"I wish they would," Guzmán replied. "I don't think they should be in that business. I think it should be controlled by the government. A natural resource should be available to everybody. I don't think profit should determine the availability of a natural resource—especially things like gas

Continued on page 26

Zavala Chicanos aim to shift tax load off poor

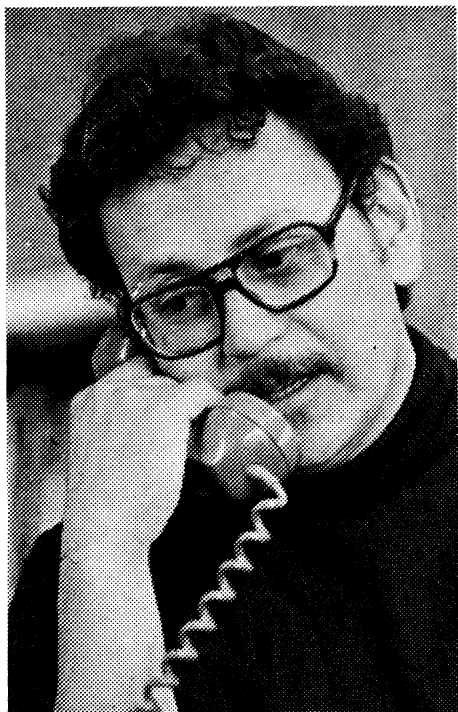
CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—In the November 1974 elections, La Raza Unida party won a majority on the Zavala County Commission. Crystal City, an RUP stronghold, is the seat of Zavala County.

In addition to two commissioners, the RUP elected José Angel Gutiérrez county judge. The judge is a member of the county commission.

For generations the commission had been controlled by well-to-do Anglo ranchers who used it to ensure that the tax burden was placed not on themselves but on the poor.

During my visit here I talked with Judge Gutiérrez about what has been happening in relation to the county tax situation.

For the past six months, he told me, the commission has been conducting a detailed study to determine if all the land and real property in the county was actually being declared for tax purposes and if properties were being assessed at



Militant/Harry Ring

GUTIERREZ: Tackling tax dodgers

their true value.

"We're looking at every piece of property in the county," Gutiérrez said, "every piece of ranch land, every tractor, every horse, every cow."

They have found stud horses and bulls commanding stud fees as high as a thousand dollars listed as ordinary stock at a fraction of their value.

In tackling the tax dodgers, the commission is taking on some wealthy, powerful forces. There are land holdings in the county as big as 88,000 acres, Gutiérrez noted. A company like Del Monte, which has a canning plant in Crystal City, operates 30,000 acres of farmland in the county.

Gutiérrez said he could not say exactly what will be in the commission's study, which is due in May. However, he did think it was safe to predict that "finally, the tax burden is going to fall on those it should have a long time ago." —H.R.

RUP faction tops rival in Crystal City polling

By Harry Ring

Two competing factions of La Raza Unida party competed in the Crystal City, Texas, municipal elections this past April 3. A slate fielded by the Barrio Club defeated a "Gutierrista" ticket, representing supporters of Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the party in Crystal City.

The Barrio Club won control of both the city council and the school board, with 55 percent of the approximately 2,600 votes cast.

Prior to the election, there were sharp disputes between the two factions, focusing mainly on issues of school personnel and school board policy.

In addition, the Barrio Club charged Gutiérrez with one-man rule in the party.

Both contending factions declare their full commitment to La Raza Unida party.

Following the elections, in a telephone interview, Gutiérrez branded the

Barrio Club as a right-wing grouping that would strengthen the hand of the Anglo forces in the area.

Gutiérrez said that more than 500 Anglos had voted in the election, and charged that the bulk of their votes had gone to the Barrio Club. The Barrio slate won with a margin of about 200 votes.

"The *gringos* are voting for them to destroy our party," Gutiérrez asserted, "and these people don't seem to care. They feel they can receive their support and everything will be rosy. I doubt it. The *gringos* are not for them; the *gringos* are for themselves. What they want is the destruction of the party."

Gutiérrez also charged that the opposition had engaged in red-baiting over his having led a Raza Unida party delegation to Cuba in 1975. He said this was used as "evidence that I was a communist and was trying to bring dictatorial methods allegedly practiced in Cuba into Crystal City."

To confirm this, Gutiérrez recalled an issue of the Barrio Club campaign paper, *La Verdad*, which ran a photo of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist party with the names of Gutiérrez and members of his slate superimposed.

A differing view of the Crystal City elections was offered by Esequiel Guzmán, the town's city manager and a leader of the Barrio Club.

In a telephone interview, Guzmán said the election results showed that "the people are thinking more independently instead of thinking that Angel Gutiérrez is the person that should be doing everything."

He said that in his view this was a central issue in the campaign. "People wanted to see a broader control in the party," he said.

Guzmán acknowledged that some people had voted against the Gutierrista slate because of the trip to Cuba.

Explaining that he was one of those who had gone on the Cuba trip,

Guzmán added, "Personally, that was one of the things that hurt me—that people were taking that attitude. . . ."

He said he rejected the idea that what he saw as Gutiérrez's bureaucratic practices had been imported from Cuba. "Some people made comments like that to me," he said, "but I always challenged them, because I didn't feel it was true."

Regarding the Anglo vote, Guzmán said, "I think we got most of it. He [Gutiérrez] got some too. He had some Anglos backing him, but less than we did."

"They've been interested in getting him out ever since he came here," Guzmán continued. "It was the lesser of two evils for them, I think. They would like to have the Democratic party back in power here in Zavala County. They saw us as two evils and chose us as the lesser of the two. I think that's how they made their choice."

THOUSANDS SAY 'ERA NOW!'

By Ginny Hildebrand

The march

"Two, four, six, eight; ratify in every state!"

The more than 8,000 demonstrators chanted and sang songs for women's rights from the moment they began assembling in the bright morning sun in Springfield, Illinois, May 16.

They had traveled from every corner of the country to bring the demand of the majority of American people to Illinois legislators. Their message was loud and clear:

"What do we want?" "ERA!"

"When do we want it?" "Now!"

As the first contingent of Illinois marchers spilled onto Capitol Street, the front line raised its banner, "National Rally for Equal Rights."

The National Organization for Women called this mobilization to demand that the Illinois senate ratify the federal women's rights amendment. Victory in Illinois would break up the logjam that has kept the ERA four states short of final ratification for more than a year.

Waves of contingents from thirty states kept pouring into the street behind their own banners: Chicago NOW; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Coalition of Atlanta Public Employees; Black Women Support ERA; Utahans for ERA; San Fernando Valley, California, NOW; Ratify the ERA, Vote Socialist Workers party—Linda Thompson for Gov. of Illinois; 200 Years is Enough—Pittsburgh; Colorado for the ERA; Woman Power; Teachers for ERA; Maryland NOW.

"I came down because I thought there would be a lot of women's energy and I am supportive of passage of the ERA," Christine Howe from the University of Illinois in Champaign told the *Militant*.

And she was right. The swelling crowd produced an electric charge that transformed exhausted travelers into exhilarated demonstrators.

"The Freedom Train was fantastic," said a woman from Philadelphia. She had traveled all Friday night and part of Saturday with 500 other ERA supporters.

"It was a long trip, fourteen hours, a tired trip, but I'm glad I'm here," said Connie Dewitt, a member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1164. She and twelve co-workers from the University of Minnesota hospital had traveled on one of the six buses from Minneapolis.

"I'm here because I'm a working woman and I'm also a union worker with the Coalition of Labor Union Women. And I think it's a beautiful movement," said Linda Parks from Detroit's United Auto Workers Local 900. Parks was one of the hundreds of auto workers who came on seven UAW buses from Midwest cities.

"This kind of demonstration is what we need to put our ideas and our desires forward," the Black unionist told the *Militant*. "This is the only time that we really get to express ourselves and our needs. Other than this, no one ever listens to us . . . we're lost in the shuffle. . . ."

"I feel the ERA will help all women of every nationality. Until the women get together and move forward, we'll still be in the background."

"I came to represent the Chicago Teachers Union," Flora Mortell told the *Militant* as her contingent prepared to leave the assembly point. "Within our union," she continued, "we're trying to work to change some situations which we feel are unequal for men and women, such as insurance coverage . . . methods of promotion, etc."

She wanted to march in Springfield for the ERA because "there is strength in numbers. And with a largely displayed system of support like this, we have a better chance of ratifying."

A group of students from Lakeview High School in Chicago passed by and shouted out, one after another, their reasons for marching:

"To stand up for women!"

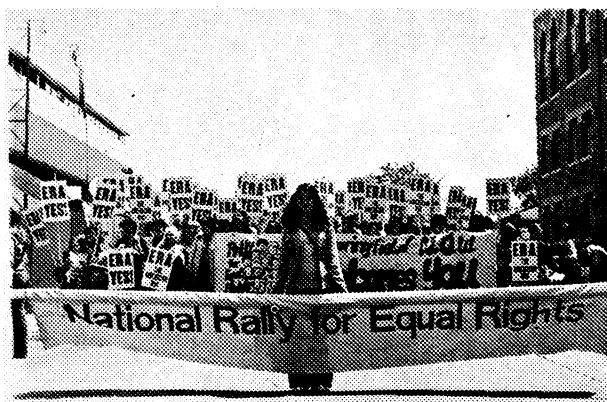
"To tell them what we want!"

"To support the ERA!"

"If you don't stick up for what you want, you won't get it."

You didn't have to stop and take a survey to find out if this sentiment was widespread in Springfield that day.

As Linda Parks put it, "I think we should organize to march on the different capitals. If we can pull women from all over the country to our own individual capitals, I think we'll really have a big effect."



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand



Militant/Anne Teesdale



Militant/Pat Hayes



Militant/Jean Vertheim



Militant/Pat Hayes

As marchers passed under a train trestle, they struck up a new song to the tune of "When the Saints Come Marchin' In."

Oh when the states come marchin' in

For equal rights, the fight to win

Oh Illinois should be in the number

When the states come marching in.

As the contingents neared the capitol steps, the long line of marchers melted into a sea of signs, "ERA YES!"

The rally

"We are here today from every segment of society and from over thirty states. . . . Our presence is a signal to this nation that we can tolerate the pain of inequality no longer."

With these words, National Organization for Women leader Mary Jean Collins, chairwoman of the demonstration's steering committee, opened the May 16 national ERA rally.

The crowd gave NOW President Karen DeCrow a hearty welcome as she stepped up to the podium.

"We have in the United States a very long and proud history of moving around the country for justice," DeCrow began. "We had the underground railroad. . . . We had the Susan B. Anthony Amendment train. We had the Freedom Riders. . . . And today we have the ERA Freedom Train riders. . . ."

"We are told that we have laws that protect women and guarantee us equality," DeCrow continued. "Those are piecemeal laws. And we know that come a bigger recession or a depression and those will be gone, there will be no more equal-pay laws."

Sheli Lulkin, a national executive board member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and cochair of the Women's Rights Commission of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), began her speech saying, "Organized labor has learned that we need the ERA."

"At its October 1975 convention, the AFL-CIO passed a resolution on women workers," Lulkin said. "They endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment 'as a clear statement of commitment to the principles of equality of the sexes, and we urge all affiliates to work for ratification. . . ."

"The Coalition of Labor Union Women," Lulkin continued, "was founded to get about the business of solving women's problems at work and in the labor movement. And the Coalition of Labor Union Women too has voted to make ERA ratification their first priority."

Messages had been sent to the rally from AFT President Albert Shanker and Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Lulkin led demonstrators in a chant of determination—"Failure is impossible! ERA will win!" The shouts drowned out the dull buzz of a small propeller plane that was circling the state capitol and trailing a streamer that read, "Illinois women oppose ERA—libbers go home."

In between the speeches, Mary Jean Collins introduced dozens of guests seated on the speakers platform—including Eleanor Smeal, chairperson of the NOW national board; Liz McPike, Illinois coordinator of AFSCME; Frank Mingo, international representative of United Auto Workers Region 4; Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president; Florence Criley, international representative of the United Electrical Workers; and representatives of the Illinois Welfare Rights Organization, Illinois Nurses Association, Illinois Education Association, National Alliance of Black Feminists, and several state legislators.

Messages had been sent to the rally from President Ford and Betty Ford; Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.); and Democratic presidential contenders Jimmy Carter and Morris Udall. Illinois Gov. Dan Walker addressed the rally.

Heather Booth, a founder of Chicago CLUW and a central organizer of the rally, told the crowd, "Rights are not given, they are fought for if they are to be won."

Participants were reminded of last fall's defeats of state ERA referenda in New York and New Jersey when Booth said, "Cautioned to put our trust in others to get things done for us . . . we did not push for a time."

"If we had listened to those others," she continued, "we would not be here today."

NOW's call for the May 16 national march gave

Continued on page 8



Militant/Jean Vertheim

ERA WEST Denver

In answer to right-wing forces in Colorado, who are attempting to rescind that state's ratification of the ERA through a ballot referendum, 150 people gathered at a solidarity teach-in in support of the ERA in Denver May 14.

Sponsored by the Denver ERA Action Committee and the University of Colorado-Denver Women's Center, the teach-in featured a broad array of speakers. Marie Mendoza, representing HEMBRA, a newly formed Chicana feminist group, said, "We need all the legislation we can get to fight the double barriers of sex and race discrimination that we face."

Sharon Menard, of the Colorado Commission on the Status of Women, blasted the ERA opponents: "These people are not just opposed to the ERA. They're opposed to the entire Constitution and its Bill of Rights. If they are successful in defeating passage of the ERA, there's no telling what democratic rights they'll attack next."

"These same forces voted against collective bargaining rights for teachers in Colorado," added Mary Fox, representing the Colorado Education Association.

—Ruth Getts

San Jose

"We can't let our sisters in the unratified states carry the battle alone," said Carol DeBerry, alternate National Executive Board member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. "The labor movement has a big stake in the ERA. The anti-ERA forces are antilabor, anti-equal pay, and anti-child care."

DeBerry was addressing a spirited ERA solidarity rally of 100 people held May 15 in San Jose. Other speakers were U.S. Rep. Norman Mineta (D-Calif.); Davlyn Jones, National Board member of the National Organization for Women; Dave Reiser, Retail Clerks union Local 429; Bea Robinson, Women's Alliance; Claudette Begin, ERA Coalition of Santa Clara County; and Sandi Sherman, Socialist Workers party candidate for San Jose City Council.

—Rich Stuart

Los Angeles

Five hundred marchers with raised fists, shouting "ERA now!", demonstrated for the Equal Rights Amendment in Los Angeles May 15.

Academy-award-winning actress Lee Grant delivered an inspiring speech at the rally that followed. "Twenty years ago a middle-aged woman sat down in the front of a bus and refused to move to the back," she said. "That act of resistance ended the years of ugly and archaic laws that spelled out inequality for Black people. These same laws must be updated for women."

Yolanda Nava, public relations director for La Comisión Femenil Nacional, pointed out that Chicanas face the same problems other women face—discrimination in education, employment, housing, and the courts. "There is a myth that Chicanas



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

don't support the women's movement," she said. "That is not true. Chicanas in California and throughout the Southwest support the women's movement and support the Equal Rights Amendment."

Jo Della-Giustina spoke for the Los Angeles Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment, which initiated the action. Laura Tackett, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women, also spoke, as did actress Jane Fonda.

Representing the Coalition of Labor Union Women were Ruth Miller, president of the Los Angeles CLUW chapter, and Rita Gillman of San Diego CLUW.

Gloria Gutiérrez, of Poder Femenino; Victoria Yanez, University of Southern California MECHA;

Continued on next page

THE ERA FREEDOM TRAIN

By Clare Frenzl

"What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!"

The Thirtieth Street train station reverberates with the message as Philadelphia supporters eagerly await the ERA Freedom Train. Camera lights glare. Film crews scurry through the mounds of luggage.

"Where's Tracy?"

"She can't go. Someone in her family is sick."

"There will be an empty seat."

"Wait!" A woman runs to her friend. "Tell my husband I'll be a little bit late. I'm going to Illinois!"

Cheers go up. The train is coming. Seventy-five women and men surge down the stairs to the platform. A song starts:

*We are women;
We are marching;
Bella ciao, bella ciao,
Bella ciao, ciao, ciao.
We are marching for liberation;
We want the ERA passed now.*

Philadelphia was the third stop on the Freedom Train's journey to Springfield, Illinois, to join the National Rally for Equal Rights, called by the National Organization for Women. In all, more than 500 ERA supporters boarded the two sections of the train. One originated in New York, the other in Washington, D.C. They met and joined in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Women came from as far away as Maine. Some drove more than seven hours by car to meet and board the train.

"Women were disappointed by the defeat of the New York State ERA last fall," Joy Hipp, a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, told me. "But it made our women's committee more determined to fight for the ERA. It's something we have to do."

Support for the Illinois demonstration was nearly unanimous in her local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. She and several other New York AFSCME members were sent by their locals to participate in this demonstration.

Diane Bull's husband and six-year-old daughter Sarah also rode on the Freedom Train. In addition to being a member of Central Bucks County NOW and coordinator of the Pennsylvania train, Bull is the founder of Housewives for the ERA. "We organized the group to respond to Phyllis Schlafly's charges that housewives don't support the ERA," she told me.

"The problem is people don't know what the ERA is. A demonstration would help clarify who supports the ERA."

The eighteen-hour trip gave Freedom Train riders ample time for discussion. "Will NOW state coordinators meet in the middle dining car?"

"Anyone interested in discussing women and

the media please come to the front of the train."

"Minority women will have a discussion at midnight."

"I'm really glad I bought a subscription to that paper," a woman named Martha comments as I lay a bundle of *Militants* on the table and flop into a seat in the dining car.

"I bought it at the Eastern Regional NOW conference. It really connects feminist issues to the other struggles that are going on. I think it's really important that feminists get involved in issues like defending the Black community in Boston."

Socialist Workers party candidates and supporters distribute campaign brochures up and down the aisles.

"What's the socialists' position on child care?" a member of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers asks.

"Could we get together and have a discussion on socialism and feminism on the way back?" another woman asks. Discussions swirl around us into the night.

"We'll be in Chicago in fifteen minutes!"

"Get the banners!"

"What did you think of the demonstration?" I later asked a group of students from State College, Pennsylvania, as we sat bleary-eyed, sipping coffee, the scenery flashing by.

"Terrific! Organizing for the ERA was something up in the clouds for me until this demonstration. But yesterday you could really understand what it meant with all of us united."

"I wouldn't have missed this for the world," a member of the National Black Feminist Organization from Washington, D.C., said. "I really liked what that Black woman speaker said about getting out a pamphlet relating the ERA to Black women. This is our issue too, and we've got to organize more Black women to get involved."

"This is historic. We can tell our grandchildren we rode on this train."

"We'll have to get the Freedom Train down to Virginia next January when the ERA comes up again there!"

"Where's the discussion on feminism and socialism going to be?"

Pittsburgh. First load off the Freedom Train.

"Goodbye! Goodbye!"

"Failure is impossible!" boomed Diane Bull over the megaphone, quoting Susan B. Anthony.

"Failure is impossible!" shouted the departing passengers.

Philadelphia at last. "Welcome back, ERA Freedom Train riders," reads a placard.

"What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!"

Applause and cheers from the passengers awaiting trains on the other platforms, as we dragged ourselves up the stairs to go home.

...rally

Continued from page 6

ERA supporters a chance to visibly demonstrate that the majority is behind ERA ratification.

To win the ERA, Booth continued, "We must put aside the past differences that have divided us: differences of style, of language, of dress, of age, of organization."

The right-wing forces, she stressed, "have the power of money. . . . We have the power of the people."

The banners and placards that waved against the Springfield sky symbolized the unity that Booth called for. They were emblazoned with the names of NOW chapters, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Black Task Force of Georgians for the ERA, University of Minnesota Students, Lesbians for the ERA, Teamsters, Young Socialist Alliance, Moms for the ERA, Housewives for the ERA, Chicago Typographical Union, and Irish Feminists.

During the collection, demonstrators sang along with a tribute to Rosa Parks, the Black woman who triggered massive civil rights protests when she refused to move to the back of the bus.

The next speaker, Dr. Arnita Boswell of the League of Black Women, spoke of the long tradition of Black women in the struggle for equal rights.

"The question is frequently asked," she said, "What's in it for Black women?" And my answer to that—the same thing is in it as there was for me when I marched in Mississippi, in Washington, in Boston, in Chicago. . . . We're talking about liberation and freedom."

"Black women have suffered all of their lives," Boswell emphasized. ". . . Whenever possible we try to rally together to the cause of all oppressed people."

"However, we now feel we need to organize around our own priorities as Black women, against racism and sexism."

Thousands of the demonstrators were students from around the country. They enthusiastically greeted the speaker from the Illinois Campus Task Force, Betsy Soares.

The response of students to the May 16 call to action, Soares said, reveals the hollowness of the media's claim that students are "apathetic . . . don't care about issues."

Soares pointed out that the anti-ERA groups "are also the enemies of equal rights for Blacks and other minorities. These anti-ERA groups have opposed busing to achieve school desegregation."

The U.S. government and the anti-ERA groups, she said, both say, "We're in a recession now and we can't afford the luxury of equal rights for anyone." Blasting Congress's cutbacks in child care, she added, "Once again, the government has put bombs and tanks ahead of the needs of working women and their children." The crowd roared when she declared: "We say child care, not warfare!"

"To win this fight," Soares concluded, "we need to rely on our own power—the independent power that we mobilized to win the right to vote, the right to abortion, and an end to the war in Vietnam."

"We need more demonstrations like this one today, and bigger demonstrations . . . to make our demand heard in every state capitol and in Washington, D.C."

The final speaker was NOW leader Betty Friedan, who stated that the majority support for the ERA has even spread to her hometown. "The ERA plays in Peoria," she said. "This is a day we can be proud of."

The demonstrators cheered the final speaker with the same enthusiasm they had sustained throughout the two-and-a-half hours of speeches and songs. Some speakers had stressed electing pro-ERA politicians as the strategy to win, but the loudest applause of the day greeted the calls for more marches and rallies like May 16.

At the end, women weren't ready to leave without a promise that this march was just the beginning. And what a beginning!

May 16 was the most broadly sponsored women's rights action in decades. The active involvement of CLUW chapters and trade unions set an example of how labor can unite with the women's movement, bringing union power to bear in the fight for equal rights.

The demonstrators left inspired with a new sense of their power as a united movement. Their chants, cheers, and songs gave a resounding "Yes!" to Mary Jean Collins's closing words:

"I know we will meet again. We will meet in Indiana. We will meet in Missouri. We will meet in Nevada. We will meet wherever it is necessary until our purpose is accomplished!"

HOW MARCH WAS BUILT

In the hectic weeks before the May 16 national march, a flurry of local rallies, debates, and teach-ins helped fill the buses for Springfield.

Three hundred people gathered at Boston University May 7 for a teach-in on the national ERA fight and the campaign in Massachusetts to pass a state Equal Rights Amendment, which will be on the ballot in November.

Judy Berkowitz of the Action Coalition for the ERA, the teach-in's sponsor, said: "I am not afraid of masses of pro-ERA forces marching, rallying, debating. What I am afraid of is ignorance surrounding the ERA, causing a breeding ground for horror stories anti-ERA groups are known to tell."

"We must not let another New York happen here. We must not try to sneak equal rights past the voters."

Hattie McCutcheon brought greetings from the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

"Our enemies are the same," said McCutcheon. "The same racist, antibusing, anti-Black forces in this city who are organized to stone and beat Black youth in the streets and schools, to drive Black families out of predominantly white neighborhoods, and to terrorize the Black community and white supporters of our civil rights are the exact same forces organized to stop the ERA."

"A defeat for Black rights will make it easier for racist scum all across the country to attack further the gains of women as well as the labor movement," she warned.

In Detroit, a "Labor Defends ERA Ratifica-

tion" rally took place May 11 in response to threats from right-wing forces to rescind the ERA in Michigan. Sponsored by the Wayne County chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the rally heard speeches by Tom Turner, president of the Metro-Detroit AFL-CIO Council; Olga Madar, national president of CLUW; Odesa Komer, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers; Herman Coleman, executive director of the Michigan Education Association; and Mary Ellen Riordan, international vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and president of its Detroit affiliate.

One hundred people at an ERA speak-out in Cleveland May 3 heard Doris Pecherow of the Cleveland National Organization for Women say that the May 16 march "marks the first nationwide event that will be part of a series of events that will characterize the last stretch in the effort to ratify the ERA."

New York NOW sponsored "An Evening for the Equal Rights Amendment" May 6, featuring Vivian Gornick, feminist writer; film critic Joan Mellon; Billie Lou Watt, actress on the TV serial *Search for Tomorrow*; and a slide show on "Suffrage and the ERA," presented by Dianne Feeley.

ERA Central in New Orleans sponsored a May 6 meeting featuring Willie Montgomery, AFL-CIO consultant to the Louisiana A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Cheryl Epling, executive vice-president of the United Teachers of New Orleans.

...ERA West

Continued from preceding page

Margaret Mora, Socialist Workers party candidate for county board of supervisors; and Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, also addressed the rally.

—Margaret Mora

Seattle:

Chanting "Equal work for equal pay, Ratify the ERA!", more than 400 women and men marched through downtown Seattle May 15.

The rally following the march was chaired by Rita Shaw, coordinator of the Washington State Coalition for Ratification of the Federal ERA, which organized the action in solidarity with the May 16 national march in Springfield, Illinois.

Keynote speaker Eleanor McGovern told the crowd that if the ERA were law, "Our culture would no longer decree that men fit into one role and

women into another—one of dominance, one of submission—with the weight of law behind such inequality."

Yvonne Wanrow, the Colville Indian facing a twenty-five-year sentence for defending herself and her children from a sexual attack, stated, "I am here in support of the ERA because I see a need for change in this country and in the attitudes of men and women. Women have suffered too long."

Capturing the spirit and determination of the marchers, Kate Daher, a Seattle Central Community College student, said, "This march, this rally should be a mere snowball in an avalanche to come."

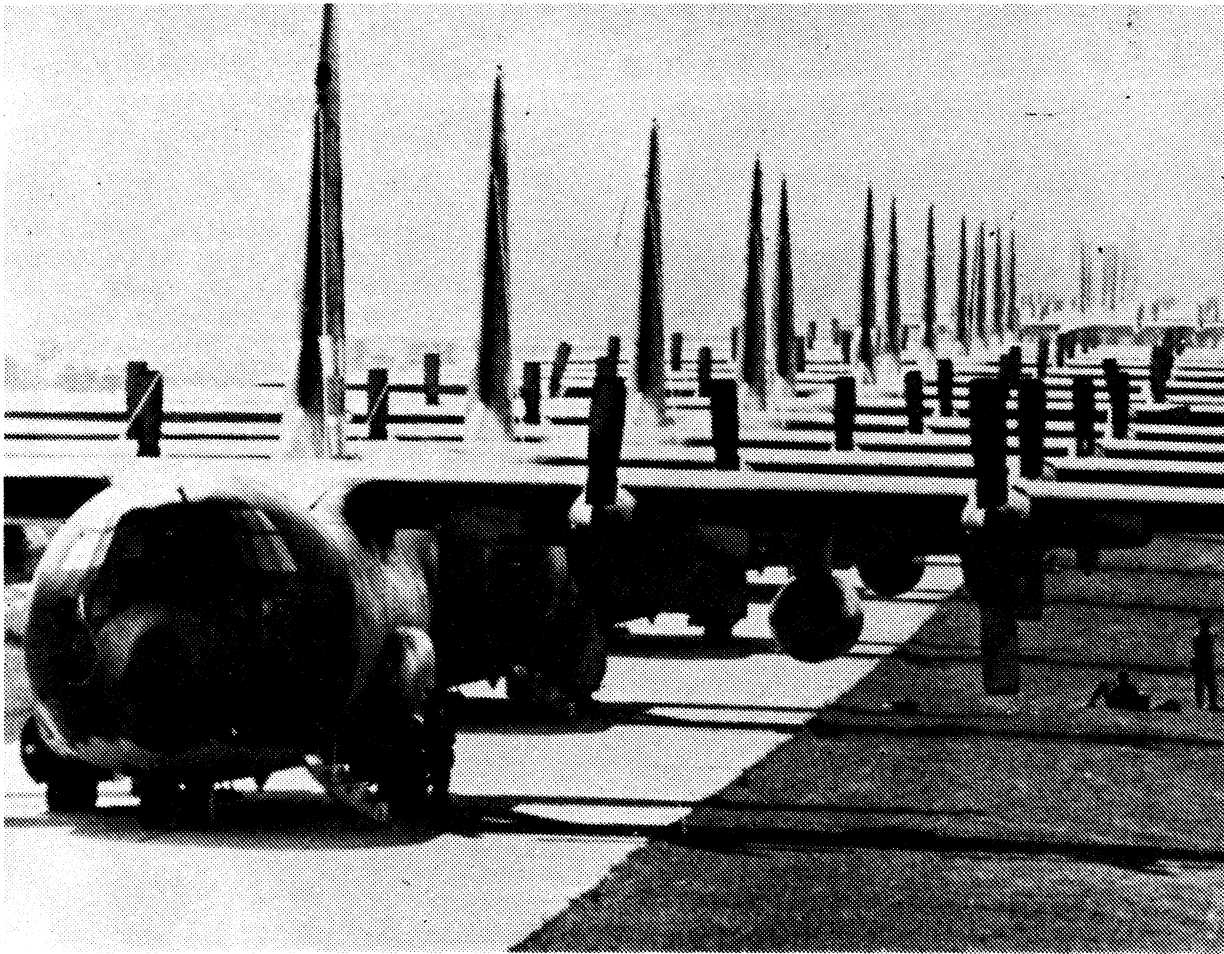
Other speakers included Shelley Fernandez, national board member of the National Organization for Women; Ross Rieder, of the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers, AFL-CIO; Patricia Bethard, Socialist Workers party candidate for governor; and Marvin Durning, one of the Democratic party candidates for governor.

—Louise Armstrong



Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid joined Springfield march along with many of their supporters.

Militant/Jean Vertheim



U.S. Air Force in West Germany. Peking's call for strengthening U.S. military triggers new discussion of Chinese foreign policy.

'Guardian' opens China discussion

By Dick Roberts

The *Guardian* newspaper has opened up an important discussion on one of the central issues in world politics today: the character of Chinese foreign policy.

This is a discussion to be welcomed by serious-minded revolutionaries everywhere. Readers of the *Militant* will want to follow it closely.

For some time the *Guardian* has expressed disagreements with various aspects of Peking's foreign policy. During the recent war in Angola, for instance, the *Guardian* called for victory to the MPLA while Peking campaigned primarily for the withdrawal of USSR and Cuban support to the MPLA.

A significant new development has put Peking's foreign policy into even further question, the *Guardian* believes. This is Peking's open declaration that between the two "superpowers," the United States and the USSR, *the Soviet Union is the main danger*.

The boldest statement of this turn in Peking's foreign-policy declarations appears in an interview with William Hinton that the *Guardian* reprinted May 5. Hinton is national chairman of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. The interview resulted from Hinton's recent visit to China. It is safe to assume as the *Guardian* does that Hinton accurately expresses official Chinese policy.

'Main danger'

"Do the Chinese consider the two superpowers to be equal dangers to the people of the world?" Hinton was asked.

"Not any more," he replied. "There was a period when the superpowers were seen as more or less equal enemies threatening not only the emerging nations of the third world, but also the independence of the lesser industrial nations of the second world. What China called for then was a worldwide united front against the two superpowers. . . .

"Today," Hinton continued, "there is still a major contradiction between the people of the world and the two superpowers, but as between the two superpowers, one—the Soviet Union—is more dangerous than the other. It is, in fact the *main danger* confronting the whole world today." (Emphasis in the original.)

Such a posture has been implicit in Peking's world strategy at least since 1972 when Mao Tsetung welcomed Richard Nixon to China at the height of Nixon's bombing of Vietnam. Further,

Peking's propaganda about "superpower rivalry" was often clearly directed more at Moscow than Washington.

But it is one thing to warn against the supposed "Soviet danger." It is quite another thing to advocate *supporting imperialism against the Soviet Union*. This is Peking's position.

It is difficult to overestimate the profound impact that this naked justification of Chinese foreign policy will have on revolutionary-minded people the world over, many of whom look to Peking as "more revolutionary than Moscow."

According to Hinton, Peking's slogan in the previous period was "Mobilize the third world, unite with all those forces of the second world willing to struggle and oppose the two superpowers."

The slogan corresponding to Peking's present line is "Mobilize the third world, unite all the forces of the second world willing to struggle, neutralize the United States and strike the main blow at the Soviet Union."

'Heath against Wilson'

Hinton leaves no doubt about the meaning of this slogan. "China," he says, "judges world leaders by how well they understand this new relationship of forces. Thus they prefer Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt and Schlesinger to Kissinger."

The comparisons hinge on attitudes toward arming the countries against Moscow.

- Britain's Tory leader Edward Heath has a public stance of being more anti-Soviet, and more in favor of the imperialists' NATO military alliance against the Soviet Union, than Labour party leader Harold Wilson.

- West German right-winger Franz Josef Strauss (who was warmly greeted in Peking last year) is a more outspoken critic of Moscow and supporter of NATO than Social Democratic party leader Helmut Schmidt.

- Former U.S. war secretary Arthur Schlesinger, critical of the Pentagon's arsenal as inadequate to compete with Moscow, is publicly anti-détente, while Secretary of State Kissinger is the main architect of the détente.

Hinton stresses China's concern with increasing the military strength of the capitalist countries allied with Washington against Moscow. He is asked on what basis "unity" between Peking and Washington is possible. Hinton answers, "[On] such issues as the defense of Japan, the Philippines and Europe." He elaborates:

"Japan does not have adequate defense forces today. Japan is dangerously vulnerable to Soviet attack. The Soviet navy and air force are constantly maneuvering in the Sea of Japan. Until Japan is able to build up adequate defense forces, it is necessary for the Japanese people to continue to rely on the alliance with the United States. . . .

"The same thing holds true for Europe. There is no European country that can stand alone against overt and covert pressure from the Soviet Union. Even if the European countries united, their collective strength would not today be sufficient to hold off a Russian attack. Therefore it is necessary for them to maintain their NATO alliance with the United States. And this will remain a necessity until their own forces have been developed to an adequate level.

"The Philippines are demanding that the U.S. vacate its bases one by one. This is a prudent policy. Complete withdrawal would leave the islands vulnerable to Soviet incursion."

Bolster NATO

Peking's insistence that the imperialists bolster their military forces against Moscow was underlined May 6 when British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland met with the highest Chinese officials in Peking, including newly appointed Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua.

Immediately following the meeting Crosland held a news conference clearly designed to call attention to the top-level agreement between Britain and China. According to Reuters, Crosland said "that he had been questioned about the reliability of the American commitment to use a nuclear deterrent. . . .

"Peking's leaders had hammered home their concern about the Soviet military threat to Europe and the need for West European unity, Mr. Crosland said. . . .

"Mr. Crosland added there was agreement on the need for a strong NATO and for the United States to 'remain committed and determined.'"

Peking's stand raises far-reaching questions involving virtually every arena of political struggle. Should American revolutionaries, for example, support Reagan? Should they campaign for greater military spending, more bombers and tanks, and to keep American forces stationed around the world?

Should European revolutionaries give up the campaign against NATO? Should they support the most outspoken capitalist politicians who favor NATO?

The fact is this switch is already being carried out by West German Maoists. The Maoist KPD (Communist party of Germany) calls for an end to the struggle against NATO bases as sites for military maneuvers. "No protest actions against the construction of sites for NATO troop maneuvers; strengthening the independent West European defenses is the correct military-political line for today," the KPD states.

The Japanese people have conducted a long and massive struggle against the U.S. nuclear forces that occupy Japan. But Peking calls on Japanese workers to ally with those who dropped the A-bombs and to fight for continued U.S. occupation of their country.

In the Philippines, Peking had previously supported the rebels who fight the dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos as a puppet of "American imperialism." But last June Marcos established diplomatic relations with Peking, where he met Mao and Chou En-lai. Apparently Peking now favors Marcos against the anti-imperialist fighters in the Philippines.

Discussion

The editors of the *Guardian* raise these and other questions: "Is the Soviet Union the 'main danger'?" they ask. "Is the united front against superpower hegemony to be scrapped in favor of a front against the Soviet Union? . . . Are American Marxist-Leninists to agitate for a U.S., China et al alliance against Moscow, doing their best to convince the American and all peoples of the world that they have to direct their main blow against the USSR and, apparently its allies?"

The *Guardian* editors promise to write further on these questions, and the May 19 issue carries initial contributions from *Guardian* readers. Such an open presentation of divergent views on this important question can only be of help to serious revolutionaries.

The *Militant* also plans to pursue this discussion. In future articles we will take a closer look at the recent course of Chinese foreign policy, examine Soviet foreign policy, and discuss the governments in Peking and Moscow that lie behind these policies.

Ford's assault on Black rights

[The following statement was issued May 19 by Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.]

President Ford has thrown the full authority of his office behind racist opponents of school desegregation.

He has instructed Attorney General Edward Levi "to look for an appropriate and proper case to ask the [Supreme] Court to reexamine busing as a remedy. . . ." Even while this announcement was being made yesterday, Levi was already at work carrying out his boss's orders.

Levi is reported to be "seriously considering" intervening before the Supreme Court on behalf of a challenge to Boston's court-ordered busing plan. He also intends to ask the justices to reconsider their 1971 ruling upholding a Charlotte, North Carolina, busing order.

In that landmark decision, the Supreme Court gave its stamp of approval to busing as a means to achieve desegregation. The court called busing "a normal and accepted tool of educational policy."

As a result of the long struggle of Blacks for equal rights, racially segregated school systems—like that in Boston before the busing plan—are today *illegal*. The anti-Black forces seeking to stop busing are clearly on the wrong side of the law.

Ford is asking the Supreme Court to turn back the clock: to give de facto legal sanction to dual school systems by outlawing the only effective means of desegregation. If the court acquiesces, the cause of Black rights will be set back many years.

An editorial in the May 17 *New York Times* voiced alarm at the possible social consequences of Ford's moves. "Black Americans will be put on notice that the Department of Justice . . . has concluded that there are no remedies for their rights and that the last 22 years have been nothing more than a cruel hoax."

Whatever Levi's final decision, these reports and Ford's statement have already delivered a blow to Black rights.

The anti-Black mobs will take heart, believing their goal of a permanent end to desegregation may be within reach.

Ford evidently hopes the timing of his move will slow down Ronald Reagan's challenge for the Republican nomination by casting the president as the more "effective" antibusing candidate. Ford's stock has undoubtedly risen among his party's die-hard right-wingers.

The Democratic contenders hold out no hope of a different course. All have either campaigned *against* busing, their positions hardly distinguishable from those of Ford, Reagan, and Wallace, or else steered clear of the issue to avoid alienating racist whites. Front-runner Jimmy Carter's defense of white "ethnic purity" sums up the stance of the Democratic party.

What can be done to stop this anti-Black onslaught? This much is certain: waiting to see who is elected next November is no solution.

Opponents of equal education have waged an unrelenting offensive against school desegregation. Their mob attacks, violent confrontations, and frequent demonstrations have put the Black community on the defensive.

In December 1974 and May 1975, probusing forces mobilized by the thousands in Boston to demand that the government enforce court-ordered desegregation. After each of these successful marches, the antibusing movement was momentarily stymied.

Each time it rapidly bounced back, however. And the inability of probusing forces to mount another major street demonstration for more than a year has clearly taken a toll.

A powerful and united response to this latest attack could begin to turn the situation around. The stakes are greater than ever.

On May 29 the National Student Coalition Against Racism will hold an open meeting of its steering committee to assess the current tasks of the probusing movement. [See article on page 4.] We urge all supporters of Black equality, whatever party or candidate you back, to join in this important meeting.

Together we can defeat the government's attempt to wipe out the fruits of more than twenty years of struggle.

RUP story boosts sales

It was good to see the center-page article on the Raza Unida party in Robstown, Texas (*Militant*, May 14).

At the fiesta Cinco de Mayo, which celebrates the revolution and independence of Mexico from French rule, the North Side branch of the Houston Socialist Workers party sold over fifty copies in two hours.

We need more articles like this one prominently displayed for *Militant* sales in the many barrios we are now moving into. Keep it up. *Adelante.*

Arturo Ramirez
Houston, Texas

Rah rah Robstown

Congratulations to Harry Ring for his excellent coverage of the Chicano struggle in Robstown, Texas. Having been born and raised there, I never considered it much of a distinction to claim it as my hometown.

Fate, apparently, has turned the tables on me. Robstown has now taken its place alongside other symbols of Chicano resistance to racism and paternalism such as Crystal City and Delano.

I hope to see the day when Robstown becomes the first site in Nueces County to open a branch of the Socialist Workers party.

Thanks again to Harry for all the good publicity and better luck next time to Ricardo Gutiérrez against "Papa Doc" Berryman!

G.W.
West Long Branch, New Jersey

which they seized and repatriate the Palestinians whom they expelled from their homes.

This is an ominous revelation indeed. If the Israelis can resort to nuclear means in order to defend their acts of conquest, excision of people en masse, and expropriation of property, the time cannot be far when the victims of such acts shall find themselves desperately driven into the nuclear arena.

The Palestine problem seems to have reached a stage where everybody must share the burden of a solution for it that would remove all chances of a universal catastrophe. Every one of us has the obligation to use every means available to expel nuclear weapons from the whole region and to uproot all causes for need of them by contending parties.

Ahmad Manna
Silver Spring, Maryland

'Militant' used in classes

Here at Rikers Island Correctional Institution, we have found your newspaper to be a great asset to us in conducting our political education classes.

The one copy a fellow prisoner was receiving is not being delivered due to his transfer.

I hope you will find time to answer my request. The *Militant* is of utmost value to our classes. I really would appreciate a subscription.

A prisoner
New York

Israeli nuclear bombs

The recent disclosures about Israeli nuclear status are very disturbing reminders of the high disproportion between the actual prospects for a meaningful resolution of the Palestine problem and the rapid deterioration into what seems to be a fatal deadlock.

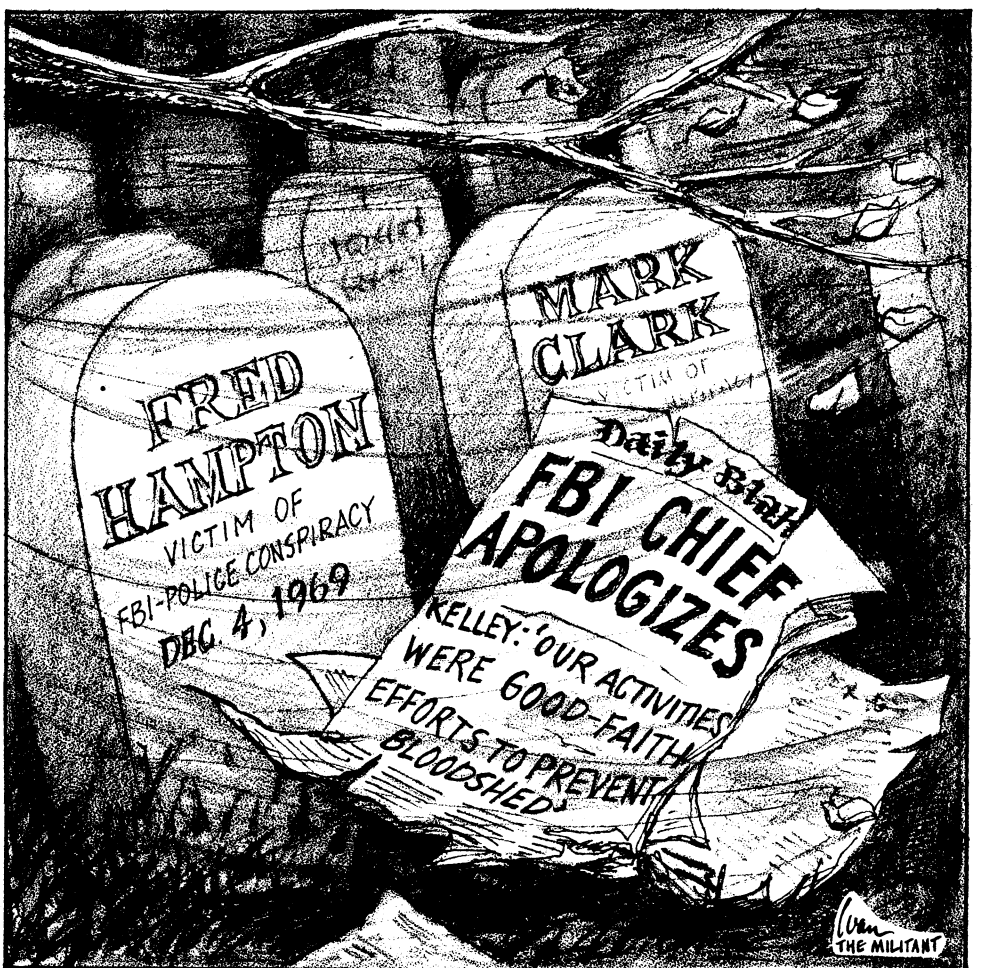
The possession, as we are told, by the Israelis of ten to twenty nuclear bombs and their deployment to be used during the 1973 war is a clear indication that they would rather lead the world to destruction than relinquish territories and properties

Gary Tyler frame-up

Just a word to express my feelings on the Gary Tyler frame-up. Brother Tyler's frame-up is being perpetrated by racist city and state officials.

This and other similar frame-ups are used to instill fear in Blacks and revolutionary, conscious people to attempt to intimidate us from fighting against racism, discrimination, and police brutality.

Now the hoods are being placed on the heads of the cowardly, racist imps who are probably responsible for the cold-blooded murder of Richard Dunn [a Black youth shot by white night



Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



The key to 'recovery'

riders after leaving a benefit concert for Tyler's defense].

I say to all Gary Tyler's supporters, do not let these or any other obstacles persuade you from struggling to free him as well as continuing the struggle to free all. For when one Black is executed for a crime he didn't commit, then every single Black person becomes a victim.

A prisoner
Kansas

Prison support for Camejo

What is the best in life that we can hope for—for a better job, for better medical care, for better education, for the right to control our own affairs, for a better way to control inflation, for a way to loosen the grip of U.S. capitalists oppressing poor and working-class people here in America and in Puerto Rico?

Because I'm Puerto Rican, what more can I hope for?

I'll tell you what more we can hope for—a man whose influence can protect the rights of the poor, oppressed, and working-class people.

I'm speaking so proudly about a Spanish brother—Peter Camejo—who is running for president.

It's your decision to win or lose. Join the socialist campaign and vote for a better future. Vote for Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. This is a message from a lonely man in prison to help the Socialist Workers 1976 campaign.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

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

Helps your focus

The perspectives on political, economic, and social realities presented in the *Militant* are a refreshing and—I'm confident—a more truthful addition to the views put forth in the establishment media and those not-so-subtly conveyed in my academic community.

As a student in an elitist, somewhat oblivious bourgeois institution, it's sometimes hard to maintain an untainted outlook on just what is going on in this not-so-ideal world.

The *Militant* helps to focus that outlook.

J.S.
Amherst, Massachusetts

Exchange student

I'm an exchange student and lived already eight months in the United States. Finally, after eight months I found a newspaper I was so long looking for—the *Militant*.

U.K.
Burlington, Wisconsin

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.

When the April unemployment report was released last week, government economists hailed the figures as proof of the success of administration policies.

Seven million people were officially counted as jobless, the same as the month before, and nearly twice as many as were out of work two years ago.

For Blacks, the unemployment rate *increased* from 12.5 percent in March to 13.0 percent in April.

The White House was correct in citing this as a success—for the capitalists.

The persistence of unemployment at near-depression levels a full year after the economic upturn began is the cornerstone of the recovery in profits. For the capitalists and their government, that is the only recovery that counts.

From their viewpoint, the 1974-75 recession accomplished a change of historic significance: *it pushed unemployment higher than they ever thought it could go without sparking resistance from the labor movement.*

In a recent column on Volkswagen's decision to build an auto assembly plant in the United States, I cited the fact that wage increases here have been drastically lower than in other major capitalist countries. This victory for the U.S. capitalists is directly related to maintaining *unemployment* higher than in other countries.

High unemployment is now expected to be a permanent feature of the American economy. Administration analysts say the jobless rate, now down from the recession peak, may go *up* again in the next few months, even as production increases. (The rapid increase in productivity, or output per worker-hour, makes this possible.)

Before this economic slump, 6 percent unemployment was seen as *maximum*. Anything higher was thought to be politically dangerous. Now 6 percent has become a *minimum*—the level implicitly set by the government as "full employment." And nobody expects even that target to be reached until the end of 1977 at the earliest.

The misery of millions is the foundation on which the profit boom is built. Evaluating economic developments in 1975, the *Wall Street Journal* last December 31 pointed to the phenomenal leap in corporate profit margins. It has been "the most rapid rate of [profit]

margin improvement since the end of the Great Depression," said stockbroker David Levine.

The *Journal* continued: "Mr. Levine says this year's surge in profitability reflects the success of industry's pricing strategies amid relatively high joblessness. 'High unemployment is depressing wage rate pressures relative to the corporate sector's ability to price its products,' he says."

In plain English, this means that the capitalists kept on raising prices while unemployment pushed wages down.

The booming auto industry is a prime example. Last January the *Wall Street Journal* reported that the

JOBLESS RATES

Official unemployment rates, 3rd quarter 1975:

United States	8.6%
Britain	5.6%
Germany	4.6%
France	4.4%
Italy	3.6%
Japan	1.9%

Source: Economic Report of the President

layoff of thousands of auto workers "is expected to pay off handsomely as production gains are realized without further significant auto worker recalls."

That is exactly what has happened. At least 28,000 auto workers remain on layoff while others are working heavy overtime. Reporting on this apparent contradiction, the May 10 *New York Times* explained that "it keeps total labor costs down."

Workers tell of company time-study experts pushing for speedup on the assembly line. "They'll add a screw here and bolt there for a man to put on and next thing you know they've eliminated one man's job," says the president of a United Auto Workers local.

Speedup . . . low wages . . . unemployment—that's what the "recovery" is all about.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Raza Unida gains in Calif.

LOS ANGELES—Recent elections in the Los Angeles suburb of San Fernando demonstrate once again the potential of La Raza Unida party.

RUP candidates Marshall Díaz and Xenaro Ayala finished fourth and fifth among seven contestants in a race for two city council seats.

The winners, two Anglos, received 1,100 to 1,200 votes each. Díaz got 424 and Ayala 385. This is a good showing for what is still a small nucleus of an independent Chicano party. The important thing is the support that the *partido* received in San Fernando's Chicano community, which makes up about half of San Fernando's population of 17,000.

Among the candidates Raza Unida had to beat was Luz Marquez, a Mexican-American Democrat running with the full backing of the church in the barrio. Last-minute plugs from the pulpit and everything. Raza Unida activists told me that one of Marquez's campaign tactics was driving a car with loudspeaker through the community extolling her virtues as an activist in the church and insinuating that her RUP rivals were dangerous radicals. It didn't work.

Despite the baiting, Díaz carried the three most heavily Chicano precincts in town, with Ayala coming in close behind.

The RUP chapter in San Fernando is composed of a relatively small group of dedicated activists. Had their resources been greater, they would undoubtedly have reaped even greater results from the election.

The good showing made by the RUP was mainly the result of its consistent activity on behalf of Chicanos for the past several years. The party has become widely known and respected in the community, and has had an impact on city politics outside of elections.

The local news media have been forced to treat them as serious candidates.

The only reason that there aren't Raza Unida members on the San Fernando City Council today is that the elections are rigged to deny Chicanos the right to representation.

In San Fernando, there are no city council districts; all council members are elected at-large. Even if the entire Chicano population voted in a block, this could still be overturned by the Anglo majority. Only one Chicano has ever been elected to the city council since its founding more than fifty years ago.

Furthermore, only two or three members are elected at a time to the five-member council. Another neat trick. If all five were elected at the same time, a minority segment in the city, such as the Chicano community, could put in two candidates by finishing fourth and fifth.

In fact, this is precisely what happened in this election. Díaz and Ayala finished fourth and fifth. The Chicano community made its choice, and the Anglo majority vetoed it.

This underscores the importance of waging a struggle to have the San Fernando City Council elected by district. The Chicano community should have at least two out of five districts in such an arrangement.

The greater Los Angeles school board is also elected on an at-large basis, thus denying representation to the Black and Chicano communities. Yet enough pressure has built up that a proposition has been placed on this spring's ballot to create school board districts. In light of this development, now is a good time to press for similar changes in San Fernando.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Including the Bible?—Bemoaning the lack of reading of basic church works by priests, Bishop James Rausch said, "There are priests and bishops who haven't read a serious book in forty years."

Now there's a switch—Grant Keehn, a retired New York banker, obtained a separation from his wife on grounds that she beat him up repeatedly, demanding he cater to her sexual desires. The judge asserted she made no bones about it. "His function was (a) to take her shopping and traveling,

and (b) to stay in bed with her, catering to her emotional and sexual needs."

SSRAGMS—Cleveland's Mayor Ralph Perk asked the army to lend him its new "nonlethal" crowd-control grenade. Called, simply, the Soft-Sting Ring Airfoil Grenade Munitions System, it looks something like a doughnut and features tiny pockets on the outside that can be used for tear gas. The mayor said he didn't have any particular reason for the request, it's just in case there are crowds to control.

Basic education—Elaine Edwards, wife of the governor of Louisiana, says she always was very self-confident but now is even more so as a result of a \$475 charm-school course. She learned that "it's the tone of your voice that counts," and, even more important, "I didn't realize I didn't know how to get in and out of a car."

Buycentennial dept.—A posh Los Angeles jeweler is offering a red, white, and blue ring replete with rubies, diamonds, and sapphires for \$1,776. "I don't like a lot of the shmaltz that's

going on," he sniffed, apparently alluding to such bicentennial items as toilet seats and coffins.

Thought for the week—"Just why should the U.S. Postal Service pay its own way? The Defense Dept. doesn't pay its way to the tune of \$90-odd billion a year and neither do Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, Housing, Education and Welfare and State. Why not make Henry Kissinger pay his way, and both Houses of Congress, too?"—Columnist Carl Riblet, Jr.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Uptight G-men

Uptight about something? Your baby sister ate all the cornflakes and spilled sugar on the floor? Put your tooth under your pillow and there was no dime the next morning?

Well, you're not alone. Our trustworthy, loyal, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent FBI is uptight over *Up Tight*.

New documents from the bureau as a result of a Freedom of Information Act request by several news organizations show that the FBI was hot and bothered in 1968 when the movie *Up Tight* came out.

A memo from the Cleveland bureau to FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover reported that the movie was filmed in Cleveland, and noted, sorely, that "many of the extras [appearing in the film] have been identified as members and sympathizers of Black Nationalist groups."

The movie, according to the FBI memo, showed a "militant and violent" Black group having more sway over the community "compared to the peaceful group." The memo remarked bitterly that the

film's conclusion is that racial discrimination will continue and must therefore be combated.

Those parts of the memo covering "Operations Under Consideration" against the film are blanked out.

Other new documents reveal once again the bureau's intense fear of Black militancy, and illustrate how the FBI has tried to exploit nearly every political difference in the Black movement among moderates and militant nationalists.

An April 4, 1968, memo from the Cleveland FBI office to Hoover reprints an editorial in the Black Cleveland *Call & Post* criticizing Martin Luther King's "Poor People's Campaign." It is now known that Hoover held an almost personal vendetta against King, and the FBI's intention was to use the editorial to undercut King's influence among Blacks.

Still another Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") plot involved the FBI's circulation of a 1968 article in the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine

attacking the "nihilism of the extremists who are shrilly and insistently espousing apartheid; racism, including anti-Semitism; intimidation and violence."

The new files also include information that Hoover kept on the Ku Klux Klan and other such racist groups. His purpose for doing this, however, was to deliver a message to his co-thinkers.

"Every time a self-appointed crusader," Hoover once told an American Legion convention, "starts beating the tom-toms of racial hatred and prejudice, he makes it that much more difficult for the constituted authorities to carry on. . . . The preservation of our internal security is a duty too sacred to be toyed with by psychopathic publicity seekers or to be used by greedy self-seeking politicians as a means of attracting attention."

But here's the prize in the Crackerjack box. After collecting information and racist literature from such groups, one memo recommends that it be "sent anonymously to selected Negro leaders."

The American Way of Life

Spanish and gibberish

I remember what it was like walking into a fourth-grade classroom in a strange country at the age of nine—seeing row upon row of children staring at you, having the teacher turn to the door, smile, and start talking gibberish.

She speaks English, I thought. Not knowing what else to do, I asked, "*¿Habla español?*"—Do you speak Spanish?

"*Un poquito*"—a little—she said in an accent so exaggerated that I thought she must have worked for years perfecting the mispronunciation.

Then she talked gibberish at me some more. Then at one of the other children in the class who immediately translated.

This is America, and you always have to talk English in school, he explained.

It was very strange. Nobody said anything you could understand. And if you tried to make yourself understood, the teachers would let you know in no uncertain terms: This is America. You have to talk English.

I had always been a good student before. I would be again. But not for a couple of years. Based upon school records from my homeland, at first they put me in the room for the "brightest" kids—almost all Anglos.

It didn't take long for the authorities to see I was in reality an idiot. I was dumped into class Four-D, with all the other morons. Mostly it was all the Spanish-speaking kids, and a few Blacks.

I remember a thousand and one indignities from those days. One of the first things you learn is that your name is not your name. I was "Joe." Carlos was "Charley." Maria was "Mary."

They told you that everything you'd ever learned before was wrong. That you and your people are stupid. That your language and culture are worthless.

That was in 1960. There were millions who went through the same thing before me, and millions afterward.

A couple of years ago the U.S. Supreme Court finally got around to looking at the problem. The court said that to dump children who don't understand a word of English into English-only classrooms is to deny them an equal education.

And that's in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Because it is a scientifically proven fact that you can't learn a damn thing in a language you don't understand.

That decision—*Lau v. Nichols*—was hailed as a milestone, as comparable to the court's 1954 *Brown* decision, which had outlawed segregation in public schools.

Just as *Brown* had been viewed in the fight for desegregation, the *Lau* decision was seen as a powerful legal tool to be used in the struggle for bilingual education.

Just how hard that struggle is going to be was brought home to me a few weeks ago by reading of

a new memorandum sent out by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Supreme Court in the *Lau* case wasn't asked—and didn't say—what should be done to remedy language discrimination. The court only said it had to stop.

So picking up on that, HEW sent out an order to its regional civil rights investigators telling them not to hassle school districts that don't provide bilingual education. HEW said there might be other remedies to language discrimination.

You might think that's a little unlikely. If you can't teach children in a language they don't understand, the obvious thing to do is to teach them in a language they do understand.

But HEW isn't interested in overcoming language discrimination. They're interested in overcoming the *Lau* decision.

It is the same with school segregation and the *Brown* decision. Everybody from Ford on down says, "Of course, you can't segregate Blacks into inferior schools. Unless you have to transport them to a different school. That's (gasp) *forced busing*."

Now they're doing it to *Lau*. "Oh, you can't deny children an education just because they don't speak some language. Unless, of course the language they don't speak is English."

They haven't come up with a catchy code word like "forced busing" yet, but I'm sure they will.

—José Pérez

RUBBER STRIKE: A CRUCIAL BATTLE FOR ALL LABOR

By Frank Lovell

The rubber workers' strike that began April 21 and now approaches its second month is a war of attrition. This was expected.

When 60,000 union members closed most of the tire plants of the four major companies—Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich, and Uniroyal—United Rubber Workers President Peter Bommarito said, "I think the strike will be for some time. At this point I'm not optimistic."

"I don't care if they don't settle for six months." That's the way Kenneth Phillips, a fifty-seven-year-old rubber worker in Akron, Ohio, put it. Phillips is a veteran of thirty-four years and eleven strikes at Firestone. In 1967 he was out for three months.

"I just want living costs and a better retirement," Phillips said, "so when I do get out I don't have to beat my brains out figuring out how to live."

The URW is demanding an immediate "catch-up" wage increase of \$1.65 an hour and an open-ended cost-of-living clause to keep wages abreast of rising prices.

The companies have not budged from their offer of \$1.15 an hour spread

over three years. "They aren't going to get the kind of money they're talking about," a rubber executive declares.

In an effort to demoralize the union ranks, the corporations have cut off all Supplemental Unemployment Benefit payments to 1,700 workers who had been laid off before the strike. Bommarito charges that this amounts to declaring "war" on the URW.

The union president also accuses Firestone of trying to "circumvent" bargaining by sending letters to strikers, urging them to "reconsider" the company offer.

Union power eroded

Not all the rubber industry is organized. A total of 275,000 workers are employed, only 183,000 of them in the URW. There are about 85,000 workers in tire plants. They are reported to make an average of \$5.50 an hour. Other rubber workers—in footwear, garment, hospital supplies, and other products—average a dollar an hour less.

Much of the industry has shifted to open-shop areas of the South and Southwest in the past twenty years.

An inept leadership seeking political

favours from the Democratic and Republican parties, and anxious to accommodate to the needs of the corporations, has allowed the once-powerful United Rubber Workers to decline. Its bargaining power has been eroded by divisions among its different departments and regions.

Each department of the union bargains separately with each major corporation. In past negotiations they have made special concessions to "financially threatened" plants to forestall shifts to low-wage areas from the old center of the industry in Akron.

The union wage scale varies in different parts of the country, depending on prevailing wages. There is a vast differential—which the companies are now seeking to widen—between wages in the tire plants and other sectors. The union has failed to organize thousands of small shops producing rubber and related goods in all parts of the country.

The most damaging blow fell in 1973 when union negotiators, in compliance with Nixon's Phase Three wage controls, signed for a small wage increase and no escalator protection against inflation. The result was a 10 percent drop in real wages.

Recover lost ground

Union members are out to recover some lost ground. They are determined to win a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) at least as good as those won by auto workers, steelworkers, and miners. These generally provide a one-cent increase for every 0.3-point increase in the Consumer Price Index.

This formula does not keep wages fully abreast of rising prices because the government's price index is not an accurate reflection of the declining purchasing power of the weekly paycheck.

Also, the COLA wage formula adjusts wages only quarterly. Wages are frozen over each three-month period, while prices rise constantly. There is no provision to compensate for this periodic loss.

Despite COLA's present weaknesses, rubber workers see the escalator of other basic industries as far superior to what they have.

They need to catch up in other ways too. Uniform wage scales in tire plants is a basic demand. This, along with equalizing wages in all sectors of the industry, and organizing the unorganized, would discourage the shifting of plants in search of lower wages.

Compared with average wages in manufacturing industry, the rubber workers are far down the ladder. Their present demands for parity with other organized workers are very modest.

Yet there is no optimism at any level of the union hierarchy that these demands will be accepted.

President Nathan Trachsel of URW Local 9 in Akron commented, "I don't know of any other time in the history of the union when we had more coming to us and when the time was worse for getting it."

Trachsel is negotiating with General Tire, the number five tire producer.

Profiteers are united

The rubber corporations are united in their opposition to union wages and working conditions. They are pressing their advantage, claiming that union demands are exorbitant and a threat to general economic recovery.

Concern for the economy is echoed by other sectors of big business, the capitalist press, and government representatives. The *New York Times* claims that "whatever contract eventually emerges in the tire industry will contribute further to reviving inflationary pressures."

This standard assumption is based on the false premise that wages cause prices to rise. The depressed living standard of rubber workers, who have been without a wage escalator for three years, proves the opposite: prices continue to rise while wages are frozen.

In the face of arrogant company

refusal to bargain seriously, the union has shifted its tactics from previous years. Instead of striking only one "target company," the strike this time is industry-wide.

With the support of the AFL-CIO, the URW has also announced a consumer boycott of Firestone products.

The union strike fund is near depletion and a special URW convention has been called for May 27 in Chicago for action on an additional dues assessment to raise more money.

Taft-Hartley injunction?

The employers' hopes for crushing the strike were voiced in the May 24 issue of *Business Week*.

It pointed out that "the strike has not shut off the companies' income. Each of the Big Four has plants, either nonunion or covered by other contracts, that produce nontire products such as garden hose. Firestone and Uniroyal each has nonunion tire plants still in production. . . .

"One rubber executive thinks that the auto companies will not bother to apply pressure on the rubber companies when they run out of tires—as the URW apparently assumes—but instead will demand a Taft-Hartley injunction. Indeed, the Ford Administration is already considering a T-H back-to-work order if the strike causes disruptions in the auto industry."

URW officials appear to be expecting and counting on government imposition of a settlement somewhere close to what the union is demanding. But the present political climate is not favorable to such hopes.

The outcome of the strike will depend on the determination and ability of URW members to strengthen and extend their strike, popularize their demands, and win new allies among other unions and other sectors of the working class.

Showdown approaches

As the showdown approaches in the strikebound rubber industry, it becomes clear that this is a contest that affects the fate of the union movement.

At stake is the future of some of the once-powerful industrial unions that were part of the great CIO movement of the 1930s. The electrical workers' negotiations opened last month in the shadow of the rubber strike. Nor will the auto workers union escape the consequences of this battle.

What is being tested is the class-collaborationist approach of the present-day union officials. These methods have always worked to the disadvantage of the unions, but under present economic and political conditions, corporate management is questioning whether it is any longer necessary for them to maintain the former "cooperative" labor-management relations.

Some are determined to destroy their former "labor partners" in the unions.



BOUNCY PROFITS

In the rubber industry, as elsewhere, there is no question that the corporations have the money to pay higher wages.

On April 26, less than a week after the strike was called, Goodyear announced first-quarter net profits of \$43.7 million—double their profits of a year earlier.

B.F. Goodrich showed a 145.9 percent profit gain. Goodrich officials admit to "questionable" payments of \$124,000 in bribes in recent years.

Profits are up 13 percent at Firestone, 63 percent at Uniroyal, and 269 percent at General Tire.

Their big profit gains are due to low wages and high productivity. Corporate management intends to keep it that way.

Ruling by Judge Griesa

Gov't must release further data on SWP

By Diane Rupp

"I assume whether it is in a safe or in a file drawer or in a closet, those files will be checked," U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa told the government lawyers on May 5.

Griesa ordered the government to turn over a mass of new files to the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance in their suit against the government.

Griesa ordered the government to comb through J. Edgar Hoover's "official and confidential" files and "personal" files and safes maintained by Special Agents in Charge (SACs) of FBI field offices. He also ordered the CIA to turn over all of its records on the Fourth International.

In protesting the judge's order as too burdensome, the FBI admitted that it has *eight million* documents on the SWP and YSA in its files.

In January 1975 Griesa had ordered the government to turn over everything about the SWP and YSA. "The main thing is get the documents," he demanded. "Get everything in hand. . . . If they have got file drawers and file drawers of material, just make it available, because we have to have it."

The government did turn over thousands of pages on Cointelpro programs and other illegal activities against socialists. But the FBI refused to turn over everything.

On March 28, 1976, records on ninety-two FBI burglaries of SWP and YSA offices came to light. These documents had been stored in a "Do Not File" file.

The SWP and YSA asked the judge to declare FBI Director Clarence Kelley in contempt of court for having withheld the burglary documents. Griesa did not find Kelley in contempt. But he did order the FBI to answer questions under oath about how it was searching its files for the documents.

On April 23 Herbert Jordan, lawyer for the socialists, questioned Joseph McMahon, the FBI agent in charge of investigating the SWP, about how he looks for documents. McMahon's sworn answers went like this:

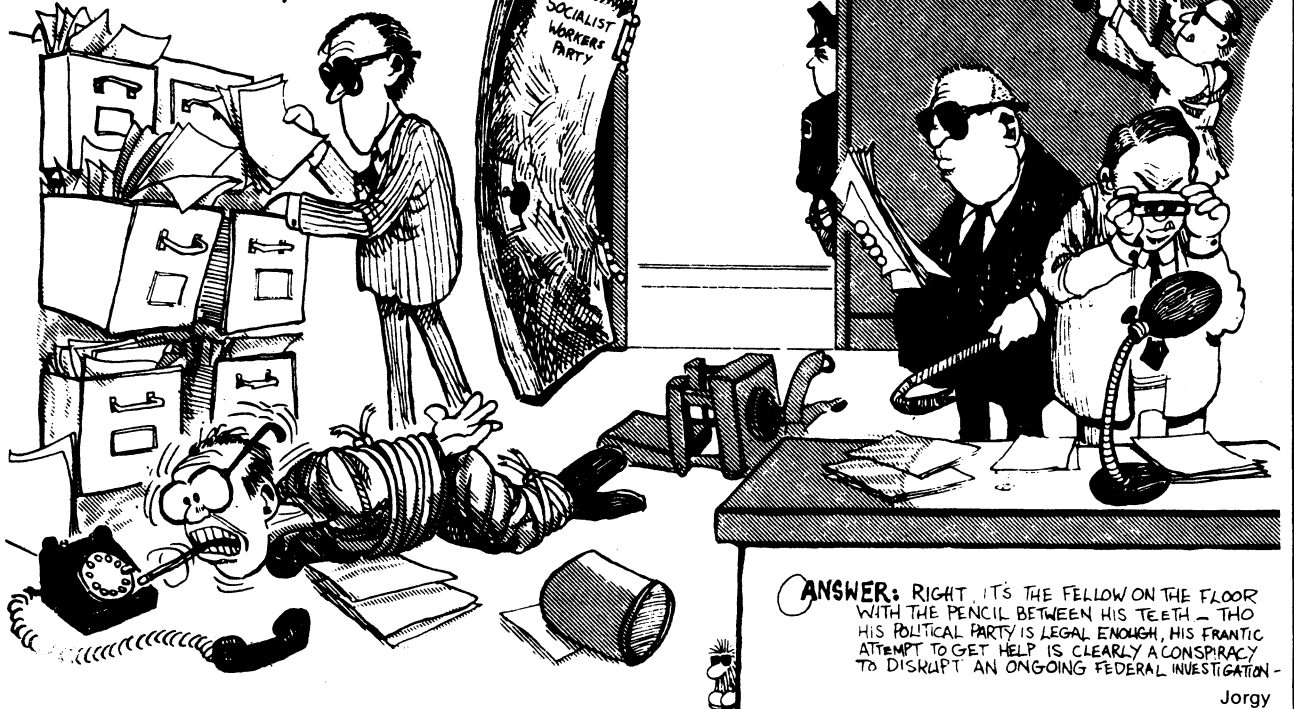
Jordan: "Do you have any knowledge as to whether the Do Not File files are still in existence?" McMahon: "No, I do not."

Jordan: "Have you made inquiries concerning that?" McMahon: "No."

Jordan: "Have you made any attempts to have the Do Not File files located and searched for information relevant to this case?" McMahon: "No, I haven't."

McMahon made similar replies when asked about other types of files. He explained that only files

TEST YOUR CONSTITUTIONAL IQ!
SEE IF YOU CAN SPOT THE SUBVERSIVE IN THIS PICTURE
(ANSWER BELOW)



ANSWER: RIGHT. IT'S THE FELLOW ON THE FLOOR WITH THE PENCIL BETWEEN HIS TEETH - THO HIS POLITICAL PARTY IS LEGAL ENOUGH, HIS FRANTIC ATTEMPT TO GET HELP IS CLEARLY A CONSPIRACY TO DISRUPT AN ONGOING FEDERAL INVESTIGATION - Jorgy

marked "Socialist Workers party" were checked. Files for individual SWP members had not been opened.

After McMahon explained what files had not been searched, the judge ordered the new files released.

Government lawyers objected that it would be impossible to produce the files on every single member of the SWP or YSA. So Griesa directed the socialists to provide a list of thirty-five names, a cross section of prominent members. And he ordered the FBI, CIA, and other federal agencies to turn over everything they have on these thirty-five individuals.

The government must also turn over:

- Material from "personal" folders and SAC safes in the bureau's fifty-nine field offices.
- Inspection reports. The FBI told agents to keep quiet about "black bag" jobs. Agents kept the records on their burglaries only until a yearly inspection from FBI headquarters. Then they destroyed these break-in files. The SWP expects the

inspection reports to give some idea of what was destroyed.

• CIA "201" files. John Greaney, a CIA lawyer, admitted that CIA computers keep "personality" records, coded "201," on U.S. citizens.

• FBI Cointelpro programs involving the SWP, but filed under "New Left" or "Communist party." The government has held back these papers with the excuse that they were not labeled "SWP."

• "SAC letters," that is, letters from FBI headquarters to field offices outlining policies toward the SWP and YSA.

• Names of people who were put on a list simply because they wrote to the SWP or YSA. The government must tell how many people were put on lists as a result of these "mail covers" and what was done to them.

Judge Griesa has scheduled the trial for July 1. Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund doubts the government will turn over material quickly enough to allow the trial to begin then. "The government has not made a single one of the court's deadlines yet," Stapleton said.

FBI role highlighted

AAUP blasts regents in Starsky case

By Diane Rupp

The prestigious American Association of University Professors (AAUP), in a new report on the firing of Professor Morris Starsky by Arizona State University (ASU), charges that "the Board of Regents infringed upon [Starsky's] rights as a citizen and prevented him from exercising his academic freedom."

The report is based on an independent investigation conducted by the AAUP's Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure.

The AAUP also suggests that still-secret FBI documents may contain more information on the FBI's role in the firing than has been revealed to date in the Cointelpro papers.

Starsky was fired in 1970 because of his political views and activities. He was a supporter of Socialist Workers party election campaigns, faculty sponsor for the campus Young Socialist Alliance, and organizer of free-speech fights and antiwar rallies.

The ASU regents ignored a faculty committee's report describing Starsky as a superior teacher and scholar and closed their eyes to petitions backing the professor signed by 3,000 students

and 250 faculty members. Starsky was fired from the department of philosophy on charges of unprofessional behavior.

When ASU refused to accept a federal court decision that the university should rehire Starsky, the AAUP, representing 85,000 members, decided to conduct an investigation and "bring this matter fully to the attention of the academic profession." The report is published in the spring issue of the *AAUP Bulletin*.

The AAUP sent Richard Adams of Tulane University and Richard De George of the University of Kansas to Arizona. This investigating team read available documents, interviewed ASU faculty members, and attempted to discuss the issues with the board of regents and the Phoenix office of the FBI. The regents and FBI refused to discuss the case.

The AAUP team examined the regents' complaints against Starsky, which were supposedly based on AAUP policy statements on professional ethics. Their report concludes, "The investigating committee has found no evidence in the record that would justify the Regents' findings or

conclusions, or their decision to dismiss Professor Starsky."

The report also describes as "shocking" the FBI's undercover crusade to get Starsky fired.

Cointelpro documents released to Starsky under the Freedom of Information Act showed that the FBI sent an anonymous letter to five members of the ASU faculty review committee in 1970. The bogus letter, signed "A concerned ASU alumnus," urged that Starsky be driven off the campus.

FBI agents refused to speak with the investigating team. The FBI continues to withhold at least four documents on Starsky.

"Whether COINTELPRO had more influence on the initiation of the proceedings and on their outcome is not so easily assessed, pending release by the Department of Justice of information that it continues to keep secret," the report says.

The report notes that as early as July 1968 the local office of the FBI was "predicting" that the regents would fire Starsky.

Ironically, one of the regents' charges against Starsky was that he

"failed to meet his obligations 'to promote conditions of free inquiry and to further public understanding of academic freedom.'"

The AAUP found that Starsky was the victim, not the villain, of this crime. The report points out, "The right of members of the academic community . . . to involve themselves in controversial matters is fundamental to academic freedom on any and all campuses."

The AAUP findings will give a boost to Starsky's continuing fight to be rehired at ASU.

In 1972 a federal district court ruled that Starsky's firing was illegal. An appeals court agreed that the firing was political and violated Starsky's constitutional rights. However, the appeals court ordered the district court to hold a trial on the technical issue of whether Starsky gave up his right to demand reinstatement and collect damages when he agreed to accept a year's sabbatical after his dismissal.

Those who support the socialist professor's right to teach at ASU are urged to send messages to: Arizona Gov. Raul Castro, Statehouse, Phoenix, Arizona 85007.

Demand files on Dobbs, Hansen

Socialists expand lawsuit against FBI

By Larry Seigle

The Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance have expanded their landmark suit against the government, based on the massive new evidence of government crimes that has emerged from the government's secret archives.

The updated suit is substantially different from the original version filed in July 1973. It adds new plaintiffs and defendants, and it brings into sharper

focus the kinds of government spying and harassment that will be outlawed if the case is won (see box).



FBI boss Hoover with Roosevelt

conspiracy to disrupt and persecute the SWP goes back to 1938, under the Roosevelt administration. The earlier version had traced the conspiracy back to 1948, when President Truman ordered the creation of the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations.

However, the socialists' attorneys now believe that they can prove in court that the attacks on the SWP and other organizations branded as "subversive" began in 1938.

In October of that year, FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover submitted to Roosevelt "suggestions for expansion" of FBI operations against "activities of either a subversive or so-called intelligence type." Roosevelt approved the plan.

The following year, Roosevelt authorized the FBI to "take charge of" government efforts to combat "subversive activities."

These measures were taken at a time when the U.S. ruling class was preparing for American intervention into the impending world war. The Roosevelt administration was determined to clamp down on the most militant sections of the labor movement and to eliminate any source of potential opposition to the war.

FBI vs. Teamsters

To accomplish these ends Roosevelt took steps to move the FBI more directly into the role of a political police force. One of the first assignments handed to the bureau was to launch an attack on the Teamsters union in the North-Central states. The Teamsters in that region were carrying out the union's first organizing drive of over-the-road drivers.

Among the leaders of this union effort was Farrell Dobbs, a member of the SWP. Dobbs and other Trotskyists had played a decisive part in organizing the Teamsters in Minneapolis. Now they were expanding Teamster power through class-struggle union policies.

The FBI went into action to disrupt the Teamsters with a series of frame-ups of union militants. Union members involved in strikes were prosecuted on spurious charges, including interference with interstate commerce, "malicious destruction of property with explosives," and kidnapping.

(The antilabor role of the FBI in this period is described in Dobbs's book *Teamster Politics*, the third of four volumes on the Teamsters union, available for \$2.95 from Pathfinder Press,

410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

These FBI attacks culminated in the 1941 conviction in Minneapolis of Dobbs and seventeen other members and leaders of the SWP and the Teamsters under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act.

Dobbs resigned from the Teamsters staff in 1940 to become labor secretary of the SWP. He ran for president four times on the SWP ticket and was the party's national secretary from 1953 to 1972. During these years, the FBI repeatedly broke into the party's national office, and illegally photographed Dobbs's correspondence and personal and political files.

The revised suit adds Dobbs as a plaintiff in the case. The party is now demanding that the FBI produce all of the documents in its files on Dobbs, including those covering his years in the Teamsters union.

International activities

The suit now also asserts that SWP and YSA members have the right to travel abroad, to meet with political activists from other countries, and to participate in internationally coordinated political activities and discussion without interference or surveillance by the government.

The suit charges that government agencies, in particularly the CIA, have acted illegally by "disrupting" SWP and YSA members "as they travel to foreign countries to exchange ideas with foreign citizens and gather information for use in formulating policies and programs concerning international issues."

Documents that have come to light since the suit was first filed show that the CIA has carried out intensive surveillance of the SWP and YSA and has shadowed U.S. socialists in travels around the world. In addition, the government has admitted that the super-secret National Security Agency monitors international telephone and cable communications.

The government claims that it has the right to investigate not only the SWP but also the Fourth International, the international Trotskyist organization. The SWP is barred from affiliating to the Fourth International by the reactionary Voorhis Act. However, the party collaborates with the international on a fraternal basis.

The suit also adds Joseph Hansen as a plaintiff. Hansen, a longtime leader of the SWP, has been one of the central leaders of the international Trotskyist movement for decades.

Hansen served as secretary to Leon Trotsky when the exiled Russian revolutionist lived in Mexico from 1938 until he was assassinated by a Stalinist agent in 1940.

At that time, the FBI was the covert action arm of the United States in Latin America, and the SWP is demanding that the FBI turn over everything in its files on Hansen, including materials compiled when Hansen was part of the Trotsky household.

Attorneys for the SWP have also demanded that the government return the contents of eighty-nine packages that Joseph and Reba Hansen mailed from Paris to the United States in 1965, but which mysteriously never reached their destination. The packages contained files, correspondence, and articles in preparation. These missing parcels are apparently among the items that the government has stolen from the SWP over the years.

Use of informers

The amended version of the suit also focuses in more precisely on the government's use of informers.

The Justice Department has publicly

taken its distance from some of the most flagrantly illegal kinds of FBI actions, such as the burglaries, but it is not retreating an inch on its claim that the FBI has the right to use informers against the SWP and YSA.

Although the use of informers has been upheld by court rulings in criminal cases, the issue has never before been confronted in a political case.

The amended suit asserts that "by maintaining secret government agents and informers as active members of the SWP and the YSA, defendants prevent plaintiffs from forming and operating an independent association free of government influence . . . in violation of the First Amendment."



Militant/Howard Petrick

FARRELL DOBBS

The suit also breaks new legal ground in its challenge to the FBI's "interviews" of landlords, employers, parents, and friends of SWP and YSA members and supporters.

The FBI insists that this kind of activity is a legitimate "investigative technique." The suit, however, charges that any such activity is a violation of constitutional rights.

Cointelpro victims

When the suit was first filed, the scope and nature of the FBI's Cointelpro program were unknown to anyone outside of the government. The allegations in the earlier version of the complaint were based on scattered and incomplete pieces of evidence, rather than on information from the FBI's own files.

Continued on page 26

What lawsuit is demanding

A favorable ruling on the SWP and YSA suit will constitute a charter of political rights and freedoms for all groups subject to government spying and harassment because they choose to exercise their constitutional rights to dissent.

The amended complaint specifies the following practices to be barred by an injunction:

- "(1) interrogating, surveilling, threatening or affecting the employment of members or supporters of the SWP and the YSA because of their affiliation with or support of the SWP and/or the YSA;
- "(2) inducing or attempting to induce members or supporters to spy and inform upon the SWP and/or the YSA;
- "(3) infiltrating the SWP and/or the YSA for purposes of surveillance or any other purpose;
- "(4) authorizing or permitting

informers or other government agents to pose as bona fide members of the SWP and the YSA or to direct, control or participate in any discussion, meeting or other activity with or relating to the said organizations;

"(5) wiretapping or otherwise intercepting the oral communications of the SWP, the YSA or their members;

"(6) singling out, opening, reading or copying the mail of the SWP, the YSA or their members;

"(7) recording the names of correspondents of the SWP, the YSA or their members, or otherwise monitoring plaintiffs' mail;

"(8) breaking into plaintiffs' premises;

"(9) disrupting or interfering with, or attempting to disrupt or interfere with the lawful foreign travels and communications of representatives and members of the SWP and YSA. . . ."

—L.S.

Gov't dilemma

Last week the *Militant* reported that the Justice Department was caught in a dilemma over whether to defend the FBI agents who participated in burglaries against the SWP and the YSA. Three agents have been added as defendants in the SWP and YSA suit.

On May 13, the *New York Times* reported that the Justice Department has decided to take the middle ground. It won't provide government lawyers for two of the burglars, George Baxtrum and Arthur Greene, but it will authorize the use of our tax money to hire private lawyers for the two.

The third man, John Malone, who was head of the bureau's New York office when the burglaries took place, apparently poses more of a problem. No decision has been made about providing Malone with counsel.

[Following is an interview with Peter Camejo, presidential standard-bearer of the Socialist Workers party. Willie Mae Reid is the vice-presidential candidate.]

[Camejo, thirty-six, was born in New York of Venezuelan parents. He has been a socialist and activist for more than fifteen years. (While living in California in the late 1960s he was denounced by Ronald Reagan for being "involved in every large-scale demonstration" in the state.)

[Camejo's campaign has been different from those of the double-talking Democrats and Republicans. He has forthrightly supported such causes as the Equal Rights Amendment, the United Farm Workers, busing for school desegregation, and release of political prisoners in the United States and around the world.]

[In an introduction to an interview with Camejo published in its May issue, the San Antonio Chicano magazine Caracol described the socialist candidate this way: "Young, energetic, controversial, get-it-on, sarcastic, ironic, funny, militant, concerned, leftist, very human: Peter Camejo is all these and more. . . .

["Above all, Mr. Camejo discusses openly the cositas (little things) that democrats and republicans don't even whisper. We don't know whether Peter has a chance of winning the presidential chair, but by far he seems to be the most together person on this election year."]

Question. What do you see as the central issues facing Chicanos this election year?

Answer. Money and jobs.

Chicanos, when they have jobs, have to work harder than the average Anglo worker because Chicanos get the worst jobs. Yet they earn qualitatively less.

Unemployment is running at a much higher rate among Chicanos and other minority groups than among Anglos.

Chicanos are suffering the most from cutbacks in education, medical care, food stamps, and other social services.

In general, Chicanos face *all* the same problems that working people in this country face, only more so.

Q. What is your position on the deportations of undocumented workers?

A. This is a particular problem that all of us of Latin American descent are facing in this country. The racist discrimination against those who are not born here is something that has characterized all American history—at one time against the Irish, later against Italians, and today against Latinos and especially *mexicanos*.

I am absolutely opposed to deportations or any idea that a worker is any less of a person—has less human rights—because they were born in one country rather than another.

I feel personally very strongly about this issue. I come from a family of four brothers. Two are "legals" and two are "illegals."

We have to recognize that *mexicanos* who are in Texas or California or New Mexico are in part of what was Mexico. They have more right to be there than the Anglos.

This whole issue has been created to make the so-called illegals scapegoats for the fact that rich corporations in this country are creating massive unemployment.

What we have to do is unite in a massive movement to struggle against the deportations and discrimination faced by the "illegals."

We have to concentrate our attack on the people who are causing the problem—the politicians running Washington and the corporations they serve. They are the people who can



Graphic from 'Caracol,' a Chicano magazine

PETER CAMEJO, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, DISCUSSES: ISSUES FACING CHICANOS IN 1976

provide jobs. But instead they are taking advantage of divisions within our people and the working class to blame unemployment on undocumented workers.

Q. What do you think of the Rodino bill, which would make it illegal for an employer to knowingly hire undocumented workers?

A. I oppose the Rodino bill. Its goal is simply to strengthen the antiforeign, chauvinist attitude that exists in this country. It will end up hurting and

exploiting *mexicanos*, Chicanos, and all Latinos.

Q. What about the fight for bilingual and bicultural education?

A. I believe the need for bilingual, bicultural education in this country is enormous. Recently a government official said there may soon be as many as 20 million people in this country of Latin American descent. And their children often learn Spanish first at home, or they learn both

English and Spanish. But when these children enter school, they find only one language—English—is permitted.

Also, I think it's obvious we need teachers that not only understand and know the languages that the children learn at home, but also understand their culture and values.

It's interesting that the majority—the Anglos—believe in this idea. They very carefully worked *their* culture into all our education—from what pictures are used to what the textbooks say, and so forth.

But when another group—like Latinos—wants to have *our* culture expressed through education, Anglos say it is "alien."

I think clearly we are entitled to have education that meets the needs of children, and the need is bilingual-bicultural education. It should be done.

The tragedy is that all education is being cut back. At the same time the government is spending \$100 billion on war. They claim we're having a big recovery. The stock market's broken 1,000. The gross national product is the highest ever. And yet they're cutting back all over the country.

Q. What about the relationship between busing and bilingual education?

A. Now, as I've campaigned I've noticed that there is confusion about what busing means. Occasionally, Democratic and Republican politicians have tried to say busing would destroy the existing bilingual-bicultural programs—meager as they are.

First we should be clear on what busing means. It means that students who were not allowed to enter the better schools because of their race have the right to enter them. That's all. It's just transportation. For Black and other minority children to go to better schools—schools that were previously all-white. It's a way of moving toward equality in education.

Bilingual-bicultural education programs are precisely another step in the same direction. Not a contradictory step, but a complementary one.

In Boston, where busing is a very hot issue, the racist school committee tried to pit the Black community against the Puerto Rican community. They consciously proposed plans for carrying out busing in such a way as to destroy the bilingual program that exists.

But leaders of the Puerto Rican community and of the Black community came together and achieved a clear understanding. The Black organization that had originally filed the desegregation suit supported in court the Puerto Rican parents' demands for bilingual education.

They didn't fall for the trap of having Blacks and Latinos divided over this question. Both were fighting for the same thing—an equal and decent education.

Q. What do you think it means for Chicanos that Carter has become the front-runner for the Democratic nomination? Is there any candidate in the Democratic and Republican primaries that is addressing the issues of concern to Chicanos?

A. The fact that Carter has become the front-runner is widely misunderstood. Most people see it as a matter of his having won a number of primaries. But the big business media announced that Carter was the front-runner before he won *any* primaries. That's how fast history gets covered up.

Then it's also true he hasn't won very much in the primaries. That's because nobody's voting. We had a perfect example in Texas.

Almost every paper in the country ran banner headlines about the "sweep" of Ronald Reagan. But Reagan won with 3 percent of the adult population of the state voting for him.

What does this prove? Nothing. Except that there are 3 percent who are tied to the Republican machine or are

racists—so backward they would vote for someone like Ronald Reagan.

The fact is that all three candidates who are “front-runners” are basically the same. Carter has gotten support from a number of Black Democrats, but he’s no different.

You don’t even have to wonder about what he meant by “ethnic purity.” All you have to do is look at the state of Georgia, where Carter was governor for four years. The schools are more segregated today than they were before. The income of Blacks in Georgia is lower today than four years ago. The unemployment is higher. It is one of the states with the antiunion “right-to-work” laws.

In the last few days California’s Jerry Brown has been played up in the media as a major candidate. He is trying to present himself as being different from the others. But the only difference is that he is more of a demagogue.

Brown is the only capitalist candidate who has made an effort to portray himself as pro-Chicano—by talking about the support he gave to the law in California allowing farm workers to select a union through voting, a law supported by the United Farm Workers.

But what has happened is this: as soon as the UFW started winning elections, the Democrats sabotaged the election law by not providing any money to enforce it. And Brown went along with this. He stabbed the farm workers in the back.

Brown, Carter, all of them are only interested in one thing: how to advance their own careers.

They have no dedication to principles or to any social layer except those people who can promote their ambitions—the people in power in the country.

I think we would be fools to choose a Brown over a Carter or a Carter over a Brown. We have to reject the Carters and the Browns and turn to people from our own social layer—working people, oppressed nationalities. Because it is only from us that solutions to our problems can arise.

Q. Some Chicanos have expressed doubts about participating in elections. Why are you, as a socialist, running for president?

A. We have to use every tool available to fight oppression. We use the Bill of Rights, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, the right to put out newspapers and organize meetings and protests.

Using every tool includes running in elections—they’re an excellent opportunity to speak out, to reach people, and to help organize.

I don’t believe elections in themselves will solve the problems people face. The problems will be solved when working people themselves are organized and mobilized on all levels. I see election campaigns as one way to help accomplish this.

I run as a socialist because the Democrats and Republicans represent the corporations. A voice must be heard that stands up for the real needs of working people, of the oppressed minorities, of women.

The Socialist Workers party is campaigning very hard on the concept that working people should break from the parties of the capitalist class and form their own political organization. That the Chicano movement, the Black movement, the labor movement should form their own parties.

La Raza Unida party is one of the best recent examples of what we mean. But, of course, the RUPs are still very small, and Chicanos themselves are a minority in most cities and states.

But were the Raza Unida groups to become mass parties of the Chicanos throughout the Southwest, I think you’d see something interesting. The Blacks and the labor movement would notice that example. They would see the way *real* friends of working

people—not those phony Democrats—act and vote in legislatures and city councils. That would be a very powerful example.

Q. As the first Latino to run for president of the United States, have you met an unusual response?

A. I certainly have and I’d like to comment on it. But first I’d like to explain why I’m the first Latino. It tells you a lot about the Democrats and Republicans. Those parties have a very odd way of picking their candidates.

They start by excluding the overwhelming majority of people in this country—women, Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Jews. In fact they reject everyone except Anglo males.

Then within this minority of Anglo males, they reject most people. They pick their candidates from a tiny select group—businessmen or rich lawyers—people who generally don’t work for a living but live off the labor of others. So the Democrats and Republicans don’t pick their candidates from the American people. They pick them from a special social layer—the ruling class and its trusted servants.

Our party, on the other hand, represents the overall majority of the population—working people. We ran the first Black for president in 1964. We ran a white male in 1968, a woman in 1972, and I’m running this year.

We don’t think too much about whether we were the first. Because our party is a part of Blacks, of women, of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, of all the different kinds of people who live in this country. So we chose our candidates from among party members and we have ended up with tickets that have included all different kinds of people. Not just our national ticket. The same is true of our candidates all across the country.

However, putting that aside, there has been a very interesting response. In Latin America, the news media have shown a lot of interest. There were big stories published when I first announced.

I received a warm reception in Puerto Rico. I think I was the first presidential candidate to go to Puerto Rico. I don’t know of another case where a presidential candidate went to visit the colonies. And I was well received because of my support for ending this colonial relationship and recognizing Puerto Rico’s right to independence.

I’ve been all over the Southwest and Midwest and East. And I’ve spoken to many Puerto Rican groups, Chicano groups, farm workers organizations.

And even though everyone doesn’t necessarily agree with the program of the Socialist Workers party, the fact that a Latino is running for president is received very well. Because it says that Latinos not only have equal rights with Anglos, but that we also have every right to participate in society at all levels.

Join campaign for socialism

☐ Send me a free copy of the “Bill of Rights for Working People” in English ☐ Spanish ☐.

☐ I want to campaign for Camejo and Reid.

☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Chairperson, Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Capitalist profit greed despoils Puerto Rico

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

Human needs before profits: a simple concept at the heart of what socialists stand for.

To Ferdinand Perez, a fisherman on the Manatí River in northwestern Puerto Rico, “human needs before profits” has a deep personal meaning.

The son of a fisherman, Perez has made his living from the Manatí River for forty years.

Now his economic future and those of other fishermen are being ruined, as

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

the river turns from emerald green to murky black. The fish in the Manatí are dying. And townspeople in Barceloneta, his home, refuse to buy the few fish Perez does catch for fear they will die too.

The problem flows from the pipes of eleven huge chemical and pharmaceutical plants that arose on the banks of the Manatí in the late 1960s.

Chemical wastes and dyes dumped in the river eat away at the fishermen’s clothes and boats. A new \$450 net that Perez and others purchased was destroyed by the industrial wastes. Red sores now dot the arms and legs of the Barceloneta fishermen.

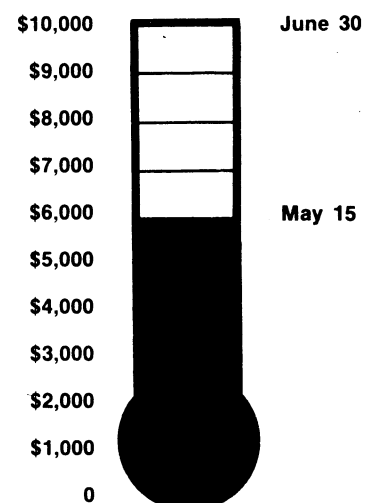
Recently, however, Mr. Perez and other fishermen have begun to fight back. For a start, they are demanding that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency revoke Du Pont chemical corporation’s permit to dump an estimated 76 million gallons of contaminated water into the river this year.

The plight of Ferdinand Perez and the other Manatí fishermen highlights not only corporate disregard for the earth’s environment, but also the superexploitation of Puerto Rico’s resources and labor by businessmen who take advantage of its status as a U.S. colony.

Industrialists are pressing for even more leeway to rape Puerto Rico’s environment. They are lobbying in Congress to eliminate all currently existing federal environmental regulations on the island.

While touring Puerto Rico last month, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo charged, “U.S. economic domination of

How we’re doing



Puerto Rico has resulted in widespread poverty and an estimated unemployment rate of 40 percent. As long as Puerto Rico is culturally, politically, militarily, and economically dominated by U.S. corporations, people there will continue to live in poverty.”

Ferdinand Perez, for one, would welcome the plank in Camejo’s campaign platform that states, “Workers have a right to halt industrial processes that contaminate the air and water and endanger the environment.”

Help Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid campaign even more widely in defense of the working people’s rights by contributing to the Camejo & Reid ’76 Campaign Fund. Supporters boosted the drive last week by \$812. The current total stands at \$6,150.

Use the coupon below, and make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson: Fred Halstead; treasurer: Arthur Hughes.



Militant/Jim Little

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo toured Puerto Rico last month. His platform takes strong stand against industrial processes that contaminate the air and water and threaten lives.

Calif. Socialist Campaign Summer

Plans under way to win ballot spot for SWP

By Steve Wattenmaker

For the first time in thirty-six years, a working-class political party will be petitioning to get its presidential candidate on the California ballot. The Socialist Workers party will mount a major ballot drive this summer for SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo, vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid, and U.S. senatorial candidate Omari Musa.

The project, dubbed California Socialist Campaign Summer, will be a national focus of SWP activity in the coming months. Petitioners will gather well over the 100,000 signatures required for ballot status. Plans call for wide distribution of the party's platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People." Camejo and Reid will tour the state during the drive.

Camejo, Reid, and Musa will be designated on the ballot as "independent" candidates. Provisions of California's election law—the most discriminatory in the nation—make it extremely difficult for a smaller party to be on the ballot under its own name. Any party other than the Democratic or Republican party must gather 640,000 signatures or register 64,000 voters into the party.

Until this year, statewide independent candidates had to gather 320,000 signatures. The SWP's decision to petition in California is an important partial victory in a long fight to knock down the state's undemocratic election laws.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

ACKERMAN: 'CoDEL plans to keep pushing until all discriminatory laws are off the books.'

In 1970 the SWP filed suit against unfair requirements of the California law. State courts rejected the suit. But in 1973 the Socialist Workers party was joined by the Raza Unida party,

Libertarian party, Prohibition party, and Socialist Labor party in a federal suit against the California law.

Sponsorship of the suit was assumed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), a civil liberties organization formed in 1971 to coordinate and publicize challenges to unfair ballot laws across the country.

During the 1972 elections, two other legal actions were launched against the California law. Thomas Storer, an independent candidate, and Gus Hall, a candidate of the Communist party, filed challenges that were heard by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court postponed a final ruling, but did cast substantial doubt on the constitutionality of the California law.

Arguments in CoDEL's California suit were heard this spring, and a decision is pending from the federal district court.

Faced with these legal challenges and growing public opposition to the undemocratic laws, the California legislature began discussing lowering the independent petitioning requirements.

CoDEL spearheaded a broad publicity campaign on the proposed legislation. In addition, it pressed for the normally closed legislative conference committee hearings on the bill to be opened up to the public.

At the hearings, representatives of CoDEL and the American Civil Liberties Union successfully argued for a more significant reduction in the

signature requirement than the legislators had planned.

"California's ballot requirements are still written to lock in the Democrats and Republicans and lock out smaller parties," said California CoDEL secretary Byron Ackerman. "But now we've at least got a foot in the door, and we plan to keep pushing until all the discriminatory laws are off the books."

The California petitioning drive will begin in July. If you want to help make this historic effort a success, write: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign, 4040 West Washington Boulevard, Suite 11, Los Angeles, California 90018; or phone (213) 732-8197. For the locations of SWP campaign offices throughout the state, consult the Socialist Directory on page 27.

Help petition in Texas

Socialist campaigners in Texas have now collected more than 11,000 signatures to secure ballot status next November for presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, U.S. senatorial candidate Pedro Vázquez, and other candidates.

If you can help petition, contact the Socialist Workers Campaign, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Call: (713) 526-1082.

NCLC hits ballot rights of four N.J. parties

By Lucy Burton

The National Caucus of Labor Committees, a bizarre right-wing political sect, has challenged the New Jersey nominating petitions of candidates of the Socialist Workers party, the Communist party, the Socialist Labor party, and the Socialist party.

According to George Bloom, a representative of the secretary of state's office, the NCLC challenge states that the parties' petitions "do not have the required number of valid signatures" and that "obvious and extensive forgery indicates that many signatures are invalid." The NCLC further alleges that the SWP petitions are invalid because the party's presidential elec-

tors do not meet some unspecified legal requirements.

A hearing on the New Jersey challenges has been scheduled for June 4.

New Jersey SWP campaign supporters filed 2,700 signatures to place candidates on the November ballot: 2,300 for the presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid (1,500 above the required 800), and 400 for Larry Stewart, candidate for U.S. Congress in the Tenth Congressional District. Stewart's petitions were not challenged.

In a statement released to the press, Stewart called on trade unionists and civil libertarians to oppose the NCLC's

undemocratic challenge to the rights of the four parties.

The New Jersey Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is urging prominent individuals around the state to send telegrams and letters to the secretary of state demanding that the four parties be placed on the ballot immediately.

The NCLC action in New Jersey is the latest in a string of challenges that this organization has filed over the past two years against the SWP's and the CP's ballot rights.

This year the NCLC challenged the Pennsylvania nominating petitions for Camejo and Reid on the same false

basis as in New Jersey—extensive forgery. There the socialists had filed nearly 50,000 signatures—thousands more than the 30,000 required. The NCLC failed to appear in court on the appointed date to back up their scurrilous charges.

Previous to the trial date, members of the NCLC made midnight visits to the homes of several SWP presidential electors, banging on their doors and subjecting them to verbal abuse.

More recently, several NCLC provocateurs attempted unsuccessfully to disrupt the petitioning efforts of an Idaho team of Socialist Workers campaign supporters in early May.

Judge gives death sentence to Stanton Story

By Mark Zola

PITTSBURGH—"The government has been successful in railroading people into jail, or exile, or death only when they succeeded in isolating them from their supporters," Stanton Story told the *Militant*. The Black youth is appealing for support in his fight to save his life.

On May 7 Judge Samuel Strauss condemned the twenty-three-year-old Story to death for the 1974 murder of Pittsburgh Patrolman Patrick Wallace. An all-white jury had convicted the Black youth in March 1975. Sentencing came after his appeal for a new trial was finally denied last month.

Story has testified that he was in North Carolina at the time the cop was shot while making an arrest.

Pretrial media coverage was inflammatory and prejudicial. Despite this, the judge denied a motion for change of venue.

Presiding Judge Albert Fiok also

refused to exclude prospective jurors who said they believed Story was either involved in the killing or guilty as charged. This denied Story the constitutional right to be presumed innocent.

The judge permitted the prosecution to introduce an unsigned "confession" attributed to Story, but admittedly written by a cop.

The entire trial was marked by procedural errors and clear violations of Story's constitutional rights. These provide the basis of Story's appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court for a new trial.

Jerry Paul, attorney for Joanne Little, has agreed to join defense attorney Paul Gettleman in the preparation of the appeal.

While in Western Penitentiary, Story is also fighting his segregation from the general prison population and restrictions that prevent him from fully practicing his religion. He is a



Condemned frame-up victim Stanton Story with mother during prison visit.

member of the Nation of Islam.

The Stanton Story Defense Committee has begun to win wide backing for Story's demand for a new trial.

Citing the broad support mobilized in the successful defense of Hurricane Carter, Story told the *Militant*, "It was the dedication of the people and the support of the masses of people . . . that's what moved the government."

Story also said he believed his fight was linked to other struggles against racism. "What's happening in Boston has a whole lot to do with me," he said, referring to the school desegregation battle there.

"The success or failure of the racists in Boston will affect my case and others like it around the country. We can't back up in Boston. If we let them get away with what they're doing, we're going to see the racists here in Pennsylvania begin to get stronger too. It will make it harder to get justice in my case."

World Outlook

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

MAY 28, 1976

Interview with Spanish revolutionist Growing opposition to Franco's heirs

[The following interview with a leader of the Liga Comunista (Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain) was obtained in Barcelona April 18 by *Intercontinental Press*.

[The interview has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.]

* * *

Question. *The strikes and explosive demonstrations that have taken place since January must be causing great problems for the government and must be indicative of a change in the attitude of the Spanish masses. How do you view the situation?*

Answer. Franco played a key role in maintaining stability among the various Francoist clans and groups in the country. The dictator's death last year has allowed the specific differences between these groups to come to the surface more readily. This, combined with the already existent mass upsurge against the dictatorship and the intolerable conditions of the workers, led to a slow buildup of explosive forces following Franco's death. It has also made possible several recent de facto partial conquests for the mass movement.

Given this unstable situation and the relative weakness of the new Arias cabinet, the government is trying to give the impression that it favors certain reforms of Francoism, that it is going to allow democracy after a two-year wait, and so forth.

Q. *What is the general effect of these demagogic promises of democracy?*

A. This kind of demagoguery is being used more and more by the dictatorship. But there is not really very much talk about it.

Vitoria

Everyone is talking about the current struggles, the most important of which, and the most clear, were the events in Vitoria, which began March 3 and left five persons dead. The police fired on workers who were holding a meeting and this caused a huge commotion within the entire movement. It opened up a general strike against the dictatorship throughout all of the Basque Country.

It was [Interior Minister Manuel] Fraga's police who did the killing, and Fraga had been trying to pretend he was in favor of an agreement that would introduce "democracy."

As a result of these two weeks of

demonstrations and mobilizations the government's demagoguery lost almost all its credibility. It began to show itself more clearly for what it really is—the buttress of the dictatorship.

Q. *There has been talk of changes in the cabinet. What about this?*

A. The events in Vitoria and the subsequent explosions caused a great governmental crisis during which even the bourgeois press, which is Francoist, openly demanded the resignation of the cabinet.

Q. *What would the resignation of the government mean?*

A. This meant the resignation of Arias—not an end to the monarchy, of course—and the formation of a new cabinet and government that could be more flexible in the face of the mass movement.

The same government was maintained, however, giving proof positive of the incapacity of the Francoist groups to provide leadership.

All rumors about governmental changes include the appointment of old Francoist ministers who could not change even the appearance of what they have today.

So, they decided to keep the government as it was. But, given the situation, the contradictions among different Francoist groups have grown, each one pushing for its own specific solution to the crisis of Francoism, and as a whole, weakening the government even more.

In this sense, all the government's plans are paralyzed. They now

combine hard repression with limited concessions in a confusing way. On the same day they suspend demonstrations or charge into a telephone workers' meeting, they allow a bourgeois opposition party, or even the Socialist party, to meet. Or they allow, as they have done this weekend, the present meeting of the UGT¹ to take place in Madrid.

They try to maintain all that is basic to the dictatorship while giving only the concessions wrenched from them by the pressure of the mass movement, or by pressure from abroad, which is also very important.

Francoist referendum

This is the general situation in which they are planning to hold the proposed referendum. The referendum is a classical Francoist maneuver. The history of Francoism is full of referendums that force the masses to state an opinion on matters that are really decided beforehand.

Q. *What will be voted on?*

A. No one knows yet; it is a very ambiguous and confused situation.

One question that is likely will seek a vote in favor of the king and the monarchy, something that couldn't be put directly, of course, because the monarchy is supposed to be unquestionable.

But they may have a question on the law of succession. That is, whether or not the eight-year-old prince should have full rights to direct succession.

1. Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union).



PRIME MINISTER ARIAS NAVARRO

It's a question that seems secondary at first glance, but a vote on this could be interpreted as popular support for the king and everything else the monarchy signifies.

Q. *This may be one of the main questions?*

A. It's one of the points the newspapers are playing up. Another point would be on the proposed reforms.

Vague questions. Of course everyone wants democracy, but a vote for democracy will be interpreted as popular support for all the government's plans.

One thing about the referendum is certain. It will be a series of well-prepared questions that will seek a vote for democracy in general and then interpret it as support to the government's maneuvers.

In any case, the masses have already expressed their votes in a different kind of referendum. The millions of oppressed workers who are mobilizing today have already expressed a clear opinion about the dictatorship, and in their confrontations with it have given the proof that this government and these institutions cannot serve as a bridge to democracy. Democracy will have to be won by demonstrations in the streets and by the mobilization of the masses.

So, the referendum, which attempts to show a popular consultation, avoids the main question of how decisions should be made, who should make them, and how the people can democratically decide what institutions should form the state apparatus.

Constituent assembly

That underlines the importance of the proposal for a freely elected constituent assembly with full freedom for all political parties to propagandize and agitate. This would have to be based on the destruction of the basic

Continued on next page



Workers demonstrating in Barcelona, February 1976. Mass upsurge against dictatorship and intolerable conditions facing workers has contributed to slow buildup of explosive forces in Spain.

...Growing opposition to Franco's heirs



'Government combines hard repression with limited concessions in a confusing way'

Continued from preceding page
organizations and institutions of Francoism, because their repressive nature prevents any degree of freedom.

This is a battle the masses will have to see is necessary, because the logic and evolution of Francoism itself does not allow for any concession of this kind. It is the battle that has taken form in the recent struggles, including the huge general strikes.

Q. What about the call for a republic?

A. Clearly, we are for a republic as a more democratic form of government against any kind of maintenance of the king by either divine or bloodright. The republic is the most democratic form possible for a bourgeois regime, but the slogan for a republic is not now in the forefront. The question is not: republic or monarchy? It is rather who should decide and what is the most democratic way in which they should make the decision.

Q. So you think the central demand to be raised is the call for a constituent assembly that is freely elected?

A. Regarding the referendum, we say: Vote against the law of succession, against the monarchy, and concretely, if that question appears, for the republic as a superior kind of regime. But we oppose the referendum as an entirely false consultation. However, there is a need for true popular participation and this poses the need for a constituent assembly.

Q. The proposed constituent assembly is on the scale of the Spanish state

as a whole. What relation does this demand have with the Catalan and other national struggles in Spain?

A. Francoist oppression has made the national struggle center against Francoism. Old-timers in Barcelona still remember when, following the civil war, the walls of Barcelona were painted with the message: "Dogs, Speak the Language of the Empire."

The struggle against Francoism and for national freedom is of first importance for the oppressed nationalities.

All the nationalities should be able to decide on their own specifically national questions, especially on whether to maintain relations with the Spanish state. This involves the right to separation, which is in the tradition of revolutionary democracy.

But what is the most democratic way the Catalan or Basque masses can decide the future of their nations? It is by means of a national constituent assembly. We call for a federalized state with full autonomy for the nationalities, but in a union freely decided upon with the participation of all the peoples involved.

Q. Is the demand for a constituent assembly popular among the masses now, or does the majority seem to favor more limited governmental demands such as a democratic monarchy, the proposed reforms, and so forth?

A. The questions that get more attention by the masses now are freedom of association, freedom for political prisoners, freedom for all parties, and amnesty. These are at the fore in all the current demonstrations and struggles.

But these demands represent the will

of the masses to participate and make their weight felt on all questions relating to the state.

This is made clear by the new upsurge of the national struggles as one of the key aspects of the mobilizations that have been taking place. Especially in the Basque Country and also in Catalonia.

The question of how to decide what kind of state is required is also being posed in general. The bourgeoisie itself talks a lot about constitutional problems. And even factory committees have taken votes on governmental proposals—for example, proposals for coalition governments, which were introduced by the reformist parties that are in alliance with the bourgeoisie.

Q. What kind of coalition governments?

A. The strategy of the democratic bourgeoisie, and of the whole democratic left who see that it is absolutely impossible in the long run to maintain the Francoist government in face of the mass struggles, is to give the impression that they are taking their distance from Francoism and are defenders of democratic rights against Francoism.

But, because of the panic they feel when the masses are in the streets, they try to get agreements with sectors of the regime and oblige the workers parties with which they have formed such broad groups as the "Democratic Coalition" to work for what they call a "ruptura pactada [negotiated break]." That is, to win over some Francoist groups by means of dialogue and agreement.

They call for establishment of democratic rights, very restricted of course, but different from Francoism. They see this as a viable solution to the problem of pacifying the masses. But this is clearly designed to prevent the masses from taking their own actions. They are trying to achieve this "break" through a dialogue with the more open-minded Francoist groups.

Q. Does the coalition mean a coalition of the Francoist groups with formations like the "Junta Democrática"?

A. Exactly, a coalition into which sectors of Francoism can enter and which can also include the major working-class parties, the Communist party and Socialist party.

2. "Coordinación Democrática," the body resulting from a fusion of the Junta Democrática (Democratic Junta) and the Convergencia Democrática (Democratic Convergence), the popular-front schemes in which the CP and SP participated, respectively.

Q. What kind of government do you propose to resolve the crisis?

A. Our position is against a coalition government in alliance with sectors of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat will have to gain a position of dominance in the struggle and take the power in its hands to form a workers government composed of the working-class organizations, a government free of Francoism and the bourgeoisie. And we will fight for such a government to guarantee the convocation of a constituent assembly and make the necessary concessions to the needs of the masses. It would be a provisional government.

Q. This would also require the total defeat of Francoism?

A. Yes, it would be a government capable of carrying out the struggle against Francoism to the end, and of convoking a constituent assembly. It would be a provisional government in the sense that it would end with the convocation of a constituent assembly, leaving the final word for the people.

It would be a revolutionary government in the sense that it would be installed by the masses through a general strike and would make no concessions to Francoism or any government of that type.

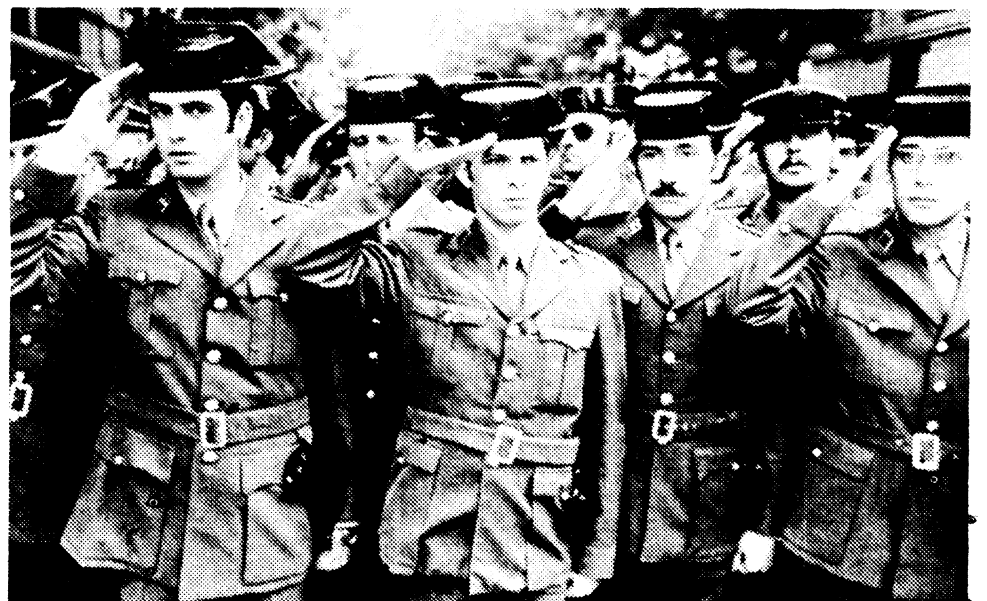
Q. Is there any chance that a coalition government with some Francoist groups could control the mass movement for a period of time?

A. We already have firm evidence of what the "ruptura pactada" would mean for the masses. Ruiz Giménez, a leader of the Democratic Left, a wing of the Spanish Christian Democracy, has set a condition for entry into the Democratic Coalition: All decisions must be agreed upon unanimously.

The line of negotiating with the government represents an attempt to have the workers parties in the coalition, the CP and SP, use their influence to keep the masses from participating in the struggles.

On other issues, the Coalition has little appeal to the masses. It does not take a position on the current workers struggles, nor on the national question. Nor does it call for the elimination of the government's repressive bodies, a demand that has been almost as central as the call for amnesty in all the demonstrations that have occurred in the last three months.

Finally, their formula for a government leaves all the power in the hands of the Francoist groups with which they can negotiate. It would be an alliance of the workers parties with these groups, with the workers parties subordinated to the interests of the Francoists.



Civil Guards, Madrid's stormtroopers. Struggle against Francoism must be carried out to the end to guarantee convocation of a democratic constituent assembly.

World news notes

Q. What is happening with the CNS³ and the workers commissions? What about the UGT congress now legally taking place in Madrid. Does this mean that the UGT may become an important factor in the labor movement?

A. The workers commissions were formed in direct opposition to the vertical union, the CNS, and all it represents as an antiworker, government-operated union based on the denial of any union rights or freedoms, such as the right to strike.

Despite the fact that so far this year there have been four million workers on strike, every strike was illegal.

The workers also created a stable organization that unites all the most advanced workers in defense of their immediate demands. This is the movement that came out of the workers commissions and that forced the various parties, especially the CP, to drop their own little clandestine unions and help build a movement out of the workers commissions. This movement played a major role in the huge 1964-66 mobilizations.

Despite the CP's line that the workers commissions should be no more than a vague movement, rank-and-file commissions again arose during the recent mobilizations.

These new commissions have won a certain de facto legality. In Madrid they are meeting in the CNS headquarters, taking them over and using them as legal cover. There are days when the headquarters are closed down by the government, but this depends completely on the relationship of forces at the moment.

Stance toward CNS

So the situation of the workers commissions is confused. There is a profound tendency in the proletariat to form workers commissions, and they arise spontaneously in the factory. They are still very weakly structured, however, especially because of the CP's line to work through the CNS.

The CP said that by starting with the election of the lower delegates to the CNS, we have to begin the construction of a true working-class union, reforming the CNS and throwing out the officeholders. As a result of the recent mobilizations, they have changed their tune a bit. The CP now says the CNS cannot be reformed and has to be destroyed, but that we have to use the posts now held in the CNS at the lower level to win over sectors of the CNS bureaucracy in order to build a new union.

Now the SP has brought out the UGT, which is basically dominated by the SP. The UGT has taken a radical line against the CNS, supporting the boycott of its elections last summer as a correct demand. They criticize the CP for the pact it has established with the CNS hierarchy and for the disastrous consequences this has had for one struggle after another. They counterpose independent unionism to the CNS, calling for a working-class union built around the UGT; and they speak of a mass, democratic organization based on assemblies, elected commissions, negotiating committees, and so forth. All this is completely outside the CNS framework.

The UGT is an independent union. The problem is that its line, which is basically correct regarding the CNS, does not require the formation of a new organization to carry it out.

3. Central Nacional Sindicalista (National Federation of Syndicates), the Falangist version of a trade union.



CP leader Santiago Carillo. Spanish Stalinists are seeking 'negotiated break' with dictatorship by courting 'progressive' Francoists.

Instead of building a union that could divide the working class, they should be fighting along with us inside the workers commissions.

We call on the workers commissions to join together in a trade-union constituent assembly that should include the UGT and other, even smaller, organizations.

We call for staying in the workers commissions and building them as an independent organization, boycotting the CNS, pressing for the democratic organization of the masses, and beginning to act as a union by taking advantage of the de facto semilegality they hold.

We also call for coordination at all levels between the workers commissions and the UGT to fight for immediate demands.

Public activity

Q. Some members of illegal political groups have publicly announced their affiliation and function as public spokespersons for their groups. Is such a step possible for smaller illegal political groups?

A. The general situation makes it both possible and obligatory for the various parties on the left to have their public spokespersons. The bourgeois parties have much better opportunities than we do, and the SP, as a workers party, has more openings. But the government has not been able to prevent the public appearance of CP members either. They count on their great prestige among the masses and on international pressures to back them up.

The opening that has been forced by the masses must be utilized by the different working-class parties, including even the smallest ones.

Q. Could a public spokesperson for a smaller organization like the Liga Comunista get publicity and get a hearing for its point of view by calling press conferences?

A. Yes, it is possible, if the language used is properly guarded so as not to endanger the reporters or periodicals that print the statements.

The opportunities are good because of the opposition by reporters and periodicals to the lack of freedom of information. They are sympathetic to the need for small groups to make their positions public. The possibilities are also limited, of course, but the risk is necessary.

'Honorable agreement'?

Prime Minister James Callaghan's Labour government and the top leaders of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) agreed May 5 to a wage-control policy that would limit raises to a maximum of £4 a week (£1=US\$1.83). This would amount to an average increase of 4.5 percent at a time when inflation is running at an annual rate of about 15 percent.

A similar agreement, worked out last summer, put a £6 weekly limit on pay increases. At that time, inflation was running at 30 percent. Thus, British workers are not only losing ground as a result of the current rate of inflation, but they also have yet to make up cuts in their standard of living suffered under the previous wage-control plan.

Denis Healey, the chancellor of the Exchequer, was triumphant. "This 4.5 percent level of pay increase," he said, "is likely to be below that in practically all the Western developed countries this year. Even the Germans, with their excellent record, are seeing a rate of increase of 5.5 percent."

Having helped the British capitalists improve their competitive position at the expense of the working class, TUC leader Len Murray said of his handiwork, "This is a simple and an honorable agreement."

Book burning in Argentina

A large quantity of "subversive" literature and documents has been burned in Córdoba by the Argentine army, according to a report in the April 30 issue of *La Opinión*. The literature destroyed included works by Mao Tsetung, Marx, Lenin, Guevara, and Trotsky.

In an April 29 press release on the action, the army described the books they burned as "evil" and designed to "affect the intellect and our Christian way of life."

The army said the book burning was carried out to avoid "the continuing deception of our youth on the true good represented by our national symbols, our family, our church, and finally, our most traditional spiritual estate—God, Fatherland, and Home."

Israeli rightist defends Zionism

Yediot Aharonot, a right-wing nationalist newspaper, is one of Israel's leading dailies. Its November 14, 1975, issue carried an article by Aharon Shamir on the United Nations vote condemning Zionism as a form of racism.

According to Shamir, "those who raised their hands [in favor of the UN resolution]—especially the African states—have shown their stupidity. . . ."

The vote, he argues, must have been "the result of pressure from the Muslim Arab states. For have primitives a mind of their own?"

Shamir concludes that Israel lost the UN vote on Zionism because "poor Israel tried to give the primitive Africans something better than money: help in acquiring knowledge so as to bring them nearer, if possible, to the civilized and progressive world."

This ultraright bigot even has a theory of the master race. "The blow we received in the UN," he said, "should not make us think again about our Jewish-Zionist essence. It should only increase our national pride and our absolute determination to establish our rule in our fatherland. It should also persuade us again that we are not at all similar to others and this is why our image suffers more than that of others."

Soviet Jews avoiding Israel

An increasing proportion of Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union are not going to Israel. In April a record 60 percent refused to go to Israel. In 1975 about one-third of the 15,000 Jews who left the USSR did not go to Israel.

The figures on immigration were released May 2 by Josef Almogi, the chairman of the Jewish Agency, which is the Zionist organization responsible for persuading Jews to settle in Israel. "We cannot use force," Almogi commented in regard to the decline in applicants.

French Stalinists back Concorde

Both the French Communist party and the Stalinist-led trade-union federation, the CGT, have launched a campaign to support the supersonic ecological monstrosity, the Concorde. The French and British governments have announced that they may have to close down the production line owing to a lack of buyers.

On April 5, the CP held rallies in several French cities. In Toulouse, several hundred persons demonstrated with members of the CP's Central Committee and CP elected officials. The rally passed a resolution calling for safeguarding "French aerospace potential, preserving employment, and guaranteeing our national independence."

Three days later, Jean Breteau, the general secretary of the CGT Metalworkers Federation, published an article in the CP daily, *l'Humanité*. He called for a national meeting in support of the Concorde to be held April 23. Breteau noted that "in Toulouse, it is common to hear it said that the Concorde is the airplane of the CGT; we are proud of the plane."

He denounced the decision to close down the Concorde production line as an example of the government's unwillingness to fight for "French national independence" and of its "submission to the United States." The central slogan of CGT demonstrations, he said, should be "No Concorde in the United States, no Boeing in France."

10,000 join British march for abortion rights

By Phyllis Hamilton

LONDON—Ten thousand persons marched here April 3 in a demonstration organized by the National Abortion Campaign (NAC). The march was in support of the right of women to choose abortion and called for free abortion on demand. It urged opposition to the Parliamentary Select Committee (SC) set up in connection with the restrictive Abortion (Amendment) Bill proposed by Labour MP James White.

The demonstration was supported by women's groups, the National Union of Students, and branches of such unions as the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, the National Union of Teachers, the

National Association of Local Government Officers, and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. The number of trade unions represented showed that NAC is beginning to take the abortion issue into the labour movement.

Labour party branches were also represented on the march, as were almost all the groups on the left—Communist party, International Socialists, International Marxist Group, Revolutionary Communist Group, League for Socialist Action, and the Workers Socialist League.

A major focus of the action was the attack on the rights of women launched by the SC. This committee was set up in February 1975 with a majority of eight of its fourteen members opposed to abortion.

The anti-abortionists argued that the relatively liberal 1967 Abortion Act was being "abused"—that some doctors were making excessive profits from abortion, for example. In fact, there is little evidence of this, and any abuses that do exist can easily be corrected by making abortion freely available to all women on request through the National Health Service.

Almost all the evidence heard by the SC, including that provided by the government department which deals with abortion, favored retention of the liberalized law. But the SC majority ignored the weight of the evidence and recommended further restrictions on the already limited right to abortion.

These restrictions were accepted by the minority, which argued that acceptance of the restrictions was the way to



1971 pro-abortion march in London

prevent even tighter controls from being enacted. But this move merely gave credibility to the claims about "abuses," and enabled the opponents of the right of women to control their own bodies to press their offensive further.

The SC asked to be reconstituted in the new parliamentary session. The members of the committee who favor the right of women to choose abortion did not dissent from this request, although they later began to fight, together with NAC, against the reconstitution.

However, the lack of a consistent

campaign inside and outside of Parliament led to a vote February 9 in which a majority of about 150 decided to reconstitute the SC. The six minority members of the SC then resigned from the committee, urging that no members of Parliament in favor of women's right to abortion replace them on the committee.

Meanwhile, the "rump" SC, composed entirely of opponents of the right to abortion, continues to meet. It takes evidence from bodies such as the Catholic church. In line with the stand of the SC members who resigned, NAC and other supporters of the right to abortion have decided to boycott the SC.

The successful demonstration on April 3 was part of NAC's response to the SC. The next stage in its campaign will be a tribunal on abortion rights to be held at the end of this year. Dodie Wepler, a member of the NAC Steering Committee and of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, explained the role of the tribunal in the April 1 issue of *Red Weekly*:

The Select Committee are a rump of staunch anti-abortionists sitting in smoke-filled rooms in the House of Commons with the fate of hundreds of thousands of women in their hands.

The Tribunal will be very different. It will be an opportunity to hear evidence collected over the next six months and to map out plans for taking the campaign forward on the basis of the experience in collecting it.

... the Tribunal ... will try to reach thousands of people who are concerned about the increasing restrictions on women's abortion rights.

Political prisoners 'disappear' in Chile

One hundred eighty-seven persons arrested in Chile between August and October 1975 have "disappeared." This information was provided by the families of 1,000 political prisoners in a

report featured in the February 15 issue of *Agence de Presse Libération*, a news bulletin published in Brussels.

Of 482 cases the families were able to verify, 187 persons were said to have "disappeared," 4 were officially reported dead, 1 had been sentenced, 10 were undergoing trial, 98 remained in jail untried, and 172 were eventually released.

According to the prisoners' families, the conditions of detention are brutal in the extreme. They provided the following information on one notorious hellhole, Tres Alamos prison, where conditions are becoming even worse.

Six prisoners "disappeared" after intelligence agents removed them from the facility. Among the six are Hugo Salinas Farfán ("disappeared" November 18, 1975), Jorge Quintanilla Guerra ("disappeared" November 19), and Patricio Durán Elicer ("disap-

peared" November 23). The names and dates of the "disappearance" of the other three are not known.

Many women prisoners have given birth to children in the jail as the result of having been raped during their torture.

The 120 women prisoners have to share eighty beds and are kept alive on a diet of boiled vegetables.

Since November, family members coming to visit male prisoners are exhaustively searched when entering and leaving the prison. Moreover, visits have been limited to members of the immediate family.

New prisoners, brought in blindfolded, wounded, and bleeding, are paraded before the visitors, and agents of the intelligence services mingle with the visitors to intimidate them.

Conjugal visits for couples with both

members imprisoned at Tres Alamos have been discontinued.

Prisoners are threatened with the cancellation of visits.

Male prisoners are prevented from working, and the weekly cultural activities by prisoners have been forbidden.

In one cellblock there are only three toilets for 167 inmates.

At Camp Puchuncaví there are 220 prisoners and only three toilets and four showers that work.

At the Santiago prison, conditions are also worsening.

All sports and other group activities have been suspended, and requirements for getting medical attention have been stiffened.

In addition, censorship of letters has increased, family members are thoroughly searched, and interrogation is more frequent.

International protests free Peruvian workers leader

Peruvian mine workers leaders Hernán Cuentas and Víctor Cuadros were released from prison at the end of April.

Also freed were four attorneys for the Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos (National

Federation of Miners and Metalworkers)—Ricardo Díaz Chávez, José Oña Meoño, Genaro Ledesma, and Arturo Salas Rodríguez.

Cuentas, Cuadros, and the lawyers were arrested in December 1975. Although none of them were ever brought to trial, the International League for Human Rights verified through the Peruvian Foreign Affairs Ministry that Cuentas and Cuadros were imprisoned for being "intellectually responsible for strikes."

Mine workers have been in the forefront of struggles to improve living and working conditions in Peru over the past year.

In addition to arresting leaders of their union and their attorneys, the Morales Bermúdez regime in mid-April suspended regulations preventing mining bosses from arbitrarily reducing the size of the labor force.

This provided the mining bosses with a free hand to fire militants who have been leading economic struggles and protests against the arrest of their

leaders and attorneys.

Díaz Chávez, Oña Meoño, Ledesma, and Salas Rodríguez were never charged with any crime. In fact, the Morales Bermúdez regime refused to admit publicly that they were being detained.



Informations Ouvrières
HERNAN CUENTAS

During part of their imprisonment, all six prisoners were held in the notorious jungle prison El Sepa.

The release of Cuadros, Cuentas, and the lawyers is a victory for the vigorous campaign of protest waged on their behalf inside Peru and around the world.

Unofficially, government sources admitted that one reason for their release was the protests from the labor movement, especially the miners, in Peru.

Internationally, dozens of labor, political, and human-rights organizations throughout Europe, the United States, and Latin America participated in the campaign.

A high point of the defense effort was an April 15 meeting held in Paris at the Mutualité. Speakers included representatives of the Socialist party, Amnesty International, the International League for Human Rights, and the 550,000-member Fédération de l'Education Nationale (National Education Federation), among others.

Calif. referendum June 8

How safe is nuclear power?



By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Is nuclear power safe? That question is posed for Californians who will vote June 8 on a proposal to establish safeguards against disastrous accidents at nuclear power plants.

A coalition of environmentalists here gathered more than 400,000 signatures to place Proposition 15, the Nuclear Safeguards Initiative, on the ballot.

If the measure is approved, no new nuclear power plants could be constructed in California, and output from existing ones would be scaled down, unless stipulated safety features are installed and approved by the state legislature.

The stakes are high. Although only three plants are now operating in the state, four more are under construction. Twenty more are planned by 1995.

In the United States as a whole, fifty-six plants are now operating. Hundreds more are under consideration. Twenty-eight states are considering legislation that would in some way limit nuclear power.

Proponents of nuclear power argue that the United States must have it to meet all the country's future energy needs. Nuclear power, they say, is safe,

clean, and abundant.

The sums of money involved in the nuclear energy business are enormous. General Electric, one of the largest in the field, sold \$430 million in nuclear reactor components last year alone.

"If [Proposition 15] passes, we will have to close down our nuclear plants," said Fred Mielke of Pacific Gas and Electric, this state's largest utility.

So, billions of dollars are riding on the California vote. But so are a lot of lives. One major accident could mean tens of thousands of radiation and cancer deaths. The surrounding air and water could become almost permanently radioactive.

Four unsolved problems

Proposition 15 addresses four problems of nuclear power that haven't yet been solved.

The first is the present liability limits of power plant owners in the event of an accident. Under the federal Price-Anderson Act, a utility is limited to \$560 million in liability no matter what the true extent of accident damages may be.

This \$560 million limit is absurdly low. According to the government's own studies, a reactor accident could

cause as much as \$20 billion in damages.

Proposition 15 would cut back each plant's electricity production to 60 percent of capacity unless the \$560 million federal ceiling is removed within one year. It is generally agreed that a nuclear power plant cannot be profitably operated at less than 60 percent capacity.

The utilities and their friends protest that nuclear power is so safe that the liability limit doesn't have to be lifted.

Advocates of Proposition 15 respond that if the plants are so safe, there shouldn't be any problem with scrapping the ceiling.

"Then the private insurance premiums would be so expensive we couldn't afford them," the utilities retort.

If that is true, the insurance companies obviously don't share the utilities' optimistic view of the safety of nuclear power plants.

Nuclear wastes

A second part of Proposition 15 deals with radioactive wastes.

Some byproducts of the generating process remain radioactive for half a million years. One of these substances, plutonium, is an extremely powerful cancer-producing agent. One millionth of a gram inhaled will cause lung cancer.

Unless efforts succeed at unlocking the secret of recycling plutonium, the world will have 10 million pounds of this deadly substance on its hands by the year 2000. That's enough plutonium to cause more than 4 quadrillion cancers.

General Electric recently spent \$46 million to build a recycling plant, but the project failed and had to be shut down. None will be operational on even an experimental basis for at least five years.

As for storing the wastes, that has so far been done quite haphazardly. And with predictable results.

At Hanford, Washington, 550,000 gallons of radioactive liquids leaked into the ground from "stored" wastes. These liquids will find their way into the Columbia River and eventually into the Pacific Ocean.

Kentucky officials have detected an alarming "migration" of nuclear material beyond a burial site in that state too.

The truth is that in the thirty-five years that radioactive wastes have been produced, no solution to the storage problem has been found.

Under Proposition 15, if plant operators are unable to devise a waste disposal system within five years, no new plants can be built. Existing plants will have to cut back to 60 percent capacity immediately, and by another 10 percent yearly until the safety problem is resolved.

Emergency systems

A third section of the initiative deals with the problem of emergency systems. This is perhaps the biggest problem with nuclear power plants.

Under certain conditions, the tremendously hot radioactive core of the reactor can melt through its protective container. Such a "meltdown" could leak massive doses of radioactive gases and water into the ground and atmosphere.

The Boston-based Union of Concerned Scientists estimates that as many as 23,000 to 36,000 people could die from an accident of this type.

There has never been a test of an emergency system under actual operating conditions. But scale models have failed each of the six times they have been tested.

Failure to demonstrate within five years that adequate emergency systems have been devised would also bring an immediate 40 percent cut in output under Proposition 15. The 10 percent cuts each succeeding year would also apply.

The initiative also calls on the governor to publish and update yearly evacuation plans for areas surround-

Big \$\$ say: 'Vote no'

According to a report in the May 15 *New York Times*, more than \$2 million has already been spent on publicity by opponents of Proposition 15. Where is the cash coming from?

General Electric Company, the leading producer of electrical equipment, and Westinghouse Electric Company, the leading producer of nuclear power equipment, have spent a combined total of \$209,000 on the effort. Pacific Gas and Electric, California's leading utility, has kicked in \$297,000. And Bechtel Corporation, a leading builder of nuclear plants, has invested \$231,000.

Utilities and financial interests around the country are evidently worried about the possible impact of Proposition 15 outside California.

New York's Consolidated Edison has contributed \$4,500; Connecticut's Northeast Utilities, \$9,000; New Jersey's Public Service Electric and Gas Company, \$13,500; and Chicago's Commonwealth Edison Company, \$9,000. In all, more than thirty electric companies have made either direct or indirect contributions.

Among major Wall Street investment houses that have pitched in at least \$2,500 each are: Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith; Dean Witter & Company; Salomon Brothers; and Blyth, Eastman Dillon & Company.

ing nuclear plants. The utilities oppose even this elementary precaution, claiming their plants are so safe that such a provision would be unnecessarily alarming.

Other claims

The utilities also argue that in terms of deaths and injuries, the nuclear energy industry has a perfect safety record.

Yet 150 uranium miners have already died of cancer, and scientific evidence suggests very strongly that radiation exposure was the cause.

What's more, most injuries from radiation only show up after twenty or thirty years—as cancer.

Contrary to the claims of Proposition 15's opponents, nuclear power is not the only viable energy source to meet this country's future needs.

Aside from already existing oil-and-coal-burning plants, both wind power and solar power could potentially provide all the electricity the world could ever use. But government agencies and the energy industry have allocated scarcely any funds to develop these two power sources.

Why? Ralph Nader answered the question when he said, "Because you can't put a meter on the sun."

Nuclear power is being pushed, despite safety considerations, because it is potentially very profitable—especially if the nuclear energy industry succeeds in getting Washington to cover more and more of the capital costs.

California working people will also end up footing much of the bill through higher rates.

Unfortunately, the national AFL-CIO executive board and its California and Los Angeles affiliates have lined up with big business in opposing the nuclear power initiative. They argue that passage of Proposition 15 will mean the loss of jobs in this state.

Another article will examine this incorrect position, which tells California unionists that their only choice is between no jobs on the one hand, and cancer and a possible nuclear disaster on the other.

Socialists back Proposition 15

The Socialist Workers party has endorsed Proposition 15, and calls for a "yes" vote.

Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from California, told the *Militant* that the SWP considers the initiative a step forward.

"The SWP is not opposed to nuclear power plants," Musa said. "But we don't think that profit-motivated corporations are interested in building safe plants. The utilities build and operate these plants to make the greatest possible profits, regardless of the risk to

human lives and the environment."

The candidate also noted that the initiative has some weaknesses. "One problem," he said, "is that it leaves the decision over safety to the state legislature, which is controlled by the two capitalist parties that have allowed the utilities to have their way on almost every question."

Until political power is transferred into the hands of working people, Musa said, there can be no true guarantee of safe use of nuclear energy. —A.W.

In Review

'STREET WRITERS'

Street Writers: A Guided Tour of Chicano Graffiti. Photographed by Gusmano Cesaretti. Los Angeles: Acrobat Books, 1975.

Sometimes it takes an outsider to notice what is outstanding in our everyday surroundings. Gusmano Cesaretti is an Italian artist who came to Los Angeles and noticed the Chicano graffiti. He had never seen anything like it before.

He became so intrigued, he began to photograph it everywhere he saw it—on walls, in the barrio, on the freeways, at the beaches—it's everywhere.

And when he met one of the *plaquitos* (writers of graffiti) he tried to find out all he could about what it meant and why Chicanos do it.

The result of his curiosity is *Street Writers*, a

Books

beautiful book of photographs of *placas*, (graffiti-decorated walls) and barrio youth.

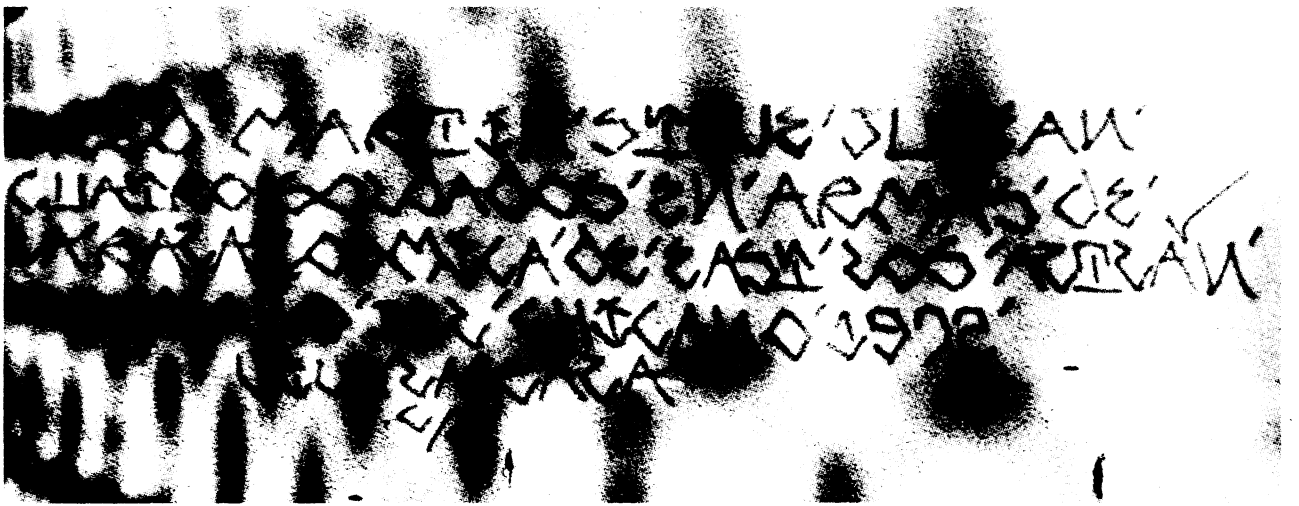
The text of *Street Writers* is a transcription of comments by Chas, a perceptive street writer who has a remarkable understanding of the social dynamics of his art.

The thing that first strikes you about *placas* is that they are all done in basically the same style with "precise lines, . . . oddly shaped lettering, [and] elongated script," as Cesaretti describes it. "That's how I got involved," Chas says. "I dug that line."

It is quite a phenomenon when you consider that the same style has been practiced for decades by people representing diverse sectors of the barrio who have little contact with each other.

Graffiti is first of all an expression of the gang culture, but as Chas points out in his narrative, it is also a form of personal expression for the artist. Most writers are young, in their early teens. This is because as soon as a *vato* reaches the age of sixteen, cars become the main focus of creativity and independence.

Time has brought changes to the graffiti. Chas decries the invention of spray paint and felt markers, which have all but replaced brushes. The tightness of the old days is being lost, he says.



Gusmano Cesaretti.
Los Angeles Chicano wall art. Top left: Chas writing his name. Top right: Quetzalcoatl, Aztec god. Bottom: 'Weed, Martin, Steve, Julian—four soldiers in arms of—the Cosmic Race of East Los [Angeles], Aztlán—the year of the Chicanos, 1972—long live La Raza.'

There are some positive changes taking place, too. There is a new nationalist consciousness that is reflected in the *placas*.

"You're seeing an awful lot of 'La Raza,'" he says, "which hasn't happened before. . . . So they're not just talking about individuals, or about a gang. They're talking about the whole race. . . . They're really trying to get together, and they're excited about it."

Of course, it is only a small minority of writing that reflects this consciousness. *Plaquitos* act out of frustration bred in the poorest, most culturally repressed sectors of the barrio. On the whole they have little social consciousness, and the vast majority of barrio residents hate the graffiti.

Plaquitos have no respect for anybody's property.

They will write on your house, garage, or store as soon as write on an abandoned wall. The only place you'll never find any *placas* is on the churches.

But for all that, Chicano graffiti is the elemental expression of potential artists whose capacity for individual creativity has been blunted by a racist Anglo society.

As Cesaretti puts it in the introduction: "When you think of a kid from the time he's five or six years old practicing his name for hours and hours, not caring about school, just putting all his energy into his name and how he's going to present it, then going to the street with a spray can or brush, looking for just the right surface, then putting his name on it . . . That's really something."

—Miguel Pendás

'THE DISPOSSESSED'

The Dispossessed by Ursula K. Le Guin. New York: Avon Books, 1974. 312 pp., \$1.75 paper.

As an avid promoter of Evelyn Reed's book, *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family*, I closely follow newspaper and magazine reviews of her book. One in particular fascinated me. In the *Spokeswoman*, reviewer Jill Sellers writes a fine piece about Reed's book, but it's combined with a review of another book, *The Dispossessed* by Ursula Le Guin. Le Guin is a noted science fiction writer.

Neither knowing nor caring about science fiction, I was nevertheless curious about what a science fiction novel could possibly have in common with Reed's anthropological work.

It's safe to say that what *The Dispossessed* has in

Women are totally equal. They are engineers, scientists, philosophers, and everything else as well. It never occurs to anyone that it could be otherwise.

Shevek travels to Anarres's twin planet, Urras, to cooperate with scientists there in developing a scientific theory he originated.

Urras is a planet containing various social systems and forms of government. It is wrought with wars, racism, and sexism.

Upon arrival in Urras, Shevek undergoes what you might call extreme culture shock. The most incomprehensible aspect of this society is its treatment of women. Born and raised in a society free of oppression, he cannot understand the degradation of half the human race.

After several days at a wealthy university, full of men, Shevek naively asks his fellow scientists, "Where are women?"

An exchange takes place, the Urras men becoming more and more horrified at the thought of a planet where women are totally equal.

"Shevek saw that he had touched in these men an impersonal animosity that went very deep. Apparently they . . . contained a woman, a suppressed, silenced, bestialized woman, a fury in a cage. . . . They knew no relation but possession. They were possessed."

We learn that Shevek's planet, Anarres, was settled by anarchist followers of Odo, a woman. The anarchists had led a rebellion on Urras against class society and, although unsuccessful, were then allowed to leave the planet and settle a new one.

There are several competing social systems on Urras. There's the nation of A-Io, a class society

based on private property and the pursuit of profit.

There's the nation of Thu, revealed through its newspapers: "The Thuvian paper is much better written but it reports only those facts which the Thuvian Central Presidium wants reported."

There's Benbili, "a backward sort of country. Always having revolutions."

Within all these countries, however, are groups of revolutionaries. Some are Odonians, some syndicalists, and some are . . . Socialist Workers. The Socialist Workers in the nation of A-Io help in leading a mass demonstration against the draft, war taxes, and the rise in food prices.

But it's Odo's theories about social relations in a classless society, as practiced on Anarres, that make the most interesting reading in *The Dispossessed*.

There is complete sexual freedom. "No law, no limit, no penalty, no punishment, no disapproval applied to any sexual practice of any kind, except the rape of a child or woman, for which the rapist's neighbors were likely to provide summary revenge if he did not get promptly into the gentler hands of a therapy center."

Within this atmosphere people formed a variety of relationships, one of which was a "partnership."

"Partnership was a voluntarily constituted federation like any other. So long as it worked, it worked, and if it didn't work it stopped being. It was not an institution but a function. It had no sanction but that of private conscience."

This book is fun. Read it in addition to Evelyn Reed's book but not, by any means, instead of it.

—Linda Jenness

Books

common with *Woman's Evolution* is: next to nothing. But, in its own right, Le Guin's book is fun, feminist, and intriguing.

The story unfolds through the space travel of Shevek, a physicist from the planet Anarres. On Anarres there exists an anarchist, egalitarian society. With neither the profit motive nor a repressive apparatus, social judgment and pressure are the guiding principles.

Child rearing and education, as well as cooking and cleaning, are arranged communally—though always voluntarily.

Rizzo plans another New York

Unions, Blacks set march to save Phila. hospital

By Harvey McArthur

PHILADELPHIA—A march to "Save Philadelphia General Hospital" (PGH) has been set for May 22 by trade unions and civil rights groups here. The march will protest the city administration's announced plans to close the hospital next year.

The march was initiated by District Council 47, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and by AFSCME Local 488. These unions represent 2,215 PGH workers.

The union leaders were joined at a May 10 news conference by local leaders of the NAACP, Operation PUSH, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. On May 12, the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Central Labor Council endorsed the march.

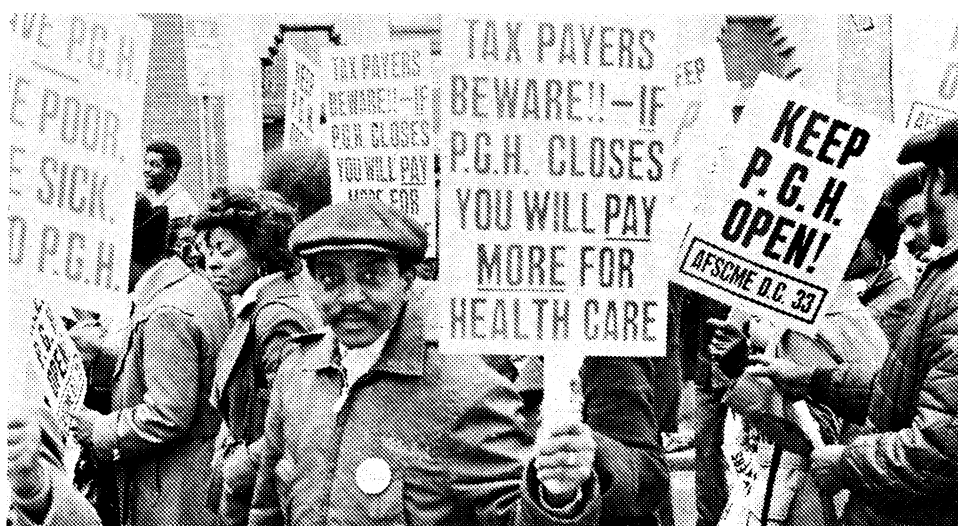
Philadelphia General is the only public hospital in the city. It is the only hospital that takes patients regardless of their ability to pay. It also has special services, such as a rape treatment clinic, that no other hospital offers.

To be sure, PGH is in desperate need of improvement. Dr. Lewis Polk, city health inspector, recently testified that "not a single bed" in PGH meets minimum health standards. Many wards lack vital equipment. Some nurses are responsible for more than 100 patients each.

Rather than improve public health care, the city's Democratic party administration has decided to close PGH for good, claiming this will save \$10 million a year.

The threatened shutdown of PGH is just one in a series of New York-style attacks on poor and working people here:

- City officials have announced they will lay off more than 1,000 city employees on July 1.
- The transportation authority says it will lay off 350 employees. It threatens to shut down altogether by May 31 if it doesn't get a 43 percent fare hike.
- The school board projects an \$88 million deficit for next year, requiring layoffs and cutbacks in the schools.



Militant/Jon Flanders

Mayor Frank Rizzo's announcement that he would close PGH came as a shock to local union officials, most of whom had supported Rizzo for reelection last year under the illusion that he

would protect their members' jobs.

Under pressure from union members, the officials called a one-day "holiday" February 25 and organized a protest march that drew more than 5,000

Socialist urges wide backing for protest

PHILADELPHIA—"Only by organizing independent protests like this march can we defend our right to good health care," said Tony Austin, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from Philadelphia's Second District.

Austin was talking to campaign supporters in the Germantown area of Philadelphia about the May 22 march to save Philadelphia General Hospital.

"I hope that many other unions will join this effort—especially hospital workers local 1199C, which has organized many of the private hospitals; AFSCME District Council 33, which represents city workers; and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, whose contract expires this fall.

"If we all unite, we can fight for all our rights," Austin said. "Other-

wise, they can pick us off one by one."

Austin pointed out that Democratic and Republican politicians from coast to coast are ordering similar cutbacks in vital social services.

"It doesn't make any sense for us to build a big demonstration against their policies on May 22, and then vote them into office so they can continue these attacks on us. We've got to begin to think about running our own candidates—people from the unions that are fighting layoffs, and people from the Black and Puerto Rican communities who know what PGH means for us.

"We need a political party controlled by working people so we can organize a political fight to carry forward from these rallies and protests."

workers, most of them Black. It was the largest labor protest in years in Philadelphia.

Union leaders have yet to break, however, with the policy of looking to Rizzo and the Democratic party to solve their problems.

Among Rizzo's staunchest supporters is Earl Stout, head of AFSCME District Council 33, which represents city workers, including Local 488 at PGH. Stout calls for Rizzo to save "his members'" jobs at the expense of nonunion workers. Stout agreed to the February 25 march, but then declared there would be "no more demonstrations." He has not endorsed the May 22 protest.

The May 22 march coincides with an East Coast conference to save public hospitals that is being organized by AFSCME for May 21 in Philadelphia. Among the expected speakers are Jerry Wurf, national president of AFSCME; Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH; and Ralph Abernathy of SCLC.



Militant/Jon Flanders

TONY AUSTIN: "If we unite, we can fight for our rights. Otherwise, they can pick us off one by one."

Crushing defeat for meatcutters

Milwaukee strike betrayed by NLRB, Democrats

By Bill Breihan

MILWAUKEE—The longest, most bitter strike this city has seen in many years has ended in a crushing defeat for the union movement. The meatcutters union has been driven from every meat packinghouse in the city.

On April 25, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 248 voted to officially end its fifteen-month-old strike against nine local packinghouses.

The battle began in January 1975, when 760 meatcutters struck against the companies' attempt to cut wages for more than 100 workers by reclassifying them as "unskilled."

Within weeks the struck packinghouses had recruited several hundred scabs from across the country and brought them into Milwaukee to reopen the closed plants.

The strikebreakers and their police escorts clashed with pickets, and many strikers were arrested. Two court injunctions were slapped on the union, and union officials were threatened with indictment. The supposedly neutral National Labor Relations Board intervened by accusing the strikers of illegal picketing and of threatening and assaulting scabs.

Over the next few months the AFL-CIO county labor council, along with locals of the auto workers, electrical workers, and teachers, sponsored rallies and pickets of up to 1,000 unionists

in support of the beleaguered meatcutters.

The strike dragged into its second year as an apparent stalemate. Then, in late April, the NLRB again intervened. As before it ruled against the union on every disputed question. It also ordered that a decertification election be held to determine whether packinghouse workers want the Amalgamated Meat Cutters to continue as their bargaining agent.

The NLRB said that it no longer recognized the existence of a strike and that only those currently employed—the scabs—would be eligible to vote. All strikers would be disfranchised.

Under these new conditions the union decided it had no alternative but to return to work. The day after the local voted to end the strike, however, the employers announced that few members of Local 248 would be allowed back in the plants. All strikebreakers would keep their jobs and only a few union members would be rehired "when needed."

What lessons can be drawn from this bitter defeat? First, the antilabor character of the NLRB was clearly shown.

The NLRB is portrayed as a guarantor of labor's rights, and is generally relied upon as such by the unions. But like every other agency of the capitalist government, it is fundamentally committed to the interests of the

employers. Its neutrality is a sham.

The antilabor rulings of the NLRB in the meatcutters' strike were so flagrant that even the conservative head of the Milwaukee Labor Council, John Schmidt, raised his voice in protest. He publicly condemned the board and said it should be "run out of town" for what it had done to the meatcutters union.

The second lesson is the dead end of relying on Democratic party "friends of labor."

Liberal Democrats in the city administration promised a lot to the meatcutters—passage of an "antiscab" ordinance to outlaw the use of strikebreakers, pressure on the companies to end their union-busting, and much more.

Then came the municipal elections and all these promises evaporated into thin air. The capitalist politicians abandoned even their lip-service support to the union.

The only mayoral candidate who gave full support to the meatcutters' struggle was Bernard Senter, candidate of the Socialist Workers party. Senter walked the picket lines, campaigned in support of the strike, and won the backing of many meatcutters.

Subservience to the Democratic and Republican parties prompted the central leadership of the Milwaukee labor movement to continually drag its feet in building massive support actions for

the meatcutters. The local union brass only came to the aid of the strikers when forced to by pressure from the meatcutters union and the ranks of other unions. Even then the support was little more than tokenism.

It was an election year, the meatcutters were told. Large and militant demonstrations would embarrass labor's "friends" in the elections. Now was not the time to "rock the boat."

The meatcutters lost their strike. They lost it not because they didn't fight hard enough or didn't stay out long enough.

They lost because the labor movement is politically shackled to the parties of big business. It has no political instrument of its own.

An independent labor party in Milwaukee would have campaigned for the meatcutters just as Bernard Senter did—but with the power of the trade unions behind it.

Instead of knuckling under to the Democrats, a labor party would have mobilized the entire labor movement in action behind the strikers.

A labor party would have tackled the political obstacles facing the meatcutters—the NLRB rulings, police complicity with scabs, court injunctions, and all the rest.

A labor party could well have made the difference between victory and defeat for the meatcutters' strike.

'Militant' is popular at ERA rally in Springfield

By Pat Galligan

"Ratify the ERA!" Those words on page 1 of the May 21 *Militant* echoed the chant that rang through the streets of Springfield, Illinois, on May 16, at the march in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The deep sentiment for women's rights was clear. And when the sales for the *Militant* were all totaled up at the end of the day something else was clear: Many of the women and men who marched that day are interested in socialism.

Some 700 *Militants* had been sold. And fifty demonstrators had subscribed to the paper. Those figures include both sales during the march and rally and sales on the buses and trains bringing people to Springfield.

Helen Scheer from Minneapolis sold twenty-one single copies at the assembly point for the Minnesota contingent. She urged demonstrators to "read the debate between a socialist woman who supports the ERA and Phyllis Schlafly."

Several of the salespeople we talked to told us that the *Militant's* special feature "ERA debate: socialist-feminist versus right-winger" drew considerable interest.

Shirley Pasholk told us that the *Militants* she sold on the bus from Cleveland were to women who wanted to read the debate.

"One woman decided to buy the paper only to read that debate," said Pasholk. "But she didn't want a subscription."

"Then she began to flip through the *Militant*," Pasholk continued. "Why, there's an article about Russell Means," she said."

When she had finished looking through the paper she had found several topics that interested her. "And after thinking it over," Pasholk concluded, "she changed her mind and subscribed."

She was only one of the eleven new readers Pasholk signed up that day. The *Militant*, Pasholk explained, really sold itself. "Many of the people I talked to were familiar with the *Militant* and its consistent coverage of the fight to ratify the ERA."

Terry Hardy, who rode the Freedom Train from Philadelphia, told us of the friendly response the *Militant* received on board: "When we started going up and down the aisles with the paper, people would say 'Oh, the *Militant*,' and ask for a copy." Sales on the train totaled 100.

A number of Freedom Train riders had bought subscriptions at the recent eastern regional conference of the National Organization for Women. What do they think about the *Militant*?

"Several of the women I talked to said that the reason they like the

Militant is that it relates the feminist movement to the other struggles going on," Hardy explained.

While feminist issues were the prime concern of many who bought a single copy or subscription on May 16, the *Militant* attracted new readers in other ways.

The article on Angola in the *Militant's* World Outlook section caught the eye of one Black woman. She signed up for a six-month subscription.

Mimi Pichey from Milwaukee told us that she sold a subscription to the driver of her bus. That made at least two Milwaukee bus drivers who subscribed that day. Both are Black and both are interested in the *Militant's* coverage of South Africa.

The subscriptions sold in Springfield will give a needed boost to our subscription drive tally. Thus far, we have received a total of 4,000 subscriptions—that's 600 shy of where we should be.

We have to receive 1,500 subscriptions by May 31 to meet our goal.

As the scoreboard indicates, 4,688 copies of the May 14 *Militant* (headline: "FBI vs. NAACP: 25 years of spying") were sold in the areas reporting.

Stacey Seigle from Portland, Oregon, tells us that socialists there sold 150 copies of the issue at a rally in support of four American Indian Movement activists framed up by the government.

Sales scoreboard

City	Goal	Sold last week	%
Cincinnati	75	93	124
Portland, Ore.	175	211	121
Baltimore	90	106	118
Minneapolis	225	234	104
St. Paul	75	77	103
San Jose	125	126	101
Milwaukee	225	225	100
San Diego	200	200	100
New Orleans	175	175	100
Indianapolis	40	40	100
Chico, Calif.	10	10	100
Dallas	10	10	100
Chicago	400	380	95
St. Louis	200	187	94
New York City	645	591	92
Logan, Utah	20	18	90
Boston	290	257	89
Berkeley, Calif.	125	111	89
Denver	125	110	88
Oakland, Calif.	150	123	82
Los Angeles	540	435	81
Cleveland	175	135	77
Philadelphia	275	205	75
San Antonio	30	22	73
Newark	200	123	62
Detroit	300	175	58
Seattle	250	134	54
San Francisco	190	91	48
Pittsburgh	175	84	48
Total	5,500	4,688	85



Marcia Gallo (left), SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, sells the *Militant* on ERA Freedom Train en route to Springfield demonstration.

Calendar

BERKELEY

THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION—DEGENERATED WORKERS STATE? STATE CAPITALISM? SOVIET IMPERIALISM? A special mini-educational conference. Hear a Trotskyist analysis. Speaker: Art Sharon, veteran Trotskyist leader. Sat., May 22, 1 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

THE ERA AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speakers: Laurel Egenberger, NOW; Gail Wixson, CLUW; Joey Rothenberg, SWP. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. What is socialism? Thurs., May 27, 7:30 p.m. 2 Central Square. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395 or 262-4621.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

BLACK WOMEN AND THE ERA. Speakers: Arnita Boswell, president, League of Black Women; Peggy Smith Martin, candidate for state representative; Judy Hagans, SWP; others. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. St. Paul and the Redeemer Church, 4945 S. Dorchester. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 752-8578.

CINCINNATI

THE WITCH-HUNT OF THE 1950s AND THE ROSENBERG FRAME-UP. Speaker: Melissa Singler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Thurs., May 27, 7:30 p.m. Tangeman University Center, Room 424, Univ. of Cincinnati. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

MILWAUKEE

U.S. ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speakers: George Dolph, SWP; R. Ato Yarney, Milwaukee

Courier columnist. Thurs., May 27, 7 p.m. 207 E. Michigan, Room 25. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW YORK

PORTUGAL, THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION: POPULAR POWER . . . AND THE COMING MEDITERRANEAN REVOLUTION. Information forum and film, *Viva Portugal!*, a documentary of Portuguese revolution. Featuring Alexandre Oliveira, former editor of *República*. Sat., June 5, 7:30 p.m. Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St. Admission: \$2. Sponsors: School for Marxist Education; *Cineaste*; Puerto Rican Socialist party; others. For more information call (212) 569-1461. Proceeds benefit GAZETA, a new popular power voice in Portugal.

OAKLAND

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. A program and film. Speakers: Clifton DeBerry, collaborator of Malcolm X, SWP; speaker from Merritt College ethnic studies. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

SAN DIEGO

WHY DOES LABOR NEED ITS OWN POLITICAL PARTY? Speakers: John Naubert, SWP; Marc Rich, executive board of Graphic Arts Union. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO: INGLESIDE

THE GOVERNMENT'S WAR AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT. Speakers: Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*; Clifton DeBerry, SWP. Wed., May 26, 7:30 p.m. City College. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 431-8918.

SAN JOSE: EAST

HOW TO STOP POLICE TERROR. Speakers: Ray Gonzales, Committee on Public Safety; Sandra Sherman, SWP candidate for San Jose City Council. Tues., May 25, 8 p.m. 1192 E. Santa Clara. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-2618.

...Levi

Continued from page 4

Arthur Garrity ordered the city government, which was pleading poverty, to come up with the money to keep the schools open until the required June 22 closing date.

Mayor White and other antibusing politicians here argue that Garrity's desegregation order has "bankrupted" the city. White has proposed a special property tax levy that will add \$100 or more to the tax bills of Boston homeowners.

Calling his decision "most unpleasant" and "painful for our taxpayers," the mayor clearly hopes the measure will fuel antibusing sentiments in this city's white neighborhoods.

"It is time a stand was taken against Judge Garrity's megalomania," city council President Hicks has chimed in. "If it means jail for those of us who are willing to stand up for the people of Boston and their pocketbooks, so be it."

For the moment, however, the increase in antibusing violence that kept Blacks unnerved in late April has subsided. Boston has returned to the normalcy it has known for the past two years.

To wit: In the college neighborhoods, students in blue jeans and Earth Shoes, with Shakespeare, calculus, and occasionally a Frisbee under their arms, can be seen shambling off to final exams. In the Black neighborhoods, young students can still be seen boarding the yellow school buses in pursuit of an equal education. And in the racist white strongholds, life goes on as usual: in South Boston last week, a trucker was stopped and beaten because he was Black.

...Lo-Vaca

Continued from page 5

and oil."

I then talked with José Angel Gutiérrez, the Raza Unida leader who was elected county judge.

Gutiérrez said they had no choice but to resist Lo-Vaca's extortion. "Half our people are on fixed income," he said. "Either welfare or old age. These people can't pay."

If Lo-Vaca were to cut off the gas,

Gutiérrez said, it would mean a real crisis for the city. Schools, hospitals, and some places of employment would have to shut down.

Gutiérrez has a solution in mind. There are, he said, two big gas wells in Zavala County. Crystal City is the county seat.

If the court fight is lost, Gutiérrez wants to take over the two wells under the law of eminent domain. Strong legal precedents for such a move exist, he said. However, there would be a problem, he added, with court-ordered payment to the owners of the two wells. The city has meager funds.

"But," he said, "I don't know who's going to tell us we can't take those wells or how they're going to keep us from it—except the people here, if they don't want to do it."

"We could reduce the price of gas," he continued, "and even sell gas to others. We could become competitors of Lo-Vaca."

Lo-Vaca, abetted by the Democratic party politicians on the railroad commission, has certainly caused a lot of hardship for people in Texas. But it is also causing a lot of people to consider if essential natural resources can be left in the hands of rapacious private profiteers.

...FBI

Continued from page 15

Since then a great deal has been learned about the government's crimes, much of it a result of this lawsuit. Each of the original charges has been confirmed and reinforced by the publication of previously secret government files.

The suit adds as individual plaintiffs Morris Starsky and Evelyn Sell, two SWP members who were targets of Cointelpro plots. Starsky, a college professor, and Sell, a schoolteacher and a member of the American Federation of Teachers, lost their jobs after the FBI circulated poison-pen letters to their employers.

Also added as individual plaintiffs, along with the SWP and YSA as organizations, are: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary; Barry Sheppard, the party's organization secretary; and Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the SWP's 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates.



Pay Tribute to



Ethel & Julius Rosenberg

Fighters for Freedom & Justice,
on the 23rd Anniversary of Their Execution

Open All the Files Now!
Fight Government Frameups & Coverups!
Carnegie Hall
Tuesday, June 15, 8 p.m.

Hear Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of the Rosenbergs; Morton and Helen Sobell; Pete Seeger; Ossie Davis; John Randolph; Tony Randall; Vinie Burrows; and Jack Gilford.
They lied about Vietnam . . . Watergate . . . the Rosenbergs and Sobell.
Now let the truth come out.

Please send me tickets for the following seats:

_____balcony at \$3-4 each	_____orchestra (A-K) at \$15 each
_____address circle at \$5 each	_____first tier at \$20 each
_____second tier at \$8 each	_____patron seats at \$50 each
_____orchestra at \$10 each	

Enclosed is my check for \$_____

I cannot attend, but here is my contribution of \$_____

Make checks payable to NCCRC

Name _____

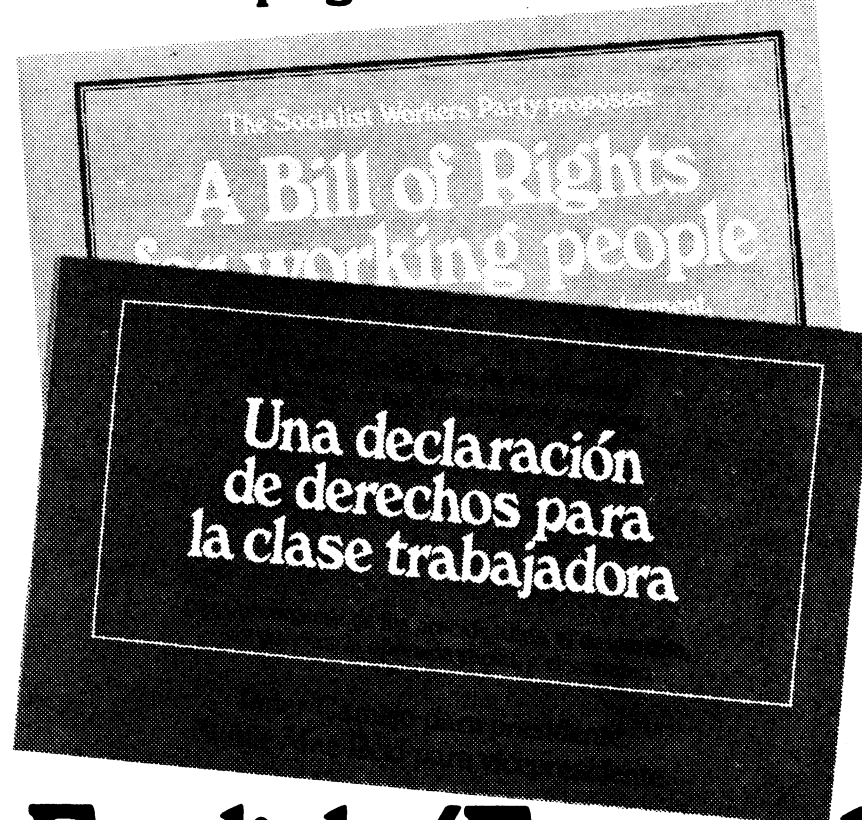
Address _____

City _____ State _____

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Send to National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, Room 606,
250 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019; or pick up 11 a.m.-6 p.m., Mon.-Fri.
For further information call (212) 265-7136.

SWP Campaign Platform



English/Español

The Socialist Workers party proposes a Bill of Rights for Working People, including:

- the right to a job; an adequate income; a secure retirement; to free medical care and a free education;
- the right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs; to know the truth and decide about the economic, political, and social policies that affect our lives.

El Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores propone una declaración de derechos para la gente trabajadora, incluyendo:

- el derecho a tener trabajo; un ingreso adecuado; una jubilación asegurada; atención médica y educación gratuita;
- el derecho de las minorías nacionales oprimidas a controlar sus propios asuntos y el derecho a conocer la verdad y poder decidir la política económica y social que nos afecta.

Available in English or Spanish; 3 cents each or 2 cents each for orders of more than 1,000.

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

Officers of the committee: chairperson, Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tempe: YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453.
Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 624-9176.

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 and 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, Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Librería Socialista, 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.

East San Jose: SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

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, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825.

Fort Collins: YSA, 325 E. Myrtle, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

FLORIDA: Dade County: YSA, P.O. Box 390487, Miami Beach, Fla. 33139.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Suzanne Welch, 765 El Rancho St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 224-9632.

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.

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Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 631-3441.

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.

College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

Prince Georges County: SWP, P.O. Box 1087, Prince Georges Plaza, Hyattsville, Md. 20788. Tel: (202) 333-0265 or (202) 783-2391.

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: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 15 4th St. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Paul: SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

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St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 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, Bronx: SWP, P.O. Box 688, Bronx, N.Y. 10469.

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New York, Chelsea: SWP, Pathfinder Bookstore, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

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Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio

43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 50212, Dallas, Tex. 75250.

Houston: City-wide: SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza), Houston, Tex. 77021. Tel: (713) 643-0005.

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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.

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THE MILITANT

Racist 'justice'

All-white jury finds J.B. Johnson guilty

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—An all-white jury has found J.B. Johnson guilty of first-degree murder.

The May 14 verdict ended Johnson's second trial on charges of taking part in a 1970 jewelry-store robbery during which a police officer was killed. Under Missouri law, an accomplice in such a crime is considered guilty of first-degree murder.

Johnson will be sentenced June 24 to a mandatory "natural life" (ninety-nine years and a day) prison term. The verdict will be appealed.

Johnson was immediately taken to jail. Missouri does not allow bail pending appeal of a first-degree murder conviction.

Johnson's case has become the focus of a six-year struggle by defenders of equal justice for Black people to put an end to the racist frame-up techniques of St. Louis police.

The scene in the courtroom as Johnson's verdict was read by the clerk of the court dramatically confirmed how each side in the struggle viewed the stakes.

In contrast to previous sessions of the trial, where Johnson's supporters were the bulk of the spectators, court officials had filled the front rows of the courtroom with off-duty cops and employees of the prosecutor's office. Johnson's supporters were crammed into the back rows.

As the verdict was read, Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother, cried out bitterly, "Racists!"

Another voice in the packed courtroom shouted, "Nazis!"

As Watkins stood to further denounce the judge and jury, Judge William Corrigan ordered bailiffs to "get them out of here."

Obviously hoping for a bloody confrontation, St. Louis County cops poured into the hallway outside the courtroom as leaders of the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson sought to escort the grief-stricken supporters to safety.

The frame-up began on January 23, 1970, when Johnson was arrested at gunpoint.

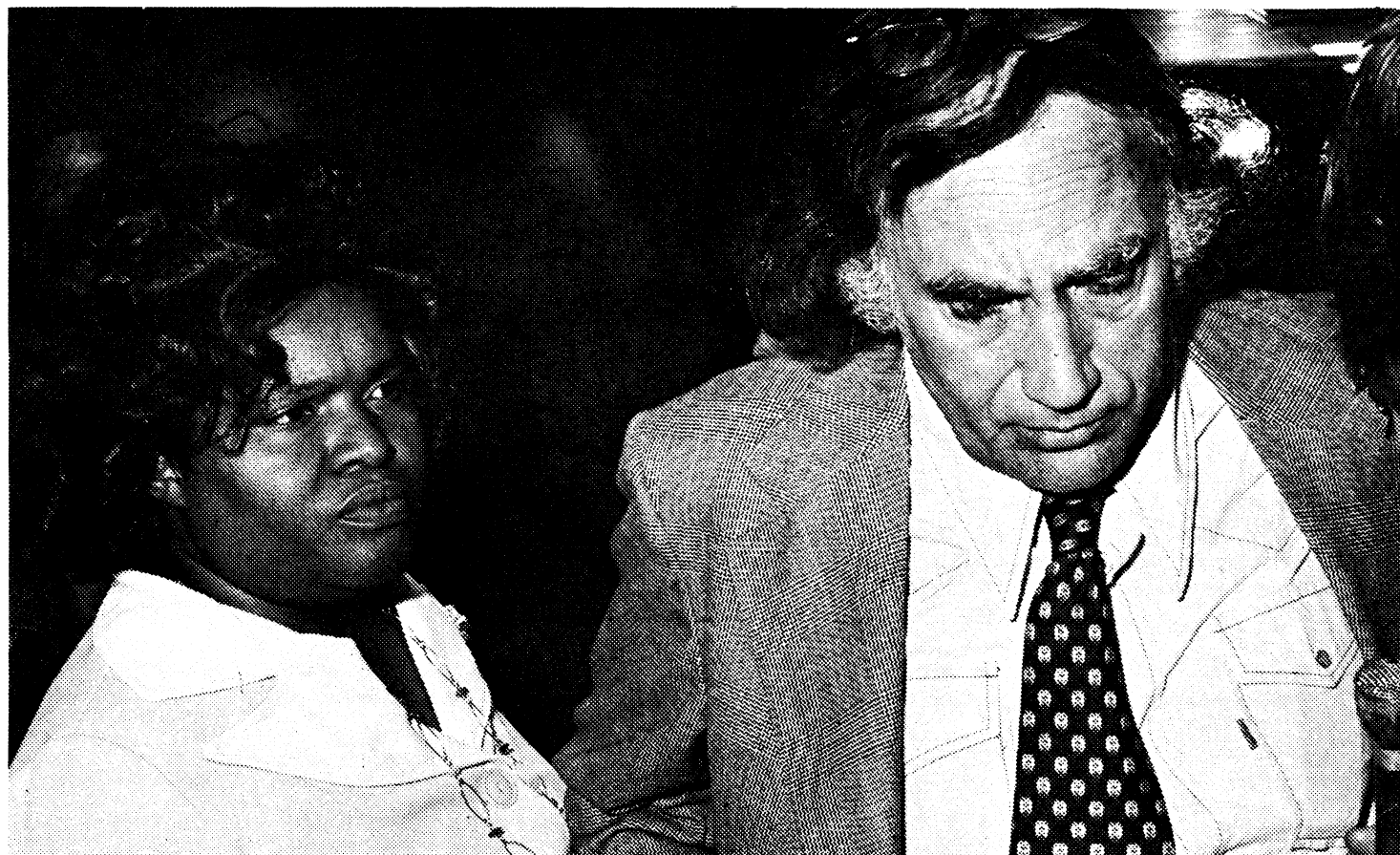
Johnson, then nineteen, was the first Black youth snared by police in a hysterical dragnet launched after the slaying of their fellow officer.

The police hastily concocted a frame-up to prove Johnson was the second man involved in the holdup. But the plot began to unravel under pressure from the defense.

It was police suppression of evidence during Johnson's 1972 trial that led the Missouri Supreme Court to order in July 1975 that the Black youth be given a new trial.

Glaring contradiction

In hearings before the supreme court, Missouri Assistant Attorney General David Robards admitted that a glaring contradiction in a key part of



Mary Watkins, J.B. Johnson's mother, and defense attorney William Kunstler await verdict

Militant/Pat Hayes

the state's case "could not be explained from the record."

The contradiction was that police claimed to have found two stolen rings in Johnson's shoes shortly after he was arrested.

But those two rings are the same as two rings that were missing from a tray of stolen rings police had seized at the scene of the robbery at about the same time as the arrest.

The police said they had seized a car there as evidence and taken it to headquarters, keeping it sealed until it was processed several hours later. When they opened the car, they found and photographed the tray containing the seven rings.

Clearly, the two rings could not have been both in Johnson's shoes and in the tray of stolen rings simultaneously.

During Johnson's second trial, the jury heard a string of police witnesses try to explain away the contradiction. Two of them were officer William Krantz and fingerprint expert Michael Fitzpatrick.

Cops change story

Both Krantz and Fitzpatrick swore under oath at this trial that the photograph showing seven rings was taken not the day of the robbery, but ten days later! This contradicted their sworn testimony at the 1972 trial.

The two cops told defense attorney William Kunstler that they had become aware of this shortly after they testified at the first trial. But they somehow neglected to bring this "error" to the attention of the authorities until just before Johnson's second trial, four years later.

As Krantz spun this web of lies, Kunstler, his face quivering with anger, leaned over the witness and demanded, "Do you know what perjury is, officer? Are you committing perjury?"

Kunstler asked Fitzpatrick: "You were handed the photograph at the first trial and were asked if you were present the night when it was taken, and you said yes."

Answer: "Yes, sir."

"Isn't that an outright untruth?"

Answer: "No, sir."

"Then what would you call it?"

Fitzpatrick stumbled: "It was untrue, but it was not an untruth."

Secret meetings

Krantz, also disclosed under questioning that he had been involved in secret meetings with the prosecution to discuss the discrepancy on the two rings. He said a number of other cops who testified at the new trial were also involved.

The defense had not been informed of such meetings despite a court order requiring that the prosecution give the defense all records of its findings.

The closing arguments put forward by the government stated the view that "much more is at stake in this case than J.B. Johnson." Prosecuting Attorney Thomas Dittmeier asked the jury whether they "could really believe that Johnson was the victim of a frame-up?"

In his closing argument, Kunstler reviewed again the evidence of police frame-up and lying taken from the record of both trials. He noted how the "recent past" had shown that it was

not at all unusual to uncover lying in high places.

As the jurors retired to their deliberations, the question on the mind of every observer was whether they would heed Kunstler's impassioned arguments and searching cross-examination. Or would they buckle to the flagrant racist appeals by Dittmeier to "send a message to every would-be stick-up man that they can't commit a crime and then yell frame-up."

Despite the overwhelming defense case, however, Johnson's supporters were grim about the final verdict from the very onset of the trial, given the discriminatory and unconstitutional method used to pick the jury.

That process systematically excluded Blacks, women, and youths. It resulted in a trial not by Johnson's peers, but by an all-white jury whose average age was fifty-four.

The foreperson of the jury, for example, E. Reid Smith, was a sixty-eight-year-old retired vice-president of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. When asked if there were any Black people in the Arkansas town where he grew up, Smith answered, "Yes, there were servants' houses."

As Johnson told reporters from the St. Louis County cell to which he was taken immediately following the trial, "I won the case in court. I proved my innocence—it was just that jury."

The discriminatory methods of jury selection in St. Louis County will be a powerful element in Johnson's appeal.

To send messages of support or donations, contact: National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson, Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri 63108.